ОГЛАВЛЕНИЕ

ВВЕДЕНИЕ ……4

ГЛАВА 1. ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЕ И МЕТОДОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ОСНОВЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИНТЕГРАЦИИ ……16

1.1. Ihgyl,bk_msghklv b lbiu j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZp iheblheh]bq_kdhc…gZmd_……16

1.2. L_hjbb j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \ a.Z.i.Z.^24hc i

1.3. Dhgp_ipbb j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \ ihklkh\ iheblbq_kdhc…gZmd_……39

ГЛАВА 2. ИНСТИТУЦИОНАЛИЗАЦИЯ РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИНТЕГРАЦИИ СТРАН ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЙ АЗИИ ……59

2.1. Bklhjbq_kdb_ ij_^ihkuedb nhjfbjh\Zgby j_]bh bgl_]jZpbb gZjh^h\ P_glj.Z.e.v.g.h.c…:a.b.b…… ……59

2.2. Hkgh\gu_ nZdlhju j_]bhgZevghc…bgl_]j.Z.p.b.b \

2.3. Kh^_j`Zgb_ j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb…\…P_glj

Глава 3. ПРОБЛЕМЫ И ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ РАЗВИТИЯ РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИНТЕГРАЦИИ СТРАН ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЙ АЗИИ……105

3.1. Jhev b f_klh nhjfZevguo b g_nhjfZevguo bgk j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb P_glj.Z.e.v.g.h.c…:a.b.b…106

3.2. Ijh[e_fu b ijhlb\hj_qby j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZ :abb……113

3.3. I_jki_dlb\u j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb .\…P_glj

ВЫВОДЫ……140

ПРАКТИЧЕСКИЕ РЕКОМЕНДАЦИИ …… 148

СПИСОК ИСПОЛЬЗОВАННОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ ……152

ПРИЛОЖЕНИЯ ……177

ПЕРЕЧЕНЬ УСЛОВНЫХ ОБОЗНАЧЕНИЙ

<PB	<k_jhkkbckdbc P_gljZevguc E Dhfbl_l
<PBH	<k_jhkkbckdbc p_glj bamq_gby h[
=HWE	=hkm^Zjkl_ggZy dhfbkkby ih we_
?;J	?\jhi_ckdbc ;Zgd J_dhJZa\b
?\j:a\	?\jZabckdh_ Wdhghfbq_k
?W	?^bgh_ Wdhghfbq_kdh_
DKH	Dhee_dlb\gu_ kbeu hi_jZlb\gl
H;K	Hj]ZgbaZpby ih ;_ahiZkghklb b ?\jhi_
H>D	Hj]ZgbaZpby >h]h\hjZ Dhee_dl
HP:	Hj]ZgbaZpby P_-:abZlkdh]h Khljm
HW	Hj]ZgbaZpby Wdhghfbq_kdh]
KG	Kh^jm`_kl\h G_aZ\bkbfu
KKH	Khxa Kh_lkdbo KhpbZebklbc
LH	LZfh`_gguc
P:	P_gljZevgZ
P:W	P_gljZe-:ab kdh_ Wdhghfbq_kdh_
RHI	RZgoZckdZy Hj]ZgbaZpby

ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Bgl_gkbnbdZpby ijhp_kkh\,]dhg_p_ba Zpbb ^ghc \h
jZkiZ^ khpbZebklbq_kdh]h [ehdZ kha^Zeb ij_^i
j_]bhgZevguo bgl_]jZpbhgguo ijhp_kkh\ gZ ihklkhp
jZaebqguo qZklyo a_fgh]h rZjZ \lhjhc ihehnbgu
k_]h^gyrgbc, ^j_\gbc j_]bhgZebaf b j_]bhgZebaZpby o
mklhcqb\ufb l_g^_gpbyfb \ f_`^mgZjh^guo hlghr
j_]bhgZevguo hj]ZgbaZpbc ^ey j_r_gby jZaebq
j_]bhgZevgh]h jZa\blby b k[eb`_gby klhjhg.

>ey kljZg P_gljZevghc :abb i_jbh^ KKKJ hagZf_g
kljhbl_evkl\Z gZpbb b;]hkm^Zjkl\Z KKKJ hagZf_gh\
ijhp_kkh\ i_j_hkfuke_gby hiulZ ijhreh]h b ihkljh_g
gZ gh\uo gZqZeZo \ dZq_kl_ iheghkl vx km_j_gg
k\hx fgh]h_dh\mx bklhjbx gZjh^u P_gljZevghc :abb
b g_aZ\bkbfhklv \ nhjfZl_ hl^_evguo]hkm^Zjkl\ g_hi
]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevghc :abb \hijhku ihbkdZ k\h
mkljhckl\Z b mgbdZevgh]h, ihkdhevdm gZ lZ^b
hkh[_gghklyo k mq_lhf]eh[Zevguo ijhp_kkh\ Zdlb\ghklb
]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevghc :abb \b^_eb gZ hkgh_ ihiu
j_]bhgZebaZpby b j_]bhgZebaf ^Zxl \hafh`ghklv gZ
j_]bhgZevguo, ijh[e_fZ ijb wlhf k\hx km[t_dlghklv
_d bgl_gkb\gh ijhl_dZxsbo ijhp_kkh\ bgl_]jZpbb
kha^Zgb_ Kh^jm`_kl\Z G_aZ\bkbfuo =hkm^Zjkl\ P_gl
:abb \uklmibeb dZd jZ\gu_ khmqj_^bl_eb ^Zgghc
jZkiZ^Z KKKJ \h ba[_`Zgb_ fZj]bgZebaZpbb ihklkh_

Актуальность темы исследования aZdexqZ_lky \ kljZl_
g_h[oh^bfhklb hkhagZgby jheb ihklkh_lkdhc bgl_]j

:ab,bdZd \ klZgh\e_gbb gh\uo g_aZ\bkbfuo,olZ[dkmh^Z

dhgkheb^Zpbb j_]bhgZ dZd hl^_evgh]h km[t_dlZ f_

Ke_^m_l hl,fqlbl\ ihke_^g_ ijh\[efyfu j_]bhgZevghc bg

kljZg P_gljZevghc :abb \uau\Zeb lhevdh kd_

ij_^klZ\bl_e_c wdki_jlgh]h b ZdZ^_fbq_kdh]h khh[s_kl\Z

[ueh k\yaZg,hqkhlijhp_kku j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq_

\ P_gljZevghc :abb jZkkfZljb\Zevky dZd[j»qgZgijh_\Ze

eb[h dZd `_eZlggZyj_Zebamlfbby dZd \ [eb`Zdr_c b

^he]hkjhqghc i_jki_dlb\u_ ih,ab\pbbhx hq,_jy\evxlky

j_amevlZlZfb jy^Z djmiguo bkke_^h\Zgbc b ^jm

ihebldbq_kdbo f_jhijbylbc,]^b_ \kljhdkj_^kl_ggh h[km

ZgZebabjh\ZeZkv ^Zg[1]Gy_hijZle^_Zgh ukkwdbo h`b^Zgb

j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z, bihaZh[kh\m_xcklbybgl_

kljZg j_],bhgZahqZjh»Zgbk_mlkl\b_f ^_ckl_gghc bgl_

kbeu \ujZabehkv gZ gZr \a]ey^ \ hijZ\^Zgghf djblbq_

ijh[e_fZlbdb kh klhjhgu ZdZ^_fbq_kdhc b wdki_jl

qZklgh,klfb mdZau\ZxlkyU ke_^mxsb_ ijbqbgu

- fgh]hqbke_gghklv \klj_q b h[km`^_gbc gZ j

l_bgl_gkb\gZy jblhjbdZ ijb hlkmlkl\bb dhgdj_

ijh_dlh\ b wnn_dlb\ghc ^_yl_evghklb j_]bhgZevg

- ih_joghklghklv \u\h^h\ ex[uo ZgZeblbq_kd

bgl_]jZpbb P_gljZevghc«gZab_\e»kkh]bhgZ dZd km

f_`^mgZjh^guo hlghr_gbc b keZ[hklb j_]bhgZevg

- ©h[j_q_gghklv» j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \ P_gljZ

©ijh\»Ze\ kbem dZd h[t_dlbl\guo Zevgh l_ogbc

[1] >ey kjZ\g_gby bgl_j_kgh hagZdhfblvky k ^hdeZ^Zfb P_gljZevghZabZlkc

khljm^gbq_kl\h ^b\r_c gZ Bkk,5-6 bDmy1995],]^_ \ujZ`Zebkv [hevrb_k\gZ^Z`gu_

j_]bhgZevguf khljm^gbq_kl\hf .klZg,j_]bhgZbgZy dZjlbgZ jbkm_lky

f_`^mgZjh^ghc dhgn_j_gpbb ijhoh^b\r_c 26-28 bxgy 2007 Z.gkIjh_dlu khljm^gbq_kl\

bgl_]jZpbb ^ey P_gljZevghc:ab bguc, ZgZeblbq_kdbo b i_jki_dlb\u

\hafh`ghklb j_]hZdgZb km[t_dlb\guo(imZdlhjb\eb^_
]hkm^Zj[khl\v[aZ j_]bhgZevgh_.eb^_jkl\h b ^j

GZ gZr \a]leZyd^Zy ihabpby y\ey_lk,y miihjkis_rgggh cc
g_^Zevgh\b?kgehc [u ^Z`_ j_]bhgZevgZy bgl_]jZpby \
g_ bf_eZ [m(qmls_]hZd`_ _s_ y\ey_lky ij_^f),lh_ffZ^bgk_d
l_jy_l k\hx Zdlm,ZeZvgh\kjZdlb,ql_kddbfl_hj_lbq_kdhf kfu

K bgbpbZpb_c b^_b _\jZabc,kdah\cmbgg_jhjZpebbb^_,jhf
<eZ^bfbjhf lmlbguf \2011]yh[^j_ b ihke_^h\Z\rb_ aZ wl
ijhp_kku bgl_]jZpbb \ jZfdZo lj_o]hkm^Zjkl\ LZfh`_
Wdhghfbq_kdh]h ljhkhjZbgkl\Zbgl_]jZpbb kgh\Z ihiZe
ijbhjbl_lguo, ljZfkkfZljb\Z_fuo ihebl bZqd_k^d_bffbq_kdbf
wdki_jlguf khh[s_kl\Zfb kljZg KG= b.^Zevg_]h aZjm

ljhlb\hj_qb\hklbvaf_gqb\uc oZjZdl_j b g_wn
j_]bhgZevguo ijhp_kkh\ k,h\^gkhcq_klZgbbbuk ih_jogh
ij_^\Zjbl_evgufb j_amevlZlZfb bgl_]jZpbhgguo ijh_
ijhkljZgkl_ k,^mkhjbeb\Zxl bgl_j_k d P_gl\Zhkvh[h_cggahk
kj_^b f_klguo bkke_^h\Zl_e_c l_hjbb b ijZdlb
j_]bhgZeb.aZjkeb^gb_ hkhagZxl g_h[oh^bfhklv [he__
b]em[hdh]h bamq_gby ^ZgGguevaiyhgp__kkkh]\eZkblvky
ma[_dbklZgkdh]h iheblheh]Z <eZ^dbfkbjZebZ\ZPhgghl\Ze
:abb g_ [m^_l,lh^bmgkgl\Z g_ [m^_»l[1] bhk[hm[^mgsh_]hdlmZ
g_h[oh^bfu bkke_^h\Zgby ij_^ihku,ehkdihkbh[kdZdkhsjb
bgl_]jZ;pbbbjhdh_ b]em[hdh_ ihgbfZgb_ i_jki_d,lb\
dhlhju_ kmebl j_]bhgZevgZy bgl_]jZpby ^ey kZfbo

[1] P_gljZevgZy ?Wjeaubyjhgguc]j_<khZjjkZfhgk?keb \ P_gljZevghc :abb g_,[m^_l
m g__ g_ [m^_l »b Bgml^_jsvx]h< lZjZfhgh\Z dhjj_kihgK\gl[m^u]Zkeb(DuZaZo)klZg
@me^ua :efZl[Z_\hc 25.11.2010. – We_dljhg>Zg – J_`bf ^hk:lmiZ
http://www.ceasia.ru/intervu/v.paramonov-esli-v-tsentralnoy-azii-ne-budet-edinstva-to-u-nee-ne-budetibuduschego.htmk\h[h^guc

aZ __ ij_^_lheZjfyb^m ijbqbg ^ZggZy l_fZ ij_^hklZ\ey_l
fgh]hqbke_gguo bkke_^h\Zgbc b jZafure_gbc \ wlhf

<h i_j\,uicjh[e_fZ j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb kljZg F
y\ey_lky keh`ghc b fgh]hAm^jhkvg_\ihcj_ie_l_gu b \
f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gguo hlghr,_gbcjhj[e]_bfhugZu[hjZ iheblbq
wdhghfbq_kdbo fh^_e_c jZa\blby ^ey dZ,`^ZhclZbda`_
\hijhku \gmlj_gg_c ^bgZfbdb jZa\blby, eZ_gljZ_evghlg
f_`^mgZjh^gh ijZ\h\hc <_^kgbeomu fgh]hkeh`ghklb ^Zg
ij_^iheZ]Z_l ZgZeba iheblbdb b bgklblmlh\ j_]bhgZ
km[gZpbhg,Zevgghfbhg,evgkmf[j_]bhg,evjg]hfbhgZevghf
]eh[Zevghf

<h \lhj,ukoe_^m_l bf_l,vq\h\bb^fmggh ihklkh_lkdh_ kh
j_]bhgZ dZd hkgh\gZy _]h dhgl_dklmZeivjgZy_lc
mgbdZevghklv j_]bhgm b dZd ke_^kl\b_ wlh]h h[
bkke_^h\Zlhgbyfgb_ kmlb ^h,kkh\l_kdh]h b ihklkh\
i_jbh^h\ b aZdhghf_jghkl_c jZa\blby j_]bhgZ y
ij_^ihkuedhc ^ey h[t_dlb\gh]h ZgZebaZ jZkkfZljb\Z_

< lj_lv,bkoZfh ihgylb_ j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb y\
\dexqZ_l wdhgh,fbhqekdbmqx_kdmx b khpbh dmevlmj\gmx
khq_lZgbb k khljm^gbq_kl\hf ih \hijhkZf j_]bhgZe
[_amkeh\gh [m^_l kihkh[kl\h\Zlv jZa\blbx j_]bhg
>jm]bfb ke,h\Zfbhg,Zevgy bgl_]jZpby gZ kh\j_
ij_^klZ\ey_l kh[hc fgh]hiZkeb_ldbdghuowdhghfbq_kdbc b
n_ghf._g

< ^Zgghc jZ[h\lhijhku j_]bhgZevghc [_ah
wdhghfbq_kdh]hkhljm^gbq_kl\Z b khpbh dmevlmjg
jZkkfhlj_gu q_j_a ijbafmbgklblmpbhgZevgh iheb,lhe
dhlhjZy ih^jZamf_\Z_l ZgZeba h[s_kl_ggh iheb

P_gljZevghc :abb b bo \ebygbb gZ ^_jZ gh_jfmb i_jki_

bgl_]jZpbb \ j_]bhg_ ljb wlhf k qlh_^mil_h hlbq lbdb_ bg

g_ fh]ml jZa\b\Zlvky \ hlju_ hl ih bkleb q^hk\Zh c_ev

]h\hjblv h _jhylghklb beb g__jhylghklb j_]bh

P_gljZevghc :abb fh`gh h^bgZdh\h \ jZ\ghc kl_i_gb

LZdbf h[jZaf hl[hl_ jZkkfZljb\Zxlky dhgdj_lgu_ \hij

• Qlh _klv j_]bhgZevgZy bgl_]jZpby

• Qlh _klv P_gljZevgZy :aby \ ]i_hh ebl bqZ ch_kdh wdhghfbq_kdhf b dmevlmjghf kfukeZo

• Qlh _klv j_]bhgZevgZy bgl_]jZpby P_gljZevg

• DZdb_ nZdlhju b ijbqbgu h[mkeZ\eb\Zxl b \ j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb P:

• DZdh\u i_jki_dlb\u m P: b j_]bhgZevghc bgl_

Степень разработанности проблемы. < jZ[hl_ gZ^ ^bkk_jlZp

bamq_gu dhee_dlb\gu_ bkke_^h\Zgby b hl^_evgu_ f

aZjm[_`guo mq_guo \hijhkZf j_]bhgZevghc

jZa\blbx«bgklblmpbhgZebaZf kZfhklhyl_evgh]h- l

f_lh^heh]bq_kdh]h gZ ljZhe gbby f_lh^heh]bq_kdb_

bamq_gbb j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb ^hklZlhqgh

aZjm[_`gufb mq_gufb dhlhjuo ke_^m_l \u^_eblv

FbljZgbWjgklZ OZZkZ b E_hgZ lhebg^[_j]Z I_jZ

DZca_grl_Wg^jx OZjj_eZ >`hq[Z jlZ D_ho`bgZ nZ, GZ

:fblZ\ :qZjbb .b[1] Kjj_^b ihebleh]h\ b mq_guo i

---

[1]Mitrany, D. A Working Peace System L[_ d]k l D. Mitrany. – Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966. – 221 p.; Haas, E. The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950-1957 L[_ d]k l E. Haas. – Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958. – 568 p.; Lindberg, L. The political dynamics of European Economic Integration L[_ d]k l L.Lindberg. - Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.; Evans, P. Between Regionalism and Regionalization L[_ d]k l Policy Networks and the Nascent East Asian Institutional Identity / P. Evans; in T.J. Pempel, ed., Remapping East A

ijhkljZgkl\Zke_^m_l \u^_eblv. P_ljZ[hlZgghc\Z F Lj_g,bgZ
: B Gbdbl,bgZ: DZaZgp_\ K.Z< =hem[h\ Z Z[hlu[1] hlghkbl_
j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb P_gljZevghc :abb \dexqZ
dZd J Weebkhg b , E; >`hgkhg b H, F bKij_q_j b E, NZ
; KmelZgh\ Z O Zfbk, h \ Z > `hjh[_dh\ Z Lc > Z ^ Z [Z_\ Z Lhebih\
K Dmrdmg[Z_\ E Z mfmebg Z Kmxg[Z_\ Z HfZjh\Z b.[2] ^j
Dhgp_ilmZebaZpbb b jZajZ[hld_ bgklblmpbhgZebaf

The Construction of a Region. – Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. – p. 196. – 334 p.; Katzenstein, P.The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics [_ d]k l P. Katzenstein. – New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. – 560 p.; Hurrell, A . Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective [_ d]k l A.Hurrell; in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organizations and World Order. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. – pp.37-73.; Deutsch, K. Political community and North Atlantic area [_ d]k l Karl Deutsch – Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957. – 228 p.; Keohane, R. Nye, J.Power and Interdependence [_ d]k l Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye. 2nd edition. – Longman, 1989. – 368 p.; Acharya, A. Whose Ideas Matter: Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism [_ d]k l Amitav Acharya. – Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009. – 190 p.

[1]Tsygankov, A. Mastering Space in Eurasia [_ d]k l Russia's Geopolitical Thinking after the Soviet Break-up / A. Tsygankov // Communist and Post-Communist Studies. – 2003. – Vol.36. – No.1. – pp. 101-127.; Trenin, D. The End of Eurasia [_ d]k l Russia on the Border between Geopolitics and Globalization / D. Trenin. – Washington: Carnegie Center, 2002. – 354 p.; Nikitin, A. The End of the 'Post-Soviet Space [_ d]k l The Changing Geopolitical Orientations of the Newly Independent States / A. Nikitin // Chatham Briefing Paper. – 2007 (March). – pp. 1-11. K lZd`e Eurasia: New Peace Agenda. Ed. By A.Nikitin, M.Tehranian, M.Intriligator. – New York-London-Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005.; **Казанцев, А.** «;hevrZy b]jZ» gZ :__klgufb ijZ\blbb Lbebfbjh\Zy iheblbdZ P_gljZevgZy :abb. – F.: DZaZgp_\ \ F hkd\Z, 2008. – 241 k.; **Голунов, С.** <hijhku [_ahiZkghklb \ kh\j bkke_^h\Zgbyo P_gljZevghc :abb [\Wel_dljhgguc j_kmjk] R_ ihe b j kbq_kdZy dhgtxgdl klj_hlbluK =hem.g h\ P_glj j_]bhgZevguo b ljZgk]jZgbqguo bkke_^h\Zgbc]hkm^ZjkljZ_gghf mgb_jkbl_l_ dljhg ^Zg – J_`bf ^hklmiZ: www.transbound.narod.ru/annual2/content_eng.html. – Kl h[h^guc

[2]Allison, R., Jonson L.(eds.) Central Asian Security: the new international context [_ d]k l R. Allison, L. Jonson. – Washington DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2001. – 296 p.; Buzan B., Waever O. Regions and Powers: The Structure of international security [_ d]k l B. Buzan, O. Waever. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. – 546 p.; Spechler, M.C. Regional cooperation in Central Asia [_ d]k l M.C. Spechler // Problems of Post-Communism. - Vol. 49, No. 6. - November/December 2002. - pp. 42–47.; Fawcett, L. Exploring regionalism domains: a comparative history of regionalism [_ d]k l L. Fawcet // International Affairs. – 2004 (May). – Vol.80. – Issue No.3. – pp. 429-446.; **Султанов Б.К.** (\khZ\lhj) k l_h\j_f_ggu c l_jjhjbaf ^ba P_gljZevghc :abb ; D KmelZgh\ – DZ\fZlu, 2002. – 211 k. LZd`_ kKmelZgh\ (h) D j)_^Bgl_]jZpbhggu_ ijhp_kku _\jZabckdhf ijhkljZgkl_ b kh\j_f_ggZy ehufbdZ fbjh^mgZjh^ghc gZmqgh ijZdlbq_kdhc] :efZlu, 14 ghy[jy 2012].) [L_d]k l DZaZokl Zgkdbc bgklblml kljZl_]bq_kdbo bkke_^h\Zgbc J_kim[ebdb DZaZokl Zg. – 2013. – 234 k.; **Джоробекова, А.Э.** Hkgh\gu_ l_g^_gpbb b gZijZ\e_gby b ijhp_kkh\ \ P_gljZevghc :abb[L_d]k l:>`hjh[_dh\Z – ;bshd, 2007. – 190 k.; Dadabaev, T. Towards Post-Soviet Central Asian Regional Integration [_ d]k l scheme for transitional states / T. Dadabaev. – Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2004. – 240 p.; **Толипов, Ф.** P_gljZevgZy :abydZd lbdbkh\hdZ fhklhe_fbdZ k dZaZokdbfb ... Lhebih\ // P_gljZevgZy :aby. - 2006. - №2 (44). – K.14-29.; **Кушкумбаев, С.К.** P_gljZevgZy :aby imlyo bgl_]jZpbb ... DMrdmf[Z_\ – :efZlu DZaZoklZg ... klj_kk, 2002. – 198 k.; **Лаумулин, М.** P_gljZevgZy :aby \ aZjm[_`ghc iheblheh]bb b fbjh\hc ... IV [L_d]k l F. EZmfmebg – DZaZoklZgkdbc bgklblml kljZl_]bq_kdbo bkke_^h\Zgbc ... DZaZo – :efZlu, 2010. – 352 k.; **Суюнбаев, М.Н.** =_hiheblbq_kdb_ hkgh\u jZa\blby b ... Duj]uaklZg [L_d]k l F GKmxg[Z_\ ... BBFH, DG, M. 2005. – 122 k.; **Омаров, Н.М.** Kh\j_f_ggu_ f_`^mgZjh^gu_ hlghr_gby b fbjh\Zy iheblbdZ Duj]uaklZgZ ... – ;bshd, 2009. - 288 k.

ihk\ys_gu jZ[hlu ke_^mxsWbo=hm^q_>ggQdhj>` FZjqC Hev,k_
= O_e,fkd_E_\b,lkd>bhghg[ZF_\jlud[Z_\.[1]b ^j

< jZ[hl_ lZd`_ bkihevah\Zebkv Z\lh-jkjd_a_mefvZ1Z_l
bgl_j\,vikjh_^_ggguo 1Qj_^khihg^_:gwhd\ki_jlhm\q_guo \ h[e
khpbZevguo b]mfZgblZjguo gZmd ba kljZg P_gljZe
Lmjdf_gbk[2]lZgZ

Bamq_gb_ \hijhkh\ bgklblmpbhgZebaZpbb j_]bhg
P_gljZevghc,g:_akofbhljy gZ [hevrh_ dhebq_kl\h bf_,x\s_c
ieZg_ jZkkfhlj_gby jheb b f_klZ nhjfZevguo bg
g_nhjfZev,gguf_bihemqbeh ^h gZr_]h \j_f_gb ih^jh[gh]
ihklkh_l,kgdbdbo aZjm[_`guo bkke_^h\Zgbyo

Объектом исследования y\eyxlky h[s_kl_ggh iheblbq_,kdb
\ebyxsb_ gZ ijhp_kku bgl_]jZpbb gZ ihklkh_
ijhkljZgkl_

Предмет исследования: ijh[e_fZ j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZ
P_gljZevghc :abb q_j_a ZgZeba iheblbdb b bgklb
\aZbfhk.\yab

---

[1] **Гидденс Э**. Mkljh_gb_ h[s_Hdkl\jZl_hjbb kljm-eH2ajZpbaeF hkd:\ZdZ^_fbq_kdbc,ljh_
2005. — 528 k– J_`bf ^hkl:http://yanko.lib.ru/books/sociology/giddens-ustroen_objestva-a.htmh[h^guc
North, D.C. Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance [Ce_]k/l D.C. North. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. – 159 Mp.arch, J.G., Olsen, J.P. The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life [L _]d/kJ.G. March, J.P. Olsen // American Political Science Review. – 1984. – No.78 (September 3). - pp. 734-749 He.lmke, G., Levitsky, S. Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: a Research Agenda [L _ d]kPerspectives on Politics / G. Helmke, S. Levitsky. – 2004 (December). – Vol.2. – No.4 – pp. 725-740
Дононбаев, **А.Д**. BgklblmpbhgZevguc ZgZeba iheblbq_kdhkh\dhkevbomjbu ihkekh_d
hiul Duj]uaklZgZ>Z\lhdkln_jZl ^bkk_jlZpbb gZ khbkdZgb_ mq_ghcgZkmd_g
ki_pbZevgh^ey 23.00.02 /: > > hghg;[Zbr\d_dkdbc]mf.mgdlZjDf DZjZkZ–\Zrd,2006. – 53k;
Артыкбаев, **М.Т**. BgklblmpbhgZeba Zpby iheblbq_kdbo kbkl_f ihk]:kh\lhkdeb]byl
bkke_^hYZgb:yjlud[Z.–\;brd,2002. – 190k

[2] < ijbeh`_1gbZ_lky kibkhd,\dhjhkh_ [ueb aZ^Zgu wdki_jlZf kljZg lPiugdZevg
gZclb b k\yaZlvky k wdki_jlZfb iheblheh]Zfb ba Lmjdf_gbklZgZ.Yl_Z\ahbZgl_
d kh`Ze,gbx[ueh \hafh`ghklb kt_a^blv \ Lmjdf_gbklZg ki_pbZevgh ^ey bkk
h]jZgbq_gghklb \j_f_gb b fZl_jb,ZevZgdo_jh[kmjkh\guo keh`ghkl_c k\yaZggu
bgnhjfZpbb \ wlhc kljZg_

Основная цель работы ± bamq_gb_ Zg Zeba b hkfuke_gb_ bgklblmpbhgZevguo hkgh\ijb^n_ed\hsbo kh^_j`Zgb_ i_jki_dlb\u j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \. PZglj Zevgh h[mkeh\beZ j_r_gb_ ke_^mxsbo :dhfie_dkguo aZ^Zq

- Hij_^_e_gb_ l_hj_lbq_kdbo b f_lh^heh]bq bamq_gby j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb
- JZkkfhlj_gb_ ,ihgylby j`Zgby b lbih\ j_]bh bgl_]jZpbb dZd khpbZevgh iheblbq_kdh]h n_ghf_
- Bkke_^h\Zgb_ hkh[_gghkl_c bgklblmpbhgZeb bgl_]jZpbb gZjh^h\ P_glj Zevghc :abb
- Hij_^_e_gb_ hkgh\guo nZdlhjh\ \ebyxsbo g bgklblmpbhgZebaZpbx j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb
- Hij_^_e_gb_ b bkke_^h\Zgb_ jheb b f_k g_nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ \ ijhp_kk_ bgk j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb
- :gZeba i_jki_dlb\ bgklblmpbhgZevgh]h jZa\ bgl_]jZpbb kljZg P_gljZevghc :abb
- <ujZ[hldZ l_hj_lbq_kdbo b ijZdlbq_kdbo j_ kh_jr_gkl\h\Zgby j_]bhgZevguo f_oZgbafh\ P_gljZevghc :abb

Научная новизна исследования aZdexqZ_lky \ jZkkf j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb dZd ZdlmZevghcl_hj_lbq_ ijh[e_fu \ ihkkh_lkdbo iheblbq_kdbo. GZmqgZy gh\ bkke_^h\Zgby qlh lhif_j\u_ \ hl_q_kl_gghc ijZdlbd_ jZ bkihevamxlky hkgh\gu_ ih^oh^u l_hj_lbdh f_lh^h bgklblmpbhgZebafZ b dhgkljmdlb\bafZ k p_evx bam

jZa\blby h[s_kl_ggh iheblbq_kdbo bgklblmlh\ P_g
\ebygby gZ ijhp_kk j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \ P_gljZevghc ihklkh_lkdhf ijhk;ljZgkl_ l_fu

- ✓ ij_^eh`_gZ l_hj_lbdh f_lh^heh]bq_kdZy ijh[e_fu
- ✓ ijhZgZebabjh\Zgh kh^_j`Zgb_ j_]bhgZev hij_^_e_g kms_kl\mxsbc lbi j_]bhgZevghc bgl_] :abb;b
- ✓ hl^_evgh bamq_gu kmsghklgu_ oZjZdl_jb dZ«dkh_lkdhklv b ihklk»h_lkdhklv
- ✓ \uy\e_gZ hkh[_gghklv bgklblmpbhgZeba bgl_]jZ,pbb aZdexqZxsZyky \ g_hij_^_e_gghklb bg kj_^u km[j;]bhgZ
- ✓ jZkkfhlj_gu km[t_dlb\gu_ b h[t_dl,b\g ^_l_jfbgbjmxsb_ j_]bhgZevgmx bgl_]jZpbx; \ P_g
- ✓ \uy\e_gu b ijhZgZebabjh\Zgu bgklblmlu g_nhjfZevghc iheblbdb kljZg P;_gljZevghc :abb
- ✓ hq_jq_gu dhglmju ^Zevg_cr_]h bgkl jZa\blby j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \ P_gljZe ihklkh_lkdhf ijhk;ljZgkl_
- ✓ ij_^eh`_gu dhgdj_lgu_ l_hj_lbq_kdb_ j_dhf_g^Zpbb ih \ujZ[hld_ f_oZgbafh\ j_]bhgZev

Научно-практическая значимость исследования. L_hj_lbq_kd agZqbfhklv jZ[hlu aZdexqZ_lky \ ijbf_g_gbb Z\lh f_lh^heh]bq_kdhc jZfdb ^ey bamq_gb,yql h_fuihabkkeb_ \uy\blv]em[bggu_ ijbqbgu gug_rg_]h khklhygby j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb P_gljZevghc ihklkh_lkdhf ijhp_kkZi_j\mx hq,_ijhkjv^kl\hf \dexq_gby gh\h]h ij_^

ij_^klZ\e_ggh]h g_nhjfZevgufb iheblbq_kdbfb
bgklblm,lZbfbg_h[oh^bfhklvx bamqZlv _kv dhfie_dk
hkgh\ gZpbhgZevguo]hkm^Zjkl\ \ ijhp.kk_ bo \aZbf

ljZdlbq_kdZy agZqbfhklv ^bkk_jlZpbhgghc jZ[hlu
__ gZmqgu_ j,a\mehv^luZlb j_dhf_g^Zpbb fh]ml [ulv
^_yl_evghklb jZ[hlgbdh\ \g_rg_iheblbq_kdbo _^hf
ZgZeblbq_kdbo kljmdlmj \ hkms_kl\e_gbb [he__
ijh]ghaZ bgl_]jZpbhggu,ojbjhyd_kkh]eZkh\Zgguo b j_
j_r_gbc \ bgl_j_kZo \k_]h j_]bhgZ \ mkeh\byo]eh[Z

Основные положения диссертации, выносимые на защиту:

- P_gljZevgZy, [ab^ymqb we_f_glhf f_`^m
]eh[Zevghc kbkl_fu b j_amevlZlhf ,fbjh\dhZod
kh\hdmighklv iylb j_]bhgZevguo]hkm^Zjkl\
dhgkljmdlhf ihklkh_lkd.h}hlh`_bh\^Zfy P_gljZe
:ab,y\k_ _s_ khojZgy_l \hafh`ghklv \uklmil
hl^_evgh]h b kZfhklhyl_evgh]h km[t_dlZ f_`^m
b l_f kZ«dhgkljmbj»hbZdvhgkheb^bjh\Zlv k_[y \
]_hiheblbq_kdmx;kljmdlmjm

- AZiha^Zeh_ \h\e_q_gb_ kljZg P_gljZevgh
iheblbq_kdb_ b wdhghfbq_kdb_ ijhp_kku h[
aZ\bkbfhklv]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevghc :abb hl
nZdlh,jq\h bf_eh k^_j`b\Zxsbc wnn_dl gZ imlb
bgl_]jZ;pbb

- Jhev \g_rgbo]hkm^Zjkl\ ih hlghr_gbx
bgl_]jZpbb P_gljZevghc :abb y\ey_lky, \qlb_e
ijhy\ey_lky g_ lhevdh \ ]_hiheblbq_kdhf ij.hlb
>Zggh_ ijhlb\hklhygb_ gZ]ey^gh ijhy\ey_lky

fh^_e_c iheblbq_kdh]h b wdhghfbq_kdh]hb jZ
f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h kh[jm^ighbq_hk]lZ_fuo
ih^^_j`b\Z_fuo \g_j_]bhgZevgufb]hkm^Zjkl\Z

- Ijbkmlkl\b_ g_hij_^_e_gghklb \ bgklblm
dZd j_amevlZl ihklkh_lkdhc ljZgknhjfZpbb b
ij_^klZ\ey_l kh[hc khpbZevgh iheblbq_l
f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h j_]bhgZevgh]h \aZbfh^_c
:ab;b

- Bgl_]jZpbhggu_ b ^_abgl_]jZpbhggu_ ij
\jZabckdhf ijhkljZgkl h[mkeh\e_gu gZebq
ijhp_kkh\ kljhbl_evkl\Z gZpbc]h;kmZ^ZjkhZe[a
j_]bhgZebaf bf_eb b ijh^he`Zxl bf_lv \aZ
wnn_ddhly wlb y\e_gby fh]ml bf_lv b \aZb
oZjZd_l_jdhlhjuc ijb ihablb\ghf \hkijbylbb
mijZ\e_gq_kdhf ijh_dlbjh_Zgkbem`blv f_oZg
bgl_]jZ;pbb

- J_]bhgZevgu_ bgl_]jZpbhggu_ h[t_^bg_
:abb dZd ^_ckl_ggu_ bgklblmlu bgl_]jZpb
g_khklhy\rbfbkkye_^kl\b_ wlh]h ijhp_kk bgklbl
bgl_]jZpbb \k_ _s_ ij.^Whlh`Zy\ky_lky j_am
gZf_lb\rboky jZaju\h\ kmykab_eb\Zxs_cky dhgd
f_`^m nhjfZevgufb b g_nhjfZevgufb bgklblm
j_]bhgL__f g_ f_g__ kZf nZdl kms_kl\h\Zgby
\b^_ j_]bhgZevghc hj]ZgbaZpbb beb aZdex
fh`gh kqblZlv rZ]hf kbf\hebq_kdh]h b l_ogbq_
kZfh]h nZdlZ kms_kl\h\-Zghgylhje_]bhgZkdbc kbf\
j_]bhgZevgh]h khlj;m^gbq_kl\Z

- G_h[oh^bfh jZaebqZlv]jmiim ijh[e_f b f_`^m kljZgZfb, dhlhju_ fh]ml [ulv j_r_gu aZ kq_l khljm^gbq_kl\Z hl]jmiiu ijh[e_f, dhlhju_ lj_[mxl j_]bhgZevghc dhhi_jZpbb b bgl_]jZpbb

- H]jZgbqbl_e_f j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq Z\lhjbl Zjgu_ iheblbq_kdb_ j_`bfu, dhlhju_ j_]bhgZ\ \aZbfh^_ckl\bb k \g_rg_c kj_^hc g_ gZ^_ey j_Zevgufb iheghfhqbyfb nhjfZevgu_ bgklb khljm^gbq_kl\Z gZ imlb d bgl_]jZpbb kljZg P_

Апробация результатов диссертации. Hkgh\gu_ j_ame bkke_^h\Zgby [ueb ij_^klZ\e_gu gZ e_dpbyo b k_f nZdmevl_lh\ f_`^mgZjh^guo hlghr_gbc b iheblheh]bb, Z lZd`_ hl]hevah\Zgu \ j ki_pbZevguo mq_[guo dmjkh\ gZ NZdmevl_l_ f_` Duj]uakdh]h GZpbhgZevgh]h Mgb\_jkbl_lZ bf. Xkmy Ffs_ggu j_]bhgZevghc iheblbd_ b ijh[e_fZf [_ahiZkghklb. kl Hkgh\gu_ iheh`_gby b \u\h^u bkke_^h\Zgby, \dexq_ggu\ b ^b ij_a_glZpbc baeZ]Zebkv gZ jZa_ebqguo dhgn_j_gpbyo b dhgn_ gZmqguo k_fbgZjZo bkke_^h\Zgby Z\lhjhf ih^]hlh\e gZ Zg]ebckdhf yaud_ «Dhgn_j_gpby gZ j_]bhgZebafZ \ P_glj Zabb» (2009) b i_jkh im[ebdh\Zg jy^ gZmqguo klZl_c, h[km`^_gZ gZ j aZk_^Zgbb Kh\_lZ nZdmevl_lZ f_`^mgZjh^guo hlghr_gbc ijhnbevguo nZdmevl_lh\ b dZn_^j DGMM bf. @jmgZ[Z_\Z.

Структура и объем диссертации. P_ev b aZ^Zqb bkke_^h\Zgby hij_^_eyxl h[smx kljmdlmjm jZ[hlu: _^_gb_, ljb]eZ\u, aZdexq_gb_ b kibkhd bkihevah\Zgghc ebl_jZlmju. H[sbc h[t_f ^bkk_jlZpbb khklZ\ey_l 180 klj.

ГЛАВА1

ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЕ И МЕТОДОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ОСНОВЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИНТЕГРАЦИИ

1.1. Понятие, сущность и типы региональной интеграции в мировой политологической науке

>ey m^h[kl\Z ^Zevg_cr_]h bkke_^h\Zgby g_h[g_kdhevdbo ,ihgylbc Z dbagZqZevgh ih \hafh`ghklb q hij_^_e_gb_ hkgh\guo dhgp_ilh\ aZeh`bl hkgh\u ihg ZiiZjZlZ b hq_jlbl ZgZeblbq_kdb_ jZfdb \hkijby jZkkm`^_gbc b,'ij_^hlZ]Z_fhc\k_jlZpbhgghc jZ[hl_

N_ghf_g j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \ iheblhe \hkijbgbfZ_lky b hkfukeb\Z_lky q_j_a hkgh\hihe "регион". < gZmqghf h[hjhl_ kms_kl\m_l g_kdhevdh \ ^Zggh]h ihgylby, bkihevamxsbo ihgylby j_]bhgZ \k_ ij_^eZ]Z_fu_ ^_nbgbpbb ,hkl lZd dZd fgh]b_ ba gbo h[mkeh\e_gu ^bkpbiebgZj jZdmjkZfb Z\lhjh\ ij_^eZ]Z_fuo< hij_^_e_gbb]jZgbp ,hkr dhlhjh_ fu gZ[ex^Z_f aZf_lgh b fgh]hhkjZaby b \hafh`ghklb j_]bhgh\ jZaghh[jZaguf h[jZahf hlebqZ Ljhn_kkhj Wg^jx OZjj_ee ba Hdknhj^kdh]h mgb_jkbl ±wlh khpbZevguc dhgkljmdl ,b ihwlhfm_]h dhgl_dkl ^hkl\b iZjb y\e_gby[1] M q_gu_ b ki_pbZebklu j_^dh ih^f_qZxl Zdp_glu gZ Zki_dlZo wlh]h ihgylby b ihwlhfm bo hij_^_e_gby jZa qlh j_]bhgwlh "[_ajZaf_jgh_" ihgylb_. Hgh fh`_l bkihevah\Zl h[hagZqZ_gby ex[h]h mqZkldZ a_fghc ih_joghklb[

---

[1] Hurrell, A. Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective / Andrew Hurrell; in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organizations and World Order. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. – p. 39.

ki_pbnbq_kdbo. kl\hjbkhlv wlh p_ehklghklv b h^gh\j_f
p_eh]h :dp_gl fh`_l [ulv gZ \Z`ghklb]_h]jZnbq_k
dhlhju_ khklZ\eyxl h^bgebj_gZhgh[sghklb khpbZevgh
b^_glbqghklb dZd ij_^ihkuedb ^ey \hagbdgh_gby _^
hl]_h]jZnbq_kdh]h jZkihe[1]h`<_gihykekl^jZg_ \j_fy k m
fbjh\uo ohayckl_gg,uq j_]kbhyau cklZeb hij_^_eylvky
bgl_gkb\ghklb wdhghfbq[2] _kZbokghy\a_cur_mdZaZggu
fh`gh \u^_eblv ^_ hkgh\gu_ oZjZdl,_jgZklbdhlhju
g_h[oh^bfh h[jZsZlv \gbfZgb_ ijb hij_^_e_gbb
]_h]jZnbq_kdh]h Zj_Z,e_Z_dhZkhj[_]ZWhg_ kljZgu \oh^yl \
b kl_i_gv \aZbfhk\yaZgghklb k lhqd,bb^a_jgbgyghwkdh
[_ahiZkghklb

LZd dZd hkgh\ghc p_evx ^Zgghc jZ[hlu g_
h^ghagZqgh]h hij_^_e_gb«j_]bhgyklbqlZ_f g_h[oh^b
ijb^_j`b\Zlvky bgdexab\ghc b],bihhcfmihabjZbhd_

«регионом» понимается совокупность географически близко расположенных стран, которые имеют общие исторические, культурные и социальные характеристики, достаточный уровень взаимодействия и общие институты многостороннего сотрудничества.

lhgylb«j_]bhg^Z_l gZf hl_lu gZ lZ:dl_h\hijkhkkl^f»
fh]ml khljm^,gbhgZlb«j_]bhgZebafª\ gZmqghc ebl_jZlmj
q_j_a \hijhkq_fb«dZd^Zggh_ khljm^gbq_kl\h fh`_l hk
b j_]bhgZebaf ihgbfZ_lky dZd j_]bhgZeb«gZy]jZdhby
<u^_eyxl ^\Z hkgh\guo lbiZ j_]bhg:Zfe_v`ghkmb^Zlj_k]lj\Z_pgbg
gZ fbdjhmj(hj\g^ijby,bn_bjf,Zdhjihjpby .)b Nlm^gdpbhgZev

[1] Kupchan, Ch. NATO and the Persian Gulf: Examining Intra-Alliance Behavior/ Charles Kupchan // International Organization. – 1988 (Spring). – Vol.42. – No.2. – p. 317-346.
[2] Page, Sh. Regionalism among Developing Countries/ Sheila Page. – London: Macmillan, 2000. – 322 p.; Winters, A. Regionalism vs. Multilateralism/ Alan Winters; in R. Baldwin, D. Cohen, A. Sapir and A. Venables (eds.) // Market Integration, Regionalism and the Global Economy. – New York: Cambridge University Pre 1999. – p. 8.

hij_^_e_gb_ f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gghc bgl_]jZpbb ^Z_l h

Gmj HfZjh\ kkfZljb\Zy f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggmx bgl_]jZpb

jZklygmluc ih \j_f_gb ijhp_kk kbam_fuc i_jbh^Zfb

hkeZ[e_gby ^bgZfbdb k\h_]h jZa\blby hjh]h e_`bl k

]jmii]hkm^Zjkl\ d h[t_^bg_gbx b j_ZebaZpbb k

kh]eZkh\Zgghc iheblbdb \ f_`^mgZjh^guo hlghr_gbyo[1]

j_]bhgZevgZy bgl_]jZpby fh`_l [ulv \ jZfdZo

lZdb_ __ \b^u iheblbq_kdZy bgl_]jZpby kdZy bgl_]jZ

dmevlmjgZy bgl_]jZpby kheb^Zjghklb

iheblbq_kdZy bgl_]jZpby ih ijZ\m y\ey_lky gZb[he__

keh`ghc nhjfhc bgl_]jZpbb fZ_lky g_h^ghagZqgh

kemqZyo klZedb\Z_lky k khijhlb\e_gb_f fgh]bo]hkm

g_h[oh^bfhklb ^_e_]bjh\Zlv k\hb iheghfhqby gZ

jZkkfZljb\Z_lky dZd m]jhaZ km_j_gbl_lm gZpbc]hk[2]

G_h[oh^bfh jZaebqZlv «j_]bhgZebaf» b «j_]bhgZevgZy

©j_]bhgZevgZy bgl_]jZpby beb khljm^gbq_kl\h

расширении bgl_]jZpbhgguo ijhp_kkh\ \ j_fy *углубление*

h[t_^bgbl_evguo ijhp_kkh\ ihgbfZ_lky dZd j_]bh

Dhhi_jZpby kem`bl eh]bq_kdhc ij_^ihkuedhc

ihgbfZgb_ j_]bhgZebafZ b dZd j_]bhgZevgZy

bgl_]jZpbb ^ey ihke_^h\Zl_evghklb gZmqghc fuke

fg_gbx ijhn_kkhjZ >hgh]hfZ ».

]hkm^Zjkl\Zfb \h \k_o k n_jZo ij_^klZ\ey_l kh[hc

Khljm^gbq_kl\h ebrv g_h[oh^bfZy ij_^ihkuedZ[3]

fg_gbx *регионализм – это институционализация интеграционного процесса,*

[1] HfZjh\ G F Kh\j_f_ggu_ f_`^mgZjh^gu_ hlghr_gby b fbjhZy iheblbdZ ; brd : dZjbl 2009. – K. 98.

[2] StanRadar [W e_dljhgguc]: G_mjbc eb iheblbq_kdZy bgl_]jZpby gZ ihkl khklZ_ 01.04.2013. – W e_dljhg – J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://stanradar.com/news/full/1662-nuzhni-li-politicheskaja-integratsija-na-postsovetskom-prostranstve-mnenija.html

[3] >hgh]hfZ F. >. ^mgZjh^gZy dhgdmj_gpby b ?\jZabckdh_ k ijhp_kku bgl_]jZpbb b khljm^gbq_kl\Z 2011. – ; brd 2012. – K. 23.

когда государственные и негосударственные акторы сотрудничают и координируют свои действия в рамках данного региона для достижения общих целей и задач.[1]

K lhqdb aj_gby]_h]jZnbq_kdbo fZkrlZ[h\ h[t_^b
jZaebqZxl]eh[Zevguc, fZdjhj_]bhgZevguc mjh_gv < b
jZfdZo ^Zgghc ^bkk_jlZpbb wlh iylv ihklkh_lkdbo
P_gljZevghc, \:aby \j_fy dZd jZ]bhg Z_lky rbj_ b ho\Z
ihklkh_lkdh_ b _\jZabckdh_. K\yav Z_ j_]bhgZ
]eh[Zevghc bgl_]jZpb_c b bo \aZbfgZy aZ\bkb
g_h^ghagZqg j_]bhgZevgZy bgl_]jZpby fh`_l jZkkfZljb\Z
ih^]hlh\bl_evguc wlZi d]eh[Zevghc bgl_]jZpbb
]eh[ZebaZpbb[2]

lhgylb «j_]bhgZebaZpby» b «j_]bhgZebaf» k\yau\Z_lky k «j_]bhgZebaf»
©j_]bhgZebaf» \ l_hjbb b gZ ijZdlbd_ \Zgk ^Z_l m^
djZldh_ hij_^_e_gb_ «j_]bhgZebaZpby» jZ`_gb_ \hajZklZ
dhff_jq_kdbo b khpbZevguo k\ya_c \ jZfdZo hij_^
l_jjblhjbb J_]bhgZebaZpby kl_i_gv dhgp_gljZpbb, ^
\aZbfh^_ckl\by gZ mjh\g_ j_]bhgZ \ dhgl_dkl_ h[s_c
J_]bhgZebaZpby b j_]bhgZebaf y\eyxlky \aZbfh hij_
< aZiZ^ghc ebl_jZlmj_ j_]bhgZebafdeZkkbnbpbjm_
ijbjh^u «b_kl_kl_gguc» ihkhbkoh`^_gby bgl_]jZpbhgguo
\u^_ey «fly]dbc» (soft) b «`_kldbc» (hard) j_]bhgZebaf.[4] \ZjbZgl
wlh j_amevlZl ^_yl_evghklb, dhlhjZy _^_lky g_nhjf
bgl_]jZpbhgguf ijhp_kkZf gZ h[s_kl_gguc mjh\

---

[1]Esengul, Ch. Politics of Regionalism in Central Asia / Chinara Esengul. – Bishkek: Kyrgyz Diplomatic Service, 2009 – p. 21.

[2]>hghg[Z:_\ F_`^mgZjh^gZy dhgdmj_gpby b ?\jZabckdZy bgl_]jZpby / : > >hghg[Z / K[hjgbd klZl_c gZmqgh ijZdlbq_kdhc dhgn_j_gpbb ijh[e_fu bgl_]jZpbb b khljm^gbq_kl\Z / 2011 – ;brd_d, 2012. – C.27.

[3]Evans, P. Between Regionalism and Regionalization: Policy Networks and the Nascent East Asian Institutional Identity / Paul Evans; in T.J. Pempel, ed., Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region. – Itha Cornell University Press, 2005. – p. 196.

[4]Fawcett, L. Exploring regionalism domains: a comparative history of regionalism / Louise Fawcett // International Affairs. – 2004 (May). – Vol.80. – Issue No.3.– p. 433.

j_]bhgZebafZ lZd`_ gZau\Zx«kkgj_]abmhg»Z_<jbbafjhc \ZjbZ
hlghkblky d j_]bhgZevguf bgl_]jZpbhbgggbupfbbijjhm\pZ_gkgk
iheblbq_kdbfb web;lZbfbqZkkljZZg_]h gZau\Zxl j_«]kb\hj_gZeb
\gb»abekaijh^mdlhf ijZ\bl_evkl_gg».uo< iwelbflbkdemqZ_ _s
ihgylb_ gm`^Z_lky \. ml_]hqlgg_Zgevbgzy b^,_gdZbdqghkevx[h
^jm]hc \b^ beb nhjfZ b,^_lyglbeqghkihb^^Z_lky hibkZ
hij_^_e.gWblxh k\yaZgqlkh lb^f_glbqghklv ijhy\ey_lky, g_
qlh hgZ,gkvlb \ p_gdhkhjmx ghkbl_ev .ijbj^Z_bfb_kehj\Z
g_^hklZlhqgh b^_glbqgdhklv_bfgmv`gh. kegbdlvhklv lZd
djh_lky \ kZfhc ijbjh^_ b^dhdhjZqghkhbbZevgh dhgkl
dZd ke_^kl\b_ bMfl\gjqb\Zgb_ ;_g_^bdlZ :g^,qjlkhhgZphb
– wlk«\hh[jZ`Z_fu_ khh»[simakginZd communities)[3], lZd`_ mki_r
fh`_l [ulv ijbf_g_gh b d *Регионализм* понимается *идентичность, как результат бесконечного дискурса, и условно ее можно определить как «схожесть восприятия и понимания политических процессов региональными акторами»*.[3]

Функции регионализма. <hajZklZxsZy ZdlmZevghklv j
bgl_]jZpbb \b^blky \ i_j\mx hq_j_^v \ khhl_lkl\bb
khljm^gbq_kl\Z jZaebqgu,f j_dZeglyZkl\Zd`_ ihlj_[gh
j_]bhghJ_]bhgZebaf ^bdlm_l \ujZ[hldm fh^_eb jhe
dhlhju_ fh]ml [ulv wnn_dlb\gu bf_ggh <^ehykhw[hgdghjkl
kn_j_ [_ahiZkghklb lZdh_ khljm^gbq_kl\h \b^blky q
Bklhjbq_kdb i_j\u_ kihju h kh\f_klbfhklb j_]bhgZe
ijhp_kkh\ k ijhp_kkZfb]eh[ZebaZpbb bf_eb f_klh
NjZgpbkd 1945 \]h^m \h \j_fy jZajZ[hldb b ml_j`^_gb

[1]Mansfield, E., Milner, H. The Political Economy of Regionalism [d]k/l Edward Mansfield, Helen Milner. – New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. – p. 3.
[2]Anderson, B. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism [d]k/l Benedict Anderson – London: Verso, 1991. – 224 p.
[3]Hurrell, A. Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective [d]k/l Andrew Hurrell; in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organizations and World Order. - Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995. - P.41.

>_[Zlu jZa]hj_ebkv f_`^m lZd «gZabu\Z_fufb» klZfb
©j_]bhgZevgufb» kl_j_hlbibjh\Zggufb ^_eb m]jhau
^_p_gljZebaZpbb \hafh`gh b ^ZeZ_b\Zl]eh[Zevgu
ijba\Zgghc h[_ki_qb\Zlv fbj .k_]h Z\lhghfgu_ j_`bfu
kljZgZf j_]bhgZ e_]q_ j_rZlv dhgnebdlgu_ kblmZpbb
f_`^m kh[hc ihlhfm j_]bhgZevgu_ hj]ZgbaZpbb ^he`gu
klZlmk gZ fbjh\hf mjh\g_ ^ey jZaj_r_gby kihjguo
f_`^mgZjh^gh]h, kihjZ_lZy wlh k ^_ckl_ggufb nmg
\hafh`ghklyfb gZ .ij_ebfbgZjgZ MklZ\Z HHG hij_^
fZg^Zl j_]bhgZevguo hj]ZgbaZpbc b hkh[h ih^q_jdb\Zy m
qlh«lZdb_ kh]eZr_gby beb hj]Zgu b (должны быть) ^_evg
kh\f_klbfu k P_eyfb b IjbgpbiZfb Hj]ZgbaZpbb
GZpbc[1] Hkgh\gZy nmgdpby j_]bhgZevguo j_]bhg
[_ahiZkghklb kh[_ggh ^Zg gZy nmgdpby ihemqbeZ hkh
i_jbh^ ihke_ oheh^ghc]^ZcguLq_aeh [ehdh\h_ ijhlb
\hijhku [_ahiZkghklb m`_ g_ j_rZebkv p_gljZeb
^_j`Z\Zfb [biheyjghc kbklf_fu b f_jhf h[_ki_q_gby [_a
j_]bhgZevghf fZkrlZ[_ y\eyxlky ^_ckl\by WDHO-ND
^_ckl\by :K?:G ih hlghr_gbx d 1980-_]h^u j_]bhgZeb
nmgdpbhgbjm_l g_ lhevdh dZd f_oZgbaf mijZ\e
dhgneb,dlh\ lZd`_ iha\hey_l m_ebqblv kh\hdmig,mx
khljm^gbqZxsbo \ h[eZklb [_ahiZkghklb.

>jm]Zy h[eZklv bgl_j_ku j_]bhgZevgh]h b]eh[Z
i_j_k_dZxlky wlh wdhghfbdZ. We[hll b >bgk \ k\h_
©=hkm^Zjkl_ggu_ kljZl_]bb \ ]eh[ZevghcwdhghfbdZ
kha^Zgby j_]bhgZevguo wdhghfbq_kdbo h[t_^bg_gbc
kh\f_klgh kf_qZlv ZaZ[gmx wdhghfbq_kdmx ljm^Z b ki_p

---

[1] MklZ\ HHG. Ebj_dlhjbN \hkvfZy. J_]bhgZevgu_ kh]eZr_gby. http://www.un.org/ru/documents/charter/chapter8.shtml, kl\h[h^guc

ijhba\h^kl_gguo b lhj]h\uo[1] H^ghc bc dexq_\uo n

j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb, h[jZa\Zgby kihkh[kl\h\Zgby wdhghfb

b jZa\blbx j_]bhgZ q_j_a dhhj^bgZpbx k\hbo ^_ckl\bc b

j_ZebaZpbx h[s_c wdhghfbq_kdhc ihebl_dbb h[t_^b

j_kmjkh\ ^ey ^hklb`_gby fZkrlZ[guo wdhghfbq

<hafh`gh, klhbl hlhju_ kmebl j_]bhgZevgZy bgl_]jZpb

]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevghc :abb \ i_jbh^ ^hklbo_ jZa

hl_q_kl_gghc bkke_^h\Zl_evkdhc ebl_jZlmj_.

Ответом на вызовы глобализации в Центральной Азии может стать региональная интеграция, которая, позволит центрально-азиатским государствам эффективнее использовать имеющиеся ресурсы, защитить национальную экономику от негативных последствий глобализации и стать полноправными участниками мирового сообщества.[2]

H^gZ ba \Z`g_crbo nmgdpbc – j_]bhgZevgZy \hafh

mijZ\eylv g_]Zlb\gufb wnn_dlZfb]eh[Zebam_fhc

gZ[ex^Zxlky jZaebqgu_ l_g^_gpbb gZ fbjh\hc Dwd

ijbf_j, h^ghc klhjhgu fh`_l [ulv kbevgZy jblhjbdZ

\Z`ghklb k\h[h^ghc, dhgdmj_glghc klhjhgu gZ ijZdlbd_

b lhj]h\u_ kihju klZgh\ylky j_`bfhf «h[uqghc» kl_g

hlghr_gbyo]hkm^Zjkl\. GZ j_]bhgZevghf, mjh\g_ l_fu jZ[hl

wnn_dlb\g__ \ ihevam jZa\blbuo^kl\ bgl_]jZpby, hgZ km_k

gh g_jZ\gu_ \ h[eZklb]eh[ZebaZpbb ijhl_dZxl

hij_^_ey_fuf fbjh\uf ijhpkhf \ k\hx hq_

---

[1]Palan R., Abbott J., Deans Ph. State Strategies in the Global Economy [l_dkl] / Ronen Palan, Jason Abbott, Phil Deans. – London: Pinter, 1999. – 235 p.

[2] Lmjkmgd.m;eh\ <.Z. Jhev]eh[ZebaZpbb b i_jki_dlb\u jZa\blby ihklkh_lkdbo :abb \ i_j_oh^guc i_jbh^ [l_dkl] / <.Z. Lmjkmgd.m;eh\ // GZmq. ki_pbZevghkl 23.00.04 /;. :. Lmjkmgd.m;eh\. FhkdhZ h[jZah\Zgby b gZmdb JN. h[jZah\Zgby b gZmdb gZmdb b fheh^_`ghc iheblbdb JN. <IH Dujuj – l;bud: 2006.– C. 14.

oZjZdl_jbam_«ikyadZ iZ^»guc «ijh ihklbg^mklj bZevguc _gbx ijhn_kkhjZ : >hghg[Z_\Z

Суть нынешнего мироустройства состоит в реализации проекта миропорядка на базе формирования единой экономической, политико-военной и этико-правовой общности наиболее развитых стран Запада, а затем распространения влияния этой общности на весь остальной мир.[1]

;hevrbgkl\h ki_pbZebklh\ koh^ylky\ lh\ j_]fogZebv khljm^gbq_klWh ^_ckl_gguc kihkh[b bgkljmf_gl ^biehfZlbbha\heyxsbc ^h[blvky wnn_dlb\gh]h b mijZ\e_gby (good governance) gZ j_]bhgZevgh.f <mkijh\gZ_\bkbl ihklZ\e_gguo p_e_c b mf_gby bkiheva h\Zlv, Zf lZdb_ hl lZdbo nZdlhjh\ dZd gZebqb_ iheblbq_kdhc^hheb memqr_gbb dZq_kl\ mijZ\e_gby gZ j_]bhgZevghf fgh`_kl\Z lZd gZau\Z_fuo «ijZ^bpbhgguo» [_ahiZkg[hevrbgkl\h ba dhlhjuo bf_xl ljZgkgZpbhgZ F_`]hkm^ZjkI_ggZy dhhi_jZpby b bgl_]jZpby iha\h f_oZgbafu mijZ\e_gby b j_r_gby j_]bhgZevguo b] j_]bhgZevghf. Kjh^gb_ hkgh\guo h[t_dlh\ j_]bhgZevg fh`gh \u^_eblv \hijhku ,l_jjhjbaf, gZjdhlhjh\hebo Z gkh\u_ dbaj mom^r_gb_ hdjm`Zxs_c kj_^u b l^

Kbkl_fgZy dhhi_jZpby, b[_ap h_ihkghklb j_am-evlZl^u bgl_]jZevgh]h wnn_dlZ hl b. L_hf[sbo fm_g_^ [hl hl_bm_l hl,f_l qlh \ kbem]_hiheblbq_kdbo j_Zebc Ohe_jbh^ «»,ihk j_]bhgZebaf gZ ihklkh_lkdhf ijhkljZgkl_ \hkijbg

1 >hghg[Z_\Z: F_`^mgZjh^gZy dhgdmj_gpby b ?\jZ fb_kdhc Zeh[Zebaf _jZ pbb ?\jZ_kl : >hghg[Z_\Z :/ K[hjgbd klZl_c gZmqgh ijZdlbq_kdhc dhg n_j_gpbb_ijh[e_fu bgl_]jZpbb b kHlj m^gbq_kl\Z] 2011. – ;brd_d 2012. – K27, 30.

kljZgZfb dZd Zevl_jgZlb\Z]eh[ZebaZpbb[1] lljbav ZlZf ^gh]h

\hkijbylb_ hldjulh g_ ^;delZ_jbjmbb_lkygZ ijZdlbd_ ihd

g_ykg-ulhafh`gZ eb \hh[s_ Zevl_jgZlb\Z, ldhclh]jeh[Z eu

agZ_f k_.]h^gy

1.2. Теории региональной интеграции в западной политологии

ljh[e_fZ j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \ aZiZ^ghc

bkke_^m_lky \ l_hj_lbq_kdhf ieZg_. ^JhkaZ[hlgZ

kbkl_fZlbaZpby agZgbc b \a]ey^h\ h j_]bhgZevgh

\hagbdgh_gbx l_hjbc, bgl_]jZpbhxsboky gZ jZ

f_lh^heh]bq_kdbo. Hh[sZy ^ZjZdl_jbklbdZ wlb, oql_ hjbb

©_\jhp_glj»,qlg.u jZajZ[Zlu\Zebkv gZ hkgh_ bamq_

j_]bhgZevguo ijhp_kkh\,hkgh\bgl_]jZpbb kljZg AZiZ^ghc

dZkZ_lky nmgdpbhgZevgh]h ih^oh^Z,_hmbg^pbFbZ

WjgklZ OZZkZ b E_h.gZZ Ebg^[hj]Z, y_lky l_hjby j_`bf

DjZkg,_jZlhjuc \ mkeh\byo jhklZ jheb ljZgkgZpbhg

iZjZee_evguf hkeZ[e_gb_f jheb]hkm^Zjkl\Z gZpbb

bgl_]jZpbx q_j_a «fij`af^mgZjh^guo ». Bb^f_hy ihke_^g_]h

\ueb\Z_lky \ lZd gZ«luhZbxfm\aZbfhaZ\bkjZfajkZlbhlZgg

Jh[_jlhf D_ho_cghf b >`ha.m hkeG_ ^kl_fbb k jZa

bgl_]jZpbhgguo ijhp_kkh\ \ <hEkZlhogkhcabfb_jbd_ b

qZklyo ,fbjZ b `_ l_hj_lbq_kdb_ dhgkljmdpbb [ueb

ihgbfZgby j_]bhgZevguo ijhp_kkh\ \ bguo kh

pb\bebaZpbhggu.o j_Zebyo

L_hjbb bgl_]jZpbb fh`gh mkeh\gh jZa^_ebly gZ ih

jZaghfm \hkijbgbfZxl b h[tykgyxl ijbqbgu b ihke_^k

---

[1] ljh \ebygb_]_hiheblbdb gZ jZa\blb_ Kmxg[ZegKG= g hiheblbq_kdb_ hkgh\u jZ

[_ahiZkghklb Du[Lu_adklIZ gZKmxg[Z -_\brd_: B B F H, I D G, M 2005. – 122 k.

ijhp_kkh\ b kqblZxlky b^_cgufb ijhlb\gbdZfb]jmii Z^

wlh ihke_^h\Zl_evgh hlklmiZeb h[tykgyxl bgl_]jZpbx k l

\Z`ghklb b nmgdpbhgZevghklb bgklblmlh\ bgl_]jZpb

klhjhggbdb ihebl bq_kdh]h j_Zebaf Z bgl_]jZpbx dZ

iheblbdb gZpbc],h\kjmf^_gk \ aZbgl_j_kh\Zgguo \ lZdh

f_`]hkm^ZjklZ_ggu_ bgklblmlu dZd ijhba\h^gu_ klj

nmgdpbhgZevghklb bli jhlm ajhj bm \ k\h_ \j_fy[1] @h

h[t_^bgbe ih^ _^bguf «gZ_^ bgklblml», pbhg

\dexqZe ljb ihmo nmgdpbhgZebaf nmgdpbhgZebaf b

\aZbfhaZ\bkbfhklb mdZaZgguo l_hjbc , kk_ebZ\^j

hsmlbfuc \deZ^ \ gZmqgh_ bkke_^h\Zgb_ lZd[e_dZ

n_^_jZebaf b l_hjby dhffmgbdZpbb

L_hj_lbdb rdhe^u j_Zebafs. Wlpbhg. Kibg_e. Dh Njb^jbo

>`. Wewawj b ^jm]b_ oZjZdl_jbamx l^m]h^hjZebahldZ

p_gljZebaf Zjmdlmjgh hnhjfe_ggmx ^bki_jkbx iheg

jZaebqgufb p_gljZfb gu_ iheghfhqby dhlhjuo]

dhgklblm»[2] b_kgh\ghc ijbgpbi n_^_jZebaf Zgb_ ^\mom

kbkl_fu p_glj b j_] bhgluhjZy gZp_e_gZ gZ [ZeZgk f_\`^m

kemqZ_ \ha^_ckl\by p_gljhkl j_fbl^ejZeubafk kmi Z

kj_^kl\h ^ey ijh_^_gby _^bgh c\ ihebluZdb mkbe_gb

p_gljh[_`guo nkb^ejZlb\gu_ ijbagZdb gZp_e_gu gZ i

jZkiZ^Z h[s_kl\Z]bfb ke,hl\jfbhljbZevgu_ _^bgbpu

p_gljZevguf \eZklyf qZklv k\hbo \eZklguo iheghfhqh

\j_fy k\hx p_ehklghklv b hij_^_e_ggmx ^bgZ\lbdh

hkgh\hiheZ]Zxsbo ijbgpbih\ FZZkljbolkdh]h ^h]h\hjZ

- ijbgpbi km[kb^bZjghklb dZd jZa y\ey_lky ijZdlbq_k

[1] Grieco, J.M. Anarchy and the limits of cooperation: the realist critique of the newest liberal institutionalism / Joseph M. Grieco // International Organization. – 1998 (Summer). – Vol. 42. –No.3. – p. 486.

[2] GZlZg J I, OhnnfZg W. I Kh\j_f_gguc n_^_jZebaf / J I GZlZg, W. I OhnnfZg // F_`^mgZjh^gZy – 1991. – K 42-43.

[3] LZf`_

b^_c n_^_jZebafZ b jZkij_^_ey_l iheghfhqby f_`^m
Khxa \uihegy_l lhevdh hl_hjuZ^Zkqhb [sZ fh]ml [ulv j_r
wnn_dlb\gh_f]hkm^Zjkl\Zfb \ hl^_evguo k ih]h \ hkgh
n_^_jZebafZ e_`bl wlZlbklkdZy fhh_ev p_gljZebaZ
gZqZe_ bgl_]jZpbhggu, o ijhp_kkh\ xsmx gZ^gZpbh
iheblbq_kdmx \eZklv k^_eZeb n_^_jZlb\gmx fh^_ev
b wlh g_ jZa hlf_qZehkv djblbdZfb n_^_jZebafZ

Hkgh\hiheh`gbdhf l_hjbb dhffmgbdZpbb ih ijZ
>hcq Z[1] dhlhjuc \i_j\u_ 50-_\ ]h^u ijhreh]h klhe_lby j
]hkm^Zjkl\h gZpbx b kbkl_fm f_`^mgZjh^guo hlghr_
lhqdb aj_gby \ _]h l_hjbb hlfgl_]jZpby ijhbkoh^
bgl_gkbnbdZpbx khpbZevguo dhffmgbdZpbc bgl_]jZ
h[s_kl_gghf mjh\g_ f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gguo hlghr
\\h^bl ihgylb_ h[s_kl\Z ih [_ahiZkghklb (security community),]^_
]hkm^Zjkl\Z mqZklgbdb klZjZxlky fbgbfbabjh\Zlv \
f_`^m kh[hc ihkj_^kl\hf jZa\blby \aZbfhihgbfZgby
>hcq ZgZebabjm_l ^\Z lbiZ ihеblbq_kdbo h[t_^bg_gbc
khhl_lkl\m_l k\hc hkh[uc ijhp_kk bgl_]jZpbb
©iexjZebklbq_kdh_ ih_j\uf ihgbfZ_lky gb_ \ khhl_lkl\
nhjf_ ^\mo beb g_kdhevdbo jZg__ kZfhklhyl_evguo
h[t_^bg_gb_ ^_ggh_ hij_^_e_ggh_ lbihf h[s_h]h\lhjb
\ZjbZgl_ bgl_]jbjmxsb_ky _^bgbpu khojZgyxl
kZfhklhyl_evghklv wlhf hkms_kl\e_gb_ bgl_]jZpbb
gm`^Z_lky \ p_ehf dhfie_dk_ jZaghh[jZaguo mkeh
ihеblbq_kdh]h oZjZdl_jZ dhlhjuo ijb_j`_gghklv
bgl_]jbjmxsboky kljZg h^gbf b l_f `_ p_gghklyf
bgl_]jZpbb lZlhqgh_ agZgb_, ihgbfZgb_ bgl_]jbjmxsbokh
ih_^_gby ijhp_kk bgl_]jZpbb ^he`_g khijh\h`^Zlvky

Deutsch, K. Political Community and North Atlantic Area / K. Karl Deutsch. – Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957. – 228 p.

gZk_e_gby d \hagbdZxsbf gh\uf iheblbq]_kmdbfdbbf
hkhagZgb_f k\h_],hZ_^Zbdg`k_l\Zuoh^hf gZ iheblbq_kdm
]_g_jZpbb jmdh\h<^bdhe_q_ghf blh]_ ^he`_g knhjfbjh
h[jZa `b,adghdhjuc b klZgh\blky h«kZgfZ\ehvc]Z^\gbhgcl_]jZ.pbb
J_Zeba<ipebxjZebklbq»kdhZ,hbgl_]jZpbb g_ lj_[m_l klh
b klhev `_kldbo .mhkeghbgu_ khpbhdmevlmjgu_
bgl_]jbjmxsboky _^bgbp ijhklh g_ ^he`gu ijhl;b\h
ij_^kdZam_fhklv ih_^_gby dZkZ_lky ebrv h]jZgb
bgl_j_;klhj\[m_lky lZd`_ Z^_d\ZlgZy j_Zdpby iheblbq_
b ^_ckl\by aZbgl_j_kh\Zgguo ijZ\bl._ejvkfl\ h,hjgkZik_em
bgl_]jZpbb kihkh[kl\m_l \hkijbylb_ h[t_^bg
bgl_ee_dlmZevgufb djm]Zfb b iheblb,qdZdbfbihkbhyg
jZa\blb_ k_l_c dhffmgbdZpbb b \k_klhjhg<g70-]h]ha^Zub
ijhreh]h klhe_lby ih^ jmd.h>hm^kqlZhf[uDh ijh_^_gh h
bkke_^h\Zgb_ \ =NjfZbbNjZg,pbbijhp_kk_ dhlhjh]h
hkms_kl\e_gu bgl_gkb\guc dhgl_gl ZgZeba jZaebqg
ba^Zgbadhg^Z`b h[s_kl_ggh,]wdfkj_jlbyu_ hijhku jmdh
dZ^j,h\bamq_gb_ klZlbklbdb f_`^mgZjh<^gujoamke^vlz
h[gZjm`b,edhlkhv[eZ]hijbylguc h[jZa _,kghjfb?jhZurbcky
gZk_e_gby h[_bog_kljZjb_e d \ul_kg_gbx ijb_
gZpbhgZevguf p._gdhwkhyfm [ue k^_eZg \u\h^qlhh
©iexjZebklbxq_\kjdZbyy _\jhi_ckdhc bgl_]jZpbb bf__l
[m^m,sq_<kZfZev]Z»f.gZy

<lhjZy]jmiiZ ij_^klZ\e_gZ deZkkbq_kdhc l_h
j_ZebafZ b _]h g_hg\hjkZebaHfh^_evgh ke_^m_l mihf
hlghkbl_evgh gh\h_ l_hj_lbq_k-dhhgkZjmZ\e_dmbfjuc
ij_l_g^m_l gZ jhev g_cljZevg,hdZZevgl_jgZ[b,\Zbafm
g_hj_Zebkajf_m^b h[h[sZxsbo b nmg^Zf_glZZivgkuZogjZ[h
l_fm j_]bhgZevgh]h kh,ljgm^ggbq_klfZlblv kh\f_klgmx

dheee_dlb\Z aZiZ^guo bkke_^h\Zl«e_]cbhg^Zegbdaaf\Zgfbj
iheblbdj_]bhgZevgu_ hj]ZgbaZpbb b»fibhj^h\jh_c^Zldjyb^_hcd
NZ\k_l b Wg^jx .O[1]ZKjj_eeZ jZ[hhk\ys_gguo j_]bhgZ
ijhp_kkZf \g_ ?\jhiu b aZiZ^g,hfjh`ghemur^Zjeblv jZ|
klhjhggbdh\ dhgkljmdlb\bafZ lZdb_ dZd lbl_j DZa_g
<hklhqghc,Zabdd`_ jZ[hlu :fblZ\ :qZjbb h j_]bhgZev
iheblbd_ \ X]h <hklhqghk\habbbjZ[hlZo :qZjby m1)dZa
_\jhp_gljbqghklv ijb bamq;_2)gkbmsj_kb\hnZ\gb_ ZabZlkd
j_]bhgZevghc bgl]^]jZpbhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu fh],mglhg_
g_nhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu k\hckl_ggu_ ZabZlk,d^nZxdm
j_amev,lZlquZklg,h\kljbh_dlZo dhh.f[2]_jZpbb

DjZldbc h[ahj hkgh\guo , ihmechZa_Zbgguo \ur_
gb`_ l_hj_lbq_kdbo dhgp_ipbc iha\hey_l jZkkfhlj_lv
bo jZkkm`^_gbc b ml\_j`^_gbc d ihgbfZgbx b hkfuke
^_abgl_]jZpbhggguo ijhp_kkh\ \ P_gljZevghc :abb

JZkkm`^Zy h ijbf_gbfhklb b^_c n_^_jZebafZ ih hl
gZ ihklkh_lkdhf ijhkljZgkl_ b \ qZklghklb,k\e_P^_mgl
kdZa,ZqllvZ^ey]hkm^Zjkl\ b h[s_kl\ P_gl7jZee_vlgghbcf ha\bbh
wlghn_^_jZebafZ \ k,hkhZ_evKkdKlJ_]jZpbb «gnZ_^h_kjZlee»baf
ij_^klZ\ey_lky g_ ij,b_KfkeKJ-hc]hkm^Zjkl\ha^Zggh_
iheblbq_kdbc ijh_dl ih ijbgpbj,mdnZ_a^Z_ejkZyebgafZbag,_kil
qlh \h fgh]hf h[tykbgkyd_mkkykl_g»ghbkgllv_x]jZpbb b fgh`_
kbkl_fguo hrb[hd \ mijZ\e_gbb n_^_jZlb\guf]hkm^Zj

ljbf_gbfhklv g_dhlhjuo ikle_h`j_bgbb cdhffmg»bdZpdb
khfgbl_ey?gZb jZkkfZljb\Zlv dhffmgbklbq_kdmx b^_h

[1] Hurrell, A. Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective [d]/kAndrew Hurrell; in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organizations and World Order. – Oxford: Oxford University Press 1995. – pp. 33-73.

[2] Katzenstein, P. A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium [d]/kPeter J. Katzenstein. – Cornell University Press, 2005. – 320p.; Acharya, A. Whose Ideas Matter: Agency and Power in Asian Regionali > L_]d/kAmitav Acharya. – Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009. – 190 p.

b^_x h[t_^bg_gbyh]^kZKfJh`gh ml\,_jlhZ\vhij_^_e_gghc k
m P: _klv «kZufZev]Z»fgbgl_]jZ.pBbf_ggh \ kh_lkdh_
ihy\behkv [hevrbgkl\h iheblbq_kdbo bgklblmlh\ b
kh_lkdbo jmdh\,h^dhll_hej_u_c ih k_]h^gyrgbc ^_gv
iheblbq_kdmx ih_kldm b .j_<Zge^byj_fu_hjZke_ jZk,iZ^
h[s_kl_ggh iheblbq_kdb_ bgklblmlu ^_fhdjZlbb b
[ueb \hkijbgylu h[,s_okhl\yf nhjfZevgh fgh]b_ bgklb
aZdj_ie_gu \ dhgklblmpbyo gh\uo g_.aZ\y^kbefu ofh]hgkm
gm`gh h`b^qZlhv aZ dhjhldbc i_jbh^ \ P_gljZevghc
^_fhdjZlbyh kZfh ih k_[_ dhgkheb^Zpby ^_fhdjZlbb
iheblbq_kdhf mjh\gyo lj_[m_l ^eblb_elv_ggk]h\gu_of_mkbb
fZl_jbZevguo j,_kimj^khZagZq_ggbuobkihevam_fuo \
^_fhdjZlbaZpbb

< ihklkh_lkdbc i_jbh^ \ dhgl_dkl_ ^_abgl_]jZ
kms_kl\h\Z\rb_ jZg__ f_oZgbafu dhffmgbdZpbb
mjh\g_i_j_klZeb nmgdpbGhZgbjh\ZhvgyrgbC ^_gv nZ
kms_kl\mhx^lbg L< d-ZFglZDeJ«Fbj» b h^ghbf_ggh,_dhZhjh_
_sZ_l gZ ihklkh_lkdhf ,ijlZkdl`Z_gfkh\gh kfhlj_lv b k
©Fbj³gZ kZhttp://www.mirtv.ru/. ljh]jZffghc b kljZl_]b
gZijZ\e_gghc jZ[hlu \ ieZg_ j_ bgl_]jZpbb ihklkh_
p_evx khojZg_gby khpbhdmevlmjghc GhZ[skmhkjl]bghgZ_e
b j_]bhgZevghf mjh\gyo bgl_gkb\ghklv khpbZev
ljZ^bpbhggh hklZ_l,kgylh\uk[mdhec h\e_gh bklhjbq_kdb kr
dmevlmjgh pb\bebaZpbhgghc h[sghklvx gZjh^h\ ,Z_g
lZd`_ jZaebqbyfb \ khpbZevgh wdhghfbq_kdhf ihel
ihklkh_lkdh]h ijh.kYjZdgbkl\Z,b,fwjh ljm^h\Zy fb]jZpby b
kljZg ihklkh_lkdh]h ij(hDkujZugakl\ZZ^`bdb,kMZag[_db)k\Zg
k__jg(uD_ZaZo,kJlZkgk)byihbkdZo jZ[hlu b aZjZ[hldZ gZ h

yaudZ b \ dZdhc lh f_j_ ba aZ gZebqby bklhjbq_kdb
jh^kl_gguo b ijhn_kkbhgZevguo k\ya_c f_`^m gZjh^

H^ghc ba i_j\uo, jlZ_ajjZb[hlZgguo ^ey h[tykg_gby
bgl_]jZ,pb[hueZ *теория функционализма* >w\b^Z Fbljzgbk\h_c
nmg^Zf_glZevgheo<jZc[khl_mxsZy kbkl»[1]fZbfjbZjgZb jZa\b\
bggh\ZpbhggmxbqkhhglhfgmghaZsbsZlv,bZbgkmdZgbv
kha^Zlv nmgdpbhgZevg,mxdhlkbZky_fm[m^_l ih^^_j
ijh^he`bl_evgudHkfgjh\gu_ ij_^ihe1)`gZpbyhgZevgu_ bg
gZpbc]hkm^Zjkl\ fh`gh]Zjfhgbabjh\Zlv ihkj_^kl\
f_`^mgZjh^guo bgklblmlh\ 2)jjZeabZdbZbcb wdh[gmh^fmdZb
Z\lhghfgufb ^jm] hl ^jm,]Zj_k^mhjeZf]bZxl \hafh`ghklv
nmgdpbhgZevgh]h khljm«f^gbq_kh\eZblkbabj»hhZegZkubdZd
wdhghfbdZ beb khpbZe3)yg^ZZye_k_n_jZZdhb_ mki_rgh_ khl
fh`_l [ulv ijh^he`_gh ^ey jZaj«ihegbbyabhjeh\Z_gguj.h\
Fbljzgb \b^bl \uoh^ \ memqr_gbb f_`]hkm^Zjkl_g
kha^Zgb_ ^_ck«l\hjgbgauhoglZevkglujmd,lmZj^fbgbkljZpby dhl
[m^_l dhhj^bgbjh\Zlv khljm^gbq_kl\h,\ jZja\embxqghuqo_jk
^ey mkljZg_gby khpbZevgh wdhghfbq_kdDbZod ikkeq_h^gkl\
khljm^gbq_kl\h f_`^m]hkm^Zjkl\Z,fbZ kaZZgb_fhalZ\kbgkubf
\ukhd,hqdh hgb ^hk«kkhjdkmhlygby g_h[j»Z,l]b^f_hkdlbgnebdl f_
gbfb klZg_l g_\h.afh`guf

GZ i_j\uc \a]ey^ kha^Z_lkyql\hi_b_Zhjeb_ygbn_mgdpbhg
mgb_jkZ,eZvdgZdZd ex[u_ bgklblmlu \ k\h_c hk.gLh_\hjbbyf_
nmgdpbhgZebafZ Fbljzgb jZajZ[Zlu\Z_lky gZ hk
hkfuke_gby _\jhi_ckdbo j_Zebc ihke_khaZgZgbh_ il_Zj
bgklblmlh\ fgh]hklhjhgg_]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z dZd ?\
m]ey b ,klZ\ejbi_ckdh_ wdhghfbq_kdh_ khh[s_kl\h

[1]Mitrany, D. A Working Peace System [_dlk David Mitrany– Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966.– 221 p.

khh[s_kl\h ih Zlhfghc wg_j]bb aZeh`beh hkgh\m ih
bgl_]jZ.pbb

< P_gljZevghc :abb hiul«]khjaZgbZevguo »kljm
khljm^gbq_kl\Z \90-dhghpd_ZaZeky g.]Khba\gZugb_ ih^h
j_]bhgZevguo kljmdlmj dZd Hj]ZgbaZpby P
Wdhghfbq_kdh]h Khl,jm^gbjq_ekvlgZZabZlkdbc ;Zgd Khl
JZa\blby b ^jm]b_ gZ ijZdlbd_ gbdZdbo hjk_aZmZeyk
bgklblmpbyfb ^ey bgl_]jZpbb .lhevdhagZbfhmfZh_gbc
P: f_`^m kh[hc b ^jm]bfb \g_j_]bhgZevgufb]hkm^Z
^\Z^pZlv e_l,idhZamegdpbhgZebaf hklZ_lky ihdZ g_j
<ukhdZ _jhybgdhkkvmkbe_gb_f b dhgkheb^Zpb_c]hkm
b mf_gvr_gb_f g_hijZ«^Zegdhbcabjh\Z»gghkldhr_gbc
nmgdpbhgZevgh_ khljm^gbq_kl\h [m^_l gZb[he__
\ZjbZglhf ^ey jZa\blby b [_ah.iZkghklb j_]bhgZ

B^_b Fblj,Zigb^eh`_ggu 1940\50-_]h,^uhemqbeb ^Zevg
jZa\blb_ \ ljm^Zo WjgklZ OZZkZ.b E\hhgZjZgbgg_^[_jZ[Zh
gZa\Zgk?^bgkl\h ?\jhhebq_kkbpbZevgu_ b wdhgh
kbe»uWjgkl OZZk jZkkfZljb\Z_l dZdbf h[jZahf b ihq_
h]jZgbqb\Zxl k\hc k,mb\oj^gbjh\hevgmx]hlh\ghklv kh
bgl_]jbjh\Zlvky kh k\hbfb[1] khkZe^bylbq_kdb_ ihe
g_hnmgdpbhgZebafZ \ujZ`Zxlky \ ke)_hmqxs\bgu_l_Zdlk
aZbgl_j_kh\Zggu_ \,bgZlo_h]^Zpkyb gb`_ b \ur_ gZpbh.gZ
J_qv b^_l h jZaebqguo]jmiiZo bgl_j_kh\ beb iheb
]hkm^Zjkl\Z b h f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gguo j_]bh;gZevg
bgl_]jZpbhgguc ijhp_kk oZjZdl_jbam_lky w(spill-over
effect) - ihlj_[ghklb khljm^gbq_kl\Z \ lhf beb bghf,k_d
khpbZevghc beb dmevlmjghc ^_yl_evghklb kihkh[g

[1]Haas, H. The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950-1957 / Ernst Haas. – Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958. – 552 p.

j_Zdpbb b bf_lv ijh^he`_gb_ \,^jm\]khx[eZ_kjvb\v_^_l
d g_h[oh^bfhklb kha^Zgby ki_pbZebabjh\Zgguo gZ^
^ey bo dhhj^bgZpbb b lZdbf h[jZahf d mkdhj_gbx
bgl_]jZ;pb3) «g_hnmgdpbhgZeibk^lu_jdb\Zxl g_h[oh^
kljmdlmjguo mkeh\bc b ij_^imkkiu_rbdc^evgl_]jZpbhbjuf
^he`gu hl_qZlv]hkmZ^jZjk_ljZeblbq_kdbc ie,xdZgkafgk
hlghkbl_evgh nmg^Zf_glZe\,gZuolZpd`ggbkf,_qZxleh]bd
nmgdpbhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb ghk,bZl\g_jhfylgZgkbgu_k,cbZo
b kZf wlhl ijhp_kk aZ\bkbl hl fg.h`M_kil_\o bgZdlhjjZh
aZdexqZ_lky \ [ZeZgkm_fj_`^bm»_bh«fgZ^gZpbhgZe»vgh
>Zgguc ijbgpbi q_ldh hljZ`_g \, dhhjl_h^h_e_gbZx
g_hnmgdpbhgZebklu iheblbq_,kdhh^c dbhgdh_jhjZphbgpb ihg
©ijhp_kk ihkj_^kl\hf dhlhjh],h h`ebh^yZegvbgyhkbv iheblbc
^_yl_evghklv Zdlhjh\ g_kdhevdbo jZaebqguo gZp
kf_sZxlky \ klhjhgm gh,\]h^]_h bpg_kgdlhjZmlu ihke_^g_]h h[
lj_[mxl xjbk^bdpbb gZ^ gZpbhgZevg.[1]ufb]hkm^Zjkl\Zf

>ey]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZ,evdghhcju:_abhblghkbl_evgh g
©g_h`b^»Zgihkemqbeb km_jh_kghbalgZgguc hldZa hl qZ
km_j_gguo iheghfhqbc \ ihevam gZ^gZpbhgZev
g_ijb_fe_fuf ^ey gug_rg_c iheblbdqh_lkhdjZy \we[hleuvrbg
]hkm^Zjkl\ ihklkh_lkdh]h ijhkljZgkl\Z \k_ _s_ hklZ_
^_kyldh\. e=jhmiiu bgl_j_kh\ beb iheblbq_kdb_ i
p_gljZevghZabZlkdbo]hkm^Zjkl\ ihdZ _s_ g_ y\e
iheblbq_kdbfb Z,dlkhjZkfhb[gufb bgbppbbjh\Zlv b j_Z
bgl_]jZpbhggu_ .ijkhdlu\k_o]hkm^Zjkl\Zo P_gljZe
gZ[ex^Z_lky \ukhdbc mjh_gvZlZdfhjgZZebaaZZ b de,b_g
Z lZd`_ hlkmlkl\mxl khpbZevgh wdhghfbq_kdb_ b
lZdh\u\uklmiZxsb_ aZ j_]bhgZevg.m<xjbaghejvZZpbx bgbp

[1]Haas, H. The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950-1957 / Ernst Haas. – Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958. – p. 16.

< Imlbg Z h _\jZabckdhc bgl_]jZpbb gZ k_]h^gyr
gZ^gZpbhgZevgu_ kljmdlmju lZdb_ dZd LZfh`_ggZy
Wdhghfbq_kdZy , Dhfbkkby, mxsb_ ^_yl_evghklv LZfh`
?^bgh]h wdhghfbq_kdh]h ijhkljZgkl\Z , f_J`h^mkb_DcZa
;_eZjmkvx. kklZ_lky ihdZ g_ykguf gZkdhevdh ihebl
wdhghfbq_kdb_ kbeu \ wlbo kljZgZo , by\ey^jmbo
ihl_gpbZevgufb qe_gZfb \ wlb ihkl^jmdlmju_\jZabc
bgl_]jZpbx.

G_hnmgdpbhgZebaf ohjhrh h[tykgy_l ijhp_kk
bgkl bl mlh\ g_ fh`_l h[tydZgblv h[jZahf \hagbdZxl l_
j_]bhgZevgu_ bgklbl mlu. G_hnmgdpbhgZebklh\ [ueb
gZqZe 1970-o]h^h\ dhgp_ipbb \aZbfhaZ\bkbfhklb (*неолиберальный институционализм*). :\lhjZfb dhgp_ipbb y\eyxlky Jh[_jl D_h
GZc[1] Klhjhggbdb ^Zgghc l_hjbb kqblZxl dexq_\ufb Z
Zj_g_ gZjy^m k]hkm^Zjkl\ZfbgZ]hkm^Zjkl_ggufb
?K, LGD b ^jm]b_ hj]ZgbaZpbb ljZgkgZpbhgZevgu_
lZd`_ km[gZpbhgZevgu_ hl^_evgu_ \uoh^ gZ j_]b
mjh_gv ijbf_j ijb]jZgbqgu_ h[eZklb jZaebqguo]hkm^Z
lZd`_ mihj ^_eZ_lky gZ ]jZ`^ZgkdZ h[s_kl\h
\deZ^ ^Zgghc l_hjbb \ hkfuke_gb_ ijbjh^u j_]bhgZ
nhdmkbjh\Zgb_ \gbfZgby gZ \Z`ghklb m_ebqb\Zxs
fbjZ b dZd ke_^kl\b_ g_h[oh^bfhklb mqblu\Zlv ihl
ba^_j`db b \u]h^u hl lZdhc \aZbfhaZ\bkbfhklb ^ey \l
>jm]Zy \Z`gZy oZjZdl_jbklbdZ g_heb[_jZevgh]h
jZa\hjZqb\Zgb_ k\hbo b^_c \ jZfdZo iZjZ^b]fu
©_klnZevkdhc kbkl_fu< hlebqb_ hl k\hbo ij_^r
\hkijbgbfZ\rbo]hkm^Zjkl\h dZd kZfhklhyl_evgh]h

[1] Keohane, R., Nye, J. Power and Interdependence / Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye. – 2nd edition. – Longman, 1989. – 368 p.

Z^ZilZpbx heb[_jZevgu_ bgklblmpbhgZevguc kh^_j`Z
\hafh`gu dZd j_Zevgu_ dlb\guc \hkijbylby ihebldq_kdhc
dhlhju_ ijb\udeb \hkijbgbfZlv gZpbb]hkm^Zjkl\Z
f_oZgbaf j_ZebaZpbb gZpbhgZevguo bgl_j_kh\
bgklblmpbhgZevgh kh\f_kl_g ihebldq_kdZy webl Z ijb^oh
qlh fgh]hklhjhgg__ khlj m^gbq_kl\h_ wnn_dlb\guc
j_ZebaZpbb gZpbhgZevguo bgl_j_kh\ m`_ g_h[
\k_klhjhgg_ \aZbfhk\yaZgu b \aZbfhaZ\bkbfu.

>ZggZy l_hjby lZd`_ g_ y\ey_lky ijb_fe_fhc dey
dZd bgklblmpbhgZebaZpby dZd l]hkm^Zjkl_gguo
kljmdlmj hklZ_lky \k_ _s_ gZ ZgZebdb ijb_g_kdh]h
ihdZ _s_ g_ khklhyehkv ^h mklhcqb\h dh gkh\eb^_gbc
Zdlb\ghklv g_ijZ\bl_evkl_gguo bgklblmlh\ [be_k
kljmdlmj dheh]bq_kdbo b ^jm]bo e_]Zevguo ^\b`_gbc
kl_i_gb b jZagblky hl kljZgu d kljZg_. GIP k_]h^gy
]hkm^Zjkl_gguo kljmdlmju g_ klZeb ^_ckl_g
gZpbhgZevguo bgl_j_kh\ `_ kZfh ihgylb_ gZpbhgZev
bgl_j_kh\ g_ iheghklvx hnhjfbehkv \ khagZgb
ihebldq_kdh]h deZkkZ b gZk_e_gby kljZg j_]bhgZ

Klhjhggbdb ihebldq_kdh]h j_ZebafZ ^hklZlhqgh
kZfhc b^__ j_]bhgZevgh]h khlj m^gbq_kl\Z ijhlb\hih
b^_heh]bq_kdhc ieZlnhjfe b ij_^klZ\bl_eb eb[_
bgklblmpbhgZebafZ hl_ h[t_^bgy_l \k_ l_hj_lbq_kdb
\ jmke_ bgklblmpbhgZeba\f Zj Z \ wnn_dlb\ghklv n
bgklblmlh\ bgl_jZpbb \ua\Zlv ihablb\gu_ khpbZe
J_Zebklu `_ \qlh j_]bhgZevgu_ ijhp_kku b ijh_
\lhjhkl_i_ggufb b f_g__ \Z`gufb ih kjZ\g_gbx k ^
]hkm^Zjkl\h ^ey j_Zebklh\ hkgh\ghc Zdlhj \
ihebldq_kdhc]hkm^Zjkl\Z b[he__ wnn_dlb\guc bgkl

j_ZebaZpbb k\hbo gZpbhgZevgKuoljmb^gglbqj_kh\\h f
]hkm^Zjkl\Zfb \hafh`gh ,lhdhvjdZ whlh^Zkem`bl bgl_j_kZ
djmiguo ^_jJZ]bhgZevgh_ khljm^gbq_kl\h aZ_jrZ_lky ba aZ g_jZ\ghf_
\u]h^ hl f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h \aZbfh^_ckl\by beb dh
ihemqZxl f,gvf_[he__ kbevgu_.]hk^mZ^eZvjdkl\cZr_c i_jki_
lZdh_ Zkkbf_ljbqgh_ jZkij_^_e_gb_ ijb_^_l d hke
ljb wl,hfh]jZgbq_ggu_ \hafh`ghklb keZ[\uodjZhdkmk^jZjdkg
i_jki_dlb_ ij_iylkl\mxl ijhp_kk.[1]Zf dhhi_jZpbb

2) <h_ggh iheblbq_kdb_ \hijhku \k_]^Z [m^ml
khpbZevgh wdhgh,fbq_lhdkbmf^bZjkl\Z kdhj__ [m^ml kh
k\hbfb khxagbdZfb ^ey h[_ki_q,gby_[e_balkiZlkg_hgkpbbZe
beb kms_kl\mxsbfb khi_jgbdZfb

3) J_]bhgZevgh_ khljm^gbq_kl\h dZdkbgkhljmfg_bd
\ebygby b dh.gl_hefy g_ f_g__ ijb mki_rghc j_Zeb
j_]bhgZevgh_ khljm^gbq_kl\h fh`_l aZ^Z\Zlv lh,ggbg_
b \ fbjh\hc ih.eDlebZdk_kbdb iheblbq_kdh]h j_ZebafZ g
Z\lhghfghklb iheblbq_kdhc kn_ju h[s^kv_dhgbhi,uòlhahg
ohjhrh ^ey h^ghc gZpbb g_ fh`_l khq_lZlvky k [eZ
khh[s_kl\Z[4]

GZ hkgh_ \a]ey^h\ k\hbo ij,_^rj_k^lkl_Zvgbbdhe\
deZkkbq_kdh]h iheblbq_kDh_jhg_jl_Zvehbeafjjza\be k\hb

---

[1] Fawcett, L. Exploring regionalism domains: a comparative history of regionalism [Book] / Louise Fawcett // International Affairs. – 2004 (May). – Vol.80. – Issue No.3. – p. 443.

[2] Mittleman, J., Falk, R. Hegemony: the relevance of regionalism? [Book] / James Mittleman, Richard Falk: in Bjorn Hettne, Andreas Inotai and Osvaldo Sunkel (eds.) / National Perspectives on New Regionalism in the North. – Lond Macmillan, 2000. – p. 175.

[3] Morgenthau, H. Scientific Man versus Power Politics [Book] / Hans Morgenthau. – Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. – 245 p.

[4] Carr, E.H. The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939 [Book] / An Introduction to the Study of International Relations / E.H. Carr. – 2nd edition. – New York: St.Martin's Press, 1946. – 291 p.

f_`^mgZjh^gmx kbkl_fm b klZe hkgh\hiheh`gbdhf l
^jm]bfb keh\Zfb kljmdlmjg,h[1]hihkeZe^gbafZ y\ey_lky
kbkl_fgh]h mjh\gWhepm \ f_`^mgZjh^ghc iheblb,d_
dhlhjZy y\ey_lky h[s,bf]^nhghf]bhgZevgh_ khljm^g
bgl_]jZpbhggu_ ijhp_kku fh]ml,gbf_\k_ f_`klhhdZau\
h]jZgbq_ggufb «Zbhc_fghc Zg»Zjdkh]eZkgh Zj]mf_
g_hj_Ze,baf[bhgZevgZy ih-ebwlhdZ hl_l gZ ihl_gpbZ
\hafh`guc beb kms_k«lbmgsjbck»,e2) ihiuldZ h]jZgbq
©ly`_emx»jmhdm^Zjkl\Z];_3)_flhjZ[_k«biybfudZg»bdy iheblbd
]_]_fhgZ «bZe^bZilZpby k f_klguf»]_b]4)fjhgahmfevlZl Zdlb
\h\e_q_gby]hkm^Zjkl\Z]_]_fhgZ \ ijhp_kku kh
bgklblm[2]lh\

Hkgh\gZy ihabpby –j_wZebkhf\g_gby ih ih\h^m wnr
j_]bhgZevguo b f_`^mgZjh^gbobgkebylgbhy\ gZ f_`^m
hlghr_gbyZdb_ bgk,lbglZmlua]ey^ j_,ZebklZkh\ky aZ\bkbfuf
iheblbdb b \eZklguo hlghr_gbc.g<Zpbc`_]hkjmf^yZjgk_lhj_Z
kZfb g_ fh]ml h[tykgblv fgh]b_ \Z`gu_ fhf_gl,udfb
ijbf_j,mm g_hj_Zebklh\ g_l hl_:ZdZgdZbf\hi[jhZkauhf \hag
b^_glbqghdkZdv h[tykgblv ijbjh^m ijhbkoh`^_gby b jZa
dZdbf h[jZahf ihke_^gb_ \ebyxl gZ j_]bhgZevgu_ b
ijhp_kku

LZ,dijhp_kku gZpbhgZevgh]h b]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h
aZ_jr_gu \ P_gljZe;vghc i:jhpb_kku gZoh^ylky gZ gZq
< wlhc k\yab gZ ^bkdmjkb\ghf mjh\g_ fh`gh i
ij_h[eZ^Zgb_]hkm^Zjkl_gguo beb gZpbhgZevg
j_]bhgZev.gu Hf^bgZdh jZa\Ze KKKJ b]_hiheblbq_kd

[1]Waltz, K.The Theory of International Politics[_dJK Kenneth Waltz. – Addison-Wesley: Reading Mass, 1979. – 256 p.
[2]Hurrell, A. Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective[_dJK Andew Hurrell; in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organizations and World Order. – Oxford: Oxford University Pres 1995. – pp. 33-73.

международной [illegible] сообщество [illegible] процессов глобализации технического прогресса привели к интенсификаци[и] взаимозависимости [illegible] социально экономические и аспекты действительности стали; [illegible] последователей реализма кажутся через [illegible] устаревшими связи с вышесказанным политического частично объясняют социально политические реалии страны ЦА нуждаются в укреплении своей [illegible] во многом такое укрепление возможно через со[трудничество] [illegible] сотрудничество.

Западные эксперты сторонники политического [illegible] скептически относятся к перспективам регионал[изации] Центральной. В первую очередь указывают на за[висимость] Центральной Азии от внешних держав и от отношений собой. Лена Джонсон и Рой Эллисон рассматривают пр[...] внерегиональными державами и противостояние меж[ду] государствами как основные [illegible] интеграционны[е][1]. Збигнев Бжезинский советник президента США в книге пи[шет], что Узбекистан [illegible] государство [illegible] стать региональным лидером [illegible][2] России [illegible] знаменитой «Великой шахматной доски» Бжезинский относит Центральной «Евразийским Балканам» [illegible] также Азерба[йджан], Грузию и Армению [illegible] от Кавказа [illegible] мнению Бжезинский [?]пять новых государств Средней Азии скорее нахо[дятся] [illegible] и этнической принадлежности [illegible] главной

---

[1] Allison, R., Jonson, L. (eds.) Central Asian Security: the new international context / R. Allison, L. Jonson. – Brookings Institution Press, Washington DC., 2001. – 293 p.

[2] Brzezinski, Z. Russia and Commonwealth of Independent States: documents, data and analysis / Z. Brzezinski. – M.E. Sharpe, 1996. – 866 p.

[3] Бжезинский З. Великая шахматная доска [illegible] Бжезинский. – М.: Международные отношения, 1999. – С. 151.

klZgh\ylky \gmlj_ggb_ .ijhMb\h\b_ quby fhf_glu f
bkihevah\Zlvky [he__ kbevgufb b bf_xsbfb bfi_».jkdb[1]
LZdb_]hkm^Zjkl\Z \ ihebl bq_kdh «^h_ kd_e_ , kZd N_dZ Zk
\ gbo ijhp_kku ihkljh_gby b dhgkheb^Zpbb]hkm^
aZ_jr_gu

Kj_^b l_hj_lbdh\ f_`^mgZjh^guo hlghr_gbc fgh]h
f_kl_ lZdhc ,l_hjbb dhgkljmdlb\bafZ N hed_j, kqblZ
dhgkljmdlb\baf g_ ij_^klZ\ey_l kh[hc gh\mx ifhj_e^Zb
[ulv jZ\ghkbevghc Zevl_jgZlb\hc ihab,lb\bklkdbf kml
fgh]b_ ihabpbb dhgkljmdlb\bklh\ y\eyxlky ijh^he`_g[2]
lh \j_fy dZd EZib^ hlghkbl dhgkljmdlb\baf d ,l_hjby
jZpbhgZebklbq_kdb_ gZqZeZ ihablb\bafZ b ZdlmZ
ijbkmlkl\.mx^_b klhjhggbdh\ dhgkljmdlb\baf Zqlh gh b[3]
l_hj_lbabjmxl wibkl_fheh]bq_kdb b hglheh]bq_kd b h
]^_ djZkghc gblvx ijhibku\Z_lky dhghh`_ghkl_v fZlbq
\aZbfh^_ckl\b_ fh`_l ijb_klb d baf_g_gbyf \ klj
b^_glbqghklb[4]

< aZiZ^ghc ihebl 1970-1980-_\ ]h^u dhgkljmdlb\baf
jZkkfZljb\Zlvky dZd h^gZ ba l_hjbc f_`^mgZj
J_\hexpbhggZy b^_y dhgkljmdlb\bkl,h\ qlh khklhbl Z ev
j_Zevghklv dhgkljmbjm_lky ^h\Zl_e_c ^Zgghc l_hj_l
j_Zevghklv g_ y\ey_lky ij_^hij_^_e_gghc jZpb. hgZ ev
ijbgpbiZ dhgkljmdlb\bafZ aZdexqZx,lky klhjbdh_kdhc
ihebl bq_kdhc h[mkeh\e_gghklb kh.pbZevghc ^b_ck l\
f_`^mgZjh^guo hlghr_gbyo y\eyxlky j Z\gh_ ihehj Z\guo

---

[1] LZf .`_ K152.

[2] Sterling-Folker, J. Competing Paradigms or Birds of a Feather? Constructivism and Neoliberal Institutionalism Compared / J. Sterling-Folker // International Studies Quarterly. – 2000 (March). – Vol.44. – No.1. – pp. 97-119.

[3] Lapid, Y. The Third Debate: on the prospects of international theory in a post-positivist era / Y. Lapid // International Studies Quarterly. – 1989. – Vol.33. – pp. 235-254.

[4] Wendt, A. Collective Identity Formation and the International State / A. Wendt // American Political Science Review. – 1994 (June). – Vol.99. – No.2. – pp. 384-396.

hglheh]bq_kdbc klZlmk b \aZbfgh h[mkeh\e_gu.u \

KhpbZevgu_ Z]_glu kha^Zxl ih\lhjyxsb_ky fbylmZu bgklblmlu \u

jheb h]jZgbqbl_e_c ih_^_gby wlbo Z]_glh\ b l_f

ih_^_gby.[1] Dhgkljmdlb\baf nhdmkbjm_lky gZ khpbZev

dhgl_dkl, kloZ ohl\h^bl hij_^_eyxsmx jhev khpbZ, evgh^Zm

\kljh_gu \k_ g_nhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu b kha^Zxlky nh

Основное предположение l_hjbb dhgkljmdlb\bafZ aZdex,

qlh *реальность социально конструируется в форме общественных правил и межсубъективных значений, и это влияет на то, как мы воспринимаем себя и окружающий мир, как мы определяем наши интересы и поведение.* < u^_eyxl

^\Z \ZjbZglZ dhgkljmdlb\bafZ Zf_jbdZgkdbc b _\jhi_ckdbc

dhgkljmdlb\baf (Zf_jbdZgkdZy) hq_gZ ha gZqZxl \Z`ghklv b

\ebygby b^_glbqghklb g_nhjfZevguo b g_nhjfZevguo bgklblml

]hkm^Zjkl\[2] K\hjh ggbdb bgl_jij_lZpbhggh]h , dhgkljmdlb\

gZau\Zxl ihkl ihablb\ (bklkdbf bkdZy) rdheZ gZau\Zxl

g_h[oh^bfhklv bamq_gby kZfhc kh^_j`Zgbb ghjf b bo

^ey ihgbfZgby bo \ebygby gZ ih eblbdm.[3] Dhgkljmdlb\baf

lZd b _\jhi_ckdbc \ZjbZglu ijb_fe_fu ^ey ihgbf

ijhp_kkh\ \ P_gljZevghc :abb, gh fg_gby ih`_gby

dhgkljmdlb\bafZ ^hihegyxl bgklblmpbhgZevgmx dhg

iha\heyxl k^_eZlv gZb[he__ iheguc ZgZeba dmev

kj_^u P_gljZevghc :abb

1.3. Концепции региональной интеграции в постсоветской политической науке

[1] Adler, E. Constructivism and International Relations [Lkdk] / E. Adler; in W. Carlsnaes, T.Risse, and B.Simmons (eds), Handbook of International Relations. – London: Sage Publications, 2002. – pp. 95-118.

[2] Barnett, M., Finnemore, M. Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics [Lkdk]. Chapter 3 / M. Barnett, M. Finnemore. – Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004. – 226 p.

[3] Banchoff, T. German Identity and European Integration [Lkdk] / T. Banchoff // European journal of International Relations. – 1999. – Vol. 5. – No.3. – p. 271.

;hevrbgkl\h jZ[hl jhkkbckdbo Zdmq_guo, fbdZlh\ b

ihebleh]h\, jZkkfZljb\Zxl bgl_]jZpbx gZ ihklkh_lkdhf

h^bg ba Zki_dlh\ \g_rg_c ihebl bdb JhkkbbZ \bkbfm

bkke_^h\Zl_ebdZy ihabpby g_ fh`_l g_ \uau\Zlv ZdZ

H^gZdh bgl_j_kguf b \Z`guf a^_kv ^ey bkke_^h\

ihklkh_lkdhf ijhkljZgkl_ y\ey_lky kZfZ ihabpby jh

dhgp_ilmZebaZpby ihklkh_lkdh]h ijhkljZgkl\Z. dZd

qZklghklb ke_^m_l mihfygmlv jZ[hlu : P.u]Zgdh\Z b

\u^_ey_l ke_^mxsb_ ihebl bq_kdh]h \fuke_gby

Jhkkbb: *экспансионисты* (aZ ^Zevg_cr__ jZkrbj_gb_ b m]e

Jhkkbb k ihklkh_lkdbf ijhkljZgkl\hf]]eh[Zevgh]h

Jhkkbb); *западники* (kd_ilbqgu gZkq_l [m^ms_]h ihklkh_lkd

kqblZxl, qlh Jhkkby ^he`gZ hjb_glbjh\Zlvky gZ AZ i

mdZau\Zxl gZ g_h[oh^bfhklv khljm^gbq_kl\Z ^ey h

[_ahiZkghklb); *геоэкономисты* (nhdmkbjmxlky gZ wdhg

khljm^gbq_kl\Z); *сторонники цивилизационного подхода* kqblZxl j_]b

ihklkh_lkdh]h ijhkljZgkl\Z _^bguf b hkh[uf dmevlm

ijhkljZgkl\hf[1] >fbljbc Lj_gbg \ k\h_c dgb]_ «DhgZp ?\jZab

oZjZdl_jbam_l ihklkh_lkdh_ ijhkljZgkl\h dZd «jZkiZ\r__ky»

dZ`^Zy kljZgZ wlh]h ijhkljZgkl\Z \u[_j_l[2] k\h_ gZijZ\

Gbdblbg \ k\h_c klZlv_, ihk\yszggh_c ihklkh_lkdh_ ijhkljZg

jZa[blh gZ g_kdhevdh]_hihebl bq_kdbo jZchgh\ ^bg

hj]ZgbaZpbb bgl_]jZpbhgguo dZd KG= g_ kmf_e ^h[b

j_amevlZlh\ Gbdblbg \ dhgp_ k\h_c jZ[hlu ijbo^bl d

Jhkkby ihdZ g_ hkhagZeb baf_g_gby \ ]_hihebl

[1]Tsygankov, A. Mastering Space in Eurasia [Текст]: Russia's Geopolitical Thinking after the Soviet Break-up / A. Tsygankov // Communist and Post-Communist Studies. – 2003. – Vol.36. – No.1. – pp. 101-127.

[2]Trenin, D. The End of Eurasia [Текст]: Russia on the Border between Geopolitics and Globalization / D. Trenin. – Washington: Carnegie Center, 2002. – 354 p.

ihklkh_lkdh]h ijhkljZgkl\Z b dZd ke_^kl\b_ g_ \g_
\g_rg_iheblbq_kdb_.[1] dhgp_ipbb

>jm]Zy]jmiiZ jhkkbckdbo mq_guo ^_eZ_l Zdp_
ijhp_kkZ j_]bhg.ZHeba ZkpbbZ,bZ qkh dmjk gZ mdj_ie_gb_ wc
b ^jm]bo k\ya_c Jhkkbb k ihklkh_lkdbf ijhkljZgkl\
j_]bhgZebaf dZd iheblbq_kdbc ijh_dl j_bgl_]jZ
ijhkljZgkl\Z;[2] hevrbgkl\h jZ[hl wlhc]jmiiu ij_^klZ
bkke_^h\Z gbkhevamxsb_ dhebq_kl_ggu_ , f_lh^u eb
dZq_kl_ggu_.[3] f_lh^u

< jZ[hl_ : DZaZgp_\Z *«Большая игра» с неизвестными правилами: мировая политика и Центральная Азия»* ^Z_lky bgl_j_kguc ZgZ
nhjfZevguo b g_nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ gZ ijbf_j_
qZklgh, khdZaZgu \k_ j_]bhgu fbjZ fh`gh \ jZfdZo
ebg,bb]^_ gZ h^ghf djZx jZkiheZ]Zxlky kemqZb
bgklblmpbhgZebaZpbb ^jm]h kemqZb k fZdkbfZevgh[4]
hlf_lbl, qlh lZdZy ko_fZ jZg`bjh\Zgby j_]bhgh\ f
bgklblmpbhgZebaZpbb j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq_
m\b^_lv \Z`gu_ fhf_glu \ kjZ\gbl_evghc
jhkkbckdh]h iheblheh]Z : DZaZgp_\Z ih^q_jdgml
oZjZdl_jbamxlky lhc beb bghc kl_i_gvx bgklblmpbhg
dZd lZdh\uf hkl_lky g_ykgufm Z\lhj oZjZdl_jbam_l

---

[1] Nikitin, A. The End of the 'Post-Soviet Space' L_ d]kl The Changing Geopolitical Orientations of the Newly Independent States / A. Nikitin // Chatham Briefing Paper. – 2007 (March). – pp. 1-11; K Z d `Eurasia: New Peace Agenda. Ed. By A.Nikitin, M.Tehranian, M.Intriligator. – New York-London-Amsterdam, Elsevier, 2005.

[2] Eb[fZ g., O_cn_p WdkiZgkby jhkkbckdh]h dZibl Z ... Wdhghf bdZ. – 2006. – 161 c.; Dmavf b gZ Wdhghfbq_kdb_ ihabpbb Jhkkbb \ P_gljZevghc Z mdj_ie_gby \ mkeh\byo]eh[ZebaZ ... 2008. – 45 c.

[3] =mjh\Z B. J. J_]bhgZevgZy lhj]h\ey b lhj]h\Zy ... wdhghfbq_kdZy ... – 2009. – № 2. – C. 89-101; @mjZe fZjd_lbg] \ Jhkkbb ... `mjgZe KZ\bg < : Wdkihjlgh bfihjlgu_ p_gu \ lhj]h\e_ Jhkkbb k ... ^Zevg__ ... – 1999. – № 4. ... http://www.mavriz.ru/articles/1999/4/269.html; ... Jhev wdhghfbq_kdhc bgl_ ... ^_bgl_]jZpbb gZ ihklkh_lkdhf ... – 2006. – < 5. – K. 58-72.

[4] DZaZgp_\ <;hevrZy b]jZ k g_ba_klgufb ijZ\beZfb ... DZaZgp_\. – 2008. – K. 21.

:abx dZd j_]bhg k hq_gv gbadhc b.gFkhbgmhpbhjh^gZehbhZ`
q_f \ur_ bgklblmpbhgZebaZpby j_]bhgZ,ev_gh]h khrljm^
j_]bh.gHZ^gZ,dh ijbf_,jjm]bhgZebaf \ X]h <hklhqghc ;abb
qlh _\jhi_ckdZy fh^_ev k \ukhdhc kl_i_gvx nhjfZevg
g_ y\ey_lky _^bgkl_gghc fh^_ev. K ?:_G]b\hgZebaf k
\hafh`guf [eZ]h^Zjy bgl_]jZ,pbb _`jueb dh\q_j_a kh
fgh]hqbke_gguo f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gguo b gZ^]hk.ml^Zjkl
wlhf ke_^m_l kh]eZkblvky k : ,DqlhZ\p P_glj Zevghc
gZ[ex^Z_lky g_^hbkihevahdZg\bh kms_kl\mxs_]h i
khljm^gbq_kl\Z \h \k».b >hj[m]Zkly ph kkbckdbc b,kKe_^
=hemgh\ \b^bl \ P_gljZevghc«h:[a_b»blijbhel`hgkbyh\hc
[hevrhc b»]julh _klv l_jjb,lhj^b_x gZebq_kl\m_l ih,eb
dmevlmjguc b b^_heh]b.q_kdbc \Zdmmf[2]

JZ[hlu j_]bhgZevguo wdki_jlh\ lZd`_ hq_gv jZa
ijh[e_f b i_jki_dlb\ bgl_]jZpbb \ P._GljZevghc dZabZ
wdki_,jlkuqblZxl ijZ\bevguf]h\hjblv h P_gljZevghc, :a
jZa^_e_gghf gZ :^ghfq^Zkdb_kdZy(DqZ_ZklvklZg b D)ujbua
fmkmevfZgkdZy Kj(h^glyZyevgby klj Zgu kh_lkdhc P)._gl
LZdh]h fg_gby ijb^_j`b\Z_lky [u\rbc ij_kk k_dj
DZaZok,lZ:kZe[_d ;bk_f[Z_K\[3] ^jm]hc k,lhj[hguurbgkl\h
bkke_^h\Zl_e_c ba j_]bhgZ ^hklZlhqgh hij_^_ggh
bgl_]jZ.pGbZijbf,_jdZaZokdbc bkke_^h\Zl_ev K Dmrdmf
b^_x g_h[oh^bfhklb KhxaZ i,ylbm[a]h[h^kdhc^Zjkl\hebleheh] N
mdZau\Z_l gZ g_h[oh^bfhkk«vaZdgu_»hh]hjj]hbhgZe,baf

---

[1] LZf .`_ K 31.
[2] =hem,gKh\<hijhku [_ahiZkghklb \ kh\j_f_gguo bkke_^h\Zgbyo P_gljZevgh >We_dljhgguc]: jlIkehbjlbq_kdZy dhgtxgdlmjZ b KkE_h_hmlbhR_glj j_]bhgZevguc ljZgk]jZgbqguo bkke_^h\Zgbc ijb <he]h]jZ^kdhf]hkm^Zjkl_gghf Jm`gbf_jk ^hklmiZ www.transbound.narod.ru/annual2/content_eng.html, kl\h[h^.guc
[3] ;bk_g[,Z_D >jm]ZyP_gljZevgZy:aby.D,bkL_g[,Z_l_efZl:u:jdZ, 2003. – 300 k.
[4] Dmrdmf[ZK_\DP_gljZevgZy :aby gZ imlyo bg]_]jZpbbwdhghfbdb,h[kla hiZkghklb KkD Dmrdmf.[Z_:efZl:uDZaZoklZg, 2002. – 198 k.

bkdexqZy[eb`Zcrbo khk_^_c j_]bhgZ.[1] dIhdKDIhZodm,fJZ

ihabpby Lmjdf_gbkIZgZ: \ha^_j`b\Z_Iky hI qe_gkI\Z

hj]ZgbaZpbb, ^ihe Z]Z_Iky \j_f_ggu fhj_eb _f_gghc \b^

jmdh\h^bI_ey.[2] kIZhu ^Zgghc ^bkk_jIZpbhgghc jZ[hIu

kIjZgu P: gZ ^_:]hjhbiiglbjh\Zggu_ b g_hjb_gIbjh

bgI_]jZpbb. Wxh h[tykgy_Iky khhIghr_gb_f f_`^m ihI_gp

`_eZgb_f mqZkI\h\ZIv \ ijhp_kk Zojbfg_jZdbbIjZgu

Ma[_dbkIZg b DZaZokIZg \iheg_ fh]mI bgbpbbjh

bgI_]jZpbhggu_ ijh_dIu, gh jZ]bhgZxIbeb `_eZxI j_Zeba

bgI_]jZpbhgguc ijh_dI km]m[h ih. k\hIfm\ j_kfy_gdZjbxI

fZeu_ kIjZgu dZd Duj]uakIZg beb LZ^`bdbkIZg ^ZIh

fh]mI k^_eZIv \ kbem k\hbo h[t_dI.[3] b\guo \hafh`ghkI_

Kj_^b ^bkk_jIZpbhgguo bkke_^h\Zgbo I_f_ j_]bhg

bgI_]jZpbb fh`gh hIf_Iblv dZg^b^ZIkdmx ^bkk_jIZpb

© Bgl_]jZpbhggu_ ijhp_kku kIjZg P_gljZevghc (2008).[4]

^bkk_jIZpbhgghc jZ[hI_ ^_eZ_Ikyh\hj^_\ZIv kIZ\xIky

\hafh`gh]h b g_\hafh`gh]h \ bgI_]jZpbb <P_gljZevghc

Br_gZeb_\Z mI_j`^Z_I jIZfdZo g_^_fhdjZIbq_kdbo j_`b

g_\hafh`gZ hIf_qZ_I kh[kI_ggufb kbeZfb \h\e_q_gb

j_]bhgZevgu_ kIjmdImju [_ahiZkghkIb, h[_k^_q_gby

ihI_gpbZef kh\hdmigu_ \h_ggu_ ihI_gpbZeu kIjZg

[_ahiZkghkIb g_\hafh`gh fhgh]jZnbb dujZuakdh]h

F :jlud[Z_\i]_^kIZ\e_g h[klhyI_evguc ZgZeba hiuIZ

ihebIbq_kdbo kbkI_f ihkIkh_Ikdbo j_kim[ebd k Zdp

[1] Tolipov F. Central Asia as a space, polity, peoples and fate / F. Tolipov//Central Asia and the Caucasus. – 2 (32). – 2005. – pp. 105-112.

[2] Dmrdmf[ZK_\P_gljZevgZy :aby gZ imlyo bgl_]jZpbb ... Dmrdmf[Z – :efZ-:lu DZaZokIZg, 2002. – K. 119.

[3] Esengul, Ch. Politics of Regionalism in Central Asia / Chinara Esengul. – Bishkek: Kyrgyz Diplomatic Service, 2009 – p. 129.

[4] Br_gZeb_\Z Bgl_]jZpbhggu_ ijhp_kku kIjZg P_gljZevghc :abb ... ihebIbq_kdbo gZmd 23.00.02. /:cgmjZ DZeudh\gZ B-_gZeb_\Z – 2007. – 180 k.

[5] Br_gZeb_\Z Bgl_]jZpbhggu_ ijhp_kku kIjZg P_gljZevghc :abb ... ihebIbq_kdbo gZmd 23.00.02. /:cgmjZ DZeudh\gZ B-_gZeb_\Z – 2007. – K. 153.

]hkm^Zjkl_gguo b h[s_kl_gguo bgklblmlh\; aZwl]lhf^u
kfuke_ jZ[hlZ _kvfZ]em[hdh bkke_^m_l \gmljb]hk
j_]bhgZevguo ijhp_kkh\ \ P_.[1]gljZevghc :abb

>jm]Zy jZ[hlZ khZys_ggZy l_f_ j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZp
:abb wlh jZ[hlZ KZnZ_.\ckkhZ_bc^ujZ[hl_ K KZnZ_,\ZlhmlV
©\ keh`ghf i_j_ie_l_gbb, bpgle_j_kbhg_]jZpbhgguo
^_abgl_]jZpbhgguo, \khZl_gbkce_ jZaebqguo \g_j_]b,hg
]hkm^Zjkl\Z P: klj_fylky kZfhHhgb_^l_eybllvikiy_^ g_h[oh^
ijhclb«f_`^m ^\mo »:h]]ge_hc[ZebaZpb_c b nhjfbjmxsbf
fbjh\uf ihjy^d–hfk h^ghc kl,hjbhgu_j_`bldZ–Realpolitik b
]_]_fhgbafhf h^ghc k_jo^_j`Z\u b,ijbZkmbshgfZe\b_affhgfh\
g_aZ\bkbfuf]hkm–^lZj^kjlmZ[2]hc

>hklZlhqgh_ \gbfZgb_ l_f_ bgl_]jZpbb m^_eyxl m
H^ghc ba i_j\uo jZ[hl gZ l_fm p_gljZevghZabZlkdhc
Lbfmj Z >Z^Z«DZ_ihZklkh_lkdhc j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZp
:ab:bko_fZ ^ey]hkm^Zjkl\ i_j_o»h^g»hjjmh]hic jbihe\Zlheh
Ma[_dbk,lZhgZhjuc j_]meyjgh ibr_l gZ l_fm j_]bhgZ
NZjoh^ Lh,eb^fZ\\gh ijb^_j`b\Z_lky, idhlhbpjbhkm^Zjkl
P_gljZevghc :abb gm`gh bgl_]jbjh\Zlvky \ jZfdZc
aZdjulh]h j_]bhgZebafZ b kljhblv iehsZ^dm ^ey
]hkm^Zjkl\Zfb ih nh–j[4]fZlm P:

LZdbf h[j,ZaZhgfZeba gZmqghc jZajZ[hlZgghklb l_
ihdZau,\Zq_lh ijh[e_fZ j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \ p_
\hijhku bgl_]jZpbb kljZg P_gljZevghc :abb ^hk

---

[1] :jlud[Z,_F LBgklblmpbhgZebaZpby iheblbq_kdbo kbkl_f ihkl]khf_lhk^dhbech]jb_yk bkke_^hYZgb:yjlud[Z._–\;brd,2002. – 190k

[2] KZnZ,_KZ.KJ_]bhgZevgu_ ijhp_kku kljZg P_gljZevghc :abb \ dhgl_dkl_ ih ihkl kh_lkdh]h ijhkljZgjkZ\Zh–jL_ndjkZl ^bkk_jlZpbb gZ khbkdZgb.,imeb_lgb:Zkd ki_pbZevg23.00.04 / KZb^Z KZ^udh\gZ>kZenhZf_ZXZdZF B>J.N– Fhkd,\2009. – 26k:be J=;H,>61 09-23/33.

[3] Dadabaev, T. Towards Post-Soviet Central Asian Regional Integration[1]: a scheme for transitional states / T. Dadabaev. – Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2004. – 240 p.

[4] Bgl_j\vx Z\lhjZ k N L_14ehbdhy\[2011], ;brd,_dDuj]uaklZg

bkke_^mxlky `_ \j_fy \hijhk \aZbfh\ebygby b khhlgh

b g_nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ gZ bgl_]jZpbhggu_

P_gljZevghc, hlbZ_lky g_bam_q_ggufbkl\h jZ[hl aZjm

mq_guo k\h^ylky d bamq_gbx l_dkljZdlZmjub wnn_dl

nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ ij_^e_gghc f_j_l_dZ_jm\[_gh

dhee_]b y\eyxlky ij_^klZ\bl_eyfb bghc iheblbq

bgl_jij_lbjmxl bgklblmlu bgl_]jZpbb bgZq_\h

k\h_]h iheblbq_kdh]h hiulZ k\h_c jZ[hl_ k^_eZeb ih

Zj]mf_glu b hkgh\gu_ h[_gb_gu_ \h \k_o mdZaZgguo \u

wlhf ijbagZ\Zy b ijbgbfZy g_dhlhju_ bo ^hklhbgkl\

emqr_ b]em[`_ hp_gblv b ihagZlv \hafh`ghklb b j_

lhqdb aj_gby nmgdpbhgZevghklb kms_kl\mxsbo h[

bgklblmlh\ dhg_qghf blh]_ hij_^_eyxsbo mki_o be

bgl_]jZpbhggh]h ijh_dlZ.

Методология исследования. DZd hlf_qZehkv \h ijh[e_fZl

j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb ^hklZlhqgh fgh]h bamq_gZ

dhlhjhc lj_[m_l f_`^bkpbiebgZjgh]h ih^oh^Z k ijb

gZmqguo f_lh^h\ _]h^gyrgbc ^_gv \ j_]bhg_ hlkml

dhlhju_ **рассматривали вопрос региональной интеграции ЦА как важную методологическую проблему** \ ihklkh_lkdbo iheblb

bkke_^h\Zgbyo.

< wlhc k\yab \ ^Zgghc ^bkk_jlZpbhgghc jZ[hl_ f

bkke_^h\Zgby khklZ\ey_l bgklblmpbhgZevgh, ih_blb

bamq_gb_ ij_^f_lZ bkke_^h\Zgby ihkj_^kl\hf Zg

bgklblmlh\ b bo \ebygby. KZh jhe bgklblmpbhgZ

g_hbgklblmpbhgZebafZ, ihkl_jgZdlmu bf_xl a\Zq_gb_

h[s_kl_ggh iheblbq_kdbo ijhp_kkh\ aZ gh[_e_\kdh

\ h[eZklb wdhghfbdb >m]eZk Ghjl hj_^_ey_l bg

ih_^_gby<[1] k\h_c [he__ jZgg._ G hjZ[hlZ_l >h«bgklblmlu
y\eyxlky gZ[hjhf, ijZ\be_^mj ih^q,bg_gby b _lbd–_fhjZevguo
wlbq_kdbo ghjf ih\k_^_gbyguo k p_evx k^_j`b\Zlv
bg^b\b^h\[2].

Hkgh\ZI_eb g_hbgklblmpbhgZebafZ \ iheblheh]bb
Hevk_g mdZau\Zxl, gZ lhl, qlh hy Zdk_]^Z ijbkmlkl\m_l ebo
ihebl, bdgh iheblbq_kdh_ ^_ckl\b_ hkgh\u\Z_lky gZ g
h[s_kl\hf ih_^_gbb[3] ,hk\Zfb Zevgh iheblbq_kdh_
fh^_ebjm_lky g_ lhevdh fZl_jbZevguf b bgl_j_kZfb
wnn_dlhf bgklblmlh\.

AgZqbl_evguf \deZ^hf \ jZa\blb_ bgklblmpbhgZ
kh\f_klgmx jZ[hlm =j_lo_g O_efd_ b Klb_gZ E_
©G_nhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu b kjZ\gbl_evgZy iheblbdZ
bkke_^h\Zl_evkdZy ih_kldZ ^gy»[4] hkgh\gZy b^_y ^Zgghc jZ[hlu
\gbfZgb_ gZ g_nhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu b g_ h]jZ
nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ \ wlhf kemqZ_ ZgZeba y\ey
\dexqZ_l \ k_[y _kv kj_dlj iheblbq_kdbo bgklblmlh\
ih_^_gb_ b j_amevlZlu nhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu ijb wlhf Zdl
nmgdpbhgZevghklv b j_amevlZlb\ghklv nhjfZevgu
bkke_^h\Zl_eb ij_^hkl_j_]Zxl hl \hafh`guo dhgp_ilmZ
g_nhjfZevgu_ ,y\e_gby_ g_bgklblmpbhgZebajh\Zg
ijbgbfZxlky b ZgZebabjmxlky \ dZq_kl_ g_nhjfZevg
E_\blkdb hij_^_ey_xl *«неформальный институт» как обычно неписанные*

---

[1] North, D.C. Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance / D.C. North. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. – p. 3.
[2] North, D.C. Structure and Change in Economic History / D.C. North. – New York: W.W. Norton& Company, 1982. – p.202.
[3] March, J.G., Olsen, J.P. The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life / J.G. March, J.P. Olsen // American Political Science Review. – 1984. – No.78 (September 3). – pp. 734-750.
[4] Helmke, G., Levitsky, S. Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: a Research Agenda // Perspectives on Politics / G. Helmke, S. Levitsky. – 2004 (December). – Vol.2. – No.4 – pp. 725-740. jmkkdhf yaudf: g_hnbpbZevguc i_j_\h^ http://intelros.ru/pdf/prognosis2_07/Helmke.pdf

социально разделяемые правила, которые создаются, передаются и реализуются вне официально признанных каналов»[1].

Kh]eZkgh fg_gbx jhkkbckdh]hDZhaZgp_\hZnZhjfZevgu
bgklblm-lwlh jZa^_ey_fu_ ex^vfb mklhcqb\u_ kljmdlm
fbj,_b^_glbqghkkblbl_fu p_g,ghkh`b\rb_ky \ lh,f\qjZkeZo
h[uqgh]h ,ijlZZ^bp»[2]b< k\h_c jZ[hl_ : DZaZgp_\ lZd`_
ljm^ >m]eZkZ, dhhljZuc \u^_ey_l ljb nmgdpbb g_n
bgklblmlh\

1) Hgb h[_ki_qb\Zxl bklhjbq_kdmx, ijohfyk
ihegZy kf_gZ nhjfZevguo ijZ\be ^_ck.l\Fdhe]vgh
g_nhjfZevgu_ h]jZgbq_gby hdZ`ml,kyhlhqmgqlh`bh
ih ij_`g_fm fh]ml ihfh]Zlv h,[s_wkdhghgbfq,_kd
iheblbq_kdbf b]jhdZf \ j_r_gbb nmg^Zf_glZ»[3]evgu

2) W\hexpby g_nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\
^he]h\j_f_gghc ijbjh^«pathdaeZdehcyi-mlv aZ\bkkb,fhk
lh _klv aZ\bkbfhklv hl bklhjbq_kdhlhgyilb«pathjZa
dependency» dhgp_ilmZebabjm_lky \ jZfdZo
bgklblmpbhgZ]e^b_afZml_j`^,Zqlky jZ^bdZevguc jZa
ijhreuf \ ex[hc kn_j_ q_eh_q_kdbo hlghr_gbc
ih ijbqbg_ dhgk_j\Zlb\ghklb g_nhjfZevguZ^Zgp
h^gZ`^u bklhjbq_kdZy ljZ_dlhjby [eZ]h^Zj
bgklblmlZf [m^_l ^_ckl\h\Zlv gZ ijhly`_gbb hq_
i_jbh^Z \j_f_gb

3) G_nhjfZevgu_ ghjfu \uklmiZxl hkgh\hc ^e
nhjfZevgh xjb^bq_kdbo Zdlh\ b ^jm]bo ghjf nhjf

---

[1] LZf.`_C. 727.

[2] DZaZgp._\hevrZy »bkjZg_ba_klgufb ijZ\beZffbj>hLZydkilheblbdZ b P_glj/Z:evgZ DZaZg-pF_hkd,\2008. –C. 14.

[3] North, D.C. Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance[dk/l D.C. North. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. – pp. 36-46.

L_f g_ f_g__ke_^m_l klZ\blv agZd jZ_gkl\Z f_`
bgklblmlZfb b d,mev lmjZ^hc b h[s_kl\hf jZevgu_ bgkl
ihy\eyxlky ba dmevlmjgh]h g_kjy^eyxlky kZfhc <dmevlm
kfuke_g_nhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu fh`gh hij_^_eblv_f
h`b^Zgby h[s_kl\Z lh \j_fy dZd dmevlmjZ hij_^_eyx_f
p_ggh»klb h[s_kl\Z lh fg_gbx duj]uaklZgkdh]h ihebl[1]
©\ ihebluq_kdhc dmevlmj_ \ujZ`Z_lky km[t_dlb\<gh
g_c jZkkfZljb\Zxlky g_ ^_yl_evghklv ihebluq_kdbo
hlghr_gb_ kZfh]h h[s_kl\Z wlbf bgklblmlZf b k»[2] jmdlm

lhgylb«bgklblmlZdbf h[jZahf \ g_dhlhjuo kem
©hj]ZgbaZpbhggh nmgdpbhgbjmxs_c dmevlmjgh bklhjbq
khpbZevgh ikbohehq_kdh»[3] <kh^_j`Zgbb_ b^_l
nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ ke_^m_l g_nhjfZevgu_ h[jZ
bgklblml wlh«\k_ mklZgh\b\rb_ky y\e_gby dhlhjuo
h[_ki_qb\Zxl mklhcqb\hklv khpbZevgh]h ihjy^dZ b h
dhfie_dk nhjfZevguo b g_nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\
j_]meb jmxsbo jZaebqgu_ kn_ju q_eh_q_kdhc ^_yl_
bo \ kbkl_fm jhe_c, h[jZamxsbo h[s_kl_gg»[4]x kbkl_f

GbdZdh_ khljm^gbq_kl\h g_\hafh`gh [_a nhjfZe
bgklblmlG\Zebqb_ bgklblmlh\ h[_ki_qb\Zxl kZfm \
\aZbfh^_ckl\by dZd khljm^gbq_kl\Z hjbgbl_]jZpby
hij_^_e_gghf bgklblmpbhgZevghf `b\gh kl_h`b\lh
©khpbZevgZy» ZgZfbfbky >xjd]_cfZbfZ _fZy bf dZd kh

[1] Helmke, G., Levitsky, S. Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: a Research Agenda // Perspectives on Politics / G. Helmke, S. Levitsky. – 2004 (December). – Vol.2. – No.4 – p. 728.

[2] FbjkZcblh\ B.We lbq_kdZy dmevlmjZ Duj]uaklZgZ: \hiulj_dhk^lgkmchi_hjbZh^ZebaZ >L_]dkl\lhj_n_jZl ^bkk_jlZpbb gZ khbkdZgb_ mq_ghc kl_i_gb dZg\b^2Z3.00.02 / ihebl gZ B W FbjkZc.ZGlhp\bhgZevgZy :dZ^_fby gZmd Duj]uakldhcIJ_kimeldb – b IjZ\ ;brd_d, 2002. – K14.

[3] >hghg[,Z:_\ BgklblmpbhgZevguc ZgZeba ihebl bq_kdhc dmevlmju ihkl\d hiul Duj]uaklZgZ >L_]dkl\ lhj_n_jZl ^bkk_jlZpbbgZ khbkdZgb_ mq_ghc kl_i_gb ki_pbZevgh23.00.02 / :. > >hghg[,Z;br\d_dkdbc]mfZgbl Zjgm DZjZkZ–_\Z ;brd_d, 2006. – K 25.

[4] LZf . – K28.

ljZgknhjfbjmxsboky, hd[hs]_^kZk\lZju_ khpbZevgu_ ghjfu
jZ[hlZ,xZl gh\u__sz g_ knhjfbjh\,\Zfe_b_klvf_klh gZ ihklkh
ijhkljZgk[1]l\ljb wlh<fkhpbZevgZy»Zfhfby[ulv j_e_\,Zglg
i_j\mx hq,jh^wlghr_gbx d nhjfZevguf bgklblmlZf-P_g
dh]^Z bgklblmlu kh_lkdh]h i_jbh^Z b khpbZebafZ
ihklkh_lkdbo ,mkgehh\boy_o^jy_fu_ ba\g_ bgklblmlu ^
iexjZebafZ \ kh\j(f\jghjh[ck)dihfgbfZgbb ihdZ _s_ g_ \h
b g_ knhjfbjh\Zgu \ dZq_kl_ h[s_kl_ggh ih,ehbbkq_k
_s_ ke,Zq[uh[u bf_lv wnn_dlb.\gmwxlhkbokmyab ijh[e_fZ \b
\ hlkmlkl\bb nmgdpbhgZevguo bgklblmlh\ dZd l,ZZh\
\ bo fgh`,kjZahghh[jZabb b jZaghklb ,ihgZkihZ\ej_Zgghk
p_e,yfkl_i_gb \ebygby gZ h[s_kl_ggmxdhkhjj_u^m ^bZx
g_h^ghagZqgu_ b g_hij_^_e_ggu_ j_amevlZlu b i_
^_ckl\bc ih_^_gby iheblbq_kdbo[2] G_hiZ]^gh\gghklv
g_h^ghagZqghklv mkbeb\Zxlky aZ kq_l g_ij_^k
\aZbfh^_ckl\by b \aZbfgh]h \ebygby wlh]h fgh`_k.l\Z
D ijbf,jhml_q_kl_ggu_ mq_g<bgkkdpbdhZpxbhgZebaZpby
iheblbq_kdbo ,kbjZmjZdhjjguo ^ey fh^_e_c eb[_jZevgh
h[s_k,l\bkiulu\Z_l \ha^_ckl\b_ khpbihehbvq_mkjgbuo b ^
ki_pbnbq_kdbo ,noZZdjZhdjh\jguo ^ey gZpbhgZevdeuxq_h[ls
k_[y khpbZevgh wdhghfbq_kdmx b dmevlmjheh]b.q_k[3]

Hkgh\gZy nmgdpby \k_c kh\hdmighklb h[s_
bgklblmlh\ \ khdjZs_gbb g_hij_^_e_gghklb q_j_a n
kljmdlmjju_eh_q_kdbo \aZbfh^_ckl\b e *Присущая неопределенности в институциональной среде как результат постсоветской трансформации и*

[1] >xjd]_.ckhZW/hm[bkkhp\hheh]bq_kd]bdW>wxlxd^]>_ic_fjdkklnlk k.,hidhj^ .j≤^.
;ZaZj.h-\Ehkd:\Ezuke,1994. – 399k.
[2] :kZglmj,hl\,ZAZdhghf_jghklb b i_jki_dlb\u kh_jr_gkl\h\Zgby ihebl_bdkl_kdhc
:kZglmj/h\<Z_klgbd:"DGUj]ua fZfe_d_llmmem]'m]gemjg_^Z,dlubhju DZd__\),:KQjb1y
<uimkld– ;brd,2003. – k.18.

переходного периода представляет собой социально-политический контекст межгосударственного регионального взаимодействия в Центральной Азии.

DZd nhjfZevgu_ b g_nhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu f ihebl bq_kdmx .ibjhl^hf kejmqZ_b^_l h ihebl bq_kdhf b ©mklhcqb\h aZdj_ieb\ZxsbO_ijhy\eyxsb_ kh ^_yl_evghklv \ khhl_lkl\bb k hij_^_e_ggufb ghj *учреждение, процесс или явление,* h[eZ^Zxsb_ h[s_kl_ggh a nmgdpbyfb b \uihegyxsb_ kms_kl_ggh \Z`gu_ jhe fgh]hmjh\g_\hc kbkl_f_ \eZklghc hj]ZgbaZpbb\ h[s_kl_.[1] h\Zgby

Fgh]hmjh\g_\Zy kbkl_fZ \eZklguo hlghr_gbc \ j ^Zgghc ^bkk_jlZpbb ij_^klZ\e_gZ lj_fy mjh\gyfb h_lkdh ijhkljZgkl_ (P_gljZevgZy :abZ) ^_ gZpbhgZ \gmljb]hkm^Zjkl_gguf \k_o mjh\gyo ihebl bq_kdh \ lhc beb bghc kl_i_gb \ebyxl gZ j_]bhgZevgu_ ijhp < qZklghklb hlghr_gbx d j_]bhgZevghc dhhi_jZpb ihebl bq_kdb_ bgklblmlu \u^_eyxl \ljh^hf f_`]hkm^Zjkl khljm^gbq_kl\h f_`^m kmeb gZ ijbgylb_ j_r_gbc kljmdlmjZfb bfZxsbfb dexq_\u_ j_r_gby ih j_]bhgZev \eZkli ih k_[_ y\eyxlky bklhqgbdhf nhjfbjh\Zgby ihe

>ey ihgbfZgby kmlb f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gguo hlgh P_gljZevghc :abb g_ihkj_^kl_ggh ihke_ jZkdhe ihebl bq_kdbo j_\hexpbc ij_^ijbgyluo jmdh\h^bl_eyfb]hkm^Zjkl\ j_]bhgZ f_lh^heh]bq_kdby \eyxlky_fh dhgkljmdlb\bkfZ. H\gu_ l_abku ^Zgghc l_hjbb ihfh]Z kljZl_]bq_kdbc \u[hj eb^_jh\ kljZg P_gljZevghc :a 1990-o ijhp_kk_ klZgh\e_gby bo]hkm^Zjkl\ dZd]_hihebl bq

---

[1] >hghg[Z: _\ :. BgklblmpbhgZevguc ZgZeba ihebl bq_kdhc kh_lkdhc hiul Duj]uaklZgZ >Z\ldbkn_jZl ^bkk_jlZpbbgZ khbkdZgb_ mq_ghc kl_i_gb ki_pbZevghklb 23.00.02 /:. > >hghg[Z_\ d_dkdbc]mfZgblZjguc DZjZkZ_\Z d_. 2006. – K. 29.

dZq_kl_hl^_evguo km[t_dlh\ f_`^mgZjh^<gudh`_hl
bklhjbq_kdh_ \j_fy ihy\bebkv iZjZee_evgu_ ijh_
j_]bhgZ \g_j_]bhgZevgufb]hkm^Zjkl_ggu_ onmjZgbaZpbm xsb
Zdlb\ghf mqZklbb \«ijhjpdjkhc_dihklkh_lkdh]h ijhkljZ
<hijhk h,ghZfkdhevdh wlhl j_]bhg dhgkljmbjm_lky kZ
kbeZfb beb dhgkljmbjm-_l^keyy bfa\hg]_bo dZ`_lky bkl
hijZ\^Zg,guZf hl_l gZ-ge_]hdbf b hq_:\bd^hggukfljmbjh\Zg
P_gljZevghc :abb hkms_kl\eyxl \g_rgb_ kbeu ih dj
kj_^g_kjhqghc i_jkGZdihbf_jjhkkbckdbc mq_bZ\aZgp_
ml_j`^,Z_llh«P_gljZevgZy :aby \ gZklhys__ \j_fy
hl^_evguc f_`^mgZjh^guc j,_qbhmgjZiadlhfmZijZ\e_ggu_
kbeu g_ ^Zxl ^jm] ^jm]m hdhgqZl_evgh jZkl\hj,blv
ijbe_]Zxsbo j_]bhxg.[1]Zo fbjZ

K f_lh^heh]bq_kdhc b ZgZeblbq_kdhc lhq_d aj
ihabpby dhgkljmdlb\bklh\ h[jZsZlv k_jv_agh_ -\gb
bgklblmpbhgZevgmxdhkgl^dmkl_ dhlhjhc b nhjfbjm_lky
b^_glbqgh<kkv\hx hq,_jh^fvZevgZy bgklblmpbhgZevghc vhgjZy
keh`beZkv \ j_amevlZl_ bgklblmpbhgZevghc fl
iheblbq_kdhc kbkl_fu ih _\jhi_ckdbf klZg^ZjlZf b ih
^jm]b_ qZklb fbjZ \ i_jbh^ dhehgbaZpbb b gZm,qgh
y\ey_lky kh\hdmighklvx g_kdhevdbo mjh\g_c k
bgklblmlh\

- NhjfZevgu_ bg,klbldmZlu qZklv ^h]h\h
f_`^mgZjh^gh],hlhijZ\kZv ^h]h\hjZ b kh]eZr_gby
\ jZfdZo f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggu,onmjZgbaZpbm xsb
ihklkh_lkdhf ijhkljZgikjb\f_,jmh]h\hj h dhee_dl
[_ahiZkg1982 bh^,ZaZdexq_gguc \ ;LZrd_gl_

[1] DZaZgp._\hevrZy »bjkjZg_ba_klgufb ijZ\bjZffbj>LZykiheblbdZ b P_glj/Z:evgZ
DZaZg-pF_hkd,\2008. –K 76.

• Hj]ZgbaZpbb lZd`_ ij_^klZ\eyxl bgkldhmlu
lhc f_j_b ^ey p_eijc^_ey_fuo]hkm^Zjkl\Zfb
dhlhju_ y\eyxlky hkgh\gufb b i_j\bqgufl
f_`^mgZjh^gh]h diZd\Zd ijbfKjGH=H>D;?\j:aWk
LZfh`_gguc,hPhWaK b ^jm=hk_m^Zjkl\Z P_gljZevg
lZd`_ y\eyxlky qe_gZfb ,hj]]^Z_gbaZpkmclkl\m
]hkm^Zjkl\Z \g_ ihklkh_lkdh]h giZhjkblfj_jgl
RZgoZckdZy Hj]ZgbaZpby Khljm^gbq_kl\Z k
DblZy beb Hj]ZgbaZpby Wdhghfbq_kdh]h
mqZklb_f L,BjZhgZZdbkl,Z:gZ]ZgbklZgZ b :a_j[Zc
lhfbfh j_]bhgZevguo h,j]ZkgmaZjkblZ P_gljZevg
y\eyxlky qe_gZfb fgh]hqbke_gguo f_`^mgZ
khljm^gbq_kZldZbo dZd,HH;HKG?HBD b ih^ibkZgl
jZaebqguo f_`^mgZjh^guo dhg\;gpbc b ^h]h\h

• H[s_ijbagZggu_ ghjfu,bgkdlhmkljmbjmxs
iheblbq_kdh_ mkljhckl\h]h,kmZ^dZbj_kldZdgZkmb\bj_
\gmljb]hkm^Zjkl_ggu_ bgklblmlu \eZklb,b \
ghjfu gZpbhgZevgh]h aZdhgh^Zl_evkl\Zij_
hl^_evgmx]jmiim bgklblmlh\

• lhfbfh wlh]h lZd`_ \u^_eyxl bgkldhmhjuuy\
kdeZ^u\Zxlky \ ijhp_kk_ f_`^mgZj,h^ZdlbhdgZ
aZdhghf_jghklb \jZ`^u b ^jm`[u gZ hij_^_e_g
f_`^mgZjh^guo hl.ghr<_g[hcevr_c qZklb ihklkh
ijhkljZgkl\Z bgklblmlhf y\e_gb_f k40h50bver_blfk
i_jbh^«ZOheh^guc »hyyeuy_lky \aZbfgZy g_ij
g_^h_jb_ f«k`h^\m_lkdbbfbb«aZiZ^g»ufkdjmdlm,jZqflh
h[tykgy_l g_nmgdpbhgZevghklv \ ihklkh_

[1]Wendt, A. Collective Identity Formation and the International State [Текст] / A. Wendt // American Political Science Review. – 1994 (June). – Vol.99. – No.2. – pp. 384-396.

© k h \ _ l k , d b o Z d b « ^ _ f h d j Z l b q » _ k d h [e _ k l \ _ g g u o
i h e b l b q _ k d b o b g k l b l m l h \

< k _ b g k l b l m l u i h m j h \ g x \ h a ^ _ c k l \ b y g Z h [s _ k l \ _
h l g h r _ g b y f h ` g h j Z k k f Z l j b \ Z l v g Z (n k j m h [t g _) d b o Z g g ^ Z b \ m j h Z \
h [s _ k l \ (Z h [s _ k l \ _ g g Z y k) j m b e b m j Z _ _ k e b \ u j Z ` Z l v k y k h
l _ j f b g h e h] b b d h g k l j m , m d l f b h \ ` g k h l h \ ] h \ h j b l v h i h e b l b
b ^ _ g l b q g h k l b q _ e h \ _ d Z b h i h e b l b q _ k d h c . b ^ _
© B ^ _ g l b q » g h k k l h m ^ g h c k l h j h g u y \ e y _ l k y b f f Z g _ g l g h c
i h e b l b q _ k d h] h Z] _ g l Z k k m ^ [j t m] d h l Z k l h j h g u Z d l m Z e b a
l j Z g k n h j f b j m _ l k y q _ j _ a f _ ` k m [t _ d l g h . [1] _ L Z a d Z f b f h m ^ [j Z k h

культурно-институциональная среда и идентичность являются источниками формирования общественно-политических интересов и определяют поведение агентов.[2] < h k h [_ g g h k l b w l h d Z k Z _ l k y i e h k d h k l b ^
b g k l b l m l h \ Z h Z d i j Z \ b e v g h h l f B _ f q Z Z g _ Z e k b _ ^ _ g l b n b d Z p b b k \ y
] e Z \ g u f b h [s _ k l \ _ g g u f b b g D k Z d l m k e Z f ^ b j Z \ a b j _ m r _ g b _ i h k e _
\ e _ q _ l a Z k h [h c i h l _ j x k f u k a e h Z b ` b g a Z g b x b ^ _ b ^ » . [3] g l b n b

< p _ e h f k g h \ h c i h k u e d h g k l j m d l b \ b k l h \ a Z d e x q Z _
k l j m d l m j u b Z] _ g l Z d Z d j Z \ g h a g Z q g u o \ h i j _ ^ _ e _ g b b
b ^ _ c k l \ b j y m] b f b k e h \ Z f b k l j m d l m j Z \ e b y _ l g Z i h \ _ , ^ _ g
g h \ l h ` _ \ j _ f y Z ] _ g l f h ` _ l \ u k l m i b l v \ d Z q _ k l \ _ k m [t
b e b b g h c k l j , m d l _ l m h j u f u b k h ^ _ j ` Z g b y l h] h b e b b g h] h
b e b k h p b Z e v g h] h b g k l b l m l Z q _ j _ a i j _ h [j Z a h \ Z g b
^ _ y l _ e v g h W k l h b l _ a b k [u e g Z b [h e _ _] e m [h d h j Z a j Z [, h l Z
k l h j h g g b d h f k h p b Z e v g h] h d h g k l j m d l b \ b a f Z W g l h g b
© k l j m d l m » j Z > p e b y W = b ^ « k _ l g k m Z d l m j Z ^ g h \ j _ f _ g g h b , k b _ ^ l

[1] Wendt, A. Social Theory of International Politics [_ d] k A. Wendt. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. – pp. 235-237.
[2] Katzenstein, P. The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics [_ d] k P. Katzenstein. – New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. – p. 30.
[3] B f Z g Z e , b D _ D u j] u a k l g Z Z g p b h g Z e v g u (\ c i h m b l k v d Z o k Z f h b ^ _ g) l [L n _ b d k Z D p b B f Z g Z . e b _ \ ; b r d _ , d D J K , M 2009. – k 6.

j_amevlZl ijZdlbq_kdhc ».^DyZl_evgh kllb\ k\h_c ^hd
^bkk_jlZpbb ijhn. >hkgh^g[Zex^b \ k\h_c ^_yl_evghklb
\ dZq_kl_ j_kmjkZ kms_kl\m,xs_b_kbkl_jfudlmkjup-bZe
ihebljbq_kdbo hlgh_r_gbc jmxsb_ bo ijZ\be,ZZ blZgh`j_f
bgklblml-lgh gZjy^m k l_f \ebyxl gZ, qlZklblmgh\mjkha
qZklbqgh f_gyly bo_c \b^bf.hk-lb^W_gk bkdZe lZd,h_
dhlhjh_ fh]eh jZkdjulv kmlv wlh]h \aZbfgh]h b ^b
ihgyl bk kljmdlmjZ]h g_ mklj Zbh\ Ze h^kl\bb =b^^_gk \\h^
dZl_]hj bkljmdlmjZpby

LZ,dklZgh\blky hq_\bl^hgu^fey ihgbfZgby ijbjh^u b
h[s_kl_ggh ihebljbq_kdbo bgklblmlh\ ,\ bP_baljZqe_vgh
\ebygby gZ \gmljb]hkm^Zjkl_gghf b h[s_j_]bhg
j_]bhgZevgu_ ijhp_kku \ P_gljZevgh^bf.abb_euc dh
h[s_gZmqguo .f_lh^h\

< oh^_ gZibkZgby ^bkk_jlZpbhgghc jZ[hlu ljZ\^hZjf
hl_q_kl_gguo b aZjm[_`guo mq_guo l_f_ bgklblmpb
dhgkljmdlb,\baf_]jZ,pbbamq_gbx ijhp_kkh\ \ P_gljZe
ihklkh_lkdhc ljZgknhjfZpbb h\Zebkv lZdb_ h[sb
ihebljbq_kdhc gZmdb dZd k[hj bhh[s_gbZ ^ZkgbkuoZ,fZl
ZgZeba b ,kbegZ kbnb,dZpby lZgb_ bklhjbq_kdh]h b
ZgZeb,ahk\jZ\gbl_evgh bklhjbq_kdbc lZdh^_fuke_gguc
wdki_jb-_gkh[h_ f_klh aZgbfZ_l kbk_f gujucih^oh[^oh^
kbem ,lh]h j_]bhgZevgh fdhfie_dkguc. hZdh f_bgkihevah\
f_lh^u wfibjbq_kdbo bkke_g^hkl_guc dhgl_gl ZgZeb
i_j\bqguo b \lhjbqguo fZl_jbZeh\ b bgl_j\vxblhjhZgb
[ueb ijh_^_gu jy^ ihem kljmdlmjbjh\Zgguo bgl_

[1] >hghg[Z:_\ : BgklblmpbhgZevguc ZgZeba ihebljbq_kdhc h_mkl\mjhu ijhkh\d
hiul Duj]uaklZgZ >Z\ldkln_jZl ^bkk_jlZpbbgZ khbkdZgb_ mq_ghc gZmd_g
ki_pbZevghklb 23.00.02 /:. > >hghg;[Zbr\d_dkdbc]mfZgbllZjgu DZjZkZ_\Z,d_,2006. – K
27.

wdki_jlZfb ba kljZg P_gljZevghc ju_:abjhn_kkbhg
kbkl_fZlbq_kdb bamqZxl j_]bh,gaZZevbgkud_exjph_pg_bk_fuwdki
Lmjdf_gbklZgZjbeh`_g1bbjb\h^blky kibkhd ,\haiZ^hZbgu
wdki_jlZf kljZg P_gljZevgh< j:Zabhbl_ bkihevah
dhfiZjZlb\bklkdbc f_lh^ ^ey khihklZ\e_gby j_]bhg
P_gljZevghc :abb k ^jm]bfb j,_]bhqgZZkfg,hkbbjZ_kku \
P_gljZevghc :abb kjZ\gb\Zeb,kjZgk_ihbh[grubffbb f_klh \
b X]h <hklhqgh1c :abb

< aZdexq_gb_]eZ,\ukei_^jmh_cl hl,f_qbbv him[ebdh\
^hklZlhqgh \gmrbl_evgh_ fghh`kykysh_gjgZu[bll_f_ j_]bhg
bgl_]jZ,pdbZbd hl_q_kl_gguf,blZmdq_bgkfbpbZebklZfb ba
[eb`g_]h aZj.m[_Bkyhjby j_]bhgZeZdfZbgklblmpbhgZ
n_ghf,_gdZhlhjuc ihemqbe k\h_ jZa\blb_ ihke_ \,hjh
ihdZa,ZqeZ j_]bhgZebaf \ gZmd_ jZa\b\Zeky ih f_j_ j
ijhp_kkh\ \ AZiZ^g.hbDh?\gjhil_mZebaZpby j_]bhgZebaf
jZfdZo kms_kl\mxsbo l_hjbc f_`^mgZ,jhd^hgluhjou_hlgjue
ijbf_g_gu ^ey hkfuke_gby gh\h]h iheb.lbZ[_kdhl]jh_gmgu
\ur_ dhgp_ipbb hle\bqmZxdlkybjh\Zgbb gZ jZaebqgu;o m
g_dhlhju_ l_hjbb jZafureyxl gZ k.bWll,h\fgih_fj\mjxh\hgq,_j_
dZkZ_lky l_hjbb iheblbq_,kedh[]hjZ,e_ZaebZafbZ bo.gl_hha`_jl
ihy\bebkv l,_hkjbpbbZevgh jZajZ[hlZggu_ ^ey h[tykg
lZdb_ dZd n_,^_jmZmebdafbhg,Zedp_ahfnmgdpbh,gZle_bajby
dhffmgbdZpbc .b Wl^Zj]jmiiZ l_hjbc ^_eZ_l n
\gmljb]hkm^Zjkl_gguo b \gmljbj_]b.hlgjZ[ev_gfuZo\,\hqhljhk
wlb l_hjbb g_ fh]ml h[tykgblv ijhp._k>kZugg\ug_ l?\hjjh
jZajZ[hlZgu \ jZfdZo iZjZ^b]fu, bihagp_lb\bja_f^ZiheZ]
jZkkfhlj_gb_ dmevlmjgh bklhjbq_kdbo b khpbZevguc

[1] ljbf Z\lhjZ,hp_kku j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \ ?\jhi_ gZqZebkv kjZam ih
< h,c\gulh \j_fy dZd ijhp_kku X]h <hklhqgh
^_dhehgb,aZ^pbbh1960-1970-o]h^Z>owlhc k\yab ke_^m,gllhhlfjblkjvZ\g_gbb gm`gh
\b^,mlh kjZ\gb\Z_lky kZfZ ijbjh^Z ijhp_kkh\ [_a hlgh.r_gby d \j_f_gghfm

aZ^Z,q4Zf]_hiheblbq_kdhc [hjv[_ aZ]hki,h5^kZlhp_\glj__]g
jZa\blbb gZpbhgZevghc b^_glbqghklb \ ms_j[h[sbf

Fu, \h fgh]hf kh]eZrZykv k ijb_^_gg,ukhqbZZ]qflfh_g
ihablb\bklkdb_, ijbhjeZ^u\Zykv gZ j_Zebb P_g^jZZxevg
qj_af_jgh mijhs_ggmx dZjlbgm bgl_]jZpbhgguo i
=em[bggu_ ijbqbgu hklZxlky aZ jZfdZfb qlZmkq\yaZhgh
lhevdh kh keh`ghklvx ij_^f_glZ bZgZejZaZq_gghklvx
l_hj_lbdh ZgZeblbq_kdbo jZfhd b mahklvx f,lq^jh_eh
ijbafm dhlhjuo bamqZxlky ijhp_kku.\ P_gljZevghc :a

BgklblmpbhgZevgh iheblheh]bq_kdbc ih^oh^
dhgkljmdlb\bafhf^Z_l \hafh`ghklv ijhZgZebabjh\Zlv
q_j_a bamq_gb_ nhjfZevguo b g_nhjfZevguo bgk
khpb,mfZ_l [he__ gxZgk,bxkm\Ztg_dh>g[1h_gbfZgb_ j_]bhgZ
ijhp_k.kh\

>ZggZy jZ[hlZ ij_^klZ\ey_l kh[hc ihiuldm ZgZeb
j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \ P_,gbjZhe[jZ4sZ_labgbfZgb
ke_^mxsb_ f_lh^heh]bq_kdb_ Zki_dlu j_]bhgZevg
P_gljZevghc :abb

- JZkkfhlj_gb_ jheb b f_klZ j_]bhgZevguo bgklblmlh\ bgl;_]jZpbb
- <uy\e_gb_ g_nhjfZevguo,dbhgkjbl_mbh\xl \ebyg khklhygb_ b ^bgZfbdm j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb
- lhgbfZgb_ khklhygby nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ bo nmgdpbhgZevghklb b Z^_d\Zlghklb d khpbZ j_Zebyf kljZg P_gljZ;evghc :abb

[1] ljbf_qZgb_ Z\«kmZ[t_d›gh agZqZ_l bamq_gb_q_jl_aebj[bafm«km][t_dlg›hklb_ bgl_jij_lZpby ihgbfZgby b ^_ckl\bc,dh[lhjdlcZ\Zjg_Zebvgzhklb \uklmiZ_l km[t_dl iheblbdb

- <uy\e_gb_ khhlghr_gby f_`^m nhjfZevgufb ihebIbq_kdbfb bgklblmlZfb P_gljZevghc :al bgklblmpbhgZebaZpbb j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb

ГЛАВА 2

ИНСТИТУЦИОНАЛИЗАЦИЯ РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИНТЕГРАЦИИ СТРАН ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЙ АЗИИ

2.1. Исторические предпосылки формирования региональной интеграции народов Центральной Азии

>ey]em[hdh]h ihgbfZgby hkh[_gghkl_c j_]bhgZ P
kh\j_f_gguo j_Zebc g_h[oh^bfh h[jZlblvky k bklhjbq_kdhfm hiulm
bklhjbq_kdh_ jZa\blb_ P_gljZevghc :abb dZd
oZjZdl_jbamxs_]hky h[sbfb]_h]jZn, d hbq_kdbfb
ebg]\bklbq_kdbfb]bhagufb q_jlZfb magZlv [hevr
hkh[_gghklyo iheblbq_kdhc hj]ZgbaZpbb h[s_kl\
fukeb ij_^klZ\bl_e_c jZagZ ZpbbiheblbQ_kdhc \eZ
Bklhjby \Z`gZ ^ey ihgbfZgby kfukeZ hlhju_ jZa\bl
j_]bhg_ gZ ijhly`_gbb fgh]hh _dh\hc iheblbq_kdhc
fgh]hf hij_^_ey_l dhglmju kh\j_f_gghc iheblbq_kdhc

< l_jjblhjbZevghf ieZg_ j_]bhg \ jZaebqgu_ bklhj
jZaebqgu_ gZbf_gh\Zgby lZd beb bgZq_ kh\iZ^Zeb
h[sbo hq_jlZgbyo ^_e_aghf _d_ l_jjblhjby
p_gljZevghZabZlkdbo]hkm^Zjkl\ \ h^ghf kh]eZkbb
ijhlb\hihkhlZ\eyeky[1] B]Zj]mihke_ ijboh^Z lxjdh\, b
lbfmjb^kdh_, \ j_]bhg [ue jZa^_e_g gZ Fh]hebklZg[2] <18-
19 \\ k e_]dhc jmdb jmkkdbo bkke_^h\Zl_e_c gZb[h

[1] ;b[ebhl_dZ deZkkbq_kdhc lxjdh ihgbfZgb_ Rmjkh\p <\ LmjZg \hijhkm h ehdZebaZpbb b kh^_j`Zgbb ^j_\g_ lxjdh ^hkl mig: http://www.tyurk.ru/file5_6.shtm, k\h[h^guc
[2] >`mfZgZebe_\ H q_jdb iheblbq_kdhc bklhjbb dhq_\gbdh\ ljblygvrZ Xgbq_kdbo\ _d dZj_\ >L_]/kL >>`mfZgZebe_\ d_d. 2007. – K 391.

gZa\Zgb_f j_]bhgZ klZgh\beky[1] yhjLmqj_dk_dklZig j_^klZ\e_gg

j_]bhgZ, klbhl_lkl_ggh <hklhqguf (Lmjd_klZg ...) kkbckd

AZiZ^guc Lmjd_klZg, ohl klZgh\bebkv < ;Zjlhev^ ... Lmjd_k

_^_gh g_ jmkkdbf]e b q_ Z\g ... ih^ \ebygb_f i_jkb

Zn]Zgkdh]h mihlj_[e_gby.[2] wlZgh]h_ k <h;ZjlhevZ^ , hq_

©hkh[_ggh \ hlq_lZo h, ijh_vm_kl\bc ... jZaebqZ, xlk

DblZckdbc b :n]Zgkdbc.[3] Wlmjdk_, kh l_l k_c \b^b, fh ... ^bl

dhjgyfb \ ]em[hdmx, ^j_\gh klv i_j\h]h Lxjdkdh]h.[4] <

kh_lkdh_ , \lj_jlhjby [ueZ ij_^klZ\e_gZ kljZgZfb K

DZaZokl Zg, Dbj]bau_ \ k\hx hq_j_^v \oh^beb \ khkl[5]Z\ Kh\

< p_ehf ihebl bq_kdmx bklhjbx j_]bhgZ fh`gh mke

ojhgheh]bq_kdbo ^h k_jbh^_l\ dbc_lkdbc b ihklkh_lkdbc

jZa^_e_ jZkkfZljb\Zxlky i_j\u_ ^\Z i_jbh^Z

< ^j_\ghklb j\]bhgm]_h]jZnbq_kdbo b debfZlbq_

aZk_e_g ^\mfy kh_jr_ggh jZaebqgufb hkh[_gghkl

a_fe_^_evq_kdhc b kdhlh\h^q_kdhc gZ i_j_k_q_gb

fZjrjmlh\ <_ebdh]h R_edh\h]h mlb, AZiZ^hf b <hklhdhf

fgh]hf ij_^hij_^_ebeh h[ebd kh\j_f_gguo p_gljZev

>Zggu_ pb\bebaZpbb hlebqZebkv ^jm] hl ^jm]Z, jZ

f_glZebl_lhf evlmjhc b khpbZevgh ihebl bq_kdhc hj]Z

h[mkeh\e_gghc kihkh[hf _^_gby oha ycklbl\Z, h]jZgbq_

---

[1] Wgpbdehi_^bq_kdbc keh\Zjv ;jhdoZmaZ b ?njhgZ: < 86 l. (82 l. b 4 ^h).). – KI[., 1890-1907. – We_dljhgg. J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://slovari.yandex.ru, k\h[h^guc

[2] ;Zjlhev^. B. <. Jmkkdb_ ijhba_^_gby ih bklhjbb du: jZ... \ ... ij_^bkeh\b_ H. ... ;Zjlhev^. – F., 1996. – K. 349.

[3] LZf `_

[4] KZfh_ jZgg__ mihfbgZgb_ ... ^hdmf_gl_ 639]. ... kh[hc ibkvfh gZ kh ... 25 ... ^ZlbjhdZ ... gZc^_g \ 1969]. ... ^ZlZ ... Qbg]bakoZgZ ... [b[ebhl. – ISBN 5-17-035804-0. — kl j 123. ...

1994. <uimkd 4, kl j 693)

[5] IhklZgh\e_gb_ PD DIKK b Kh_lZ fbgbkljh\ KKKJ hl 10.1963 ... ³H[mlhqg_gbb khklZ\Z wdhghfbq_kdbo ... KKKJ ... J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://www.bestpravo.ru/sssr/gn-zakony/w5b.htm, k\h[h^guc

^h gZqZeZ dhehgbaZpbb j_]bhgZ, JPh_gkljZkvhgZybfia_jy
j_]bhghf fgh]h_dh\h]h \aZbfh^_ckl\by b \a(Zhkfhheqhy
bjZgk)dbbxjdkdbo b fhg]hevkdbo wlghkh\ b d,mev
ij_^hij_^_eb\rbo kh\j_f_gguc h[ebd p_gljZe.vgh[1]
ljhn_kkhj : >hghg[Z_\b g_dhlhju_ ^jm]b_ mq_gu,_ i
qlh fh`gh]h\hjblv h P_gljZevghc :abb dZd hl^_ev
fh^_eb ijhr,edhjhjZy khklhbl ba ke_^mxsbo km[kljZlh\

- Wlghyaud(hxjhckdbc b lZ^);bdkdbc
- L_oghehj]bq_kdbc (kam_[fkljZ_levq_kdh_ b ohayckl\h)\Zgb_
- >moh\gh j_eb]bhaguc (bkkme[Zkfljzl Zy j_eb]b hij_^_e_ggufb \djZie_gbyfb ^j),m]bo _jh\Zgbc
- F_glZevgh ikboheh]bq_kdb(dhekjmZ[kljZhklv Z^ZilZpbhg);ghklv
- Dmevlmjguc k(kmi[hk]ljZls_>gbbghjh^guo dmevlm b j_eb]bhaguo,ggh_\Z\ubckgyy [he,_hjeZ_gZbr_k pb\bebaZpbhggy).[2] _ ieZklu

Bklhjbq_kdZy ijbgZ^e_`ghklv d _^bghc pb\bebaZ
ij_^ihkuedhc ^ey kh\j_f_ggh]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z b i_j
kljZg P_gljZevgh<c i:jahbehf kihkh[ohayckl\h\Zgby a_
dhq_\gbdh\ [ue \aZbfh^,himgbgyx\skbmiZeb \ dhhi_jZ
h[f_gb\Zebkv ijh^mdlZfb, bqlhlh\[_jkZfbqb\Zeh \ hij_^
kfuke_ wdhghfbq_kdmx kZfh^hklZ<lhwqlgghhkdvmje_]bhmjggZhf

[1] Wk_g,]Q,e[^udZgh\.ZP_gljZevgZy :aby \^ihZreh]f beb dhgr?jh_gdZkdQyWk_g]:me :[^udZgh/\Z<_klgbd DGM FZl_jbZeu f_`^mgZjh^ghc gZmqgh ikZkdhlbjq_fkgdghcc mgb_jk:bklljlZl_]by jZa\blby \ f_gyx,sihkkysfbgjg0-e_lbx ZdZ^_fbdZ DZcu+ZHlh ;brd,2012. –K 616-620.

[2] >hghg[,Z:_\: Pb\bebaZpbhggZy hkgh\Z _^bgkl\Z gZjh[^h_dh\h]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z gZjh[^h_dh\h]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z:a\bb <_klgbd D.GM;Zbe ZkZ.]-u;gbZrd,2012. –\ui 1.– K 81-82.

lZd`_ reh bgl_gkb\gh_ khpbZevg:h_ j\aZmbeh ^Z_lckl^bb_
dhq_\h]h lxjdhyauqgh]h gZk_e_gby b bo ihkl_i_gg
hZabkZo ijb_eh d yaudh\hc Zkkbfbeypbb bjZg
h[mkeh\beh ^\myauqv_ \. w_l\h j_]bhgZ_ lb_ k\ya
lxjdbaZpb_c gZ ijh^hh\Z\rbo gZ l_jjblhjbb gug_rg_c
:ab,bdhlhjuc iheghklvx aZ_jrb10ky \ kj_^b Z\lholhg
kdhlh\h^q_kdh]h gZk_e_gby b ^Ze__ \ l_q_gb_ _s_
ijh^he`Zeky kj_^b a_fe_^_evp_\ K_f.bj_qvy b Lygv R[1]

BkeZf \ P_gljZevgmx :abx ijbr_e \ \dZ_g\^wkd_ k
ijboh^hf ZjZ[h\ b ihkl_i_gghc bkeZfbaZpb_c dhf
hdZau\Zeh aZf_lgh_ khijhlb\e_gb_ 8 i_hdZ lhjZ k_jh^
bkeZfbaZpbb gZqZeZkv d m`_ ijb\ KZfZgbZ^Zo lhl jZa fh
]h\hjblv h ^_ckl_gghc, bkeZfbaZpbb s_kl\eyeZkv 1)j_f
kZfb ijZ\bl_eb klZjZebkv m_dj_ilv iheh`_gb_ bf m^_j`
\eZklv ijbf_jm \h \j_f_gZ ijZ\e_gby LZf_jeZgZ khah^Zg lZ
bgklblml *шейхуль-ислам*, ^ey lh]h qlh[u bf_lv dhgljhev
fmkmevfZgkdbf gZ 2) _ijhgb \f^gbq_kdZy ^_yl_evghkl
gZijZ\e_gbc, B\kehZ^_ggukmb, bkfZbe, budhg_ kgh ggbaf
3) h[s_^hklmighklv kbkl_fu h[jZah\Zgby q_j_a d^h_ylb
f_q_l_LcZdbf h[jZahf h f_glm ijboh^Z Jhkkbckdhc bfi_j
k_j_^bg19 _d, *Ислам был общерегиональной религией, представляющей для народов региона надэтничныйпластсамоопределения, хотя степень религиозности была разной.* Dhq_\gbdb, dZjZuau b hlqZklb lm
[ueb f_g__ bkeZfbagbj h\Zguhk_^eu_ lZ^`bdb b hfma[_
ke_^m_l hlfqlblv kj_^g_ZabZlkdbc bkeZf \h[jZe \ k_[
ij_^r_kl\h\Z\rbo f_klgu,o_djh\Zgbc b j_ebdbh^l_j`^Z[2]
kms_kl\mxsmx lhqdm lhaj_gbkeZf \ p_ehf g_ jZajmr

---

[1] Ijh bklhjbx duj]uahh\ jh[g__ F.h.d_Du\]uau gZ :elZ_ b gZ wLygv RZgb q_kdhc iheblbq_kdhc bklhjbb duj]uakdh]h .gZjh^Z.IIh\\ [h_hd l.hFe d_,_\;brd_ 2010. – 280k.
[2] LZf `_

d m e v l m j m a Z \ h _ \ Z g l u j Z g k k l m j Z i g f b j h \ Z e b o b .[1] D b j i Z h f \ , j k m
g Z j y ^ m k a Z d h g Z f b h \ Z j b g l Z e x ^ _ c l Z d ` _ j _] m e b j h \ Z
h [u q g h] h i j Z \ Z l b a Z d h g Z f b . k ^ _ b g k l \ h j _ , e g] Z b b q b _
g Z ^ w l g b q g h] h i e Z k l Z k Z f h b ^ _ g l b n b d Z p b b g Z k _ e _ g b y
\ a Z b f h ^ _ c k l \ b _ g Z j h ^ , h d h j h g Z h l y b i j h ` b \ Z e b \ j
i h e b w l g b q g u o i j h l h] h k m ^ Z j k l \ _ g g , u g h h [j Z k a j h \ g Z h f b Z y e b
i j b g Z ^ e _ ` Z \ r b f b h [s _ c f m k m e v f Z g k d h l d k m h k f \ b k l j
h q _ j q _ g g u o b h o j Z g y _ f u o] j Z g b p f _ ` ^ m = g j Z j g h ^ Z u
b k l h j b q _ k d b l Z d k e h ` b e b k v b i j h o h , ^ k q e h [u Z i d h ^ f d h [j Z a
h ^ g h] h i j Z \ b l _ e y i h i Z ^ Z e b d j m , i g h j b k b l _ e] h g h u ^ Z k b k l
l h j] h \ u _ i » m[2] l b = j Z g b p u [u e b i j b f b j g f g h] b _ l _ j j b l h j b b
k i h j g u , f b l Z d i h d Z a Z g h g Z . d Z j l _ g b ` _

[1] > j m ` [ Z g Z j h W h e \ _ d l j h g g u c ] / j _ > k ` m j f Z , _ : \ B k e Z f b d m e v l m j Z \ P _ g l j Z W e v g h d j h g a b
` m j . g – 2008. – < 12. – J _ ` b f ^ h k h t t p : / / m a g a z i n e s . r u s s . r u / d r u z h b a / 2 0 0 8 / 1 2 / d m 8 , h k m h [h ^ g u c

[2] < _ k l g b d ? \ j [Z W a e b d l j h g g u c] j _ > k ` m j f Z , _ : \ B k e Z f b d m e v l m j Z \ P _ g l j Z e v g h c : a b b \ k \ _ l _ ] _ h ] j Z n b b . g – W k e l d l j h g j . _ h m j g . Z – < 1. – J _ ` b f ^ h k h t t p : / / w w w . e a v e s t . r u / m a g a s i n / a r t i k e l e n / 2 0 0 0 - 1 _ p a n . h k m h [h ^ g u c

Карта 2.1. Среднеазиатские ханства в первой половине XIX в.[106]

[106] > h k l m i d dZ j l _ i h e m q _ g \ d g b [illegible] 2005. – 91 k

Bklhjbq_kdh_ jZa\blb_ j_]bhgZ \ jZfdZo Jhk
Kh_lkdh]h KhxaZ k^_eZeh _]h _s_ [he__]hf
bgklblmpbhgZevghc f,h^_jgbaZpbb, jw^bl ijhp_kk b
g_h^ghagZqgu_ wnn_dlu gZ khpbZevgh ihebl bq_
bgklblmKu h^ghc klhjhgu ^_jgbaZpby ijb lhlZeblZjbaf
^hklb]eZ k\hbo ijh\ha]eZ:rlj Z^bpbhgeZy khpbZevgZy
lZd b g_ [ueZ mgbqlh`_gZ kh_lk.dWlh fih^\jgebaZpbg Z
j_]bhgZ khojZgblv k\hx wlgh dmevlmjgmx ZbgZ^_glblq
lZd`_ g_ ijb_eZ d \ul_kgggbx_ blkleZbh j_eb]bx \ g_
p_j_fhgbZevguo , hfjy^Zgbq_kdb ih^l_j`^Zxsbo
b^_glbqghklBv^_glbqghklv p_gljZevghZabZlkdh]h g
oZjZdl_jbah\Zlvky,^qm_ZohbhfqfjqbZy ijhlb\hiheh`ghk
nmgdpbc nhjfZevguo b g_nhjfZevguo \bgk\lblmpbc
g_ihkj_^kl_ggh \eby_l gZ nhjfbjh\Zgb_ j_]bhgZevgh

< khpbZevgh ihebl bq_kdhf ieZg_ hkgh\gufb
bgklblm,lZfbblhju_ khojZgyebkv gZ ijhly`_gbb fgh]b
hklZxlky jh^h\u_ deZgu, bbebie_fZgZau\Z_fu_ jh^h
h[t_^bg_gby[107] < gZklhys__ \j_fy fgh]b_ ,bkl
ki_pbZebabjmxsb_ky\ bamq_gbb ,Fhgljed\gZxl :abbv
agZq_gb_ kdjulh]h bkihevah\Zgby deZgh\hc ihebl bd
wdhghfbq_kdhf mijZ\e_gbb[108] j_^Z]gbklv jh^m beb ie_
p_gljZevghZabZlkdbo gZjh^h\ y\ey_lky i_j\bqgho gZ
__ hkgh\hc y\ey_lky yq_cdZ ihebl bq_kdh,c- *семья*. ZgbZ
KhpbZevgZy hj]ZgbaZpby gZ deZgh\hc kbkl_f_ oZ
^ey dhq_\uo gZjh^h\ P_glj>ZevghdZabb i_jbh^ bklhj
ihdZau\Zq_lhih f_gvr_c ,fgj dhlhju_]jmiiu ma[_dh\ b

107 KZiZjZe,b>_\ WlghihebIbq_kdZy bklhjby HrZ b XVIII h^dj_kk jg_h^XIX u. [k _d]k l > .; KZiZjZe-b;_b\rd _1999. – K 10
108 Collins, K. Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia_[d]k l K.Collins. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. – 400 p.

lZd`_ bf_eb jh^h ie_f_ggmx b deZgh\mx kljmdlmjm[109]. Hmx kljmdlmj

jZaebqby \ hj]ZgbaZpbb b ^_ckl\bb deZgh\uo kljm

jZaebqguo p_gljZevghZabZ dhgp_\gljmdhi\ deZgh\Zy klj

hkgh\ZgZ gZ gZke_^kl_gghc hlghkl\hdhc), ebgbbaZl_f g

l_jjblhjbZevghklb b jZkihagZ\ZeZkv ih gZbf_gh\Zgb

ie_f_gguo dhgn_^_jZpbc (KlZjrbc b FeZ^rbc @maul). Mm

hk_^eh]h gZk_e_gby deZgh\Zy kljmdlmjZ [ueZ hkgh\ZgZ

j_]bhgZevguo, k\yaZgguo \aZbfhhlghr_gby jZaebqg

oZjZdl_jbah\Zebkv dZd dhgdmj_gpby \aZbfhhlghr_gby

LZrd_glkdZy b KZfZjdZg^kdZy deZgh\u_ kljmdlmju. *Регионализм в*

узком внутригосударственном смысле (микро-регион) dZd jZa^_e_g

j_]bhgu b ijbfZl ehdZevghc (ba^_eyxsbf ih ijbgpbim k\

k\hckl_g_g \k_f kljZgZf P_gljZevghc :abb

Ke_^mxsZy hlebqbl_evgZy q_jlZ ^hkh_lkdhc i

djh_lky \ hj]ZgbaZpbb kljmdlmju F_Zkl^_ev[Zmf: ibr_

©Hi_jbjmy h]jhfgufb l_jjblhjbyfb, lZdhc \hh[jZ

^bgbp, ZfHq_\gbdb jZa\b\Zeb k\h[h^gu mijZ\e_g

dhlhju_ lj_[h\Zeb gZoh`^_gby dhgk_gkmkZ f_`^

ghkbl_eyfb \eZklb b iha\heyeb agZqbl_evgh xdhgdlj

h[s_kl_ \hagbdZe, \dhgp_ dhgp]Z ijhklhc \uoh^ kgylvky

mclb gZ gh\u_ iZkl[bsZ \ a_fe_^_evq_kdbo hk_^eu

aZ\bkysbo hl hij_^_e_ggh]h dhebq_kl\Z [hebl jZkrbj_g

aZ kq_l gZ^_eZ a_fe_b[ue h[ogh^bf kljh]bc p_gljZe

dhgljhev ^ey ih^^_j`Zgby klZ[bevghklb \k_]h h[s_kl\[110]

LZdh]h jh^Z gZ[ex^_gby iha\heyxl _klb gZmqg

Z\lhjblZjghc b g_ Z\lhjblZjghc ijbjh^u \eZklb. \

---

[109] Shahrani, N. The Kirghiz Khans: Styles and Substanse of Traditional Local Leadership in Central Asia / N. Shahrani // Central Asian Survey. – 1986. – Vol.5. No.3/5. – p. 258.

[110] Mandelbaum, M. Central Asia and the World: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan/ M. Mandelbaum. – Washington D.C.: Council of Foreign Relations Press, 1994. –p. 8.

G_dhlhju_ bkke_^h\Zl_eb ih^q_jdb\Zxl Z,ab Zlh k^Zb cdZ[111]

^jm]b_ Zdp_glbjmxl \gbfZgb_ gZ gZebqbb b agZqb

^_fhdjZlbq_kdhc dmevlmju \ ^j_\gbo p_gljZevgh Z ab

]jmiiZ bkke_^h\Zl_e_c ij_^eZ]Z_l hl^_eblv [he__ ^_

hl [he__ Z\lhjblZjguo a_fe H^gh\j_f_ggh b a oZjZdl_jgu[112]

ihebl bq_kdhc dmevlmju \ j_]bhg_ [ueZ i_j\bqgZ

mijZ\e_gb_ ***совет аксакалов*** – ij_^klZ\bl_e_c klZjr_]h ihdhe_gb

LZdb_]hjh^kdb_ dhffmgZevgu_ hj]ZgbaZpbb (k hk d_^Zd^b

h[sbgu dhlhju_ \dexqZxl \ k_[y g_nhjfZevgu_ b ad b_ b

^Zevgbo jh^kl_ggbdh, \dhblhjuk_ ^kqblZxl k_[y qZklvx

khh[s_kl\Zbf_xl koh`b_ q_jlu k deZgh\ufb . hj

Махалля mijZ\eyebkv Z,kdZ Z eZbfb\ khh[s_kl\Z gguo

deZgh\hc kbkl_f_ dhq_\uo Z aZijhu ab \ lm:dfk_ghlZeu [u

kh_lgbdZfb beb, \dhh`^yfb_ mijZ\eyeb g_ [eZ]h^Zjy [

ijh\b^_gbZx ijbh[j_lZeb lZdmx \hafh`ghklv aZ hij_^_e

khh[s_kl\hf b ^he`gu [ueb khojZgylv. k\h^Z ghjfu b kh

fh`gh m\b^_lv i_j\bqgu«f_ jklgkbo» ^_fhdjZlbq_kdbo

kh_sZgby b»[113] khb_hlZgh\ ihebl bq_kdhc e_]blbfghklb

:ab.bFh`gh kdZ,qZlv\ ^hdhehgbZevguc i_jbh^ bklhjbb

bkihevah\Zeky ijbgpbi ijyfh.cEb^_fhdjZlb[bjZebkv gZ

ij_^u^msbo ,aZkkehm]bgkljhy\e_gguo kihkh[ghkl_c d jm

ebqghc oZ,jbalfu_ iha\heyeb bf aZ\h_\u\Zlv k_j^pZ[114]

H^gZ`^u ba[jZggu_ ihebl bq_kdb_ eb^_ju«kjZlkf_Z gju \Z

g_ih]j_rbfu»[115] LZdZy ljZ^bpby \ ^Zevg_cr_f ijb_eZ d

[111] <_klgbd ?\jZ ab b[Wdljhgguc j_kmjk]: Amer Eurasica / lZgZj,bk : Ihebl bq_kdh_ jZa\blb_]h

P_gljZevghc :abb \ k_l_]_h]jZnbb. – Wel_dljhggh_ bh`Z_ 2000. – ‹ 1. – J_`bf ^hklmiZ:

http://www.eavest.ru/magasin/artikelen/2000-1_pan.htm, k\h[h^guc

[112] Mandelbaum, M. Central Asia and the World [L_dkl]: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan/ M. Mandelbaum. – Washington D.C.: Council of Foreign Relations Press, 1994. –p. 8.

[113] Gleason, G. The Central Asian States [L_dkl]: Discovering Independence / G. Gleason. – Colorado: Westview Press 1997. – p. 6.

[114] Ijh hlghr_gby f_`^m gZjh^hf b _]h jmdh\h^kl\hf \ 20 \_d_ / Dmebf Z,gaZ`Zq_bl q_kdZy [hjv[Z \ Duj]uaklZg_ ^u_ [L_dkl] / A. Dmjf Z,gh\ ; \bd_ I.\ ^_e. – Dmjf ; \bd : B e b f, 1997. – 292 k, = eZ\Z 1.

[115] Arafat, I. Personalities and Central Asian Politics [L_dkl] / I. Arafat // Asian Monographs, Faculty of Economics and Political Sciences. – Cairo University. – 2002 (December). – Issue No.47. – p. 7.

eb^_jh\ khojZgylv k\hx \eZklv b i_j_^Z\Zlv __ ih
ihdhe_gby d .^Km]h^fmhc kl,hjhgu_eh d mklhcqb\hklb
mijZ\e_;gkby^jm]hc kl,hjhgu kheb^Zpbb \eZklb \ jmd Zo
deZgh\hc klj.mdlmju

Kh_lkdbc Khxa [ue ihkljh_g gZ jmbgZo, Jhkkbc
ke_^h\Zeh h`b^Zlv hljy gZ bkihevah\Zgb_ gh\u
dhffmgbklbq_kdhc, ^hdlbgbf ijh^he`be dhehgbZevg
pZjkdhc bfi_jbb GZ wlhl kq_l yjdh \ujZabeky duj]u
A DmjfZgh\ _j`^Zyl h«KKKJ ij_\jZlbeky \ j_\hexpbhgg
klZjhc dhehgbZevgh»hc[116] bfi_jbb

lZ^_gb_ bfi_jkdh]h j_`bfZ h[tykgy_lky jy^hf
khpbZevgh wdhghfbq_kdbo]h^ bZjZdl_jbZ j_Zebyfb b b
l_j\hc Fbjh\hc .<hcgu_jbh^ f_`^m n_\jZevkdhc b
j_\hexpbyfb j_]bhg ho\ZlbeZ h[sZy ihebl bq_kd
^_ahjb_g lZpbyZ eb^_ju P_gljZevghc :abb m\b^_eb
h[t_^bg_ggh_]h.kn_^Zjklh_jhkkbckdbc kt_a^ fmkmev
Fhkd\Z \1917]h^Z gZ dhlhjhf h[km`^Zebkv fgh]b qbkeh
hlghr_gb_ d iheblbq_kdbf baf_g_gbyf \ Jhkkbb
gZpbhgZevgh dmevlmjgmx Z\lhgh fbx f mk mev fZg[117]
hlf_lblv qlh]jZ`^ZgkdZy \hcgZ k\_eZ gZ g_l \hafh`
bgl_]jZ.pbKb_igu_ gZjh^u ih^^_j`b\Zeb <j_f_ggh_ l
\ujZ`Zeb]hlh\ghklv hklZ\Zlvky qZklvx Jhkkbb k k
h[eZkl_c]hk.m^Zjkl\eu_ gZjh^u h^bgZdh\h k g_^h_
\eZklb <j_f_ggh]h ljZ\bl_ev,kjZZkbZKjh\Zyh__ dZd ijh
^hfbgbjh\Zgby .jm<kk1917b]h^m \ Lmjd_klZg_ ijh\h^blky

---

[116] DmjfZgh\ (1997), kl. 110.

[117] GZpbhgZevgZy ihebl bq_kdZy [Wewgl]jhgguc j_kmjk <k_jhkkbckdbc Fmkme Kt_a^ 1-11 fZy 1917]h^Z Fhkd\Z W e_dljhgguc J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://www.politike.ru/dictionary/477/word/pervyi-vserosiiskii-musulmanskii-sezd, k\h[h^guc

[118] Olcott, M.B. The Kazakhs [_d]k/ M.B. Olcott. – Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987. – pp. 138-140; Zenkovsky, S. Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia [_d]k/ S. Zenkovsky. – Cambridge: HarvardUniversityPress, 1960. – pp. 210-212.

bkeZfkdbo dhgn_gjZ_gpbbhjuo h[ty\ey_lky hdhgqZl_ey
Lmjd_klZgZ aZokdb_ ihebl bq_kdb_ (Fm_oZ^f_Z^_ehg LuguriZ
FmklZnZ)Q[ude[b i_j\ufb jmdh\h^bl_eyfb Lmjd_klZgk
Wlhl bklhjbq_kdbc nZdl gZ]ey^gh ^_fhgkljbjm_l ihe
l_o \j_f_gey dhlhjuo aZ\bkbfhklv fukebeZkv lhevd
p_gljZevghZabZlkdh»[119] bZgdZy klb_iZjZlbklkdZy l_g^_gp
lhf, qlh [hevr_\bdb LZrd_glZ bgbpbbjh\Zeb ebd\b^
Lmjd_klZgkdhc Z\lhghfbb,]\^_ Dhjhb`h^_eZ [hevrZy
k_iZjZlbklh\, qlh g_ fh]eh g_ kdZaZlvky \ ^Zevg_cr_f g
f_klguo jmkkdbo b f_klguo fmkmevfZg b_ ihke_^gbo
Fhkd\u kiuogm\r__ [ZkfZq_kdh_ ^\b`_gb_ \kdh]d ihZ
fheh^Zy kh_lkdZy \eZklv gZqZeZ ih^^_j`b\Zlv, rb
dhlhjh_ mklZeh hl [_kdhg_qguo dhgnebdlh\ fbehlh
]hkm^Zjkl\h gZoh^behkv \ ly`_euo khpbZevgh «wdh
lZdbo mkehbby «ihebl bdbaZpbb» bkeZfZ gZpbhgZevguo
j_]bhgh\ kh[_ggh \ k_l_ b^_c iZglxjdbafZ b iZg^ybkeZ
f_klguo dhffm, gbklh\ Z ^ey Fhkd\u emqrbf j_r_gb_
k_iZjZlbklkdbo l_g^_gpbc gZpbhgZebklbq_kdb hjb_
ljb wlhf ke_^m_l, qlh ihgylby «gZpby» b «]hkm^Zjkl\h» f kfuke_
dZd wlh ihgbfZ_lky [uk_]hi b ^j_g_k_gu \ j_]bhg ba\g_
\eZklvx GZpbhgZevgh l_jjblhjbZevgh_ jZaf_`_\Zgb_
\ 1924]h^m. d_amevlZlhf jZaf_`_\Zgby klZeb gh\u_ mjh\
lZdb_ dZd gZpbhgZevgZy (hdjm`gZy) gZpbhgZevgZy (ZdZ\g_kZy)
]jZ`^Zgkl\h hgylb «**титульная нация**» \hagbdeh bf_ggh \
gZpbhgZevgh]h jZaf_`_\Zgby Kj_^g_c :abb dZd d
ijh_^_gb «bklkdmkkl\» g_ùjo_kim[ebdZgkdbo kh_lkdh]h
klhjhgu wlh jZaf_`_\Zgb_ ijh\_eh ]jZgbpu f_`^m kh_l
b aZimklbeh ijhp_kku gZpbhgZevgh]h b]hkm^Zjkl\

[119] Lheb,i N.\ P_gljZevgZy wlbby «klZgh» lhe_fbdZ k dZaZokdbfb // P\ZgbZpZ gZy :aby
DZ\dZa 2006. – 2 (44) – K24.

^jm]hc klhj–hgaZeh`beh ihq\m ^ey [_kdhg_qghc f
gZijy`_gghklb b l_jjblhjbZevguo ij_l_gabc f_`^m<j_l
h^ghc ba k\hbo baZ ikkgdc bklhjbd \hk;lZhjdhe v^ <bdklZhe
_\jhi_ckdb_ ijbgpbiu ihkljh_gby]hkm^Zjkl_gghklb
jZa\blbx gZjh^h\ j_]bhgZ b [ueb \hkijbgy«hu[sihc^
_\jhi_baZpbb »<.[120]hkKhmdZlkdh_ jmdh\h^kl\h iheh`beh
ijbgpbi \ujZ[hlZgguc dZiblZebklbq_k,dbf\ AhZkigZh^\hm
]hkm^Zjkl_gghklb \ K.j«<^kg__cwtlababb`^behkv gZ,qmh_j_
j_amevlZl_ kljhbl_evkl\Z khpbZebafZ ^he`gu keh`
gZpbb b lh]^Z ijbgpbi gZpbhgZevghjZhlZZfhhgjZ_p^b_heg_Zg
ijbgpbi dZd hkgh\Z]hkm^Zjkl_gghklb [ueb [u aZ
jZ\ghijZ\by b jZkp_lZ».[121]\k_o gZpbc

K wdhghfbq_kdhc lhjqkdh\ajlkgdby \j_fy j_]bhg ebrZ
wdhghfbq_kdhc kZfhklhyl_evghklb ihb kjm\bjZusjZv_l\khyc
ijb^Zlhd \g_j_]bhgZevguo ijhfure._g<gujZfbZ_ogljihe\Zgh
wdhghfbdb j_]bhg nZdlbq_kdb ijh^he`Ze jZkkfZlj
j_kmjkh\ b aZ\bk_e hl j._rL_gfbog_p_fgbjZklgh_ gZk,_e_
iZjZee_evgh b g_ \ hldjukhc`nhkfojZgbeh k\hb kh
dmevlmjgu_ ljZh^bq,Zb_eb]bhagu_ ij_^ihql_gby b ^jm
ijhreh,]h lhf qbke_ j_]mebjmxsb_ ohayckl\Dgigbf_jmg
ijhp_kk dhee_dlb\baZpbb ^Ze \hafh`ghklv deZgh\
ijhy\blvky \ gh\h,odhm]hjZ_dhee_dlb\gu_ ohayckl\Z kljh
deZgh\hc ijbgZ^.e_Kgh\klkdZy ghf_gdeZlmjZ dZd
iheblbq_kdbc bgklblml kihkh[kl\h\ZeZ jZa\blbx b d
g_nhjfZevghc iheb*khdhe.dZd Hl \ur_klhysbo ghf_gde
jZ[hlgbdh\ aZ\bk_eh gZagZq_gb_ gZ ^he`ghklv b
fZl_jbZe,vg\ueZklguobgZgkh\uo G_h[oh^bfh mihfygr

[120] CA&CCPress® AB [We_dljhgguc]j_Hkmjkh\F. < :;Zjlhev^ h GZpbhgZevghf jZaf
Kj_^g_c :abWe_dljhgZg– him[ebdh\Zgh \ "mhjZhed– 1991. –< 5. –J_`bf ^hk:lmiZ
http://www.ca-c.org/datarus/st_13_olimov.shtml (kl\h[h^guc
[121] LZf `._

ihebl bq_kdhf ijbkgjpbb\ih_^guo j_»fgh_Ic iZjlbb d fZkkZf

^_yl_evghklv hj]Zgh\ kh_lkdhc \eZklb b h[s_kl\

j_amevlZl_ ihy\beZkv kbkl_fZ lhjjuZgb_acZkbh\Zeb ih ih

DIKK b bf_eb g_h[oh^bfu_ \eZkl[122] gulj bihmkgehlhqbo ieZ

wdhghfbdb b ^bdlZlZ dhffmgbklbq_kdhc iZjlbb[

jmdh\h^bl_e_c ba g_kdhevdbo Zevl_jgZlb\guo

©baebr_kl\hlhjh_ ij_iylkl\m_l dhgp_gljZpbb h]jZgb

h[s_kl\Z gm`gh_ ,\\_fym`ghf f»_kl j_ame,vlZlZ_evguc \u[

jmdh\h^bl_e_c hkms_kl\eyeZ ih ebklbq_kdZyk vwebZ

djbl_jbbehyevghklv b ij_^Zgghklv iheblbq_kdhf kjl_v

ghfbgZevghklv ,\ugZqbb\gZy k dexq_\uo jmdh\h^bl_

ij_^k_^ZIl_e_c ,dhgebo^eh\ dh]h g_ [ue Z j_ame,vlZl_

hlkmlkl\b_ hnbpbZevguo ^_fhdjZlbq_kdbo f_oZgba

jZkij_^_e_gby [eZ] gZqZeb aZgh\h ZdlmZeba

g_nhjfZevgh]h j_]mebjh\Zgby h[s_kl_gguo hlghr_gb

jh^kl_g,guo Zgh\uo b bgu»o[123] kGyZaq_bg 1960-o, \ P_gljZevg

:abb kdeZ^u\Z^\ky»gkZbykl_fZ iheblbq_kdh]h Kmh]Z\gh_c

klhjh,gu nbpbZevgZy b j_]mebjm_fZy \ dZ^jh\hf b ihe

\ khhl_lkl\bb k gZ^wlgbqghc b^_eh,kb^jmbhwlkdhjh

g_nhjfZe,vlgjZy bpbhggh]j,mwiig\bZy_kdb hdjZr_ggZy b a

\ebygby Fhkd\u[124]

Ihke_^gb_]h^u kh_lkdh]h j_`bfZ oZjZdl_jbam

dhgnb]mjZpbb \eZklb,d\hlhj_h\gujZ`Z_lky \ ^\mlojfh,f_g

iheblbdZ]eZ,kegh[k_jbZebaZpbb b i_j_klhjhcdb_\Z b ,\lh

ijbgylb_ kh]eZr_gbc beb ^h]h\hj_gghkl_c f_`^m]e

---

[122] Fhoh,\< I Kh_lkdZy ghf_gdeZlmjZ dZd iheblbq_kdbc bgkl/bkmI>Wh_dljhg

J_`bf ^hkl:lmiZ http://www.pseudology.org/people/Nomenklatura.htm, kh\h[h^guc

[123] F_`^mgZjh^gu_ hlghr_gby \ P_gljZevghc :abb: mf_glu ^ek ;h]ZlmjZ\Z

Fhkd\Z, 2011. – K 30.

[124] LZf .`_ – K 31.

kbeZfb \ dZ`^hf p_gljZevghZabZ.[125] Lhdh KmZ^Zjkl\

©qbk›,dbgZqZlu_. :Xg^jhihih\uf b ijh^he`_gg= hj[Zq_\uf

gZp_e_ggu_ gZ [hjv[m k dhjjmipb_c b mgbqlh`_gb

\ukrbo wr_ehgZo \eZklb \ p_gljZevghZabZ, Zhlk^do_

\uebebkv \ lZd gZ«awl\Zb_q ukdb_ dh»g\n 1989 bu 1990]h^Zo

l_j\uc dhgnebdl ijh 1989]h^m \ \ Ma[_dbklZg_ f_`^m f_

lmjdZfb b ma[_dZfb 1990[126]]h^m \ Duj]uaklZg_ f_`^m d

ma[_dZfb[127] LZdh]h jh^Z [_kihjy^db [ueb k\h_]h

^_e_]blbfbaZpbb klZ\e=_hgjbq_\ZbF lhk«qbkl»h d^gZ deZgh

kbkl_fZ kf_gbeZkv ^jm]hc gZ, \Zukk_Zffbmjhh\g_ g_]Z

hljZabebkv gZ h[s_kl_gg hf bfkd_gxbpZ,yq lh]^Zeb fhsg

lheqhd dhgkheb^Zpbb \ kbkl_f_ deZgh\hc kljmdlmju

1991]h^m i_j_oh^ \eZklb \ p_gljZevghZabZ, aZZlkdb_dbh lhkm

bkdexq_gbyfb ijh\h^blky kh]eZkgh ij_^\Zjbl_evguf ^

deZgh\ufb kljm.dlmjZfb

JZaebqgu_ ihebl bq_k,db_ \ayldumjkup_gljZevghZab

]hkm^Zjkl\Zfb ihke_ jZkiZ^Z K,h\hlkfdgh]]hf Khkxa yZkgyx

hkh[_gghklyfb\b^_gbyb mijZ\e_gq_kdbfb \hafh`ghk

web.lu< [hevr_c kl_ji_gbb ihklkh_lkdh]h i_jbh^Z

g_nhjfZevgufb bgk,lblmlZufb \ kbem bklhjbq_kdhc, ij_

b \ i_jbh^ kljmdlmjghc ljZgknhjfZpbb ihklkh_l

©h[gZjm›kbe_by dZd gZb[he__ nm.gdpbhgZevgu_

Hl_qZy gZ, \hlZjhk\Z aZ\bkbfhklv beb khhlghr_gb_

dmevlmjghc ljZ^bpb_c ^hkh_lkdhc P_gljZevghc

dmevlmjhc kh_lkdh]h i_jbh^Z \ fhu`gh rgml_ ij^Zly

[125] A^_kv ih^ keh\hf kh]eZr_gb_ ihgbfZ_lky g_nhjfZevgZy ^h]h\hj_gghklv ihkldhehgbZevghc iheblbdb

[126] Ba aZibkdb dhfbkkbb PD DI Ma[_dbklZgZ h ijbqbgZo klh[dgdb \ Nkj]gZ DIKK – 1989. – ‹ 10. – K 94-96.

[127] N_j]ZgZ News. BgnhjfZpbhggh_ Z]_glkl\h. We_dljhggZy [b[ebhl_dZ. We_dljhgguc j_kmjk. – J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://www.ferganannews.com/article.php?id=6601

©k^\h_»g kZjymdlmjZ mijZ\e_gby \ P_gljZevgh, c gh: ahbe vkdh
kh_lkdb_ nhjfu [ueb aZ dhjhldbc i_jbh^ ij_\jZs_gu
kmsghklb ^_ckl_ggufb [ueb b hklZxlky bf_ggh ,g_
dhlhju_ \ k\hx hq_j_^v ab`^mlky gZ dmevlmjguo h
gZjh^h\ j_]bhgZ b Zevgh iheblbq_kdb_ ijhp_kku \ P
fh`gh hoZjZdl_jbah\Zlv keh\hkhq_\Zlkdbc ljZ^bpbhgZ
dhlhjhf dhf[bgbjmxlky ^hkh_lkdb_ ghjfu k kh_lkd
wlhf ke_^m_l ,hlf_lblv gZ khkh_lkdbc ljZ^bpbhggZ ^ af Z_
\lhjZy \hegZ bgklblmpbhgZ ebaZpbb xlky aZiZ^g.uB b
a^_kv mf_klgh \kihfgblv keh\Z ijhn_kkhjZ h«@bKZ
©\g_^j_»gbbbklblmlh\ b p_gghkl_c aZiZ^ghc iheblheh]
ihq\u \hklhqguo ,hh[sb kh\b_glZebabjmxlky ih^ \ebygb_
ljZ^bpbc b iheblbq_kdhc»[128] dmevlmju

JZkkfZljb\Zy bklhjbq_kdbm_ jgu_ hkh[_gghklb b
P_gljZevghc g:aebabay g_ aZ^Zlv ^hklZlhqgh-[gZ dhevgu
P_gljZevgZy :aby y\ey_lky DZdh vxhkagb\Zgby fh`gh
mdZau\Zxsb«Z gZ lkdhP_gljZevghc? ijbv bevgh eb [
jZkkfZljb\Zlv P_gljZevgmx :abx d ?GdZ h[kl_v_? \ljZg b h
gZ wlb \hijhku iha\heyl gZclb k\hc kh[kl_ggu_ hp_gcmx i
fh^_ev j_]bhgZevghc. Dd k_]j_Zpbb ZlkdhklbªP_gljZevg
gZ ijbf_j_ du,j]lmahg\h \ujZabeky h[s_kl_gg,u^cb i^e_hyfl_le
FmjZl[_dBfZgZeb_\

Следует признать, что нахождение кыргызов в пределах русской культуры и образования, которое не отрицает того, что кыргызы являются

---

[128] KZZ^Zg[_@dK h\j_f_ggu_ iheblbq_kdb_ l_g^_gpbb \ kljZgZo P_gljZevghc :
Z\lhjblZjghc b ^_fhdjZlbq_kdbc[L_dkZ\lhjZ nbjZl ^bkk_jlZpbbhkhbkdZgb_ mq_ghc kl
^hdlhjZ iheblbq_kdbo gZmd 23.00.02 /@ KZZ^Zg[_ dhfZl,u 2002, k.13.

азиатами-монголоидами, однако, тем не менее, сыграло свою роль в отчуждении кыргызов от Азии.[129]

Fh`gh kdZaqZhv^Zggh_ gZ[ex^_gb_ hlghkblky \ j
\k_f gZjh^Zf P_gljZevghc :aabevlZl_ \aZbfh^_ckl\b
Jhkkbckdhc bfZ_jabZbl_f Kh_lkdhjkehk`hbxeaZk,vqlZdjmkkd
\hkijbgbfZeb gZjh^u P_gljZevghc :abb d,ZdlZabjZ_fhv
dZd ^ey ZabZlh\ b fmkmevfZg gZjh^u kh_lkdhc P
\hkijbgbfZebkv dZdKZZfdh\uZ`gh- daZdkv kZfhb^_glbn
ijb^_j`b\Zebkv b ijb^_j`b\Zxlky kZfb?g<Zjhbfh j]b
djh_lky]^_ lh ihk_j_^bg_ i_j\uo m^qmbu\ZyjZghjZnb
^_l_jfbgbjh\Zgumxljevghikhevh`_gby P_gljZevghc :a
ke_^kl\b_ wlh]h wlgh dmevlmjgmx \hkijbbfqb\hklv
j_]bhgfZn`gh k^_eZlv, qu\hb^_glbqghklv gZjh^h\ P_glj
^hklZlhqgh fgh]hmjh\g_\Zy dZlhj]hcbydZ hlkmlkl\m_
b_jZjoby f_`^m jZaebqgufb ieZklZfb .kZfhbZ[e_gb_nb
ij_^klZ\e_gZ fgh]hmjh\g_\Zy b^_glbqghklv gZjh^h\
bklhjbq_kdhc i_jki_dlb_

[129] Bgklblml H[s_kl_gghc [lWeb_dlhbgguc]j/kmfZgZeb_F\ L_jfbgu b h[jZa kZfhb^_glbnb-dZWeb_dljhZg- J_`bf ^hk:http://www.ipp.kg/ru/print/570/, k\h[h^guc

Таблица 2.1. Идентичность народов Центральной Азии (общественно-политические институты)

	Досоветский период	1917 г.	**Советский период**	1991-1993	**Постсоветский период**
Наднациональный уровень	B k e Z f	L m j d _ k l Z g k d Z y Z \ l h g h f b y	K h \ _ l k d Z y] j Z ` ^ Z g k l \ _ g g h k P v _ g l j Z e v g h Z a b Z l k d ^ b _ f h d j Z l b q g h k l v] h k m ^ Z j k l \	K h ^ j m ` _ k l \ h P v _ g l j Z e v g h Z a b Z l k d ^ b _ f h d j Z l b q g h k l v] h k m ^ Z j k l \	D \ Z a b q e _ g k l \ h , \ H H G H ; K ? b), ^ j d e b _ g l _ , e b a f i h k l k h \ _ l k d b c l j Z ^ b p b h g Z e b a f q e _ g k l \ h , \ K G = H > D ; b) ^ j
Национальный уровень	I h e b w l g b q g u i j h l h] h k m ^ Z j k l \ _ g g u h [j Z a h \ Z g b y	I h e b w l g b q g u i j h l h] h k m ^ Z j k l \ _ g g u h [j Z a h \ Z g b y	L b l m e v g Z y (\ g Z p b y i _ j k i _ d l b \ _ g Z p) b k ^ \ h _ g g Z y k b k l _ f Z i h e b l b q _ k d h] h m i j Z \ e _ g b y	G h \ u _ g _ a Z \ b k b f u _] h k m ^ Z j k l \ Z k h u p b Z e b k l b q _ k d h Z e b w l g b q g h k l v g Z p) b k ^ \ h _ g g Z y i h e b d h g n _ k k b h g Z e v g b y	W l g h g Z p b h g Z e k ^ \ h _ g g Z y k b k l _ i h e b l b q _ k d h] h m i j Z \ e _ g b y i h e b b q g h k l v i h e b d h g n _ k k b h g h k l v
Субнациональный уровень	D e Z g j u h ^ u j _] b h g Z e v g h l _ j j b l h j k l j m d l m j u	D e Z g j u h ^ u j _] b h g Z e v g h l _ j j b l h j k l j m d l m j u	D e Z g j u h ^ u j _] b h g Z e v g h l _ j j b l h j k l j m d l m j u	D e Z g j u h ^ u j _] b h g Z e v g h l _ j j b l h j k l j m d l m j u	D e Z g j u h ^ u j _] b h g Z e v g h l _ j j b l h j k l j m d l m j u

Kh_lkdbc i_jbh^ bgl_j_k_ qlh \gZ`n hgjfZe fvgu_ bgkll
bkq_aeb dZd, ZZ khZe b «ibZjvZee_evghc», `balhvxj_fy dZd
nhjfZevghf mjh\g_ reb Zdlb\gu_ ijhp_kku \g_^
h[s_kl_ggh iheblbq_kdbc Keg^kb_lmbhf_lvq\hbj^mv b^_l
bgklblmbdZhdhju_ g_ y\eyxlky deZkkbq_kdb\g_\^hjy_dkkd
j_]bhg hihkj_^h\Zggh q_j_a hiul pZjkdhc Jhkkbb
JZa^_e_gb_ bgklblmpbhgZevghc fZljbpu h[s_kl\Z
g_nhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu \ kh_lkdbc i_jbh^ 2.2. ^klZ\e

Таблица 2.2. Институциональная матрица ЦА в советский период

Формальные институты	GZ^wlgbqkZ y_lkdZy b^_heh]by ghf_gdeZlmjZh wlbdZ DlKK	Ba[bjZl_evghc lblmevgZy gZpby
Неформальные институты	LjZ^bpbhg]jmiih\u_gZ wlgbq-kdbZljhgZ`gu hdjZr_gguk_l_c b aZdjulu_ hl \eby gby Fhkd\u kljmdlmju fZoZ,eey kh_l ZdkZd)Ze h\	Dgehb_gl_eb hkgh_\u[hjh\ hkgh_ g_nhjfZevghc ^h]h\hj_g	Wlgh gZpbhgZeb ijb khojZg_gbb \ugomlj_ggbo _ecbgbc jZa^_e_gby gZ de,Zgu jh^,u j_]bhgZevg l_jjbl.hj kljmdlmju \ jZfdZo lblmevghc gZpbb

Ba lZ[e.2.1 pb 2.2 \b^ghqlh qbklh _\jhi_ckdb«jZdh^gZpg_kdZ
gZp»byg_ ijbkmlkl\m_l \ bgklblmpbhgZevghc fZljbp
khagZgbb gZjh^h\ P_gljZevghc :abb b \ p_ehf i,hkl
qlh \ k\hx hq_j_^v h[tykgy_lky jZa\blb_f ^jm]h]
ijhkljZgkl_dhgp_k«lZblmevgZy».gZp_bygh gZ wlhc hkgl

ihkljh_g KKJ \klZ\eyy kh[hc]hkm^Zjkl\h ihkljh_g-gh_
n_^_jZe,b]^f_Z gZpby ihgbfZ_lky \ wlg.bq_kdhf kfuke_

J_axfbjmy hkgh\gu_ fhf_gl,fh`gh a^_eZ Zlv jy^. \u
P_gljZevgZy- walbhyj_],bohgjZdl_jbabjmxsbcky _^bgk-l\hf
pb\bebaZpbhgguo Wlhkgh^bgkl\h [ueh \ujZ[hlZgh aZ
bklhjbq_kdbc, idhjh^Z ihkl_i_ggh \ujZ[Zlu\Zebkv h,kgh
khklZ\eyxsb_ P_gljZevghZabZlkdmx bh bZevgZy bx_gl
\ P_gljZevghc :abb bklhjbq_kdb h[mkeh\e_gZ b:[Za
_^bgkl\h dm,ebvkmhjubb b j_ebb]bbhjhrh hkfukeb\Z_lky
ijhlb\hihklZ\e_kgbZ\ygkdb_ b ZabZlkdaby PZjhiAZi-Z^
<hkl.hWlZ b^_glbqghklv Zdlb\gh b yjdh ijhy\beZkv \
kljmdlmjguo ba f_\g1917]bc]h^m k bkq_agh_gb_f PZjkd
mklZgh\e_gb_f kh_lkdh1991\]h^m bZkiZ^hf KKKJ b h
g_aZ\bkb,fhklbjZy1993]h^Z hkfukeb\Z_lky \ j_]bhg.ZKevg
jZkiZ^hf kh_lkdh]h]hkm^Zjkl\Z \ P_gljZevghc :abb
b ijhlb\hj_,dbgkysboky d ihgbfZgbx bklhjbq_kdhc
j_]bhgZeb hij_^_e_gguo ebqghkl_,cfL`gh k h]e_Zkblv
fg_gb_f WfZgm_e,yq l:^ej_]bhgu kms_kl\mxl \ i_j\mx
khagZgbb gZjk^hgl d ZegZy» dZjlw lhf kfuke_ P_gljZev
y\ey_lky j_]bhghf k bklhjbq_kdb b dmevlmjgh h[m
b^_glbqghklkvx k\hx hq_j_^\bhgZevgZy b^_glbqghklv
:abb [ueZ \ujZ[hlZgZ \ j_amevlZl_ bklhjbq_kd
\aZbfhaZ\bkbfhklb gZjh^h\ oj_fgbhh]b Z_dh\h]h \aZbfh^_c

GZ i_j\uc \aglyd ^eyevlmjgh pb\bebaZpbhg-gZyh hn[zghk
h^ghagZqgh kihkh[kl\mxsbc bgl_]jZpbb.hgHu^gZ,dij
dhgdmj_gpby b jZaju\ f_`^m nhjfZevgufb b g_nhjf

---

[1] Adler E. Imagined (Security) Communities, Paper presented at 1994 annual Meeting of the American Political scien
Meeting [L _ d]k / E. Adler. - New York, 1-4 September 1994; in Hurrell, A. Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective
> L _]d / A. Hurrell; in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), Regionalism in World Politics: Regional
Organizations and World Order. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. – p.41.

P_gljZevghc k:amb p_lhf d\Zab ijbjh^u i_j\uo b Zjdjbq
gZebqbb fgh]hkehcghklb mjh\g_c kZkh^_gbhkdZfub
mijZ\e_gby \ mkeh\byo,]eh[Zeyla Zpbuqhh^mbklhjbq_kd
dmevlmjgh pb\bebaZpbh-gwZy hh[eyhklvmkeh\gZy, djZd^i
^ey bgl_]jZp,bhZgdgubo ^_abgl_]jZpbhgg,uohihjZykaZ\bkb
\u[hjZmijZ\e_gq_kdbo kihkh[ghkl_c b \heb iheblb
j_]bhgZ

2.2. Основные факторы региональной интеграции в ЦА

P_gljZevgZy :aby dZd kh\hdmighklv iylb
]hkm^Zjkl\y\ey_lky hlghkbl_evgh. fhe_k^_ufkjl_]bjh_22afhg
e_lg_c bklhjb_c _s_ gZoh^blky gZ klZ^bb. klZ,gbhe
© P_gljZevgZy\:a^byggguc \ h[s_kl_ggh iheblbq_kdbc
]hkm^Zjkl\ j_]\b1993 gZ kZffbl_ \ ]L,Zihde_mdbe rbjhc
jZkijhkljZg_gb_ b .ijZba`g_Zgjb\h^blky [Zah\Zy bgnhjfZp
j_]bhgZ k kh\hdmigufb ihdZaZl._eyfb ^ey j_]bhgZ

Таблица 2.3. Основная информация о странах региона[1]

Название	**Территория (кв.км)**	**Население (по оценкам на июль 2013 г.)**	**Форма управления**	**ВВП на душу населения (на 2012 г.)**
DZaZoklZg	2,724,900	17,736,896	J_kim[e,bdZ :\lhjblZjgh_ ij_ab^_glkdh_ ijZ\e_gb_	$13,900

[1] Central Intelligence Agency W e_dljhgguc]j/ kZentralAsia. – W e_dljh^gZg – J_`bf ^hklmhZ: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ti.html h[h^guc

Ma[_dbklZg	447,400	28,661,637	J_kim[ebdZ :\lhjblZjgh_ ij_ab^_glkdh_ ijZ\e_gb_	$3,500
Lmjdf_gbklZg	488,100	5,113,040	J_kim[ebdZ :\lhjblZjgh_ ij_ab^_glkdh_ ijZ\e_gb_	$8,500
Duj]uaklZg	199,951	5,548,042	J_kim[ebdZ k]b[jb^guf Z\lhjblZjgh ^_fhdjZlbq_kdbf iheblbq_kdbf j_`bfhf	$1,400
LZ^`bdbklZg	143,100	7,910,041	J_kim[ebdZ :\lhjblZjgh_ ij_ab^_glkdh_ ijZ\e_gb_	$2,200
H[sb_ ihdZaZl_eb	4,003,451	64,969,656	Kf_rZggu_ j_`bfu	Kj_^gbc ^e j_]bhgZ $6100

Ba lZ[ebpu, \b^gh, qlh j_]bhg bf__l ^hklZlhqgh k_jv_agu kZfh^hklZlhqghklb k lhqdb aj_gby kljmdlmju ebq b f_gyxlkey b[h f_gyxlky aZ hq_gv ^eb_l_ ebgh ij_ib\ k hk4Z\e fegd.\df, dhlhjZy [h]ZlZ ijbjh^guf.b GZk_e_gb_ _]h kh hdheh 65 feg]^_ fbgbfmf h^gZ lj_lv gZk 40 e_gb i h^ ebgb_ Z\e fheh^uf ihdhe_gb_f ijZ\bevghf iheblbq_kdhf mijZ\ klZlv bklhqgbdhf ^bgZfbq.[1] Hh^gZ daZ\ ba lZ[ebp m\b^_lv kljZgu j_]bhgZ \ ihklkh_lkdbc i_jbh^ jZa\ l_fiZfb qlh Zijbhjb mf_gvrZ_l kihkh[ghklv]hkm^Zjkl\ ihebl bq_kdhc lhqd b aj_gby ^hfbgbjh\Zgb_ Z\lhjblZjguo ij_ab^_glkdbo j_`bfh\ lZd`_ g_]h\hjbl bgl_]jZpbb g_ f_gmg_kl\mxl n_dlhjbh ihl_gpbZevg kihkh[kl\h\Zlv j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb \ P_gljZev

---

[1] <hajZkl fheh^_`b jZagblvky hl kljZgu ;d\ ij_aegf kqbl dlZ lj_e ghjZe :abb hdhgeZk_e_gby ij_^klZ\ey_l fheh^_`v 113

nhjfZl_ km[j_]bhgZ \ [he__ rbjhdbo.Lhdhf_Zl_ZlhjZkdhlhju fh

ih^_eblv gZ ^\: dhjmiidklmZevgu_ b m.ijZ\e_gq_kdb_

< i_j\mx hq_j_^v, q_\uf dhgl_dklmZevguf nZdlhjhf

bgl_]jZpbb \uklmiZ_l ,]_hkjZnbylh, ***континентальное расположение региона и отсутствие доступа к морям и океана,*** \ kbem q_

j_]bhg \h \k_ \j_f_gZ [ue \ugm`^_g [ulv hld.jYljulbf\g

ijbf_jhf y\ey_lky <_ebdbc r_edhlhuc ikmlv au\Ze :abx b

q_j_a l_jjblhjbx P_gljZevghc :abb b [ue wnn_

dhffmgbdZpbb, gZ agZ\bl_evghc lhj]h\eb b h[h]Zs_gb

kemqZ_ j_ZebaZpbb b^_b \hajh`^_gby]jZ\ b P_gljZ

:abb \ rbjhdhf nhjfZl_ dZd ljZgkihjlguc b ljZgablgu

dhglbg_glZ kihkh[kl\m_l jZa\blbx j_]bhgZ b ih

bkihevah\Zlv _]h]_h]jZnbq_kdh_ ih^h`_gb_[1] Kmsk`_lgh[t_d

g_h[oh^bfhklv hkms_kl\e_gby kdhhj^bgZ] b ijZ\ey

h[_ki_q_gb_ [eZ]hijbylguo \g_rgbo mkeh\bc ^ey j_

ijh_dlh\ jZa\blby

>jm]hc dhgl_dklmZevguf nZdlhjhf, kihkh[kl\mxsbc \gmljbj_]bh

bgl_]jZpbb y\ey_lky ***природные ресурсы,*** dhlhju_ g_jZ\ghf_jgh jZkij_

kljZgZo j_]bhgZ. Dhgp_gljZpby Z[_kZaZo, dZd [_dbklZg b Lmjdf_gbkl

m]e_\h^hjh^gufb j_kmjkZfb, lhbj Zklbl]lZ b LZ^`bdbklZg [h]Z

j_kmjkZfb. Q_j_a km[j_]bhgZevgh_ khljm^gbq_kl\h]hkm

:abb fh`gh [ueh [u \ujZ[hlZlv wdhghfbq_kdb h[hkgh

f_oZgbafu j_kmjkgh]h \aZbfh^_ckl\by b [hlZ\h ih\u [u ihabpbb \k_

kq_l mf_gvr_gby _]h \g_rg_c j_kmjkghc aZ\bkbfhklb.

---

[1] <1998]h^m i_j\uc ij_ab^_gl Duj]uakdhc J_kim[ebdb : :dZ_\ \u^\bgme \g_rg ©>biehfZlby R_edh\h]h imlb» ©; <1999]h^m K_gZl KR: ijbgye ^hdmf_gl «KljZl_]by R_edh\h]h imlb» A Bill [We_dljhgguc] / «Silk Road Strategy Act of 1999.» – We_dljhg. – J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-106s579rs/pdf/BILLS-106s579rs.pdf, k\h[h^guc. – Yaud Zg]e. <2011]h^m]hkm^Zjkl_gguc k_dj_lZjv KR: OberZjb Debglhg \ «G\ub R_edh\ucim]b» ... Fg_gby g_dhlhjuo aZiZ^guo wdki_jlh\ h[bgbpbZlb_ O «Discussing the ‘New Silk Road’ Strategy in Central Asia» [We_dljhgguc] / The Elliott School of International Affairs, Central Asia Program, Central Asia Policy Forum, No2, June 2012. – We_dljhg. – J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://www.centralasiaprogram.org/images/Policy_Forum_2,_June_2012.pdf, k\h[h^guc. – Yaud Zg]e.

К управленческой группе факторов можно отнес *внутри-*
региональной и региональной специализации при реализации которо[г]
экономически выиграл бы Вопрос интеграции региона
должен решаться, так как в условиях углубления
разделения труда, противостоять жесткой конкуренции на
сегодня не может ни одна страна[1] экономическая
определенной степени это способ защиты от конкуре
экономической экспансии, поддерживаемой глобальной экономическ
сотрудничество в Центральной Азии возможно: 1) вне
области использования богатых природных ресурсов,
водопользования, в области транспортных коммуникаций; 2)
строительства газо- и нефтепроводов; 3) в области производст
кооперации и реализации совместных проектов на ос
разделения труда; 4) увеличение взаимной торговли и экологич
проблем за счет продуманной и скоординированной с
политики; 5) культурно-образовательное сотрудничество.

Еще один контекстуальный фактор, который должен поощ
региональное сотрудничество стран Центральной *Наличие*
общих проблем регионального уровня. Независимость и су
государств Центральной Азии предполагает тест на их
внутригосударственные и общие региональные социальные, проб
многие проблемы были в регионе до распада СССР
союзного государства стали очевидны как самостоятельн
проблем как засыхание Аральского моря, орошаемых
ухудшение пастбищных угодий, и плохое качество п
усиление трансграничной криминогенности еще

---

[1] Джекшенкулов А. Структурная переориентация национальной экономики в ус[ловиях] внешнеэкономической либерализации на материалах Кыргызской Республики: Автореф. дис. на соискание ученой степени канд. экон. наук: 08.00.05 / Джекшенкулов А.; Казахский госуд. национ. универс. Институт экономики и полит. – Алм., 1997. – КР 23 с.

ijh[e_fulZdb_ dZd m]jhaZ l_jjhjbafZ b j_eb]bha
jZpbhgZevgh_ bkihevah\Zgb_ ljZgk]jZgbqguo
mj_]mebjh\Zgb_]hkm^Zjkl_gguo]jZgbp b gZeZ
lhj]h\eb ^jm.]b_

D ijbf_j *водные ресурсы* P_gljZevghc :abb b kh\f_klgh_
ihevah\Zgb_ wfb dexq_\hc, dhljhkuc ^he`_g b fh`_
jZaj_r_g ihkj_^kl\hf kbkl_fguo j_]bhgZevguo mkbeb

Fh`gh \u^_eblv ke_^mxsb_k\ijaZeg_fu_ k bkihevа
ljZgk]jZgbqguo \h^uo j_kmjkh\

- m_ebq_gb_ \h^hihlj_[e_gby aZ kq_l
\k_o kljZgZo j_]bhgZ b, dZ_deq_^kl\b^__nbpblZ
- momr_gb_ dZq_kl\Z \h^u \ j_amevlZ
l_ogbq_kdb baghr_dhgem_xdlhjgh ^j_gZ`gmx
aZ]jyag_gghc y^hobfbdZlZfb b ,ibklbebaZf\
k_evkdhf oh;akyjkk\Z aZ]jyag_gguo ijhfure_g
\h^ dhffmgZevgh]h ohayckl\Z

Hkgh\gufb ijh[e_fZfb f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h oZjZdl

1. >_ckl\mxsZy kbkl_fZ \h^,hdhevjZy\Zkghboj Zgy_l djb
ijbgpbiu khpbZebklbq_kdh]h i_jbh^Z b g_ h[_ki_qb
wdkiemZlZpbx \h^guo j_kmjkh\ j_]bhgZ

2. Hlkmlkl\b_ wdhghfbq_kdh]hf_oZgbafZ ijb f
bkihevah\Zgbb \h^guo dhljhkmjkh\iha\heye [u j_rZlv
^_nbpblZ \h^u ^ey kljZg gbah\vy b ijh[e_fm ^_nbp
kljZg _joh\vy

[1] F_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggu_ \h^u_ hlghr_gby b bkihevah\Zgb_ \h^guo j_kmjkh
FZl_jbZeu f_`^mgZjh^ghc.ehg15fZ,y2002e;brd,2002.–116k

Вопрос межгосударственных границ y\ey_lky g_ f_g__ fZkr
[he_ag_gghc ij,hg[e`_fkeb \h^gZy ijh[eDhfZglbdwZlhc ijh[e
moh^yl \ ^Z1920e_b_]h^u b ih ijhbkoh`^_gbx k\h_fm
©mijZ\ey»_dhcgnebdlghGkZbi_j\uc \a]ey^ ij_^,ihqehZ]fZh_gkhy
ijZ]fZlbqgh j_rblv \hijhku f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gguo]jZgb
mkbe,bc_j_]h\h,jbf_xs_cky ijZ\h\hc [Zau b kj_^.kDZdb
ihdZaZeZ ij,ZdgZqbZhgZevgh_ jZaf_`_\Zgb_ P_glj
ijh\h^behky,v qllZdu h[_ki_qblv hij_^_e_ggmx kl_i_gv
\aZbfhaZ\bk,bfhkhb h[mkeh\beh f_`wlgbq_kdmx gZ
ijb]jZgbqguo,abhgwZdhlfhf_gl gZ ^_kylbe_lby mkeh`g
^Zgghc f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gghc ijh[e_fu \.ihklkh_lkdh_

LZ,dijb]jZgbqgu_ ahgu Ma[_dbklZgZ b Duj]uaklZg
gZk_e_gu wlgbq_kdbfb duj]ua<Zfbkghm\a[h_fdZwflh:g^,b`Z
N_j]ZgkdZy b LZrd_glkdZy h[eZklZdM_a[H,dkZdZ_ggZkdZy
>`ZeZe :[Z^kdZy h[eZklb Duj]uaklZgZ

ljb]jZgbqgu_ ahgu f_`^m Ma[_dbklZ,gkhfhb_DkZla,Zgg
iehlgh aZk_e_gu dZaZoZfb,\KuGjZfZ,wjZ,gkdZhcd_glkdh
h[eZk,lZolZd `_ \ J_kim[ebdb DZjZdZeiZdklZg gZ,bl_j
_klv l_jjblhjbb gZk_e_ggu_ ma[_dZ,fb>`Zf[qehvd,dgh
Lmjd_klZgkdhc h[eZkl.yo DZaZoklZgZ

GZ]jZgbpZo f_`^m Ma[_dbklZghf b LZ^`bdbklZg
iehlghgZk_e_ggu_ lZ^`bdZfb gZ ijb]jZgbqguo l,_jjb
Kmjo Zg^Zjv,bDkZdhZ^Zjvb,gkZdhZcjdZg^kdhc b N_j]Zgkdh
Ma[_dbk,lZgZgZ l_jjblhjbb LZ^`kdhklZlgkZ\,_ahbu]mkl
gZk_e_ggu_ ,ma\[_hdkZnf[b_gg,h\klkh]^bckdhc b Dmj]Zg L
h[eZk.lyo

<P_gljZevghc :abb _klv ,lZdlhjmZxgdkehZa\uZxl f_`^mg
ijZ\h\mx ijh[e_fm ^ey kljZgZ j_jjblhjbb Duj]uaklZgZ

ma[_dkdb_ ZgdeZ\u, KZlhebdZ jZ^Z, Q_jdh\v K\ _lZ Ihfi_y

<hjmo Dmjm .KGZ l_jjblhjbb Ma[_dbklZgZ _klv lZ^

KZj\Zd, kZdu j]uakdbc ZgdeZ\ < hjZk_o ijb]jZgbqguo

f_`wlgbq_kdh_ gZijy`_gb_ ^hklZlhqgh \ukhdh_

IheblbdZ gZpbhgZevgh l_jjblhjbZevgh]h jZaf_`_\

fgh]hf gZ g_^hims_gb_ jZa\blby]hjbahglZevguo k

j_kim[eb, dZ_f b [he__ aZ kq_l hkeZ[e_gby _jlbdZevgu

L_jjblhjbZevgu_ \hijhku klZeb l_kgh k\yaZggufb k w

h[s_kl_ggh ihebl bq_kdbo hlghr_gbc \. P_gljZevghc

\hijhkh\ ]jZgbpu kmkl hjhggbc nhjfZl y\ey_lky _^bgkl\

\hafh`guf H^gZdh fgh]hklhjhgg__ khljm^gbq_kl\h b

f_`^m kljZgZfb P_gljZevghc :abb iha\hebeb [u \

f_oZgbaf j_]mebjh\Zgby \hijhkZ f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gguo

\gmlj_ggb_]jZgbpu \ j_]bhg_ qhlh k\ydZ ebeh\Zeh]

^he]hkjhqgu_ b rbjhdhfZkrlZ[gu_ dhglZdlu \gmljb j_

Hlkmlkl\b_ j_]bhgZevghc, dhglZdlZ pbb \uklmiZe

bgklblmpbhgZebabjh\Zggh_ ijhy\e_gb_ km[j_]bhgZ

_klv ihdZaZl_ev g_^hklZldZ \, h[s_c \gmlj_^ bhgZ

\hijhku h[km`^Zebkv b j_rZebkv [u kZfbfb]hkm

Mklhcqb\hklv g_j_r_gguo ijh[e_f]jZgbp lZ dqlh k

\gmljb]hkm^Zjkl_ggu, dhlhju_ hjheZ]Zxlky \ k\h_c ^_y

bgklblmlu g_nhjfZevgh, c gi heblbq_kdb_j_kh\Zgu \ j_]m

]jZgbp G_aZbgl_j_kh\Zgghklv h[ty, dgh lhkmx\ukhehchldju

g_mj_]mebjh\Zggu_ <ujZg^bpug_ lhevdh fZlgbZeZv`Z

ijhy\eyxsZyky \ \hafh`ghklb khpbZebaZpbb b gZ

dZiblZeZ l_jbZevgZy `_ \u]h^Z Dhgl\b^ZgZ^Z aZ

g_aZ\bkbfhklb ih\ukbeZkv b klZeZ ijhn_kkbhgZ

---

[1] :eZfZgh\. K Dj ZldZy bklhjby b hiul j_r_gby ih]jZgbqguo ijh[e_f D eZfZgh\ gZ – ;brd_d 2005. – K89.

hij_^_e_gguo djm]h\ N_j]Z, dkhdhjZy^hqejb_auf_jgh]mklhg
oZjZdl_jbam_lky \ukhdbf mjh\g_f [_a, jZ[hqdhpukDZaj
kdhevdh khklZ\ey_l h[t_f g_e_]Zevghc lhj]h\eb f
Duj]uaklZghf g_ ij_^klZ\ey_lkylh\hanfhbpbuZfevguf ^Z
Duj]uakl, ZjbZkjZ\g_gbb k ^Zggufb Ma[_dbklZgZ ijhke
jZagbpbZd ihdZaZl_ev l2007]he^m\[ue12,3% Z\ur, \2008 – gZ
47,3% b \2009]h^m gZ75,4%. >ZggZy jZagbpZ g_ h[tykgy
jZaebqb_f \ f_lh^heh]bb b ijbgyluo kihkh[h\ \ugdhke_
[hevr_c kl_i_gb g_ kihkh[ghklvx khhl_lkl\mxsbo]
\uihegylv ijhn_kkbhgZevgh ,k\hb hkmf[_gdgbklb ih
khljm^gbq_kl\Z ^ey \ujZ[hldb _^bguo bgklblmpbhgZ
lhj]h\uo h[hjhlh\

Lj_lvy]jmiiZ i,jhd[helhfjZy fh`_l [ulv j_r_gZ beb
ihkj_^kl\hf ^_ckl_gghc j_]bhgZevg–hc wldhadmpocьZpb
безопасности. ljb wlhf ihg«y[l_ba_hiZkghkZvdlm_lky \ rbjhdh,f k
b \dexqZ_l g_ lhevdh \h_ggh iheblbq_kdb,cghZkb_
h[s_kl_ggh bg^b\b.^«mXZXev\gudc [hevrmx m]jham gZpb
j_]bhgZevghc [_ahiZkghklb ij_^klZ\eyxl g_ljZ^
[_ahiZkghklb^_eyxl lZdb_ g_ljZ^bpbhggu_ m]jhau
wdklj_f,ba_fjjhjb,afgZjdh[b,agg_ke_]ZevgZy ,fbdjZep_hZevg
lhj]h\ey hjm`b_f b jeZk^ivhfkljZg_gb_(dZmd`bym`by fZkk
ihjZ`_gblyZd b h[uqgh]h \h,hj^m]jZg^bZypby hdjm`Zx,s_c
hj]Zgbah\ZggZy ij_klmigZy ^_yl_evghklv ljZgk,gZ
iheblbabjh\Zgguc b \h_gbabj,h\gZhg\uu_c fZBkkeZ\fu_ [he_
wib^_,fbnb]jhau bgnhjfZpbhgghc [oZdiZjkl\hklb ^jm]b_
ij_klmie).[1] gblyjb wlhf ke_^m_l h[jZlb,lvqlhgb[fZegvb_bgkl
\hijhkh\ [_ahiZkghklb \ P_gljZevghc :abb y\eyx,lky

[1] lh^jh[g_. Wk_g,]Qe_]bhgZ,ehakfm^Zjkl_gghklv b g_ljZ^bpbhggu_ m]jhau [_a
P_gljZevghc [L_adkbQ Wk_g/mDeZaZokdbc Bgklblml KljZl_]bq_k,dbZaZkkeZg^h\Zg
Ki_d.–j2013 /4 (66),. –K10-23.

g_`_eb f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggZy ljZ\bevgh hlf_q_gh ;r
<b_jhf[1]. F_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggZy bgl_]jZpby ^ey Z^j_k
kms_kl\mxsbo ljZgk]jZgbqguo hij_^_e_gbc kl_ggu, dhlhjuc[
fh] [u [ulv ^_ckl\bl_evgh ljm^gu keZ[hklb]hkm^Zjkl_gguo
dmi_ k]_hiheblbq_kdbfb b]jZfb \g_rgbo ^_j`Z\ g
P_gljZevghc :abb kh_^bgblv k\h_c fZl_jbdhf l_
wdhghfbq_kdbc ihl_gpbZe \ [hjv[_ k gh\ufb g_ljZ
[_ahiZkghklb `ghklv kblmZpbb \gmlj_ m]jhau ih^ju\Zx
]hkm^Zjkl_gghklb hq_jk _^Z [u_]hkm^Zjkl_ggu_
g_kihkh[gu wnn_dlb\gh [hjhlvky k m]jhaZfb [_ahiZk
©aZfdgmlu» dhjh]juc fh`gh b gm`gh jZahj\Zlv ihkj_^
kdhhj^bgbjh\Zgguo ^_ckl\bc]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h ^_j
^_j`Z\Z g_]hlh\Z ij_^hklZ\blv agZqbfu_]ZjZglbb [_
©ljZlblv agZqbl_evgu_ j_kmjku gZ nhjfbjh\Zgb_ \
j_]bhg»[2] ZD Zd ijZ\bevgh hlf_qZ_l ZgZkdbf mq_guf K Dm
_]h ^hdlhjkdhc ^bkk_jlZpbb

Qe_gkl\h q_luj_o [3] kljZg Z \ ?\jHWKK g_ fh`_l kgylv
km]m[h \gmljbj_]bhgZev:gu\o qZklb[_gh klZbfhijb_fe_fh
jZkij_^_e_gby \h^guo j_kmjkh\ ljZgkihjlgh ljZgablguo
ijh[e_f wg_j]_lbq_kdhc [_ahiZkghklb]_hiheblbq_kdmx b w
dZjlbgm P_gljZevghc :abb kl\m ki_pbZebklh\ b gZ[ex
qlh j_r_gb_ kmlo_xq_\uo ^ey [m^ms_]h kljZg j_]b
wdhghfbq_kdbo ijh[e_f [m^_l wnn_dlb\guf ijb l_
p_gljZevghZabZlkdbo kljZg[4]

---

[1] Buzan, B., Waever, O. Regions and Powers: Structure of International Security / B. Buzan, Weaver O. – Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 2003. – p. 426.
[2] >_gbk F.«B]jZ hdhgqZgZ_g_gby \ wg_j]_lbq_kdhc]_hiheblbd» [L_dkl] / ljZe F >_gbk // hgZeblbq_kdbc h[ahj ih P_glj:abb. 2012. – < Zrbg]lhg. – K.3.
[3] ljbf. Z\lJ_qv b^_l h kljZgZo P: ihfbfh Lmjdf_gbklZgZ
[4] Dmrdmf[Z_F K_gh]hklhjhgg__ \aZbfh^_ckl\b_ \ kljZl_]bq_kdbo ^bkk_jlZpbb khbkdZgb_ mq_ghc kl_i_gb ^hdlhjZ ihebl. gZmd: 23.00.02 / K Dmrdmf[Z_\. – 2007, k.16.

2.3. Содержание региональной интеграции в Центральной Азии

>h ihy\e_gbyLZfh`_ggh]h khxaZ lj_o ]hkm^Zjk nZdlbq_kdb i_j\h]h ^_ckl\_ggh]h gZ^gZpbhgZevgh]h ki_j\ZLZfh`_gghc Dhfbkkbb ^_ckl\h\ZeZ 2010 Z gZqbgZy k y 2012]h^Z ?\jZabcdhc Wdhghfbq_kdhc Dhfbkkbb kms_kl\h\ZeZ f_`]hkm^Zjkl\_ggZy bgl_]jZpby gZ .ihk lhy\e_gb_ i_j\uo ijbagZdh\ j_Zevguo ijhp_kkh\ b ^_kylbe_lbc k fhf_glZ jZkiZ^Z KKKJ mdZau\Z g_\hafh`ghklv wnn_dlb\gh \aZbfh^_ckl\h\Zlv k \g_r ^hklb]gml ijb_fe_fuc mjh_gv \aZbfh^_ckl\by[1] ijbf_gbf \ jZ\ghc kl_i_gb b d ijhp_kkZf \gmljb] j_]bhgZevgh]h. mjh\g_c

Суб-регионализм в Центральной Азии. BgklblmpbhgZebaZpby j_] bgl_]jZpbb P_gljZevghc :abb ijhoh^beZ ih ^hklZlh k\hckl_gghc [hevrbgkl\m jZa\b\Zxsboky]hkm^Zjkl kha^Z\Zeb gh\u_ [ueb gZ ^_e_ nmgdpbhgZevgufb]hkm^ P_gljZevghc :abb \ jZagu_ kl_i_gb \ukl miZeb \ ih ijhp_kkh\ bgl_]jZpbb < kbem jy^Z h[t_dlb\guo, mkbeby hdZaZebkv g_ ijh^mdlb\gufb.

lj_`^_ q_f ihy\beZkv i_j\Zy km[j_]bhgZevgZ khljm^gbq_kl\m b bgl_]jZpbb \ P_gljZevghc :abb 1994]h^Z \k_ _s_ kh_lkdbo khpbZebklbq_kdbo j_kim[ebd Kj \klj_qZebkv g_kdhevdh jZa k p_evx h[km^blv bo h ihebybq_kdb_ kh[ulby .bl_jZlm^g\hq_ 23 b x 1990]. \ :efZlu]^_ [ueh ih^ibkZgh Kh]eZr_gb_ h[wdhghfbq_kdhf l_ogbq_kdhf b dmevlmjghf khljm^gbq_kl_ b ijbgyl

[1] >hghg[Z_\ Bgl_]jZpbhggu_ l_g^_gpbb \ P_gljZevghc :abb m_ Zki_dlu >hghg[Z_\Z B\a_klby -M;Ah d_. 2009. – ‹ 4. – С. 171-177.

j_]bhgZevghc[1] Kmlv h[jZs_gby k\h^blky d ijbau\m khojZgylv
kbem ,lh]h djh\Z\u_ klhedgh_gby f_`^m duj]uaZfb
ijhbahreb \ gZqZe_ 1990]h^Z gZ x]_ lh]^Z _s_ kh_lkd
Dhgl_gl ZgZeba l_dklZ h[jZs_gby ihdZau\Z_l ijyf
g_nhjfZevguc bgklblml *институт аксакалов;* \ h[jZs_gbb lZ
ih^q_jdb\Z_lky gZebqb_ bklhjbq_kdbo ma [jZlkl\Z
H^gZdh hkgh\guf ih^l_dklhf d i_j\hc \klj_q_ jmdh\h
h[km`^_gb_ ijbgylby 12 bxgy 1990]h^Z >_deZjZpbb h]hkm^
km_j_gbl_l_ . JKNKJ kh[ulb_ g_ fh]eh [ulv g_a
aZkem`b\Zeh hkfuke_gby b ih^^_j`db bgbpbZlb\u jmd
kljZg Kj_^g_c :abb b DZaZokl ZgZ ihkqblZeb < ijbgylb
\klj_qZ ijhr\eZ 14 Z\]mklZ 1991]h^Z]^_ h[km`^Zeky Kh
^h]h\hj [ueh ijbgylh Kh]eZr_gb_ h[hj]ZgbaZpbb f_
dhgkmevlZlb\gh]h Bfh\g_hZ wlb \klj_qb b aZeh`beb
\aZbfguo ihebl bq_kdbo dhgkmevlZpbc j_]bhgZevgh]h
khljm^gbq_kl\Z b bgl_]jZpbb \ P_gljZevghc :abb

Ihke_ hnbpbZevgh]h jZkiZ^Z KKKJ \ ^_dZ[j_ 1991]h^Z K
eb^_ju \k_o iylb ihklkh_lkdbo j_kim[ebd \klj_lbebkv 12
1991]h^Z k p_evx h[km^blv bo j_Zdpbx gZ ih^ibkZgb_ ^h]
k fg_gb_f jhkkbckdh]h ;_eh_`kdh]h kh]eZr_gby
\klj_qZ \ :roZ[Z^_ oZjZdl_jgZ dZd nZdl hkhagZgby
j_]bhgZevghc h[sghklb[2] [ueh [u ml_j`^_gh aZ lZdh
\uklmibeZ gZ i_j_^gbc ieZg ijb hp_gd_ blh]h\ ;_e
dh]^Z eb^_ju lj_o keZ\ygkdbo]hkm^Zjkl\ j_rbeb
h^ghklhjhgg_f b [_aZii_eypbhgghf dhjyl`_ ^h]h\hj
bgl_jkb\guc b lhlZevguc ijhp_kk kh_lbaZpbb Kj_^

---

[1] D Khxam Km_j_gguo Wd_jhgguo ijhbahr_e ^hdmf_gl hjZ, dhlhjuc ^_deZjbjhZe ^_deZjZpbb h[jZs_gby b ij_ab^_glk dbo \ukdZaub ijh[e_f_ gZpbhgZevgh]h jZa\blby km_j_gbl_lZ 1991. – We_d. j_kmjk. – J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://soveticus5.narod.ru/85/sborn91.htm#p441 k\h[h^guc

[2] ;_ehdj_gbp < dY P_gljZevghZabZlkdh_ fbj ^h k\h_c \ij_^ dZ[jy: dhgn_j_gpby ^hdmf_glh \ ?\jZabckdhc i_jbh^bd_. – 1996. – < 5. – K. 36-47.

gZjy^m k ^jm]bfb j_kim[ebdZfb KKKJ ^ZggZy hj]ZgbaZpby ihemqbeZ kZfhb^_glbnbdZpbx ih kihkh[m ^hkljb`_gby ihebldZ, kih ;_eh\_`kdbo kh]eZr_gbc q_j_a ZabZlkdbc _dlhj b^_glbnbdZpbc g_khhl_lkl\mxsbf ^_ckl\bl_evghklb ihjy^dm [m^_l ml_j`^_g ©g_keZ\yg kdh]h kl ; ZgZkl ZlZg ihkl dhgl_dkl_ g_h`b^ZgghcgZ ^_lkdhc ihkl ^dZ b^_glbnbdZpbhggZy ebgby \hkijbylb.< b hq_e hf fh]eh [gm`gh \hkijbgbfZlv \klj_qm K G= ^_dZ[jy 1991]. ^_ eb^_j 11 [u\rbo kh_lkdbo j_kim[ebd h[km^beb b kh]eZkh\Z >ZggZy \klj_qZ [ueZ ki_pbZevgh hj]ZgbahZgZ \ h^ :ab,bqlh[u ih^q_jdgmlv jhev j_kim[ebd ^Zggh]h j_]b ihklkh_lkdh]h ihebldbq_kdh]h ijhkljZgkl\Z

lj_^\ZjbI_evgu_ \klj_qb iylb eb^_jh\ kljZg P_gljZ 1990-o mihfygmlu_ , \h hju_ ghkbeb [hevr_ gZ[ex^ kh_sZl_evguc oZjZdl_j ijbkhh^beh \ p_glj_ kh_lk \uebebkv \ g_dhlhju_ dhgdj_lgu_ 1993]. ^m DZaZokl Ma[_dbklZg hfeh ih^ibkZgh Kh]eZr_gb_ h f_jZo wdhghfbq_kdhc bgl_]jZpbb 1994-2000]. gZ ihke_^h\Ze 10 h] yg\Zjy 1994]. \ LZrd_gl_ h kha^Zgbb ?^bgh]h Wdhghfbq ?WI f_`^m J_kim[ebdhc DZaZokl Zg b J_kim[ebdhc 16 yg\Zjy 1994 ]h^Z d >h]h\hjm ijbkh_^bgbeZkv Duj]uaklZg J_\ Qheihg :l_ [ue ih^ibkZg >h]h\hj h kha^Zgbb ?WI Ma[_dbklZg J_kim[ebdhc DZaZokl Zg b Duj]uakdhc J_ 26 bxgy 1998 ]. gZ \klj_q_ \ ;brd_d_ d >h]h\hjm ijbkh_^bg LZ^`bdbklZg[2] bxevkdhc \klj_q_ \ 1994]h^m ^h]h\hj_r_gb_ f = lj_o]hkm^Zjkl\ JM b)Duj]ue kha^Zg F_`]hkm^Zj

1 >h]h\hj h kha^Zgbb _^bgh]h wdhghfbq_kdh]h ijhkljZgkl\Z f_`^m J_kim[ebdhc DZaZokl Zg b Duj]uakdhc J_kim[ebdhc hkgh\guo ^hdmf_glh\ F_`]hkm^Zjkl_ J_kim[ebdb DZaZoklZg, Duj]uakdhc J_kim[ebdb Ma[_dbklZg b J_kim[ebdb LZ^`b 1998. – K6.

2 Ijhlhdhe h ijbkh_^bg_gbb J_kim[ebdb LZ^`bdbklZg d ^h]h\hjm h kha^Zgbb ijhkljZgkl\Z f_`^m J_kim[ebdhc Ma[_dbklZg, DZaZoklZg b Duj]uakdhc J_kim 1994]h^Z // K[hjgbd hkgh\guo ^hdmf_glh\ F_`]hkm^Zjkl\_ggh]h Duj]uakdhc J_kim[ebdb Ma[_dbklZg b J_kim[ebdb LZ^`bdbklZg. – ;brd_d, 1998. – K14-17

kh_lP_gljZevghZabZlkdh]h KhxaZ b _]h Kh\kgh\gu_ _bj

fbgbkljh\ bgbkljh\ bghkljZggu_]_eZ b^klj_ h\ h[hjhgu b ihk

^_ckl\mxsbc jZ[hq_c hj]Zg b k_evgu_. 5 Zijheh 1994]h^Z gZ

\klj_q_]eZ\ ]hkm^Zjkl\ \ ;brd_d_ [ue mqj_`^_g P_

khljm^gbq_kl\Z b jZa\blby k mkl Zf\ej^hdZlZj\e.1 KR:\

<Z`guf kh[ulb_f \ bgklblmpbhgZebaZpbb j_]bhgZ

\ P_gljZevghc :abb klZeh ih^ibkZgb_]eZ\Z 1997]h^Z m^

\klj_q_ \ ] ;brd_d >h]h\hjZ h _qghc Mj^m`[_ J_^ mh^1

1994 ih 1998]. ijhreh [hevrh_ dhebq_kl\h \klj_q jZaebqg

_^hfkl\ lj_o j_kim[eb`d, wbx fgh]hqbke_ggu_ \klj_q

ijb_eb d j_Zevgufb ad_g gZ b y fgm, lZ gb ff_`]hkm^Zjkl\

mjh\gyo bgl_]jZpbb \ ieZg_ k[eb`_gby ghjfZlb\gh

\ujZ[hldb _^bghc ijZdlbd.b mijZ\e_gby

Dh]^Z LZ^`bdbklZg aZgh\h ijbkh_^bgbeky d P_

Wdhghfbq_kdhfm 1998]h^m,2 khxa [ue i_j_bf_gh\ZgZ \ P

:abZlkdh_ Wdhghfbq_kdh_ khh[s_kl\h, _qlh kdb [ueh ijb

g_kihkh[ghklb ^hklbqv Zf[bpbhagu^ p_e_c. <2001 K]h^Z Z

hj]ZgbaZpby [ueZ kgh\Z i_j_bf_gh\ZgZ \ Hj]ZgbaZpb

Khxa (HP:K). < 2004]h^m Jhkkby j_rbeZ ijbkh_^bgbky, 2005 d

]h^m HP:KkebeZkv k ?\jZabckdbf Wdhghfbq_kdbf Kh

ih^ \ebygb_f Jhkkbb, hgZ qZeh ijbhklZgh\dm b^_b P_g

bgl_]jZpbb \hhj[sab^_gl DZaZoklZgZ GmjkmelZg GZ

\hajh^blv b^_x P_gljZevgh :abZlkdh]h 2007 K h a Z h \ d Z

Duj]uaklZg [ue]hlh\ hdZaZlv ih^^_j`dm dZd hklZ

]hkm^Zjkl\Z P: [ueb gZkljh_gu kd_ilbq_kdb.

1Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Analyst. W[e_dljhggu c j/_Dana Kaukaev, T. Central Asian Regional Integration: Between Reality and Myth – May 2, 2007. – We_dljhg^Zg – J_`bf^hklmiZ http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=mode/4604, k\h[h^guc. aZg.]e

2 K 1994]h^Z LZ^`bdbklZg b Lmjdf_gbklZg g_ y\eyebkv qe_gZfb P_gljZevghZ

DZd ba_klgh[eZklb [_ahiZkghklb [ue ih^ibkZg dhlhju_ lZd`_ g_ [ueb .j≤Zheblbyhl[ly_1998ghu^Z f_`^m DZaZo Duj]uaklZgLZf^`bdbklZghf b Ma[_dbklZghf [ueh ih^ib aZy\e_gb_ h f_jZo ih kha^Zgbx kbkl_fu j_]bhgZ

P_gljZevghc[1] IhakbbkZld_gkdbo k1999 b 2000-o]h^h\ eb^_ju DZaZoklZgZ, Duj]uaklZgZ, Ma[_dbklZgZ b LZ^`bdbklZgZ aZd 2000 ]h^Z >h]h\hj h kh\f_klguo ^_ckl\byo ih [hjv[ ihеblbq_kdbf b j_eb]bhaguf , wdklj_fbafhf hj]ZgbahZgghc ij_klmighklvx b bgufb m]jhaZf [_ahiZkghklb P_gljZevghc . :aMbbhl ^h]h\hjklZe ihiuldhckha^Zgbyij Z\h\hc [Zau ^ey khljm^gbq_kl\Z f_`^m]hkm^ZjklZfb P_gljZevghc :ab b\ [_ahiZkghk i_j\mx hq_j_^v bqb_ h[s_]h ihgbfZgby ih ke_^mx \hijhkZf qlh _klv [_ahiZkghklv b qlh ij_^klZ\ey_l j_]bhgZevghc [_ahiZkghklb_ki_qblv j_]bhgZevghc [_ l ^>Zgguc ^h]h\hj [ue aZdexq_g gZ [ue \hah[gh\e klhjhgZfb ihke_ hdhgqZgby kjhdZ ^_ckl\by.

Mqbluы\Zy lh dmevlmjgh bgklblmpbhgZevgZy ^Zj_l^ [hevrb_ ihеghfhqby nZdlhjm ihеblbq_kdh]h eb^ Zddmfmebjh\Zlv [hevrb_ ihеblbq_kdb_ b wdhghfbq_ Zdp_gl ijZ\ys_c weblu gZ \Z`ghklb_`gZ_ `ZepbhjZehbgZfZ _^bgkl\Z gZr \a]ey^ fgh]hf hij_^_ebe km^v[m j_ khljm^gbq_kl\ZgbpZ \h \a]ey^Zo i_j\uo eb^_jh\ b \hafh`ghklyo bo kljZg \uebeZkv \ jZagbpm \ \u[hj ^jm]Z fh^_e_c ihklkh_lkdh]h jZa\blby km^ZjklZ \ m ijhba\h^kl_ggh ohaycкl_gghc b nbgZgkh\hc ^_yl_ hlebqZ_lky JZagbpZ \h \gmlj_gg_c ihеblbd_ _kl_kl\ jZagbpm b \h \g_rg_c ihеblbd_]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevghc

---

[1] ;mjgZr_\ Q_jguo ;_ahiZkghklv \ P_gljZevghc :abb ih^ihea[bq_kdb_ jZfdb ZgZeba [_ahiZkghklb.. ;mjgZr_\ Q_jguo. :efZlu, 2006. – K. 214.

dhlhju_ \u[jZeb imlv iheblbq_kdhc b wdhghfbq_kd
aZbgl_j_kh\Zgu \ j_]bhgZevghc b f_`^mgZjh^ghc jZ
DZaZoklZg b Duj]uaklZg \k_]^Z \uklmiZxl aZ ,
rbjhdhfZd b madhf nhjfZl_fy dZd Ma[_dbklZg b
^hklZlhqgh k^_j`Zggh b [_a hilbfbafZ mqZkl\mxl \ b
gZ ihklkh_lkdhf ijhkljZgkl_ hq_j_^v lZd`_ h[ykgy
\gmljbiheblbq_kdh]h , meij\e_gby gZ \g_rg_iheblbq_k
M Ma[_dbklZgZ _klv k\h_ \b^_gb_ bgl_]jZpbhgguo
ij_ab^_glhf DZjbfh\uf \ ]^_ h[_ Z_lkwlZ bgl_]jZp
\k_]^Z [ueZ b hklZ_lky gZjh^ghc ih k\h_c kmlb
P_gljZevghc :abb g_ f_qlZ beb ijh_dl wlh ^Zgghklv
j_Zevghklv ebrv gm`^Z_lky \ hj]ZgbaZpbhgguo
nhjfZo[1] <b^bfh kmlkl\h j]ZgbaZpbhgguo b iheblbq_
bgl_]jZpbb lhju_ [u mkljhbeb hLZyk\gyll klhev g_ihk
ihabpbx Ma[_dbklZgZ ih hlghr_gbx d bgl_]jZpbhggu

Duj]uaklZg DZaZoklZg b LZ^`bdbklZg \uklmiZxl aZ
Jhkkb_c koh^y ba ihabpbb j_[u\Zgb_ \ h^ghc bgl_]
]jmiibjh\d_ k Jhkkb_c hldju\Z_l agZqbl_evgu_ \hafh
b jZa\blby wdhghfbq_kdbo l_ogbqjkdbo h^kl_gg
l_oghehh]bq_kdbo b bguo hlghr_gbc g_ lhevdh k J
hkgh\gh b d ijbf_jmfgh]hklhjhgg_c hkgh_ ^ey \k_o k
KhxaZ j_^iheZ]Z_lky Duj]uaklZg b LZ^`bdbklZg y\eyxl
ihl_gpbZevgufb dZg^b^ZlZfb \ qe_gkl\h, dZdhjuo gg
^Zgghf wlZi_ \dexqZ_lky DZaZoklZg b ;_eZjmkv b gZqZe
^_ckl\h\Zlv k 2010]h^Z. <klmie_gb_ Duj]uaklZg b LZ^`b
\b^blky eh]bqgufdZd \k_ iylv]hkm^Zjkl\ y\eyxlky
ljb wlhf \klmie_gb_ fZeuo kljZg P_gljZevghc :abb
g_h^ghagZqgh dZd \ klZfbo kljZgZo qe_gZo LZfh`_gghm

1 DZjbfh\ B.Ma[_dbklZg gZ ihjh]_ [_ahiZkghklb b]ZjZglbc hk_kkZ. B DZjbfh\ L Zrd_gl: Ma[_dbklZg, 1997. K310.

Zj]mf_,gbqulh gug_rgb_ qe_gu LK ^he`gu knhdmkbjh\
bgl_]jZpbb f_`^m kh[hc b g_ jZkr,bjyflv[hke\h_c akZ1kkZ4\l
g_mklhcqb\uo b keZ[uo wdhghfbd dZd .wd>hjgnhjbb_d
ml_j`^Z,xqllh LK b _\jZabckdZy– bwglh_]jZepbbyoq_kdbc i
g_`_eb wdhghf,bbq_mkqZbkclb_ [hevr_]h dhebq_kl\Z kljZ
ijhkljZgkl\Z lhevdh ijb._GkZ1\m^_Zkyghf wlZi_ ijZ\b
Duj]uaklZgZ jZ[hlZ_l gZ^ ^hjh`ghc dZjl,hicZ\gkbmme_lg
aZ_jrblv wlm j2013].lbmk\lZlv iheghijZ\guf qe_gh2014].[2] LK
lhke_ Duj]uaklZgZ h`b^Z_lky \klmie_gb_ LZ^`2015bkl
]h^.[3]Z

Организация Договора КоллективнойБезопасности. < gZqZ1992-o]h^h\
kljZgu P: k wglmabZafhf kha^Z\Zeb j_]bhgZev
khljm^gbq_kl\Z b ,bhg^gZ1Zpb\k_ hgb hdZaZebkv Wglh^_
g_]Zlb\guc j_amevlZl [ue \ [hevr_c kl_i_gb h[m
^hfbgbjh\Zgb_f b fhsvx ihklkh_lkdbo ^_abgl_]jZpb
bgl_]jZpbhggufb ,gZqZeZfb

<Z`gh_ f_klh \ ihklkh_lkdbo bgl_]jZpb,hbgfguxsbo[f
j_]bhgZevgh_ ,aagZqb_fgZb_l .HH>kDg;h\gZy ^Zeghc hj]Zgba
kha^Zgg2002]\ gZ hkgh_ >h]h\hjZ Dhee_dlb\g1992].;_a
y\ey_lky h[_ki_q_gb_ dhee_dlb\ghc [_ahi.Zk?gkhekdb
ihiulZlvky ^Zlvhp_gdm ^_yl_evghklb wlhc h2[0]Z_gbhaZp
hq_\b^gh ijZ\bevg__[ueh [u oZjZdl_jbabjh\Zlv w
kbf\hebq_kh>mDx; kha^Z\Zehkv \ i_j\mx hq_j_^v ^ey
nZd,lZqlh g_dhlhju_ kljZgu ihklkh_lkdh]h ijhkljZ
khljm^gbqZlv \ kn_j_ h[_ki_q_gby k\h_c gZpbh

[1] Bgl_j\vx k DZkk_g,h\ihbn_kkhj dZn_^ju f_`^mgZjh^guo hlghr_gbc b
bkke_^h\Zgbc>We_dljh]gguDBjF_Wml]k:efZlu – We_dljh^gZg– J_`bf ^hk:lmiZ
http://www.eurasianet.org/node/66694\h[h^guc
[2] Bgl_j\vx k M Mk,mhk\bfgguf ij_^klZ\bl_e_f DJ[We?\dljh^Wg[uc]jF_cmsjkg,
bgnhjfZpbhggh ZgZeblbq_kdbc – j_Wmjkdljhg ^Zg – J_`bf ^hk:lmiZ
http://www.focus.kg/news/ts/12154.html\h[h^guc
[3] LZfh`_gguc Khxa b Khk_:^fhb^_ekdjZghugkljmf_glu \aZbfh\u]h^gWe_dljhgguk
j_km]jkKZcl ?\jZabckdh]h ;Zg,dZhdZa1h,k2013]. P_glj bgl_]jZpbhgguo b.k-e_^
We_dljh^Zgg- J_`bf ^hk:lmiZ http://www.eabr.org/\h[h^guc

ihkj_^kl\hf mqj_`^_gby kbkl_fu dhee_dlbHghgZdh_ag
ijZdlbd_ H>D; ihdZ hklZ_lky g_nmgdpbhgZev[guhech
ih^l_j`^_gh \ ^\mo kemqZyo hldjbfh]hbdhfgkeb:d\ZD
kemqZ_ ;Zld_gkdb1999kh2000]cb bxgvkdbo kh[ulbc gZ
2010]. G_nmgdpbhgZevghc k lhqdb aj_gby h[_ki_
[_ahiZkghklb]hkm^ZjkW\hqek\gaZgh, dklhl_fZggZy -\h_
iheblbq_kdZy kljmdlmjZ hjb_glbjh\ZgZ gZ \g_rgb_
j_Z]bjh\Zlv hi_jZlb\gh gZ m]jhau bkkh]ev\kgh bank
hj]Zgba,ZpHb>D; miheghfhq_gZ j_]*международные*
dhgnebdlgu_ k,bl]m^Zpbkblhjhghc Z]j_kkhjhf \uklmiZ_
]hkm^Zjkl\h gh \ kemqZ_nZdlbq_kdhc \g_rg_c m]jha
^jm]bo\h_gbabjh\Zgguo ,hjZbjhlZdgbc ijb \hagbdg
\gmlj_ggbodhgnebdlguo kblmZpbc \ hl^,_e>D,hc\kk_ljZ_s
hklZ_lky g_Z^_d\Zlguf. fhkeZgbaxfgvkdbo 2010]ugbZc x]_
Duj]uakl,Zguzeb _^_gu jy^ baf_g_gbc \ mqj_^bl_e
hj]Zgba,ZgbZbjbf,_jha^ZgZ kbkl_fZ j_Z]bjh\Zgby \ djba
_^_g f_oZgbaf kh]eZkh\Zgby \hijhkZ jZaf_s_gby
h[t_dlh\ gZ l_jjblhjbb]hkm^Zjk[1]L\Zfqge_gdZgH>Dwlb f_c
ihdZ g_ [ueb ijh_j_gu \ ijbdeZ^ghf ieZg_

Hkgh\ghc ijh[e_fhc \ ijhp_kk_ bgklblmpbhgZeb
kqblZlv hlkmlkl\b_ h,[hsbso_]h_ehkcijbylby m]jha .[_WahiZ
nZdl ohjhrh ih^l_j`^Z_lky \g_rg_iheblbq_kdbf i,h_
dhlhjuc \ aZ\bkbfhklb hl baf_g_gbc \ k\hbo]_hi,heb
lh \oh,^bh \uoh^bl ba wlhc hjDZgbaZgbhbg_ lhevdh \ua
g_^h_jb_ d mklhcqb\hklb iheb,gbdb Mah[_dbkjZgZhdZ
fh`_l \hkklZgh\blv beb jZa\blv \ ^hklZlhqghc f_j,_Zk\
lZd`_ memqrblv dhhj^bgZpbx b kihkh[ghklv d hi_j
^_ckl\by4fn_\jZe2009]h^Z mqZklgbdb H>D; kh]eZkh\Ze

[1] MklZ\ H>D e_dljhgguc]:jKZmjkHj]ZgbaZpbb >h]h\hjZ Dhee_dlbu\g`bf ;^hkhmZkZg
http://www.odkb-csto.org/documents/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=1244 h[h^guc

ijh_dl j_r_gby ih kha^Zgbx iDK^HHJeZ]Z_lky bkihevaZ

©hljZ`_gby \h_ggh,cijh]j_^k_gbby ki_pbZevguo hi_jZpb

f_`^mgZjh^guf l_jjhjbajfZ,hjbaZgkgZpbhgZevghc hj]Zg

ij_klmigh,klgxZjdhljZn,bdZhf lZd`_ ^ey ebd\b^Zpbb i

qj_a\uqZcguo kbl[1]mKZpbcr_gb_ h Dhee_dlb\guo kbeZ

j_Z]bjh\Zgby H>D; \klm10bke_hglyKbj2010e]h^Z.

< jZfdZo H>D; ijbgbfZ_lky fgh`_kilel\Zg,hljZ]j_],bfc

dhlhju_ \ [hevr_c kl_i_gb g_ \uihegyxlky gZ]hk

lj_^ijbgbfZxlky ihiuldb ih]ZjfhgbaZpbb ghjfZl,b\g

j_]mebjmxsbo \hijhku [_ahiZkghklb \ kljZgZo Hgmbq

ijh\h^ylky kh\f_klgh k ^jm]bfb ihklkh_lkGZfbb f,k_ljr

\aZbfh^_ckl\b_ H>D; k F_`iZjeZf_gkldhc :kkZf[e__

jZajZ[hld_ fh^_evguo aZdhgh,^\Zq_ekl\gbklb dlh^_evgu

©H [hjv[_ k l_jjhj[2]hf,^Zfdwhlb ihiuldb ihdZ hklZxlky l

H`b^Z_l,kqlyh jZa\blb_ khljm^gbq_kl\Z \ jZfdZo _\jZab

bgl_]jZpbb [m^_l khijh\h`^Zlvky khhl_lkl\mxsbf

ihebkbq_kdh]h Zki_dlZ k,hbjm^Zbq_kl\Zggh ihebkbq_

khljm^gbq_kl\h gZ hkgh_ H>D; [m^_l khijh\h`^Zlv

wdhghfbq_kdh]h ij,hkj_^kl\Zyy kh[hc fZl_jbZevgm

bgl_]jZpbb \ \h_ggh ihebkbq[3]_kdhkdeo_jg_f, :g_gbb

H>D; b ?\jZ:aWhK h^gb b l_;m_dkZjeZvgu gZ ^gyo

jZlbnbpbjh\ZeZ f_`]hkm^ZjkZl_ggu_ kh]eZr_gby h

ij_[u\Zgby jhkkbckdbo \h_gguo [Za 20e_Dl\jLZakblZgk_lZgZ

gZ 30 e_l k \hafh`ghklvx ijhehg]Zpbb kh]eZr_gbc ih[4] bk

< ^_dZ[2012] gZ kZffbl_]eZ\ ]hkm^Zjkl\ H>D; [ueh ij

---

[1] HnbpbZevguc kZcl Hj]ZgbaZpbb >h]h\hjZ h Dhee_dlb\ghc [_ahiZkghklb <g_hq_j_^gZy k_kkby. – KW e\dFhjg –\Jh`gbf ^hk: http://www.odkb-csto.org/news/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=760&sphrase_id=3823, k\h[h^guc
[2] >`hjh[_dh\Z HKWh\gu_ l_g^_gpbb b gZijZ\e_gby bgl_]jZpbhgguo ijhp_kkh\ >L_[dk:l W >`hjh[_dh\Z – 2007. – K90.
[3] >`hjh[_dh\Z (2007), K l. 101
[4] CA-News.org. P_gljZevghZabZlkdZy ghWkeldZyhkgmc`[:J_hkmkjkhyZkZykv KR: b G: aZdj_iey_l k\h_ \h_ggh_ ijbkmlkl\b_ .\– PW_e_lgZjhVmg–J_:`abfb^hk: http://www.ca-news.org/news:1064035, k\h[h^guc

kha^Zgbb dhee_dlb\guo, \hgZdh Hm>Dbe_gb_ \h_ggh]h
ihdZ hldeZ^u\Z_lky dZd fbgbfmf 2]h^Z
kh]eZkghg_^Z\g_fmaZy\e_gbxgZqZevgbdZ (HR) [t_>Dg_
]_g_jZe e_cl_gZglZ :e_dkZg^j Zgbkbfh\ bg_\Z h[ty\
j_nhjf b j_hj]ZgbaZpbc \ H>D; Zg khi\jh\h\ Zgb_ \
kljmdlmj Hj]ZgbaZpbb aZcf_l dZd »fbgbfmf ^\Z dkjh
ij_^iheZ]Zxlh g_hi_jZlb\ghklv \ mkbe_gbb \h_gg,h]h
fh`_l bf_lv ly`_eu_ ihke_^kl\by ^ey ahgu hl_lk
hkh[_gghklb ih qZklb P_gljZevghZabZlkdh]h j_]bhg
2014]h^m F_`^mgZjh^guo kbe kh^_ckl\by [_ahiZkghkl

Организация Экономического Сотрудничества (ОЭС). lhfbfh ijh
jhkkbckdbo bgl_]jZpbhgguo ko_f _klv _s_ ^\Z bgl_j
P_gljZevghc :abb \ ieZg_ rbjhlu nhjf, RZH Khljm^gbq_
Hj]ZgbaZpby Wdhghfbq_kdh]h Khljm^gbq_kl\Z gZ x]
HWK y\ey_lky _^bgkl_ggh,c]^hj]ZgbaZpb_c m^Zj
y\eyxlky qe_gZfb gZjy^m Bjkdhf, L_ZfZdbklZg,mf]ZgbklZghf
:a_j[Zc^`ZghfHWK \hkijbgbfZ_lky dZd \hjhbaZpby[eZ
wdhghfbq_kdZy khklZ\eyxsZy b f_g__ \Fjh\gZ bye^
jZkrbj_gby (HWK Zc^Zgghc L,mjpbbhf b lZdbklZghf gZ
Bafbjkdh]h ^h]h\hjZ 1977 aZ kq_l \dexq1992 bye kdlkh_lkd
]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevghc :abb b :a_j[Zc^`Zg ^y egxk_l
dmevlmjgh j_eb]bhaghc b bklhjbq_kdhc .hKgh]ek
bklhjbdh]_h]jZnbq_kdhfm hij_^_e_gbx j_]bhgZ [hev
gug_rg_c P_gljZevghc :abb y\ey_lky qZ klhvh j^cb jZhg
gZau\Zeb P_gljZevghc :ab_c beb <gmlj_gg_c :ab_c

1 <eZ^bfbj Fm«Hb>D; g_ ki_rbl k i_j_kha^Zgb_ ihegp_ggh]h h[t_^bg_
dhee_dlb\ghc h[hjhgu hklZ\e» G_ ~~h~~ gZ\b [mb^mZ \ ]Zc_dIZ hgguc], G_ajZ\bkbfZy]Za
hl 01.07.2013. — We_dlj^ggZ J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://www.ng.ru/politics/2013-07-01/3_odkb.html, \h[h^guc

Q e _ g k l \ h L m j d f _ g b k l Z g Z \ H W K g _ k k h h l \ _ l k l \ h \ Z e h

g _ c l j Z e b a f _ l Z h [t y k g y _ l k y i j b q b g Z f b w d h g h f b q _ k d h

L m j d f _ g b k l Z g g Z i j y f m x w d k i h j l b j m _ l Z e a \ b B j Z g k d b y

l j Z g a b l g Z y b l j Z g k i h j l g Z y b g n j Z k l j m d l m j Z g _

j _ Z e b a h \ Z l v \ _ k v i h l _ g p b Z e w d k i h j l Z b ^ _ e Z _ l L m

J h k k b b q l h Z d l m Z e b a b j m _ l \ Z ` g h k l v ^ b \ _ j k b n b d

\ h a f h ` g h k l _ c Z g Z b f _ _ l g _ k d h e v d h \ Z j b Z g l h \ ^ e y

g Z i j Z \ e _ g b x L m j d f _ g b k l Z g , B j Z g , L m j p b y g _ h k m s _ k l \

L m j p b y g m ` ^ Z _ l k y \ g _ n l b B j Z g Z k L m j d f _ g b k l Z g h

i h a b l b \ g h f . j m k l _ g _ f _ \ B j Z g b f _ _ l k \ h b a Z i Z k u] Z a Z

f _ k l h d h g n e b d l b g l _ j _ k h \ \ Z j b Z g l g Z k d Z k i b c k d Z y] Z a h

ih ^ g m D Z k i b c k d h] h f h j y i h g Z i j Z \ e _ g b x L m j d f _ g b k l

A ^ _ k v _ k l v k i h j f _ ` ^ m : a _ j [ Z c ^ ` Z g h f b L m j d f _ g b

h n n r h j g u o a Z i Z k h \ d h l h j u c g _ h [o h ^ b f h . [2] Z W l h l \ Z j b Z

a g Z q b l _ e v g h m f _ g v r b e [u a Z \ b k b f h k l v L m j d f _ g b k l Z g

\ k \ h x h q _ j _ ^ v k h \ k _ f g _ a Z b g l _ j _ k h \ Z g g u o \ H W K R :

f h] e b [u i h ^ ^ _ j ` Z l v w l h l d Z a Z l v \ k \ h _ , K j _ ^ g y y a h \ Z

k h l j m ^ g b q _ k l \ Z k A Z i Z ^ h f i j _ i y l k l \ h \ Z e j _ Z

= ; _ j ^ u f m o Z f f _ ^ h \ i h d Z g _ i j h \ h ^ b e d Z d b o e b [h a g Z

\ g _ r g _ c i h e b l b d _ g _ b k d e x q b l _ e v g h \ [e b ` Z c r _ f [m ^ m s _ f

b a f _ g _ g b y i h e y l b d b , [m ^ m l k \ y a Z g u k l _ f b , d l h [m ^ _ l \ l _ k g u _ w d h g h f b q _ k d b

k D b l Z _ f w l h m ` _ j _ Z e v g h k l v ^ e y \ g _ r g _ w d h g h f b

L m j d f _ g b k l Z g Z .

l j b f _ j L m j d f _ g b k l Z g Z , i h d Z a Z l _ e v k l \ h k i j b g b f Z _ l k y

P : d Z d \ Z j b Z g l ^ b \ _ j k b n b d Z p b b b o \ g _ r g _ w d h g h f b

^ j m] b f b k e h \ Z f b w l h l \ H W K k _ i j h b g l _] j Z p b x , d Z d b j h l Z f g h h \ m k l \

^ \ m k l h j h g g b o b f g h] h k l h j h g g b o h l g h r _ g b c , l Z d i j _ \ Z e b j m x l k y

---

[1] Princeton University [W e _ d l j h g g u c] j _ k m j k] . Tanja Cuk, Caspian Energy and the Politics of Caspian States: Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. – 4 January, 1998. W e _ d l j h g ^ Z g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i Z http://www.wws.princeton.edu/wws401c/1998/tanja.pdf , k \ h [h ^ g u c Z g] e .

[2] L Z f ` _

_keb \ wlhf _klv wdhghfbq_kdZy \u]h^Z. ^HeWy-kwhjhg
hj]ZgbaZpby wdhghfbq_kdh],hgkhlgjmd^Zgdbqg_klbZgH_WjkZp
ij_^hklZ\ey_l \hafh`ghklv kh[ex^Zlv iheblbq_kdb
bgl_j_ku kljZg b jZkrbjylv f_`^mgZjh^gmx iheblbdn
kljZg wdkihjl_jh\ \ hkgh\ghf [h]Zluo j_kmjkZfb m]e_

Шанхайская Организация Сотрудничества (ШОС). Bgklblmpbhg Zeb
RHK-wlh j_amevlZl mki_rguo mkbebc lj_o p_g(laZe
bkdexq_gb_f Ma[_dbklZgZ)bbLmhjkk_bgbbklZgjZ]mebjh\Z
]hkm^Zjkl_gguo]jZgbp k DblZ_f ihke_ jZkiZ^Z _^b
]hkm^Zjk<lkZ_]jZgbqZsb_ ^jm] k ^jm]hf]hkm^Zjkl\Z
klZ[bevghklb b aZsbs_gghklb k\he-hkghrgZy pjZegvbp
h[t_^bg.gby\bqgh_ khljm^gbq_kl\h \ \hijhkZo j_]m
ijhoh^beZ \ jZfdZo RZgoZckd1996],iyh_jed_b ik;bkh_^bg
Ma[_dbklZ2007. \ dZq_kl_ qe_gZ hj]ZgbaZpbb RZgoZ
bf_gh\Zlvky RZgoZckdZy Hj]ZgbaZpby RHK-h-jmv^lgnb
\hafh`ghklv ^ey kljZg P_gljZevghc :abb kljhblv h
\hklhqguf kh-k_D^bhZ._Ffgh]b_ ijh,_ddhluhju_ j_Zebamxlky
RHK,ghkyl ^\mklhjhggbc,go_Zj_Zedb_jfgh]hklhjh^ggbDblZ
\uklmiZ_l bg\,kdhkjhqgbdhf]hkm^Zjkl_gguo b qZk
dj_^blh\ ^ey P_gljZe.vghZcd`:abDblZc y\ey_lky m`_
ihlj_[bl_e_f m]e_\h^hjh,^h[_ki]hqbgZk_[_ \u]h^gu_ dh
bg_klbjmy \ ljZgkihjlgmx bgnjZkljmdlmjDblj_[bhZgdZ`
Zdlb_g \ ]hjgh^h[u\Zxs_c hljZkeb b \ kn<j__dh
]eh[Zevgh]h ihlhdZ dZib,lZPe_Zglj_Zejvggdy:aby aZbgl_
h[_ki_q_gbb \uoh^Z d fhjx b hd_Zgm ^ey j_r
dhglbg_glZevghc aZ<fdwghhfhkhbgl_dkl_ l_kgh_ khljm^g
P_gljZevghc :abb kh kljZgZfb <hklhqghc :abb b X
kljZl_]bq_kdb_ bgl_j_ke-mPqZ_ k,Dhl_Zj_ufc bah ^gy \
klZgh\blky fhsg__ wdhbgh[fb^qmkdb ^_j`Z\hc ghf_j h^

aj_gby jZaf_jZ gZ Dbl_x ghy_gv \Z`gh k^_eZlv Zdp_gl
dhglbg_glhf b mkbe_gbb k\hbo \hafh`ghkl_c dZd c
l_f [he__ fhjkdh_ jZa\blb_ DblZy mki_rgh khhlhyehkv[1]
Hlghr_gby DblZc –bwPh: ij_`^_ \k_]h \hijhku]
wdhghfbq_kdh]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z __ f_klh aZgbfZ_l lZ
© mc]mjkdbc ».\hijhkbq_kdb ,mc]mjbu Zxsb_ \ KM:J DG
^h[b\Zxsb_ky k\h_c g_aZ\bkbfhklb mc]mjh bklhjbq_k
dhgn_kkbhgZevgh, fhqi_gZv g_[ebadb d gZjh^Zf P_gljZ
Bklhjbq_kdb l_jjblhjby gug_-gwl h KMj:Blhjby <hklh
Lmjd_kl ZgZ^iheh`bl_evgh 300 000 mc]mjh\[2] ijh`b\Z_l \
P_gljZevghc :abb b ijZ\bl_evkl\Z kljZg P_gljZev
\gbfZl_evgh hlghkylky d ^_yl_evghklb mc]mjkdbo
qlh[u ^_j`Zlv wlhl \hijhk ih^ qlhgh\ gkjhe_fhq_, jy\^ev_lky
qm\kl\bl_evghc qZklvx iheblbq_kdbo. hlghr_gbc k Db
< p_ehf RHK b _]h bgl_]jZpbhgguc ihl_gpbZe
keZ[.u_<h i_j\u oijbkmlkl\mxl kbevgu_ hlebqby- \
bgklblmpbhgZevghc kj_^_ ihklkh_lkdbo kljZg PP: ih
bklhjbq_kdhc bg_jpbb hl^Zxl ij_^ihql_gb_ dmevlm
ijhkljZgkl\m k ,Jhkkblhcqdb aj_gby iheblbdh wdhghfb
lZd`_ hklZxlky \ ihklkh_lkdhc\ fhq _wdhghfbq_kdZy fhs
[hevr_ im]q_fl ijb\e_dZ_l dZd ,kljZgub PJ:h kDblZc `_
gZp_eb\Z_lky gZ h[t_^bg_ggu, cb jkgjh_dblj_ky hkZa^Zlv
wdhghfbq_kdh_ ijhkljZgkl\h k [u\rbfb kh_lkdbfb klj
K lhqdb aj_gby nZdlhjh\ j_]bhgZevghc, mhcfy[hmlu]
\ur_ \hijh, kuhlhju_ fh]eb [u [ulv j_r_gu\ jZfdZ-owRHK
i_j\mx hq_j_^v j_r_gb_ \hijhkZ dhglbg_glZevgh.hc

[1]Gill, B. Rising Star: China's New Security Diplomacy / B. Gill. – Washington, DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2007. – 280 p.

[2] @ Z d,uW M c]m–jg _ h i j _ ^ _ e _ g g h _ [ ] W m^ m l s j h g g u c] : j`mkjmgZ W Z a,b 2005. – W e _ d l j h g g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i Z : http://uighur.narod.ru/uigur2/uighur2005kg.htm, k \ h [h ^ g u c k _ g h . Mc]mju DZaZokl >W e _ d l j h g g u c]. – W e _ d l j h g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i Z : http://uighur.narod.ru/article1.html, k \ h [ h ^ g u c KZ\m j h F \ > M c ] m j [ W e _ d l j h g g u c ] : j`Mkc]mjkdZy ^bZkihjZ \ . M W e _ d l j h g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i Z : http://uighur.narod.ru/uighurum/uighur-uzbekistan.html, k \ h [h ^ g u c

>jm]hc \hijhk dZd j_]bhgZevgu_ hj]ZgbaZpbb fh]eb
khljm^gbq_kl\Z \ h[eZklb [_ahiZkghklb hl. gZghjZb^b
g_ljZ^bpbhggu_ m]jhau P_gljZevghc :abb y\eyx
ijhbkoh`^_gbdZd d ijbf_jmevrbgkl\h m]jha [_jml g
:n]ZgbklZGZ gZr \a]ey^ \ p_eyo h[_ki_q_gby k\
[_ahiZkghkhbkm^Zjkl\Zf P_gljZevghc :abb g_h[oh^
f_oZgbafu ^ey kha^Zgby iehsZ^db khljm^gbq_kl\Z
<hklhqghc.:ablZdhf dhgl_kdhkl_kl\h\Zgb_ RHK b HW
jZkkfZljb\Zlv dZd \hafh`ghklv kha^Zgby ^hihegbl
fgh]hklhjhgg_c ^biehfZlbb,lghih\ebdZdqbkl_ ijbf_jZ
hlf_lb,lvqlh hgb g_ ij_^klZ\eyxl kh[hc h[jZaph\mx fh^
kljZgZf P_gljZevghc^hab[hkjhqghc i_jki-\dlbh^ wlhd_Z
emqr_f kemqZ_ fh`gh kqblZlv lhevdh mki_rguf
jZkrbj_gb_f jugdZ k[ulZ Bgl_]jZpbyihgbfZ_fZy
bgklblmlh\ g_nhjfZevghc b nhjfZevghc iheblbdb,^ey
gZ gZr \a]ey^ij_^klZ\ey_lky \hafh`ghc \ jZfdZo H
lheblbq_kdZy weblZ b j_]bhgZevgZy h[s_kl_gghk
kj_^g_kjhqghc i_jki_dlb_ f_g__,\qlhmybgklblmpbhgZevgZy fh^_jgb
klhjhgm mkb<eZ_gbZylkohkP_bgljZevghc.:aZbdZy l_g^_g
h[tykgy_lky g_ klhevdh h[sbfb j_]bhgZevgufb ijhp_
P_gljZevghc,kdbevdh \ hlebq<jlZ_eyhkbZfhc:.ab?keb
ijbagZlvqlh :aby _klv fgh]hebdh_ dmevlmjgh_ b,ih
lhihkue KR:\b^_lv X`gmx :abx b P_gljZevgmx :abx
j_]bhgm^,_lh \b^bf,fmklZ\Zlvky ebrv]_hiheblbq_kdh
dhgkljmdpgb_`c_eb bgklblmpbhgZebabjm_fhc fhL^Zdv\x
keh`gh [m^_l ij_^idhlhZ]PZ_lvgljZevgZy :aby [m^_l khpb
bgklblmpbhgZevgmx fZ,ljZbdmZDdbbZybebaZpbhgguc b
dhgl_dklu P_gljZevghc :abb b Dbl.Zy kebrdhf jZagu_

Kj_^b hkgh\guo g_nhjfZevguo h[s_kl_gguo bgk
:ab,b fh`gh \u^_eblv bgkldbhlhmlju_ ijhy\eyxlky gZ
gZpbhgZevgh]h b \gmljbgZpbhgZevgh]h ,kZZagZgby
bgklblmdblhju_ \ jZ\ghc f_j_ oZjZdl_jgu \k_f gZjh.^Z
Kj_^b ihke,_\^gibpj\mx hq_j_^v ke_^m_l hlf_lblv b-keZ
iheblbq_kdb_ b,gdhlhmju_ \ ^hkh_lkdh_ \j_fy nmgdp
gZ^gZpbhgZevg,hfukmljmlZy h[s_c jZfdhc ^ey _^bjgbkl\Z
wlh,f[m^mqb g_ lhevdh ijhy\e_gb_f j_eb]bhgahgZdb^
\ujZ`_gb_f wlgh gZpbwgZevbgkcblmlu hj]Zgbqgh[ueb
dmevlmjgufb ljZ^bpbyfb gZjh^h\ j_]bhgZ b k
fmkmevfZgkdhc.d<meh^mjukh_lkdhc fh^_jgbaZpbb bl
:abb b DZaZoklZg_ kbevgh lj,Zgkm^mjqbjh\Zekybz
aZij_s_g,g_u]fh ihabpbb k_jv_aguf h[jZbadf fhkeZ[mebZk
KKK,JbkeZf m`_ g_ ij_^klZ\eye khpbZevgh iheblbq_k
^ey fh[bebaZpbb gZjh^h\ P_,gbjZevgZcgZabbhgZevgh
j_]bhgZevghf.mjh\gyo

?s_ h^gZ h[sZy q_jlZ ^ey iheblbq_kdbo kbkl_f
]hkm^Z,jwllkk^\h_g»gkZbykl_fZ iheblbq_kdh]h <mikjZ\e_lkdb
\j_fy g_nhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu khq_lZebkv k nhjf
bgklblm.lZf<b ihklkh_lkdbc, inhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu
ljZgknhjfbjh\Zgu ih nhjf_ \ d\Zab.^_fhdjZlbq_kdb_

LZd`_ \Z`gh h,lfq_llkkvh_lkd»,kdhvlhjZy bf_eh kms_k
wnn_dl gZ iheblbq_kdmx dmevlmjm weblu b h[s_
ijhy\ey_lky \ lZdbo g_]Zlb\guo bgklblmpbhgZeba
y\e_gbyo dZd de,bgdll_evbakv bgklblmlZ«g\u\[h^h»f,Zbyh
\Z`gZy jhev g_nhjfZevgu,ZddkbqjmdZdhmj\ebyl_ev,bufxmsb]m
\ k\h_f jZkihjy`_gbb eb[h ,fZe_bj[hZevegZukclguc ,j_k
ij_^klZ\bl_eb djbfbgZevgh]h «fkbjZu b d^Zm^»bgZmuj_gg_
iheblbdb \ kljZgZo P_gljZevghc :abb

< p_ehf dmevlmjgh bgklblmpbhgZevgZy kj_wZh P
fgh]h]jZggZy b ^bgZfbqgh jZa\,bdZhxlsZZyky\hk[jj_^eZZ \
hkgh\gu_ q_jlu \k_o pb\bebaZpbo \ebygb_
ijhp_kkbklhjbq_kdh]h klZgh\e_Pg_bgyljZje_vjbZygZ–:awyh
dhg]ehf_jZl dmevlxjjdk,dhc fmkmevfZ,gkdh_cjkb^k,dhc
fhg]hevkdhc keZ\ygkdh.cpsbfbeyva_Zp,fgjh \ebygb_ aZiZ
pb\bebaZpbb lZd`_ hq_\b^gh b hkh[_ggh y\gh ijhy\e
j_]bhg_ lh fg_gbx g_dhlh,jumgbndq_eyugh_ \aZbfh^_
\aZbfh\ebygb_ wlbo pb\bebaZpbc \ blh]_ ^Zeb g_
\ur_gZa\Zgguo pb\bebaZpbc±k]_h]jZnbq_kdbf h[t
³p_gljZevghZa,bdZhkhjZyy oZjZdl_jbam_lky lZdbfb hk
\ukhdZy*aктивность и толерантность цивилизации, которая вбирает в себя
извне, не теряя свое внутреннее и ранее приобретенное. < gZklhys__ \j
P_gljZevgZy :aby mklhcqb\h khojZgy_l k\hx dmev
fZljbpdhhlhjZy \ jZ\ghc kl_i_gb fh`_l dZdZkihkh]jZlghb\g
bgl_]jZpbhggu_ .ijWphkknuZdl h[mkeh\e_g bklhjbq_kd
j_]bh,gZhlhjuc yjdh \ujZ`Z_lky \ _d]eh[ZebaZpb
ljZgk]jZgbqguo. k\yha^_gchc kl,hjPh_ggljZevghc :abb g_h
dhgkheb^bjh\Zlvky dZd hl;_\evhgkuhc[_jg_]hklgb \ iheblb
kfuke,e_k ^jm]hc ^ey jZa\blby b ijh]j_kkZ j_]bhg
\aZbfh^_ckl\h\Zlv k \g_rgbfb b]jhdZfb b Zdlb\gh
ihl_gpbZe \ dZq_kl\Z ljZgablgh]h b. hjZgZkihjlgkhe]h^
h[jZlblv \gbfZgb_, qgZ lah^_kv g_l ijhlb\hj_qby. dZ
P_gljZevgZy :aby \iheg_ fh`_l b ^he`gZ h[t_^bgb
\Z`guf \hijhkZf j_]bhgZ b \uklmiZlv k _^bguo b kh]e
h[s_gbb k \g_rgbf fbjhf

Dhglbg_glZevgh_ jZkiheh`_gb_ j_]bhgZ b hlkmlk
hd_ZgZf \ ba_klghc f_j_ h]jZgbqb\Zxl \hafh`ghklb j
_]h mya\bfhgk_hv[oh^bfhklv khojZg_gby ahgu ^ey \

gZijZ\e_gbb hldjulh]h j_jbZhjgZmbafZZdbf h[klhyl_ev
g_h[oh^bfhklv jZa\b\Zlv j_]bhgZevgmx ki_pbZeba
\oh`^_gby\ fbjh\mx wdhghfbdm \ dZq_kl_ kZfhkhfmy
`_ gZebqb_ rbjhdh]h dj,mj_Z^khZj\hekyhx\sbo m]jham gZpb
j_]bhgZevghc [_ahZZdk`ghkjl_b^iheZ]Z_l ^_ckl\by j_]bhg
gZp_e_ggu_ gZ mkbe_gb_ khljm^gbq_kl\Z l
]hkm^Zjkl_ggufb.ZehlhgZdh P_gljZevghc :abb ^ey w
hq_j_^v ke_^m_l \gmlj_gg_ dhgkheb^bjh\Zlvky b i
km[j_]bhgZebafZjZee_evgh ihiulZlvky Z^Zilbjh\Zlvk
hldjulh]h j_]bhgZe]bafgZZebaf \ wlhf kfuke_ g_ ijhklh
m]jha b ij,hpe\ukhdZy kl_i_gv \aZbfhaZ\hjk_fhkl_b^bg
kljZgu j_]bghgZ_]bhgZ-ebafdh]^Z \aZbfhaZ\bkbfhklv
_^_l d jZkkfhlj_gbx \gmlj_ggbo b \g_rgbo hlghr_g
\u]h^m \k_]h j_]bhgZ b dZ`^hc kljZgu \ g_f

Глава 3

ПРОБЛЕМЫ И ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ РАЗВИТИЯ РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ ИНТЕГРАЦИИ СТРАН ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЙ АЗИИ

JZkiZ^ KKKJ b \ p_ehf khpbZebklbq_kdh]h [ehd
ihke_^kl\byof ljZgknhjfZpbb \k_c kbkl_fu f_`^mgZjh
baf_g_gbx]_hiheblbq_kdhc kljmBgkjhlmfbhZgZeb
j_]bhgZevghc dhhi_jZpbb b bgl_]jZpbb \ P_gljZevg
mkeh\byo kljmdlmjguo]_hiheblbq_kdbo baf_g_gbc
fbjh\h]h ihjy^kZebygb_ \g_rgbo nZdlhjh\ gZ
bgklblmpbhgZebaZpbb [ue b hklZ_lky kms_kl_ggu
q_jlu

ljh[e_fu b ijhlb\hjdhqbyu_ h]jZgbqbeb ihl_gpbZe k
b bgl_]jZpbb \ j_]bhg_ b j_]bhgZ k \g_rgbf fbj
jZkkfhlj_lv \ wlhc]eZ_ ^bkk_jlZpbb

< i_j\mx hq_kie^vm_l hlfglhlvgZ fbjh\hf *mpphecg_*
глобализации gZ[bjZe oh^ b jZa\bpb\b hkgh\guo]hkm^Zjl
g_]hkm^Zjkl_gguo mqZklgbdh\ ijhp_kkZ]eh[ZebaZ
gZ fhf_gl jZkiZ^ZlhkA^kJ_ \dexq_gb_ kljZg P_gljZe
]eh[Zevgu_ iheblbq_kdb_ b wdhghfbq_kdb_ ijhp_kk
aZ\bkbfhklv]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevghc :abb.hFh\gh rg
]h\hjblv h, dhhf hlkmlkl\b_ bklhjbq_kdhc Zevl_jgZlb\
ih_kl,dhmlhjZy klhye<Zfhie_h^\»fbgh\v kha^Zggufb]hkm^
b gZjh^Zfb j._Hhq_gZ,^gZggZy ih,_kedqZxsZy iheblbq_
wdhghfbq_kdb_ b khpbhdmevlmjbfihjZkjih\dZlkZj[ZueZfb
P_gljZevghc :abb ba<kA_ZikZ^jZgu, \PdexqZ<y^bhaxguc
Lmjdf_gb,kijZgha]eZkbeb dmjk gZ ^,_fhkdljZl_gaZ_pbjxghc

wdhghfbdb b ijh_^_gb_ eb[_jZevguo .hGsZ_kdh_egvgdhol
ih_kldZ khhl_lkl\h\ZeZ ki_pbnbd_ keh`b\r_cky
iheblbq_kdhc dmevlmju we,blh[tb_dhb[\sg_ukfl\ wdhghfbq
\hafh`ghklyf ,kljjZ^gbpbyf b ghjfZf gZjh^h\wj_h]b\hgjZhk
hglheh]bq_kdh]h oZjZdl_jZ b ,aZZkdhZv_dhy P_ghfZevg
fh`_l _kl_kl\«ijbg[hu\Z»lv\ wlhf khklhy«gZbab\b\Z»lv\kyklhjhgm
i_jki_dlb\gh]h [m<mhs_k]h_ggh_kebb mqb,luq\ZlvP_gljZevg
:aby khk_^kl\m_l k]h,kdm^hZjuk_l\Zf_b ijbgbfZxl b^_b ihe
]eh[ZebaZpbb aZiZ^ggZ,hjbhf[jDZalpZZchkkby be)b BjZg

K dmevlmjghc b b^_heh]bq_kdjh]bhgq,PdZda`j_gdbZyd
^jm]b_ j_]bhgu,kfbejZgh ih^_j`_g \ebygbx dm.evl
Dmevlmjguc Zki_dl]eh[ZebaZpbb ihkl_i_ggh ljZ
p_gghkl_c b m,kdlZgghZhkd_]h^gyrgbc ^_gv wnn_dlu ljZ
kh\k_f aZf_lgu \ ,kdlehm\lh]hevr_c kl_i_gb h[t_dlhf wl
y\eyxlky ij_^klZ\bl_eb fheh^.h<]h[mh^dmhse_fgbhyijhk kh^_
©h[gh\e_»ghu[e_kl_gguo bgklblml,h\ihlqj_[m^dhhl^_ev
bamq_gby b dhgp_.iHm^ZeblaZfpbgh k wlbf ljm^g,hqlgh_
bkeZfbaZpby gZ]eh[Zevghf mjh\g_ klZe,lZmk`lhcdqZbd
[hjv[Z ijhlb\ <g_hl^_evguo kljZgZo P_gljZevghc :a
ihiuld«Zbahebjh\»Zlhvlky\g_rgbo b^_heh]bq_kdbo l_q_gb
khojZgb«lgvZpbhgZevkgZfxh[ulghkWlh yjdh \b^gh gZ i
Lmjdf_gbk«Zg\Zm]bo kljZgZo j_]bhgZ hij_^_e_ggZy q
h[s_kl_gguo kbe lZd`_ ijb^_j`,bqZh_lkhy]eebZg\mb m]eZ
klZ\blv khojZg_gb_ ljZ^bpbhgguo p._gghkl_c b dmev

3.1. Роль и место формальных и неформальных институтов в региональной интеграции Центральной Азии

LjZ^bpbhggh \ iheblheh]bq_kdbo bkke_^h\Z
bgklblmpbhgZevghc f_lh^heh]bb ZgZebam ih^_j]Z
bgklblmlu iheblbq_kdbo GlZdbgZ2000-ko aZiZ^gu_ mq_gu_ gZqZe
\hijhkh-f ihq_fm ijb koh`_klb bgklblmpbhgZevgh]h
[Zah\uo oZjZdl_jbklbd,]hkm^Zfjgh\]h kemqZ_\ jZ
iheblbq_kdh]h ih_^_gby b, ikebbZqe_vkgdhbowdhghfb
j_amevlZQhZklbqgh hl_l gZ wlhl \hijhk fh`gh gZ
g_nhjfZevguo bgkdblmjlu\ kljmdlmjbjmxl iheblbq_kdh
\ebyxl gZ j_amevlZlu iheblbq_kdhc ^_yl_kevghklv
bgklblmlu nhjfZevghc b g_nhjfZevghkch[ihegbhkdbmqb
ijhZgZebabjh\Zggufb \ bo \,agZZbfh^e_ckl\bhegh h[tykgy
bamqZ_fuo iheblbq_kdbo exyqZevgh_c]bhgZevgh_ khljm
bgl_]jZpbx

NhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu ihgbfZ_fu_ dZd©ijZhbeZu_b
kha^ZxlkZya\b\Zxlky b j_Zebamxlky q_j_a hnbpbxZ,[1]evg
lh _klvlZdb_ bgklblmludZd km_j,gbjolh_gh\l\aZdjhZ
khljm^gbq_kl\h b f_`^mgZjh^guu[hj^uh]hb\hjuhjfbjh\Z
ij_^klZ\bl_evguo hj]Zgh\ \eZkkhkbZ\eyxl]bhkgh\gmx
bgklblmpbhgZevgh]h ^baZcgZ ex[h]h gZpXhgbZXeVgh
_dh\ l_j\Zy \hegZ bgklblmpbhgZevghc fh^_jgba,Zpl
ih^jZamf_\Zy \g_^j_gb_ iheblbq_kdbo b khpbZevgu
h[jZapgZZqZeZkv k mklZgh\e_gb_f.kh\mkkedhbo\beZkkhm
iexjZebafZ iheblbq_kdbo kbe b iheghc fhghiheb
b^_heh]bb gZ iheblbq_kdhf, djZhkljZugkh_mdZa,gh
^_yl_evghklv nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ k\h^beZkv
kms_kl\mxs_]h iheblbq_kdhLhbibjq_gbfZaZiZ^gu_ klZ
khpbZevgh iheblbq_kdbo bgklblmlh\ ,[«ekdZ\b»^gbaf
ijhp_kk_ bo \g_^j_gby \ kh0_hllkydhjhr\ejhfy20ver_lihke_

[1]Helmke, G., Levitsky, S. Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: a Research Agenda [J] Perspectives on Politics / G. Helmke, S. Levitsky. – 2004 (December). – Vol.2. – No.4 – p. 727.

jZkiZ^Z KKKJ ghc q_jlhc kms_kl\mxsbo nhjfZevguo
]hkm^Zjkl\Zo P_gljZevghc :abb k khh_lkl\mxsbfb h[_ggh
]hkm^Zjkl_ggu_ bgklblmlu g_kml \ k_[_ b^_he-h]b
Z^fbgbkljZlb\gh]h. [1] j_`bfZ

< lh`_ \j_fy k jZkiZ^hf Kh_lkdh]h kh x]hkm^Zjkl\Z e
ihebldb [ueb aZf_g_gu gZ ^_fhdjZlbq_kdb_ ihklkh\
i_jbh^Z wlb bgklblmlu h[j_eb oZjZdl_j d\ZabЉ ^_fg
hlf_q_gh ijhn_kkhj >hgh:[Z_\ «kljZgu KG= i_j_gyeb m
^_fhdjZlbq_kdmx dhgp_ipbx bgklblml ij_ab^_gl. KG\Z l
aZbfkl\h\Zgb_ gZ gZqZevghf wlZi_ ihe mqbe_h k vih
kh^_j`Zgb_D [2] ijbf_jhf ba i_j\uo jmdh\h^bl_e_c
P_gljZevghc, [ue b i_j\ufb k_dj_lZjyfb P_gljZevgh
dhffmgbklbq_kdbo iZjlbc \ k\hb (B D_kjbfHe bGZaZj[Z_
K Gby)a hl\Z bkdexq_gb_f W. dZlhfjuch[ue k_dj_lZj_f h[
dhfbl_lZ dhffmgbklbq_kdh:c :dZ_\ bl hjuc d fhf_glm jZ
KKKJ jZ[hlZe aZ_^mxsbf hl^_ehf gZmdb b mq
Dhffmgbklbq_kdhc iZjlbb Dbj]babb l_j\u_ ij_ab
P_gljZevghc :abb jZkkfZljb\Zebkv g_ lhevdh dZd hjm
fgh]b_ ba gbo ihabpbhgbjh\Zeb k_[y b \hkijbgbfZe
kh\j_f_gghc]hkm^Zjkl_gghklb k\hbo kljZg bc fbj
hkh[_gghklb ij_^klZ\bl_eb AZiZ^Z \hkijbgbfZeb b ij
i_j\uo b ihke_^mxsbo jmdh\h^bl_e_c]hkm^Zjkl\ j_]
eb^_j(h\h k_j_^bgu 1990-o \j_f_ggh_ bkdexq_gb_ ij_^klZ\ey
b :: :dZ_\ dhlhju_ ^Z`_ gZaukZebk\ dhf ^_fhdjZlbbhfZkhf
>`_nn_jkhghf P_gljZevghc :abb. [3] Kh cijbaobh^hf ;Zdb_\Z 2005]h^m \

---

[1] ;h]Zluj_\ :. KlZlmk nhjfZevguo ihebldbq_kdbo bgklblmlh\ b bo hlghr_gby k g_ kljmdlmjZfb \ Duj]ukkdhc J_imlb]d_ // Bgklblml h[s_kl_ggh]h ZgZebaZ b dhgkmevlbjh\Zgby. – 2008. – K28. – J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://www.ipp.kg k\h[h^guc
[2] >hghg[Z_\ :. F_`^mgZjh^gZy dhgdmj_gpby b ?\jZabckdZy [_ahiZkghklv: dhgl_dkl : >. >hghg[Z_\ // K[hjgbd klZl_c gZmqgh ijZdlbq_kdhc dhgn_j_gpbb KG= ijh[e_fu bgl_]jZpbb b kh ljm^gbq_kl\Z. – ;brd_d, 2011. – ;brd_d, 2012. - K21.
[3] Anderson, J. Creating a Framework for Civil Society in Kyrgyzstan [l_dkl] / J. Anderson // Europe-Asia Studies. – 2000 (January) – Vol.52. – No.1. –pp. 77-93.

dZq_kl_ ij_ab^_gkZ blmIZpbu \ DJ fh`gh kdZaZlv kbe

g_ \ emqrmx klhjhgm_l mkbe_gby ihabpbc ldeq_ghl\

dhjjmipbb b ijbf_g_gby Z\lhjblZjguo f_lhj bhfbg Zmebz Z

ihebldbq_kdhc b h[s_kl_gghc ambagb Zle_b f_klh djh\

kh[ulby Zij_ey 2010 xgy K_]h^gy m ij_ab^_glZ : :lZf[

ly`_eZy aZ^ZqZ klZgh\blv khpbZevgmx ,kijZ\he^ky\h

[he_agyfb h[s_kl\Z b mdj_ieylv]hkm^Zjkl_gghklv

k\h_c ihke_^g_c fhgh]jZnbb bKlhjbq_kdbc h@«ikbrl_Ib^_I m

lj_lbc]h^, ghZ\duc ij_ab^_gl j_kim[ebdb :efZa[_d :lZ

hqbklblv Z\]b_\u dhgxrgb [_]euo, ijh^qabh^gbgl

©ijbo\ZlbabjhsZgbgh_b bo k_f_cdZfb]hkm^Zjkl_gg

bgl_j_kZf gZbjkhd^hj_gblv dhjjmipbx b hj]Zgbah\Zggmx[1]

H[s_ba_,kqgh ^ey ijhp_kkZ jZa\blby b dhgkheb^

^_fhdjZlbb ^ey kljZg AZiZ^Z ihgZ^hH[be^bZklwqlh klhaeZ_

g_kdhevdh e_l]hkm^Zjkl\Z P_^hklZelvghgh :^ebbl_evgh

ijb[u\Z\rb_ \ lhlZeblZjgh,c klkbgkhl_f_^_fhdjZlb q[_ukehbf

ij_m_ebq_gb_fg_jZamfguf b kdhjhihklb`guf lj,bqwlhf

i_jbh^«Ohеh^ghc »\he-guwlh g_ lhevdh \h_ggh ih

ijhlb\hklhyggbh_ \ i_j\mx h,q ijh^b\hklhygb_ b^_heh

h[s_kl_ggh wdhghfbq_:kdhbpbZebkfaZ k ieZgh\hc wd

eb[_jZebafZ k jughqghc.

K ihemq_gb_f g_aZ\bkbfhklbfheh^u_]hkm^Zjkl\Z

dmjk gZ i_j_oh^ d jughqghc wdhghfbdhl ijhp_kk \u

jZa\blb«^bdh»]hdZiblZebafZ b ih]hgb aZ gZ`b\h,c

hiihjlmgbklkdbf b klbobcguf i_j_jZkij_^_e_gb_f .wd

Wlh h[mkeh\e_gh, q[lhe h gZ 90-o ijhreh]h klhe_lby hlkm

bgl_jgZebabjh\Zggu_ hkgh\u jughqguo bgklblmlh\ \

[1] KZZ^Zg[_@hKNbehkhnbyQbg]baZ[:Lc_fZkl@\ZKKZZ^Zg[_dbhd_, 2013, k.183.

P_gljZevghc. :abbbhgl_dkl_ keZ[hklb]hkm^Zjkl_gg
\g_aZigh h[j_l_gghc k\h[h^u_lihkhe_ZeblZjgh]h]hkm
\k_^ha\he_gghklv b [_agZdZaZgghklv ijb_eb
obsgbq_kdhfmhlghr_gbx d h[s_kl_gghkmf^Zjkl\Zfgh
h[s_kl_gghc kh[kl_gghklb DZd ibr_l ijh_hkkhj
gjZ\kl_ggh]h iZ^_gby h[s_kl\Z e_`bl \k_h[sqZgb
mkdhj_gguf ijh_^_gb_f ijb\Z^bazpbbmiZ_\ b aZdZ
fZobgZpbyfb [Zgdh\ k ihimklbl_evkl\Z hl^_evguo
qbgh\gbdh\ b ^._imlZlh\[1]

D ijbf_jm hkm^Zjkl\Z b h[s_kl\Z X]h <hkhqghc :a
h[j_l_gby g_aZ\bkbfhklb k ^_dhehgbaZpb_c ihe_
ihkl_i_ggh Z^Zilbjh\Zebk, ^bdlmkfu fbjh\h[Zevguf, bZ
kfh]eb gZclb k\hx gbrm \ kbkl_f_]eh[Zevghc wdh
dhehgb_c b i_jbn_jb_c, dhl_jZy iZ^_ZfZgZdhfZ k e_]b
lhebldbq_kdZy webl Z \ wlbo kljZgZo h[mqZeZkv \ klj
\j_f_gb \g_^jyy aZiZ^gu_ mijZ\e_gq_kdb_m fkoZ_gbZ
khojZgblv k\hc j_`bf aZ kq_l [hevr_c \gmlj_gg_c b
kmf_eZ wnn_dlb\gh bkihevah\Zlv bgl_]jZpb[2]hggu_ fm
:K?:G fh`gh jZkkfZljb\Zlv dZd yjdbc ijbf_j mki_rgh
hkgh_ [ZeZgkZ \gmlj_gg_c b \g_rg_c e_]blbfghklb

< hlebqb_ hl X_g. P_gljZevgZy :aby \hl m`_ \lhjhc ^
fh`_l \uclb«bZ afdgmlh]h» dijh[e_flZdbo dZd \ukhdbc
dhjjmipbb b g_kihkh[ghklv]hkm^Zjkl_gguo bgklblm
mkeh\byo]eh[Zevgh]h <dZwihfbdZ, ^dhkZevguf dZ`_
nZdlqlh]hkm^Zjkl\Z P_gljZevghc :abb y\eyxlky
j_]bhgZevguo b f_`^mgZjh^gu o hj]Zgbap bc

---

[1] :dmgh\. JZa\blb_ kbkl_fu]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h mijZ\e_gby b ij_h^hey gby dhjjmipbb
ZgZebld\kl\Z hj_n_jZl ^bkk_jlZpbb gZ khbkdZgb_ mq_ghc kl_i_gb dZg^. 2007
/ :dmgh\. GZpbhgZevgZy :dZ^_fby GZmd Dujzu kkdhc J_kim[eb. 2000. – 46k.

[2] Esengul, Ch. Comparing Regional Integration in East Asia/Southeast Asia and Central Asia / Ch. Esengul // Asian Regional Integration Review. – 2011 (March). – Vol.3. – GIARI, Waseda University, Japan. – pp. 18-38.

qlh \b^_g j_Zevguc ijh]j_kk \ jZa\blbb b qlh hg

wnn_dlb\gh]h f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h_ ijbohg^Zl_evgZkl\h

hj]ZgbaZpbyo \hkijbgbfZehkv ihebfbq_kdbf jmdh\h^

ihkljh_gby]hkm^Zjkl_gghkb beb \klmie_gb_ \

hj]ZgbaZpbx dZd nZdl ijbagZgby kZfhklhyl_evghklb

< j_amevlZl_ihy\bebkv , hj]ZgbaZpbb kbeb b *сугубо* hky

номинальный характер, l.dihebIbq_kdb_ eb^_ju bagZqZevgh

\ kbem, qlh g_ ohl_eb beb \ jZ\ghc kl_i_gb _ g_

bgklblmlu hj]ZgbaZpbb j_Zevghc \eZklvx

<]eh[Zevghf d,hgl_dkl_]hkm^Zjkl_ggh_ khljm^g

bgl_]jZpby hagZf_gh\Zeb gh\mx l_g^_gpbx \ kh\j_

hlghr_gbb. Bgl_gkb\guc dhebq_kl_gguc jhkl f_`^mgZj

j_]bhgZevgh]h b f_`^mgZjh^gh]h mjh\gy klZe j_

f_`^mgZjh^ghc iheblbq_kdhc kbkl_fu Zdlh\ ijhku

b j_]bhgZevguo hj]ZgbaZpbb dZd b ijhp_kku]eh[Zebl

bgl_j_k \ dZq_kl_ dexq_\uo lj_g^h\ kh\j_f_gguo f_`

H^gbf ba ^bkdmkkbhgguo fhf_glh\ f_`^m

g_heb[_jZevgufb bgklblmpbhgZebklZfb y\ey_lky \

f_`^mgZjh^guo hj]ZgbaZpbc b h j_Zevghc kl_i_gb

iheblbq_kdb_ ijhp_kku^_j`b\Zykv bgklblmpbh

dhgkljmdlb\bklkdhc ,iZjZ^b]fuey_f fg_gbb_ ^Z`_ ij

h]jZgbq_gghklb \hafh`ghklb «fbj\ebyl_ey» gZ]bhgZevg

hj]ZgbaZpbbhdZau\Zxl \ebygb_ gZ fbjh\mx iheblbdm

©fbjZkhpbZevgh]h[1]»< hkgh_ khaZgby hj]ZgbaZpbc, glh\k

hgb ^_eZxl hj]ZgbaZpbb fh]ml kh,aqZ\Zlvky l_af k

[1] LZdh]h `_ fg_gby ijb^_j`b\Zxlky lZdb_ aZjm[_`gu_ bkke_^h\Zl_eb dZd Finnemore, Martha. 1993. International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and Science Policy. *International Organization* 47: 565-97; 1996a. Norms, Culture and World Politics: Insights from Sociology's Institutionalism. International Organization 50 (2): 325-47; McNeely, Connie. 1995. *Constructing the Nation-State: International Organization and Prescriptive Action*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

ij_^klZ\eyxl kbf\hebq_kdb b ,aZhlhjup__ghggbklb k_[_
Bf_ggh \ wlhf dexq_ fh`gh jZkkfZljb\Zlv j_]bhg
km[j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z kljZg P_gljZev
^_kylbe_lb_ g_aZ\Wkbbffh_kdZgbafu kha^Z\Zebkv g_ kl
bgklblmpbhgZebaZpbb j_]bhgZevgh]h kdkalvjm^gbq
ZdlmZebaZpbb \g_aZigh h[j_l_ggh^c \gh_jZkkolfjhkbllb_e
gZpbb b]hkm^Zjkl\Z g_ \k_]^Z [uebGZqijbdhjgZuj
\gmljb]hkm^Zjkl_gg,hfg_mhjfZevgu_ bgk\lbhkhu[_gghk
gZebqlb*ционовых структур и локально-культурных общностей* ijb\h^bl c
lhf,mqlh hgb ij_iylkl\mxl klZgh\e_gbx q_,eih\^dZ`bjZx^l
jZa\blb_ dhjjmipbb b f._Wlgbbqh_kkl[Zgghklb deZgh\u
h[s_kl\Z \ kh\hdmighklb aZf_^eyxl ijhp_kk nhjfbjh
h]jZgbqb\Zxl ijhp_kk mkbe_gby nhjfZevguo]hkm^Zj
wnn_dlb\ghklv

LZd`_ g_]Zlb\gh hljZ`Z_lky gZ ijhp_kkZo
]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h kljhbl*ктивизма* eyxl\ZlZljhg deb_gl hlghr
\u]h^gh ih^^_j`b\Zxl Z\lhjblZjgu_ j_`bfu b ^_yl_evg
eb^_jh\dhlhju_ aZbgl_j_kh\Zgu \ m^_j`Zgbb b n
wdhghfbq_kdhc b iheblbqD_kdhiqZ\ebkbkku j_]bhgZe
khljm^gbq_kl\Z mki_rgh ijhl_dZxl f_`^m djbfbgZe
j_]bhgZ b ZgZeh]bqgufb g_e_]Zevgufb kljm<dlwmljhZff
kem,qZljmdlmjgufb ijh[e_fZfb j_]bhgZevgh]h \aZbfh^
dhjjmipby b g_mijZ\ey_fhklv fgh]bo khpbZevgh kvdh
aZf_ghc iheblbq_kdbo jmdh\h^bl_e_c, jhkmZpky_
[hevr_ fh`_l klZlv g_mijZ\ey_fhc \ kbem h[hklj_gb
j_kmjku f_`^m deZgh\ufb , kdjjhfbgZevguf]jmiiZf
g_nhjfZevgufb j_]bhgZevgufb eb^_jZfb

[1]Barnett, M., Finnemore, M. The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations[M. Barnett, M. Finnemore // International Organization. – 1999 (Autumn). – Vol.53. – No.4. – p. 703.

LZdbf h[j,Zfahfgh k^_eZlv,q\uh\hj^_]bhgZevgh_ khljm^
bgl_]jZpby \ P_gljZevghc :abb aZ\bkbl hl kblmZ
j_]bh,gZhl kihkh[ghklb ijZ\bl_evkl\ bkihegylv ijb
h[yaZl_evkl\Z b j_r,zdlZvdagZZ^Zmqjh\g_ hl^_evgh,]Zd]hbkm
h[s_j_]bhgZevghf. kmejZ[ghklv]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevgh
hkgh\gh]h iheblbq_kdh\Zha[ZdJbjZ^Z _]h bgk^bfmgZvglg
jhev g_nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ h]jZgbqb\Z_l f
bgl_]jZpbhgguc ihl_gpbZe \ P._gljZevghc :abb

3.2. Проблемы и противоречия региональной интеграции в Центральной Азии

JZkiZ^ KKKJ h[mkeh\be ihy\e_gb_ fgh`_kl\Z kbk
ijh[e_f gZ j_]bhgZevgh hjfhmjhkgu_^_abgl_]jZpbb \h \
h[s_kl_ggh iheblbq_kdhc `bagb .gZ^bjZZeyb ihehbjlblqu_k
wdhghfbq_kdZy kbkl_fZ kh_lkdh]h]hkm^Zjkl\Z [ue
\j_f,yih^l_j`^Zy Zdqbkfmajmrblv fh`gh,Ze_khdh^Zlv–gh\
gZfgh]h keh`g__ »b Bkhevjb_q_k-dwlh [ue i_jbh^,jZa
^_abgl_]jZpbb b g_h«\uh^bZhgkbyh dZd fh`kbebeZkv eh
©dZ`^uc aZ Dk[yh_ g_aZ\bkbfh_ fheh^h_]hkm^Zjk
ijhkljZgkl\Z ^mfZ,edZhd l_ffm \,udZdv khklhylky dZd kr
]hkm^ZjkBfhggh \ lZdhf keh`gh,fbdhegb_dkl_h i_j\u_ ih
bgklblmpbhgZebabjh\Zlv j_]bhgZevgh_ khljm^gbq_k
k\h_c j_]bhgZevghc fh^_eb jZa\blby b bgl_]jZpbb \
ijhkljZgkl\hwlhl i_jbh^ ihy\eyxlky i_j\u_ km[j_]bh,gZe
dhlhju_ [ueb gZp_e_gu gZ [he__ madh nhjfZl.guc
ljbqbgu ihy\e_gby lZdbo hj]Zg,bagZpbhckgjhZ\agguw_lh
g_kihkh[ghklv KG= [,uhv_f{f_evZ_gbaf pb\bebah\Zggh]h
dhg_,q`_heZgb_ hl^_evguo «kljmZigbkKG=»,vmkqblu\Zy nZdl

dmevlmjgh pb\beba,Z pwlhgh]hebbq_kdh]h, ihebbq_kdh]h

]_hwdhghfbq_kdh]h, oZjZdl_jZ ki_pbnbq_kdb_

[_ahiZkghklb dhlhju_ klhyl i_j_^ ^Zgghc<]jmiihc\jy

ihy\bebkv lZdb_ hj]ZgbaZpbb: FZdH, >\b:aW, KHP:K ^h

kebygby k ?\j:2005]. lZdbf h[jZahf i_ggh knhjfbjh\

jZaghmjh\g_\Zy b jZaghkdhjhklgZy kbkl_fZ bgl_

ihklkh_lkdhf ijhkljZgkl_ exklj Zpbb wlh]h \2i^Z_hky

ko_fZ k mdZaZgb_f \k_o hkgh\guo f_`^mgZjh^guo b

beb ijh_dlh\ exqZxsbo klZgu P_glj,evgZc 1991 ih 2013]].

ljb wlhf bgl_]jZpbhggu_ h[t_^bg_gby ihklkh_lkd

g_ kfh]eb ^h[blvky kms_kl_gguo b \b^bfuo_\jh

ijh[e_f,hdhlhjZy ij_iylkl\h\ZeZ b ij_iylkl\m_l ^bgZf

bgl_]jZpbhgguo ijhp_kkh\ \ P_gljZevghc **слабость государственных институтов**. G_jZa\blhklv ihebbq_kdhc k

]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevghc :abb qZehky \ eyr_lky j_amev

h[t_dlb\guo nZdlhjh\u_ bklhjbq_kdb h]jZgbq_gguo

kbkl_f_ mijZ\e_gby \ P_gljZevghc :abb j]hbfZ

ijb_e d gbadhc mijZ\ey_fhklb gZ i_j\uo ihjZo g

keZ[hklb bgklbl_lkdbo d\Zab ^_fhdjZlbq_kdbo bgklblmlh\.

< k\hx hq_j_^v mijZ\ey_fhklv \gmljb]hkm^Zjkl_gghf

^Z\ZeZ \hafh`ghklb \hiehsZlv gZ ijZdlbd_ ijbgylu_

jZfdZo j_]bhgZevguo b f_`^mgZjh^guo hj]ZgbaZpbc

>jm]Zy ijh[e_fZ ijylkl\mxsZy bgl_]jZpbb – wlh **неразвитость национальной самоидентификации**. =jZ`^ZgkdZ

gZpbhgZevgZy b^_glbqghklv g_ aZgbfZ_l ijbhjbl_lgh

kbkl_f_ b^_glbqghklb \ P_gljZevghc :abb i_jbh^

ijh_^_gu iheblbdh Z^fbgbkljZlb\gu_]jZgbpu f_`

Kj_^g_c :abb b DZaZoklZg_ ijbghlmev »gZpbb^bZ

gZpby ihgbfZ_lky dZd wlgh gZpbhgmZkevgZbyy odZh_k]lhkjhb\y
b^_heh]bq_kdh]h \Zdm,mhfZkmbkb\bo_Zhbk_Zg_jZa\blhklv gZ
b^_b dZd l,Zdlh\hc[he__ khijy`_gghc k jZa\blb_f
b^_glbqghklb p_gljZe,evigjh_aehZldh\ jZa\blbx lZdbo g
khpbZevgh iheblbq_kdbo y\e_gbc dZ,df_`wvlgghbgZkdb
g_l_jibfhklv b f_`dhgn_kkbhgZevgZy g_ij.bsyhagfvghb]hffg
wlb y\e_gby g_ [ueb b ^h kbo ihj g_ y\eyxlky ij_^f_
jZ[hlu ijZ\bl_evkl\ P_gljZe,evgfhc^:aebjh\Zebkv b [ueb
©gZ kZf,hlZdh[gu_ khpbZevgh iheblbq_kdb_ y\e_gby
©iZjZee_xev`dhacgyx\ lh \j_fy dZd ijZ\bl_evkl\Z b i
jmdh\h^kl\h aZgylu iheblbdhc m^_j`Zgby b mc
jZkij_^_e_gby fZl_jbZevguo j_kmjkh\ \ jZfdZo ^_
bgklblmlh\ dZd deb_gl_ebaf b k_lh_kceg_h^gdbe_Zghhi\hjkbljvm
mjh\g_ km[gZpbhgZevghc b^_glbqghklb aZf_lgh
klZgh\e_gby b nmgdpbhgbjh\Zgby nhjfZekgZ\eyjgk
dhgdmj_gDbhgdmj_glgu_ g_nhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu kljm
ih_^_gb,yqlZdl_ klZgh\ylky g_kh\f_klbfufb k nhjf[1]Zev
GZb[he__ ba_klgu- wjlbf_jZudb_ iZjlbdmeyjbkldb_ g
bgklblmlu dZd de,biZgjlb_fhbgabfZ,edbaZgh\Zy iheblbdZ ,b d
dhlhju_ ^hklZlhqgh rbjhdh ij_^klZ\e_gu b `b\ml \
ljh[e_fZ gZpbhgZevghc kZfhb\^_gulkeb_dZ,jZb^Zgkdhc g
wlh g_ lhevdh \hijhk ^ey j_r_gby gZ ;g\ZPb_hggjZeevggh
:abb \hijhk gZpbhgZevghc kZfhb^_glbnbdZpbb bf__l
b aZ\bkbl hl kblmZpbb b iheblbdb \ wlgh gZpbhg
kljZg,Zo

Wlgbq_kdZy kljmdlmjZ kljZg P_gljZevghc :abb
f_gy_lkWlb baf_g_gby g_ihkj_^kl_ggh \ebyxl gZ ij

[1] O_efd_bE_\blkdb\u^_eyxlq_luj_lbiZg_nhj:fZeivhgugoybxgsXbbdlmflh^\Zpb,hggu_dhgdmj_glgu_baZ.fHelmke, G., Levitsky, S. Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: a Research Agenda [L_dkPerspectives on Politics / G. Helmke, S. Levitsky. – 2004 (December). – Vol.2. – No.4 – pp. 725-740 GZ jmkkdhf yaud_ g_hnbpbZevguc http://internet.ru/pdf/polit_2_07/Helmke.pdf

gZpbc \ kljZgZo P_gljZevghc :abb \ 1989]. dZaZob \ DZaZ
khklZ\eyeb 39,6% b ih qbke_gghklb ebrv g_fgh]h ij_\urZ
jmkkdbo – 37,8%.[1] < 2009]. dZaZob m`_ khklZ\eyeb 63,1% gZk_e_gb
DZaZoklZgZ[2] ;gZqbl_evgZy ihq_fm ih wlgbq_kdhfm khklZ\m kljZg P_
kjZ\gbl_evghc i_jki_dlb_ 1990-o b gZqZeZ 2000-o]h^u ^ZxlkY
ijbeh`_gbb 3-4.

Lj_lvy ijh[e_fZ gZ nhg_ \ur_ wlh]h – **неразвитость институтов формальной политики согласно современным и общемировым стандартам в отличие от действенных, но «архаичных» и неадекватных институтов неформальной политики**. G_aZ_jr_gghklv i_j\hc klZ^bb bgkl
fh^_jgbaZpbb \ kh_lkdbc i_jbh^ b gZqZeh ihklkh
mdZau\Z_l gZ bklhjbq_kdmx g_h[oh^bfhklv jZa\blby
_]h mki_rghc dhgkheb^Zpbb. «;_ab ^jZlbf» g_h[oh^bfh ij,baZ
qlh wlh aZ^ZqZ [m^_l g_ihkj_^kl_ggh klhylv i
ihdhe_gb_f iheblbq_kdhc b bgl_ee_dlmZevghc we,bl
ohly ij_^ihkuedb wlh]h ijhp_kkZ ^he`gu ijZ\bevgh
gug_rg__ \j_fy ^_ckl\mxsbf iheblbq_kdbf jmdh\h
j_]bhgZ. JZqv b^_l, qlh fhd\Zab ^_fhdjZlbqghklv iheblbq_k
©g_jughq»ghklv wlgbq_kdbo bgklblmlh\ kha^Zxl hkgh
jZa\blbx, bdZd j_]bhgZ, lZd b fZhl^_evgh]h]hkm^ZjklZ \. P_
J_Zebb iheblbq_kdh]h mkljhckl\Z fbjZ b eh]bdZ g_
lj_[mxl, qlh[u nhjfZevgu_ bgklblmlu [ueb gZ^_e_gu j
klZeb \ ^hklZlhqghc kl_i_gb nmgdpbhgZevgufb
\gmljb]hkm^Zjkl_gguo b f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gguo hlghr_
P_gljZevghc :abb b j_]bhgZ k\g_j_]bhgZevgufb]hkm
AZ_jr_gb_ oheh^ghc \hcgu b jZkiZ^ khpbZebklbo
jZkkfhlj_gbx aZiZ^guo fh^_e_c iheblbq_kdh]h b kh

[1] Furman, D. The Regime in Kazakhstan [L_dkl] / D. Furman; in Boris Rumer (ed.), Central Asia at the end of the transition. – London/New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005. – p.199.
[2] Central Intelligence Agency [W e_dljhgguc]j_kmjk]. Central Asia. – We_dljhg. ^Zg. - J_`bf ^hklmiZ: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook, k\h[h^guc. – Ya. ZgZ].

_^bgkl_gguo[1] ^ey \k_]h ihklkh_lkdh]h Hjh`gZlbga

ijb_fe_fhklb aZiZ^guo fh^_e_c ^ey ihklkh_lkdbo]h

g_aZiZ^guo pb\bebaZpbc hklZ_lky.hldjulufb kihjguf

GZ hkgh_ \ur_kdZaZggh]h ^_eblv _s_ h^gm ijhj

g_ihkj_^kl_ggh \eby_l gZ jZa\blb_ j_]bhgZevgh]h

недостаточный уровень «демократичности» политических режимов \

P_gljZevghc. :abb ihdjZlbaZpby b j_]bhgZebaZpbf

hij_^_eyxsb_ ijhp_kku ^ylky hgb \ ijyfhc aZ\bkbfhkl

q_f [hevr_ ^_fhdjZlbaZpby lg__ f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gguc

b gZh[hjhl _kv g_ bf__lky \ \b^m \ h[yaZl_evghc f_

aZiZ^ghc fh^_eb eb[_jZevghc. J_qv fh`_l bl h[hlghr

]hkm^Zjkl\Z b h[s_kl\Z hkgh\u\Zxlky gZ mgb

^_fhdjZlbq_kdbo p_gghkl_c dZd nhjfZ ^_fhdjZlbb

jZaebqguo[2] ^\b`_gbc ^\hexpbb]hkm^Zjkl_gguo i j\hj

Duj]uakgZ 2005 \b 2010]] ihdZaZeh \ j_]bhg_ \h]eZ\m m]

bgl_j_ku ihebl bq_kdbo [hjv[u hlkmlkl\by jZa\blh]h

kZfhkhagZgby b _^bgkl\Z \ kljZg_ j_]bhgZeb

gZpbhgZevguo bgl_j_kh\. D_kh`Ze_gbx bgl_]jZ

j_]bhg_ g_ \ bgl_j_kZo ihebl bq_kdbo hlghr

Z\lhjblZjguf ih k\h_c ijbjh^_ hq_j_^v dhffmgbklbq_

Z\lhjblZjgu_ j_`bfu kdehggu _klb ihebl bdm gZpb

khljm^gbq_kl\m lhevdh ihkem q_ Z ebamxl bgl_j_k

^_deZjbjm_fuo dZd gZpbhgZevgu_ bgl_j_ku Z\lhjbl

P_gljZevghc :abb fh`gh h[tykgblv \ h[t_dlb\ghf

ihebl bq_kdh]h deZkkZ dZd lZdh\h]h. B f_gll_fbl

---

[1] H lhf dZd hiul ?\jhiu fh`_l [ulv ihe_a_g]hkm^Zjkl\Zf

>hghg[Z_\ D. >[Z_\, HfZjh\ F. Gul ?\jhiu Duj]uaklZg ^ey khab^Zxsbo]hkm

>L_jkF _`^mgZjh^guc bgklblml kljZl_]bq_kdbo bkke_^h\Zgbc ijb lj_ab^_gl_

?\jhi_ckdbc p_glj kljZl_]bq_kdbo bkke_^h\Zgbc. – f. 1997. – 24 k. Z jrZeeZ

[2] ljbf_qZgb_ Z\lhjZ\lhj ijb^_j`b\Z_lky , fg_gby ^_fhdjZlbb dZd s_k

ihebl bq_kdh]hn_ghf_gZ fh]ml[ulv jZaebqgufb ky gZ mgb_jkZevguo ^_

p_gghklyo mq_lhf dmevlmjgh bklhjbq_kdbo hkh[_gghkl_c gZjh^Z

deZkk nhjfbjm_l gZpbhgZe kiju^_begyl_lj_\kudlhju jZa\blb
b ihdZ g_ knhjfbjm_lky b dhgkheb^bjemb_qkyu_^Zggujc
[m^m ^hfbgbjh\Zlv gZ^ gZpbhgZ.evgufb bgl_j_kZfb

D lhfm `_ _klv jZagbpZ \ \u[hj_ fh^_e_c i_j_oh^Z
b ^_fhdjZlbaZpbb h[s_kl\Z \ kljZgZ,oqPh_ggj_Zehvg\hce.a
ijbclb d _^bghfm agZf_gZl_ex \ \hkijbylbb h[sb,o\j_]
ijhp_kk_ ijbgylby j_,r_dhbc_qbghZ klZ^bb j_ZebaZ
\gmljb]hkm^Zjkl_gghf mjh\g_ j_r_gbc ijbgyluo \.fgh
l_j_oh^ Duj]uaklZgZ d iZjeZf_glkdh ij_ab^_glh2010c
]h^m \ua\Ze h^ghagZqgh_ g_h^h[j_gb_ khk_^gbo
DZaZoklZgZ b Ma[_dbZk[ZxZZ_lky lZd`_ jZaeb
\g_rg_iheblbq_kdbo hjb_glZpbyo kljZg LPmjgdlfjZgebvkglh
ijh\ha]eZkbe ihablb\guc g_cljZ95b]h^m_sb_\\k\h_c \g
iheblbd_ klZjZ_lky kljh]h ijb^_j`b\Zlvky .gMa[jZdebvkgu
bagZqZevgh klZjZ_lky _klb g_aZ\bkbfmkh\g_drhgxk_d
ihklkh_lkdbo j_Zebc \u]ey^bl dZd Zhfmjh`k_kbMa[dZdy
jZkkfZljb\Z_lky KR: dZd _]h kljZl_]bq_k.Dbcjuajkg_jg
LZ^`bdb,klZng^mqb fZeufb]hkm^Zjkl\Zfb j_]bhgZ b ijb
[hevr_ hjb_glbjh\Zgu ,gZ_fJhgk_kbxg__ l_kgh khljm^g
^jm]bfb \g_j_]bhgZevgufb]_hiheblbq_kdbfb b]jhdZ
DblZ,BjZ,gLmjp,b?yK b.^DjZaZoklZg hkh[_ggh Zdlb_g \ f
nhjfZl,ZkoZf y\ey_lky bgbpbZlhjhf fgh]bo bgl_]jZpbh
?\jZ:a,WKk<F>: b.);^jb l_f kZfuf klZjZ_lky [ZeZgkbjh\
djmiguo ^,jjZ^_j`b\Zykv ijbgpbiZ fgh]h_dlhjghklb \
iheblbd_

G_evay g_ aZljhgmlv lZdlkhjZjh[e\gfm h]jZgbqb\Z_
km[j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbhqbosckoвзаимодействие между Узбекистаном

[1] Khk_^b Dbj]babb gZ,^qlkhlky_ gjZ_^klZ\bl_evgZy ^_fhdjZlbaZpbb h[s_kl\Z \ klj... Global Post. g_m^Z
KR)[We_dljhgguc]/j>kvmhjK K.l–Wge_dljhg–^JZ_gbf ^hk:hmp://meta.kz/684694-sosedi-kirgizii-nadeyutsya-na-to-chto-ee-predstavitelnaya-demokratiya-poterpit-neudachu-quotglobal-postquot-ssha.html

и Казахстаном за региональное лидерство. H^gZdh gZa\Zlv w

ijhlb\hklhygb_ [hjv[hc aZ eb^_jkl\h ij_^

kh\k_f ^jm]hc, ng_gh f_gh ql h fu gZ[ex^Z_f \ P_gljZevghc

kZfhf ^_e_ ijhlb\hklhygb_ f_`^m - Dwlbf Jhkkb_c ih

\hafh`ghkl_c ijhlb\hiheh`ghc klhjhgu b LZ ob e h f_ jc kl

gZ[ex^Zxlky dZd \ ih ebl b q_kdhc ... dAZ ... ijhk h_ b

h]jZgbq_gby \ hkgh\ghf \\h^ylky k , mdZ[_d^kdhc ... ZkIZ

lh\Zjh\ bfihjlbjm_fuo \ ... ^ey wdk

k_evkdhohaycklc_gghc ijh^mdpbb ... klbklbdZ

^Zggu_ kh`Ze_gbx ihdZau\Zxl j_Zevguc mjh_gv lhj]h

]hkm^Zjkl\Zf gh \gmx \u]h^m \ jZa\blbb g_e_]Zevghc

ebpZjh`b\Zxsb_ b jZ[hlZxsb_ \ ijb]jZgbqguo ahgZo b

lZdbo dZd @b[_DZ@uhjm b DZie Zgk km`^Zy h \haf

ijbqbgZo lZdh]h ijhlb\hklhygby fh`gh mdZaZlv \

©g_^jm`_ex[guf ... fhhlghr_gby f_`^m eb^_jZfb]hkm^

gZ jZagbpm \ \u[hj_ khpbZevgh wdhghfbq_kdhc fh^_eb

\h \g_rg_iheblbq_kdbo ijbhjbl_lZo b \ ijbhjbl_lZo

hkgh\ ijbf_jm gZqZe_ g_aZ\bkbfhklb DZjbfh\ ij_^eZ]Z

©lmjZgbaf Z h[t_^bg_gb_ gZ hkgh_ _^bgkl\Z lx

fmkmevfZgkdbo gZjh^h\ ... GZaZj[Z_\ bagZqZe

b^_x ... P: \ukl mdZ dlfhkl f_`^m AZiZ^hf b

[he__ hldjulZ ^ey \aZbfh^_ckl\by k Jhkkb_c b

kljZgZfb[2] ... H^gZdh ... f_kfhljy gZ lZdb_ ihabpbhggu_ hlebq

]hkm^Zjkl\Zfbgbo _klv h^gh hlebqbl_evgh_ ...

iheblbq_kdbo j_`bfh\ ... oZjZdl_jbklbdZ ih k\h_c ijbjh

\ukl mibl v bgl_]jbjmxsbf f_oZgbafhf ... \ ... _]hijb

ihq\m ^ey khpbZevguo ... ijhk``gbc b g_klZ[bevghkl b

Hq_\b^gh \hijhk j_]bhgZevgh]h eb^_jkl\Z \ lhf be

---

[1] Laruelle, M., Peyrouse, S. Globalizing Central Asia: Geopolitics and the Challenges of Economic Developme... > L_]d/ M. Laruelle, S. Peyrouse. – M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, New York, London, England, 2012. – p. 76.

[2] DZjbfh\ B.\ Lmjd_klZg gZ r h[sbc ... – 1995. – 39k.

hklZ_lky \g_ \gbfZgby \g_rgbo ^_j`Z\ nZdlhj \ ijhlb\hklhygbb bf__l \lhjhkl_i_gguc oZjZdl_j ijhlb\hklhygby aZ eb^_jkl\h gZ \gmljb j_]bhgZevghf [ulv h[mkeh\e_g ih^^_j`dhc djmigh \g_rg_c ^_j`Z\ hj]ZgbaZpbb.

>jm]bf g_fZeh\Z`guf ij_iylkl\b_f jZa\blby bgl_]jZ :abb y\ey_lky **желание ключевых внешних держав реализовать свой проект институционализации региональной интеграции**. ;hjv[Z bgl_j_kh kljZl_]bc \g_rgbo ^_j`Z\ \uklmiZxl h]jZgbqbl_e_f bgl_]jZpbhgguo ijhp_kkh\ \ P_gljZevghc :abb. Jhkkby, ih k\h_c fh`_l \uklmiblv bgbpbZlhjhf j_]bhgZe mjh\g_ ihklkh_lkdh]h ijhkljZgkl\Z gZ h[_ki ^h]h\hj_gghklb ihiuldhc y\ey_lky b^_y Ij_ab^_g ?\jZabckdhf. Kh]eZkgh h[s_kl_ggul_kl\b_ bgl_j_kh\ Jhkkbb P_gljZevghc :abb ih g_dhlhjuf kljZl_]bq_kdbf ijh kbo ihj g_kihkh[ghklv «iZjljhklZv» mgdpbhgZev «ijhjhkkbckdbo» hj]ZgbaZpbc ihaZ\hey_l ^jm]bf \g_r «©bkiheva» \Zlv ih eh`_gb_ \ k\hbo p_eyo. kh[b gZk_e_gby kljZg P_gljZevghc :abb \uklmiZxl aZ [h Jhkkb_c k dZdhc eb[h ^jm]hc klj. LZd, khpbheh]b bkke_^h\Zgby ijh_^_ggh]h <PBHF ih [hevrbgkl\h gZk_e_ \hkijbgbfZxl Jhkkbx dZd «^jm`_kl_ggmx klj DZaZoklZg – 67%, Duj]uaklZg – 74%, LZ^`bdbklZg – 89% b Ma[_dbklZg – 74%.[1] Ihehlbgh wdki_jlh\ hijhr_gguo \ oh^_ ^Zggh]h bkke_^h\ bgl_]jZpbhgguo \f_kl_ k Jhkkb_c h^gh_j_f_ggh ih^^_j`b\Zxl b^_ km[j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z gZ mjh\g_ P_gljZ[2]

[1] <PBHF. We_dljhgguc j_kmjk. >jm`[Z b \jZ]b Jhkkbb gZ ihklkh_lkdhf ijhkljZgkl_ We_dljhg. [Fb]jZpbhggZy ^hklmi]: www.wciom.ru, k\h[h^guc. AZ]e. k wdjZgZ.
[2] Hijhk [ue ijh_^_g \ jZfdZo ihe_\h]h bkke_^h\Zgby klijZgu P_gljZevghc :abb aZ Lmjdf_gbklZgZ

:gZebabjmy j_]bhgZevgu_ ijh_dlu fh`gh hgmo\b^_jl`Z\

kZfb kljZgu j_]bhgu b dexq_\u_ \g_rgb_]hkm

hij_^_eyxl j_]bhg GZ k_]h^gy fh`gh \u^_eblv q_l

hij_^_e_gby jZkkfZljb\Z_fh]h j_]bhgZ

- Kh\j_f_ggh_ hij_^_e_gb_ kZfhhij_^_e_gb_ j_]bhgZ
- Bklhjbdh]_h]jZnbq_kdh_ hij_^_e_gb_
- Kh_lkdh_ hij_^_e_gb_ wdhghfbq_kdZy jZpbhgZevghk
- =_hihebl bq_kdh_ hij_^_e_gb_ (\ jZfdZo Jhkkbb b KR:

KZf nZdl kms_kl\h\Zgby kihjh\ b ihiulhd gZau\Z

ih jZaghfm gZau\Z_l gZ g_h[oh^bfhklv ihgbfZgby jhk

\deZ^u\Z_lky \ lh beb bghc kfuke \ g_]h ... bo dhlh

ihgbfZgb_ lh]h ihq_fm lhl beb bghc mqZklgbd f_`^

iheblbq_kdbo ijhp_kkh\ kdehg_g ijbf_gylv hij_^_e_g

Современное определение, самоопределение региона. ?^bgZy ihabpb

eb^_jh\ kljZg j_]bhgZ gZ[ex^ZeZkv \ gZqZe_ imlb

hq_j_^v hgZ ijhy\beZkv \ kh]eZkbb]eZ\ ]hkm^

© P_gljZevgZy dma^bgZ \hc^ml iylv :]hkm^Zjkl\ ...]uakl Zg

LZ^`bdbklZg Mjdf_gbklZg b Ma[_dbklZg [1] ... hij_^_e_gb_ k

^hklZlhqgh rbjhdh bkihevam_lky \ iheblbq_kdhf; b

ijbf_gy_lky dZd \ iheblbq_kdbo bdjm]Zo ZdZ^_fb

khh[s_kl\Z j_]bhgZ b aZjm[_`guo kljZg e_]dhklvx ih

^Zggh_ gZa\Zgb_ Zg]ebckdhf yaud_ _klv khhl_lk

i_j_\h^ Central Asia, \ lh \j_fy dZd ihgylby »al Zd`_ \

[hevrbgkl_ k\h_f i_j_\h^ZlkyMiddle Asia« gZ Zg]ebckdbc yaud

---

[1] >Zggh_ hij_^_e_gb_ [ueh aZdj_ie_gh gZ KZffbl_]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevghc ... 1993]

Историко-географическое определение. Ijhn_kkhj Fbjhrgbdh\ k\h_f bkke_^h\Z gbb h\e_ggh]h ^ey XG?KDH \ 1992]h^m, ij_^eZ]Z_l h[ahj w\he xpbb *историко-географического понимания Центральной Азии.*[1]

H^gbf ba i_j\uo]_h]jZnh\ bkke_^h\Z\rbo l_jjbl :e_dkZg^j =mf[he v^l bkke_^h\Z\rbc \ 1829]h^m =mf[hev^l \ui dgb]m «P_gljZevgZy :ab y» (Asie Centrale) \ 1832]h^m >ey g_]h l_jjblhjby P_gljZevghc :abb \dexqZ_l ijhkljZgkl\h ieZlh k \hklhdZ b Obg]Zgkdbf. Jmkkdbc \hklhdh_^ OZgudh\ hij_^_eye l_jjblhjbx, jq_]bhgZ f_eb,v^l b \d l_jjblhjbx BjZgZ b :n]ZgbklZgZ, f jZkrbjyy x`gmx ] j_]bhgZ. >ey ^jm]h]h g_f_pdh]h bkke_^h\Zl_ey N_j^bgZ ba hij_^_eyxsbo djbl_jb_\ [ueZ m^Ze_gghklv hl P_gljZevghc :ab_c hg ihgbfZe l_jjblhjbx f_`^m :e k__jZ b [_l gZ, lZ]fbj gZ aZiZ^_ b Obg]Zgkdb_]hju gZ

< blh]_ k\h_]h h[ahjZ Fbjhrgbdh\ aZdexqZ_l, qlh hij_^_ dhglmju j_]bhgZ XG?KDH g_ ijh\h^bl jZagbpu f_ <gmlj_gg_c. :ab_c kihju hklZxlky kj_^b mq_guo, hij_^_e j_]bhg \ bklhjbdh]_h]jZnbq_kdhf dhgl_dkl_ ij_^_e XG?KDH \dexqZ_l l_jjblhjbx, :n]ZgbklZgZ, k__j D_jbghyc Bg^bb, k__jh \hklhqgh]h BjZgZ, FhgZeblZdbklZgZ b iylv [u kh_lkdbo j_kim[ebd P_gljZevghc :abb, gh b XG?KDH ihevam_lky madhc b iheblbq_kdhc ^_nbgbpb_c P_gl

AZ ihke_^gb_ ^_kylbe_lby ihy\bekyb «P_gljZevgZy ?\jZabyh^jZamf_\Zxsbc p_gljZevgmx qZklv dhglbg_[2]

---

[1]Miroshnikov, L.I. A note on the meaning of the term 'Central Asia' used in this book / L.I. In History of Civilizations of Central Asia / L.I. Miroshnikov; A.H. Dani and V.M. Masson (eds.). – UNESCO Publishing, 1992. – Vol. 1. – pp. 477-480.

[2] Kj_^b wdki_jlgh]h khh[s_kl\Z hkh[h rbjhdh h[km`^Z_lkyP_gljZevgZy ?\jZabyhlebqZxsbcky «?\jZab ckdbc» jh[_ h[.wlhf b, kf.\ P_gljZevgZy :abyb dZ\dZa k dZaZc _\jZabcp/ZF P_gljZevgZy :aby. – 2006. - \ 2 (44) – K18-29; Kmxg[,ZF\ G Bgl_]jZpby \ P_gljZevghc ?\jZab b hlqbg_]eh[Zeb/ZF G < n_^_\.:\P_gljZevgZy kZfhklhyl_evghklv i_jki_dlb\u \aZbfh^_ckl\by ;j_ ^_ - ILDD, 2008. – K 32-42.

P_gljZevghc ?\jZab_c b,fr_bjlkyh_ \ibh^gmbfZgb_ P_gljZev
\ bklhjbdh]_h]jZnbq_kdh(fZdjhbgf,_kdhkh[s_kl\h ih Bam
P_gljZevghc ;?\KZRabbbkihevam_l bf_ggh lZdh_LZidh`gb[1]
P_gljZevgZy ?\jZaby ij_^klZ\e,ydhkhyjudZdgj_yhbeg_lky
ZabZlkdbf beb _\.jhi_Gc_kdhblfhju_ wdki_jlu bki
l_jfbg© P_gljZevgZ»y ^?e\yjZha[hyagZq_gby_^bgkl\Z P_gljZ
DZ\d,ZaqZh hijZ\^u\Z_lky wg_j]_lbq_kdbf.b ;kmha[ZZg`_
H <b_j jZkkm`^Zy ijh bgl_]jZpbx gZ ihklkh_lkd
qZklghklb ibr«mlkeb bklhjby b khpbZevgu_ mkeh
ihklkh_lkdh_ ijhkljZvgkj\hj_kmjku b]_hkljZl_]by
hkgh\gufb oZjZdl_jbklbdZfb]_hiheblbdb
?\jZa»b[2]D_g_lp<_ck[jh^_ \ k\h_c ZgZe,b\lubidh_ekgd_hgcghjZ[h
F_`^mgZjh^gh]h bgklblmlZ kljZl_]bq,_kdmbpebbdkhk\eZ_g^ghh
2001]h^;mlZd`_ j_dhf_g^m_l jZkkfZljb\Zlv P,_DZjZdeZvagm
:n]ZgbklZg dZd _^b,glu.dkj_]bhvg k\ya_c f_`^m gbfb, km
ohly ih fg_gbx bkke_^h\Zl_eyk,e_q^hm_lwlhjlbajg_Zlbvhg
khhl_lkl\m_l ljZ^bpbhgghf«mgilh_gjbbfjZhg\Zxgh]h».[3]]_]bhgZ

< iheblbq_kdh,f Pie_gZlgjZevgZy :aby jZkkfZljb\Z,_lky
ihl_jy\rbc k\hx kZfhklhyl_evghklv \ f_`^mgZjh^
Bklhjbq_kdb wlh [ueh k\yaZgh k ihl_j_c ZdlmZevg
imlb b ijboh^hf Jhkkbck,dZhaZblf_if_jkbhb_lkdhc \eZklb \ j

Советское определение (экономическая рациональность). < kh_lkdh
\j_fy j_]bhg gZ«aKuj_Z^egby y :aby b D,ZqalZhokklZhg^ghc klh
ih^q_jdb\Z_l hkh[_gghklv DZaZoklZ,ggZh h\l l^mjm`]bo\j_k
mdZau\Z_l gZ bo A_Z^bwgkbfhgZa\Zgb_f klhbl km]m[h

[1] Kf. kZcl hj]Zgbqb http://centraleurasia.org/
[2] Buzan, B., Waever, O. Regions and Powers[d]k Structure of International Security / B. Barry, O. Weaver. – Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 2003. – 546 p.
[3] Weisbrode, K. Central Eurasia: prize or quicksand? Contending views of instability in Karabakh, Ferghana a Afghanistan [L_d]klK. Weisbrode. - Adelphi Paper 338, The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2001. p.31.
[4] Canfield, R.Restructuring in Greater Central Asia: Changing political configurations[d]klR. Canfield // Asian Survey. – 1992 (October). – Vol.3. – Issue 10. – pp. 875-887.

ijbqb.gZhgylb_ j_]bhgZ^gyy :aby b D'aZaZjdh^lZeghZkv gZ h
^_e_gby KKKJ gZ wdhghfbq_kdb_ jZchgu jZchgbjh
f_lh^ l_jjblhjbZevghc hj]ZgbaZpbb ohayckl\Z b juqZ
\i_j\u_ \ fbj_ [ueh ijbf_g_gh [1] \ 1921]h^m ijb <k_jhkkb
P_gljZevghf Bkihegbl_evghf <P B D [ue Z_k_ha^ZgZ dhfb
jZajZ[hld_ ijh_dlZ jZchgbjh\Zgby h[eZklb ijhfbkkbb ih we_dljb
ieZg_ dhfbkkbb =HWEJH (=hkm^Zjkl_ggZy dhfbkkby ih w
Jhkkbb) [2] ij_^kl\Z\e_g ij_]bhg [ue ij_^kl\Z\e_g Lmjd_kiZ [3]
aZ \hagbdrbo ijhlb\hj_qbc k =hkieZghf [ueZ k
ih^dhfbkkby =hkieZgZ ih jZchgbjh\Zgbx ijb <P B D
DZebgbg. Dhfbkkby h[eZ^ZeZ [hevrbfb ijZ\Zfb b
wdhghfbq_kdb_ ijbgpbiu jZchgbjh\Zgby k gZpbhgZ
ijh_dl_ wdhghfbq_kdh]h jZchgbjh\Zgby 1922]. =hkieZgZ [ue
ij_^kl\Z\e_g lj_fy wdhghfbq_kdbfb ...
DZaZokdbf b Kj_^g_ [4] <Zakh... \ 1938–1940]]. ...
]h^Zo =hkieZghf KKKJ kbkl_fhc wdhghfbq_kdh]h jZ
kljZgu [ueZ ih^_e_gZ gZ 13 wdhghfbq_kdbo jZchgh\ ...
j_kim[ebdb [ueb h[t_^bg_gu \ h^bg wdhgh... \ 1961].
KKKJ [ueZ mklZgh\e_gZ gh\Zy kbkl_fZ wdhghfbq_kdbo
dhlhjhc Ma[_dbklZg, DZjZdZeiZdkdZy 5 K`bdkdZy KKJ b Lmjdf_
[ueb h[t_^bg_gu \ h^bg Kj_^g_ZabZlkdbc wdhghfbq_kdbc
KKJ klZeZ kZfhklhyl_evguf wdhghfbq_kdbf jZchgh f [6]
h[hkh[e_gghklv DZaZokdZg h[mkeh\e_ggZy

---

[1] JhfZrh\ L. <Wdhghfbq_kdh_ jZchgbjh\Zgb_ b iheblbq_kdZy ... we_dljbnbdZpbb ... wdhghfbq_kdh]h jZchgbjh\Zgby. We_dljhg ^Zg – J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://ou.tsu.ru/hischool/econ_geo/econ_geog7.htm, k\h[h^guc
[2] khdj. HI =hkm^Zjkl_ggZy dhfbkkby ih we_dljbnbdZpbb Jhkkbb
[3] IeZg we_dljbnbdZpbb J K N K J. ... 2 b a^. F., 1955. – K. 19.
[4] <hijhku wdhghfbq_kdh]h jZchgbjh\Zgby KKKJ (1917-1929]]). ... F., 1957. – K. 99-100.
[5] OCR_Detskiysad.Ru ... We_dljhggu ... 1957. – We_dljhg ^Zg – J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://www.detskiysad.ru/raznlit/geograf2.html, k\h[h^guc
[6] :dZ^_fbd. We_dljhgguc ... – J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://dic.academic.ru/, k\h[h^guc

\aZbfhaZ\bkbfhklvx b l_kgufb ohayckl_ggufb k\yay
k_]h^gy klZeh _s_ \hdk\yabg k_wdhghfbq_kdbfb mki_o
aZ ihke_^gb_]h^u \ hlebqb_ hl k\hbo p_gl DZebg h]na
ih mjh\gx <<I gZ ^mrm gZk_e_gby ih d2012Z]_hkl DZaZo
$13,900, \ lh \j_fy dZd ZgZeh]bqgu_ ihdZaZl_eb khk_^
gb`_ b khklZ\eyxl - \ Dujujauklg $2,400, LZ^`bdbklZg $2,200, Ma[_dbklZg
$3,500 b Lmjdf_gbklZg - $8,500.[1] AZ ihke_^g__ ^_kylbe_lb_ \ wc
DZaZoklZgZ ihimeyjghklv DZaZoklZgZ hk_gg_ p_gljZevgh Z
Z _\jZabckdh_]hkm^Zjkl\h b l_f kZfuf ijbhjbl_l \h \
hl^Z\Zlv fgh]hklhjhggbf _\jhi_ckdbf b _\jZabckdbf k[2]

Геополитическое определение. =_hiheblbq_kdb_ ijh_dlu jZa
k\h_c kmlbZd`_ ih ijbgpbi ZfhkgZ_ dhlhjuo wlb
ijh^\b]Zxlky b j_Zebamxlky P_gljZevghc :abb dhgkljmbjh\
q_j_a Zdlb\gh_ ijh«kh\»_gb_ ZaZ\Zgby j_]bhgZ ijbkm
[hevrbf ^_j`Zlfxsbf bgl_j_ku \: jKhkkbb, Jhkkbb ZjhZ^_
]h\hjyl«bfy ij_^hij_^_ey_l km^v[»F hkdh\k_dZh ij_^ih
qlh `_eZgb_ gZau\Zlv j_]bhg lZd`_ k\yaZgh k b^_
©km^v[»m]bhgZ k lhqdb aj_gby mihfygmluo \g_Jj_]bh
wlhf g_ lhevdh iheblbq_kdZy [hjv[Z aZ \eZklv \ j_
[hjv[Z aZ j_kmjku bf_xghaZbq^_ghe_]bq_kdZy [hjv[Z a
©k\h»bop_gghkl_c \ iheblbq_kdhc b h[s_kl_gghc
Dhgdmj_gpby «fy]dhcf»ku (soft power) klZeZ g_hlt_fe_fhc
ijhlb\hklhygby f_`^m djmigufb ^_j`Z\Zfb \ f_`^mgZj
fbjh\hc iheblbd_ XXI _dZ

---

[1] Central Intelligence Agency W_dljhgguc]j/kmjk Central Asia. – W_dljhg. - J_`bf ^hklmiZ: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook , k\h[h^guc. – Yaud jmk
[2] GZaZj[Z_\ A. Ki_pbnbdZ b i_jki_dlb\u iheblbq_kdh]h jZa\blby P_gljZevghc :abb // F_`^mgZjh^guc BgklblmlKh\j_f_gguo fhgbmgobc[... ] - W_dljhg. - J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://www.iimp.kz/Lists/articles/DispForm.aspx?ID=766 , k\h[h^guc. - `Zg]md. G Gh\u_ gaZ\bk ]hkm^Zjkl\Z P_gljZevghc :abb \ kbkl_f_ f_`^mgZjh^guo hlghr_gbc // 2005. – K 18; OZqb_\ P_gljZevgZy :abb gZ nhg_ fbjh\hc [_ahiZkghklb // P_gljZevgZy :aby b D2006.Z\dZa 2 (44). - K 137. Lheb, N. P_gljZevgZy :aby \ k_l_ jhkkbckdh-dblZckdbo hlghr_gbc dZaZokdbfb _\jZabckdbfb Lheb // P_gljZevgZy :aby b D2006.Z\dZa 2 (44). - K 19.

«Большая Центральная Азия» (вариант США). Bgl_j_k KR: P_gljZevghc :abb [ue g_ 2002 jh^Zeh_gjZ^hbq_kdbo 11h[u k_gly[2001]h^;ZKR: kljhbeb hlghr_gby kh kljZgZfb ^\mklhjhgg_c, lZkgZd`__ q_j_a ^_yl_evghklv f_`^mgZjh lZdbo dZd F_`^mgZjh^guc <;Zkxfbguchk;gZ^gdlmju HH b ^jm.]bH_^gZdh gZqZeh \hcgu \ :2002 jhk^Zg]^_ \KR: ^_ckl\mxl \ jZfdZo «hG_jkZhpdbjbmrbfZy »k\Z[hF^_Z^mgZjh^g Kbeu Kh^_ckl\by ;_ahiZkghklb \ jZfdZ 1386 jKah_elxZp ;_ahiZkghkl,bk^H_HeGZeb P_gljZevgmx :abx \Z`guf a_gl ^_ckl\bc AZiZ^Z

< dhgl_dkl_ k\h_c x`ghZabZ,kkRh\ui^\ebjZbxdbdhgp_i ©;hevrhc P_gljZev»ghdcm^aZbb^he`gu [ueb \oh^blv \k_ P_gljZevghc :abb iexk :n]ZgbkZ[1^byZadZbdkelxZogZ_,lky qlh[u ihdZaqZhv m KR: ^he]hkjhqgu_ bgl_j_bkuql\h jw] bgl_j_ku gZp_e_gu gZ fbj b jZa\blb_ j_]bhgZ q_.j_a Kms_kl\h\Zgb_ lZdh]hwjl_h]bahZgeZh] mki_oZ [hjv[u k wdklj_fbafhf b l_jjhqjlbhafhlbgl_j_kZo kZfbo j_]bhgZ,evg lZd b KRK:e_^m_l hl,f_qllbhlv[hevrbgkl\h hijhr_gguo ih j_]bhgZ g_]Zlb\gh hlghkylky d, lw.dhbfm_yijh__^dblgmkl\Z ©dhgnebdolg:unf]ZgbklZghf«g_bkihdhogu[ZdbklZghf g_ hkgh\Zgbc ^ey ihablb\guo i_jki_dlb\ g,Z m[qmb^m\sZ_y ihkl_i_ggh h]jZgbqb\Zxsb_ky wdhghfbq_.kdb_A^_jk\k ijbkmlkl\m_,lqjlbhkdP_gljZevgZy :aby [m^_l ij_^klZ\eyl fbj_ dZd ijhkljZgkl\h ihklhygghc hlZbkgwhlkhlfb jbqm]bh^a_ lhevdh h ljZ^b,pbghgbugg_ljZ^bpbhggudhmh]jjuh_aZbof_xl khpbZevgh wdhghfbq_kdmx b dmev.lmjgmx khklZ\eyx

[1] Foreign Affairs [We_dljhgguc]`mStaZ,eF.A. Partnership for CentralAsia // ForeignAffairs.– 2005 (July/August).–We_dljh^gZg– J_`bf^hklhttp://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/60833/s-frederick-starr/a-partnership-for-central-asiak\h[h^guc

[2] Bgl_j\vx Z\lhjZ k iheblheh]Zfb ba PaZljbZkdvegxhc_gabf Lmjdfjbfbk\Zhgja^_kv \Z`gh hlf_,lbqlvh ih«[hevrbgkl\h iheb»hehlky \ \b^m g_ lhevdh hl h[s_]h hijhr_ggudh b [hevrbgkl\h ij_^klZ\bl_e_c ba hl^_evghc kljZgu

l_j_oh^ \ ihgbfZgbb KR:]_h]jZnbq_kdbo b]_hih
j_]bhgZ ijhke_`b\Z_lky q_j_a \gmlj_ggxx j_hj]Zgba
>_iZjlZf_gl_ \2005 gh^Z]^Z hl^_e ih ?\jhi_ckdbf b ?
hlghr_gbyf [ue \dexq_g \ Hl^_e ih X`ghc .b>P_wl,hZe
_s_ \1999]. P_gljZevghZabZlkdbc j_]bhg i_j_r_e k
dhfZg^h\Zgby l_glZ]hgZ \ P_gljZe.vlgZ[dbDhbfZg^h\Zgby
k\yaZgu k wdhghfbq_kdbfb. k\yaZgu [KZR: gwbgy_fb]hj_kmjku D
dhgljhev gZ^ ljZgkihjlgufb– dvhjb\whdjZgfbfbq_kdZy aZ^Z
iheblb,dhhlhjmx gm`gh j_rZlv \ khi_jgbq_kl_. k DblZ_

< ieZg_ b^_heh,]bidh_k khdfZ KR: \dexqZ_l -eb[
^_fhdjZlbq_kdh_ jZa\b,lbbf_y_]bhgZ^m _joh_gk,l\h
ijZ\Zq_eh,\ihdZpbi jZa^_e_gby \eZklb b hl_lkl_ggh
i_j_^ h[s_klkhef_^m_l hl,f_llblva2Ze_l g_aZ\bkbfhklb d
nbgZgkh\u_ j_kmjku aZljZqb\Zxlky AZiZ^hf gZ ijh^\
p_gghkl_hdZ hsmlbfuo j_amevlZlh\ g,_ ghgZ[ie_x^Zh
Duj]uakdhc J_kim[eh2010]\h^bZxgg_Z iZjeZf_glkdmx nh,jfm
dhlhjZy Zijbhjb kqblZ_lky [he_,_q_^f_f^jdmjZlbqgmhZf_l
ij_^\Zjbl_evgu_ hkgh\Zgby qlhheZ]Zlv_ehf_gghk»lgZ
ljZgknhjfZpby P_gljZevghc .:«ahevgZy eP_ghljZev»gZby
g_^Z\gh h[gh\e_ggZ«y,P:\»_jkbjZl_]by =hk^_iZ«GkRuc
R_edh\uc »lmylvey_lky ijyfhc ih«uhdh\cZ»lvj_]bhg hl _
kh_lkdh]h ijhnjeh^]Z\Zy [he«ZnaZlkdhjk_l]bhgm gZ hk
dmevlmjgh pb\bebaZpbhgghc h[sghklb X`ghc,lb_f P_
kZfuf kha^Zlv ijhqgmx hkgh\m ^ey wdhghfbq_kdh
[_ahiZkghklb KR: \.jljZhdhbq_kdbf bgkljmf_glhf j_

[1]Heathershaw, J., Megoran, N. Debating danger in Central Asia[K.J. Heathershaw, N. Megoran // International Affairs. – 2011. – Vol. 87. – No.3. – p. 599.

Klj Zl_]bb Gh\h]h R_edh\h]h Imlb y\ey_lky ljh]jZffZ
j_]bhgZevgh]h wdhghfbq_kdh.[1]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z

«Евразийство» (вариант России). Gh\mx `bagv<_b^Z_ayb c>kh\[Z_eZ
g_^Z\gh ijb jhkkbckdhf melbg<j_k\h_c k,lZilm[ebdh\Zggh
]Za_«Ba_k»lbyl3 hdly[j2011]h^;Z< Imlbg h[jZsZ_l \gbfZ
g_h[oh^bfhklv jZa\blby _\jZabckdhc bgl_]jZpbb b h
Jhkkbckdhc N_^_jZpbb \ .[2]wlk<fhaijjh`p^_kgkb__ b^_b _\jZ
bgl_]jZpbb y\ey_lky ihiuldhcijZ\blZZgdh\bhjv_ iha\he
gZqZlv ZdlmZebaZpbx ijh jhkkbckdh]h \ZjbZglZ j
ijhkljZgkl\jZb wlhf ke_^m_l,idhZfgbmv[_^bl_evgh Zj]mf_
: DZaZgp,_q\uhkbaf_g_gb_ nhjfZevguo b g_nhjfZevguc
\eh`_gby hq_gv k_jv_a>gujb jw_khmfjkh^\^_j`Zgb_ wlbo b
[3]lZd`_ lj_[m_l j_qkhmjkuhagZqkZf_h^_l eb kh\j_f_ggZy
h[t_^bgblv ihklkh_lkdh_ ijhkljZgkl\h b [ulv ehdhf
\k_]h _\jZabckdh]hwjl_h]bhmigZk gZ i_jki_dlb\m

A^_kv \Z`gh ,mqyhkg\bl\jZabckl_ P_gljZevgZy :aby
dZd _kl_kl_ggZy b khklZ\gZy qZklv rbjhdhf]hkZfu^l
b^_l ihiuldZ dhgkljmgbjh\Zhgbj]bhgZ q_j_a nhdmk gZ
khklZ\eyxsmx bg,l_k]hjZjmbb`^Z_fh]h Zj]mf_glhf pb\be
^bgkl\ZdZ dhglmju j]bhgZ q_ldhghg_\ hkqgh\mgubgl_
iheh`_gZ b^_y j_klZ\jZpbb ihklkh_lkidh^klZ\ekjgZgk
jZfdZo gug_rg_]h kh[4]klZ\Z KG=

?keb ihkfhlj_lv gZ w\he<xpbZxabc>k_lhZ \b^bldkyh lZdb
ihgylby dZd,Jhkkbckdhc yaud b jmkkdZy dmevlmjZ

---

[1] ;he__ ih^jh[g__ h[wlh,cfhjghjZmfa_gZlv http://www.adb.org/countries/subregional-programs/carec

[2] Iml,b<g. <Gh\uc bgl_]jZpbhggguc—ij[m_^dmsh\eyjh?\jZa b^bZ//_l=kZya_kl_
[3] Ba_k.l»2011. – 3hdly[jy

[3] DZaZgp._«;hevrZy »bkjZg_ba_klgufb ijZ\bl[Zfbj\Zykl\heblbdZ b P_gljZevgZy
DZaZgp-Fhkd,\2008. – K.25.

[4] Database of Central European University Web Domain: PhD dissertation / Morozova N. The Politics of Russian Post-Soviet Identity: Geopolitics, Eurasianism and Beyond. – 2011 (August). –p. 196.

3.3. **Перспективырегиональной интеграции в Центральной Азии**

bgklblmlh\ \ mkeh\byo ,]dhlhZjeubaZpkbhkh[gu \h fgh]b
hkms_kl\eylv k\hb \eZklgu< lZdbofmqkeyh\byo i,jg^lhe
\hafh`gZ klZ^by hkhagZggh]h ,b kdjhh^jmbZgbgh]Zhg
^_e_]bjh\Zgby iheghfhqbc g_dhlhjuo]hkm^Zj
gZ^gZpbhgZevguf ,kdj_mdjbmojhZ^fblky

< wlhc k\\yZa`bh ihgylv b ijbgylv l_qlbk ih_jkh_fdlb
f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z b bgl_gjZZkpdbhbevac
nhjfZl b fh^_ev khljm^gbq_kl\Z kihkh[kl\mxl mdj_ie
kljZg P_gljZevgbZcg:_ajZafu\Zxl __

Kh\j_f_ggZy fh^_ev bgl_]jZpbb ?\jhi_ckdh]h Khxa
d lh,fmqlh ihy\bebkv]hk«mh^Zlj_klZnZev»kdbhjZh]hkm^Zjkl\
dhlhju_ ih k\h_c \he_ hldZau\Zxlky hl km_j_gguc
h[eZklb b]hlh\u ^_e_]bjh\Zlv wlb ijZ\Z gZ^DgeZxpb_\ghZc
\hijhk \ wlhc, khxafh`gh eb gZclb nhjfmem mki_rghc
bgl_]jZpbb ih fh^_eb _\jhi_ckdh]h khxaZ gZ ih,klk
dhlhjZy \ [hevr_c f_j_ ij«^mklZk\e_gZ»kdbhfm^Zjk,l\Z^f_b
ijhp_kku ihkljh_gby]hkm^Zjkl\Z b gZpbb _s_ g_ aZ
]hkm^Zjkl_ggu_ bgklblmlu _s_ g_? dHhg_khekdbjh
g_]Zlb\guc \ dhgl_dkl_ \ur_kdZaZggh]h l_abkZ h
fh^_eb j_]bhgZebafZ mdj_ieyxs_]h]hkm^Zjkl_ggh
:ab.bH^gZdh hl_l g_ fh`_l [ulv h^ghagZqguf,hbklZe_vkdy
_jhylgh,kqlvh]hkm^Zjkl\Zf ihklkh_lkdhc P_gljZevghc
fh^_ev \aZbfh^_ckl\by f_`^m kh[,hdhbhjZy Jhkakbh_ecb
mkdhj_gghf j_`bf_ ^h[blvky bgl_]jZpbb gZ hk,gh\
f_glZevghklb b j_`bfZ nmgdpbhgbjh\Zgby]hkm^Zjkl
bgklblmlh\

GZ ^Zgguc ,fmZ_dlbq_kdb kms_kl\m_l h^bg bgl_]jZ
dhlhjuc `b\h h[km`^Z_lky \ wdki_jlghc kj_^_ b y
\hijhkhf ^ey iheblbdh\ b wdhghfbklh\ ihklkh_lkd
\jZabckdZy bgl]jZpbb ihey]Z_dlhy _\jZabckdZy bgl_]jZ

j_Zebah\u\Zlvky ih fh^_eb ?\jh,il_hck_dkhl]vh qK_hjx_aZkha^
jZa\blb_ gZ^gZpbh(hggZ^e]vhgkumo^Zjkl_gguo). <kljkmjd_l^mgj_c
^he]hkjhqghc i_j,k_i_jdZlabl_ckdZy bgl_]jZpby \hkijbgb,fZ
dhlhjuc ^he`_g k[ebablv Jhkkbx k ^jm]bfb]hkm^Z
ijhkljZgkl\Z wdhghfbq_kdb gh nZdlbq_kdbH^gdZdh
gZklhjZ`b\Z_l l,hqlhmZ^dZggZy bgbpbZlb\Zj_Zebam_lky
iheblbq_kdhc weblu lj_o G]Zkm[^sZjkl_gghf mjh\g_
bgl_]jZpbhgguc ijh_dl gZ k_]h^gyrgbc ^_gv g._Wilhmev
\uau\Z_l khfg_gby h[mklhcqb\hklb ijhqlhdlZ[mb^_\h
bgl_]jZpb_kceb ijhbahc^_l kf_gZ iheblbq_,kgdZijhbfj_mjdh
DZaZok?l>Zhgk_lb]g_l eb ijh_«dhdkdlhb_gc_\h»ahjeZdZfu m\b^bf
h^bg«gjZa\»h^gZ ihklkh_lkdhf ijh?klj[1HZ[gkbg_gby \ g_\u]h
ijh_dlZ hkh[h]jhfdh a\mqZl>\eyDZiajZ_o^k_leZ_gg_guo iheb
djm]h\ \ wlhc,_k\jjZagb_ckdZy bg+_w]jZp\bhyafh`ghklv ^ey
\hkklZgh\blv b mkbeblv k\hb ihabpbb \ j_]bhg_ b l_
©g_hbfi_j»kdZb[_bp.bBgl_j_,kgdhh gZb[hevrZy djblbdZ _\
bgl_]jZpbb kh klhjhgu h[s_kl_gghklb kljZg qe_gh
gZ[ex^Z_lky bf_ggh \WDZhaZ[okkZeghe_gh g_ lhevdh ih
wdhghfbq_kdbfb nZdlhjeZZfgbb_ :klZgu [u«fveZ\^jh_e]b [»jZlZ
b ke_^h\Zlv mdZaZgbbyfgF\hkdhevkl\h ij_^klZ\bl_e_
dZaZokdh],[dbhalgjuk_ qm\kl\mxl h]jZgbq_gby k\h_c ^
\b^yl kfuke \ khklhygbb aZ\bkbfhklb hl ^_ckl\bc
g_bkihevah\Zgbb k\hbo kjZ\gbl_e,vgdZd idjZ_dofmDsZ_akZ
^hklZlhqgh mki_rgh bgl_]jbjh\Zeky b bgl_]jbjn
wdhghfbq_kdmx b nbgZgLkZhdm`_x gkmj`^gmm bf_l,vql\h\Z^gmb
_\jZabckdZy jblhjbdZ \dexqZ_l b bklhjbq_kdb dm
DZaZokmZdgZau\Z_lky dhehgbZevgh_ ih,ehh`^g_bj_dbDZa_
g_jZa\blhklv dZaZokdhc dmevlmju b hlklZ\Zgb_ nm

[1]Central Asia Policy Forum[_ d]k Elliot School of International Affairs. – The George Washington University,2013 (February). - No.4. - p.5.

yaudZ \h \j_f_gZ Jhkkbckdhc bfi_jbb b bKha_mkqdZ
ij_^hkl_j_`,_qlbygug_rgyy bgl_]jZpby k Jhkkb_c \ blh
d ih^h[guf ihke_,^kdl\bayZy\eyxl h g_h[oh^bfhklb
\k_gZjh^gh]h j_n_j_g^mfZ gZ ij_^f_l \uoh^Z DZaZ
bgl_]jZpbhggh]h.[1] iGhZ^dlZpbhgZevgZy iheblbqd_hkdhZZy
kdhj__ \k_]h [m^_l kgh\Z dhgp_gljbjhmZZv_ky :klZFg
>_ckl\bl_,evgkhemqZ_ j_ZebaZpbb n_^_jZebklkdhc fh
\jZabckdhf ijhk,ljZkhkd\Z m]jhaZ ih\lhj_gby g_]Zlb\gh
©bkdmkkl\»ggbhgkll\v]jZ,pbgb_k[ZeZgkbjh\Zggbhgkll\vj_kh\
g_wnn_dlb\ghklv mijZ^\Zggbhy kemqZ_ ijhy\ey_lky ij
DZaZoklZgZ d p_gljZevghZabZ,lkdhhkfygb\lbecb.a\Zkpb
qZklgh,kqlbldh \b^gZ jZagbpZ \ lj_o km[k:ljZmZevlpbjgb
^moh\gh j_eb]bhagZy b. wvlghyaju_dby\ZdyZd \ kj_a- f_
ikboheh]bq_kdhc b l_ogheh]bq_kdhc km[kljZl]h
LZfh`_ggh]h khxaZ bf_xl koh.`bB_f_kkkgyh\Zgbyb_ q_
f_glZevgh ikboheh]bq_kdh\fujZmh[kZljZglu__ \ ijhp_kk_
_\jZabckdhc pb\bebaZpbb b koh`_klv l_ogheh]bq
j_amevlZl bgklblmpbhgZevghc nhjfZebaZpbb h[s_
wdhghfbq_kdbo hlghr_gbc \ kG\h_lkZfhc_i_jZh^h_ b bg
\ lh,fqlh nZdlbq_kdbf b i_j\uf bgbpbZlhjhf ihklkh_
bgl_]jZpbb y\ey_lky bf_ggh lj_ab^_gl D,ZdahZbjkuZg_s_G
1994]h^m \uklmibe k wlhc,bggbhpZZdlb\hgc_ ihemqbe ih^
klhjhgu Fh.[2]kd\u

<klmie_gb_ Duj]uaklZgZ b LZ^`bdbklZgZ \ LZfh`
?^bgh_ Wdhghfbq_kdh_ ljhkljZgkl\h h^ghagZqgh ih
[he__ wdhghfbq_kdb jZa\blufb b f_g__ jZa\blufb

[1] Lxjdb:klg_aZ\bkbfh_ b[aW^eZgdbljhgguc]/j_Hk[mj_kgZpbhgZevguc j_n_j_g^mf \ DZ
\uoh^m ba LZfh`_gWgeh]bl^jkZhgxJa_Z`bf ^hhttp://www.turkist.org/2013/03/referendum-kz.html, k\h[h^guc

[2] Ih^jh[g_._KkZfZ^Zg,[@dhKGmjkmelZg G.ZAaZZdjhZu\eb.^[Lj_kdlZ@ K KZZ^g-[:kdlZ\gZ
© Dmel», 2005. – 608k

?keb p_evx y\ey_lky nZdlbq_kdZy b Z_gZevgZybfbgZp
hq_j_^ghc lhZ^aZ g_h[oh^bfZ jZajZ[hldZ b nhjfZev
f_oZgbafh\ ihfhsb [he__ [eZ]hihemqguo]hkm^Zjkl\
khpbZevgh wdhgfbq._khd^hf[gue_gf__oZgbafu k,mqsl_hk[u\m
^Zevg_cr__ ijh^\b`_gb_ ih imlb bgl_]jZpbjZ[ue\hZyjZv
ihrZ]h\h ^\b]Zykv d hWslbc fp_oZgbafu ijbf_gyxlky \ j
_\jhi_ckd?hc lZd b ZabZlkdhc fh^_e(bKb?gG_]HZ4_gbv \Z`g
qlh[u ih^h[gu_ f_oZgbafu [ueb jZajZ[hlZgu b ^ey_
H^gZdh gZ gZr \a]ey^ ij_`^_ p_e_khh[jZagh [m^_
iheblbq_kdhc webl_ j_]bhgZ ijbclb d dhgk_gkmkm i
p_gljZevghZabZlkdh]h km[j_]bhgZebafZ

«Закрытый» суб-регионализм Центральной Азии. Fgh]hmjh\g_\u
oZjZdl_j j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z gZ ihklk
ij_^iheZ]Z_l b khojZgy_l \hafh`ghklv j_ZebaZpbb km
bgl_]jZ.pbKhljm^gbq_kl\h ^h mjh\gy bgl_]jZp,bb^_\h
fZdkbfZevgh ijb[eb`_gu nhjfZevgu_ b g_nhjfZevgkuv
h[t_dlb\gu_ nZdlhju b.gl<]jZehjqZ_ P_gljZevghc :a
bgl_]jbjmxsbfb nZdlhjZf:bijyb\gZ^xlky`ghklv d h[s_c ,pb\
gZebqb_ h[sbo ijh[e_f, hgZeubaqh\h\ljZgk]jZgbqguohj_
kZfh_]eZ\gh_ _^bgkl\h bgklblmpbhgZevlghkdmdbvlm
j_ZgbfZpbb b^_b p_gljZevghZabZlkdh]h khljm^gbq_
_jhylgu,fbqblu,\dlyh aZ]h^Z g_aZ\bkbfhklb]hkm^Zjkl\
j_]bhgZ bf_xl jZaghh[jZaguc hiul ihebblq_kdh]h ,b w
ijb wlhf gZ ijZdlbd_ \k_ wlb]h^u khojZgy_lky \ukh
j_]bhgZeb,a_Zkpebb ijbgbfZlv \h \gbfZgb_ g_nhjfZevgu_
khpbZevgu_ hl.g<hZr`ghdlyh[u ihebblq_kdh_ jmdh\h^kl\h

[1] Kfhljbl_ dZkZl_evgh nhjfZevguo b g_nhjfZevguo wdhghfbq_kdbo. hlg
Mogilevskii R. Trends and Patterns in Foreign Trade of Central Asian Countries [dljhggu c]// Working
Paper. – 2012. - No.1. –We_dl.jh^gZ.g- J_`bf ^hkl.mh[http://www.ucentralasia.org/downloads/UCA-
Trends&PatternsForeignTradeCA-Eng-May2012.pdf h[^g+uYaZg]e

]hkm^ZjklI\ j_]bhgZ kbkl_fgh b ihkl_i_ggh jZ[hlZeb
mkbe_gb_f ihl_gpbZeZ k\hbo]hkm^Zjkl\ ih k__jgh ihkl
dhlhju_ ijba\Zgu j_rZlv, bf ijhkku_ h[s_ j_]bhgZ
oZjZdl_j H[sghklv ijh[e_f _^_l d g_h[oh^bfhklb
j_r_gby heblbq_kdhfm jmdh\h^kl\m P_gljZevghc :ab
hq_j_^v h[jZlblv \gbfZgb_ gZ jZ[hlm]hkm^Zjkl_g
aZgbfZxlky h[s_j_]bhgZevgu fbG Zihjbf_jZfb]hkm^Zjkl_g
hj]Zgu jZ[hlZxsb_ \ mj_]mebjh\Zgbb \hijhkh\, \h^g
ih^^_j`Zgbb [_ahiZkghklb b nmgdpbhgZevghklb Z]hl
lZd`_ hj]Zgu Zp_e_ggu_ gZ jZ[hlm k ljZgk]jZgbo
[_ahiZkghklbv \Z`gh gZ^_eblv nhjfZevgu_ bgklblm
]hkm^Zjkl\Z j_Zevgufb iheghfhqbyfb _eh d mf_gvr_gb
dhgdmj_glguo g_nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ b dhk_ggh
ijhp_kku f_`]hkm^Zjkl\_ggh]h .k hljZ`_gb_f kd\Zr_g_c
ihke_^mxs_c webl_]hkm^Zjkl\ j_]bhgZ gm`gh [hjh
\ebygby lZdbo g_nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ dZd de,Zgh
\gmljb]hkm^Zjkl_gguc j_]bhgZevghc deb_gl_ebaf
iheblbq_kdb_ ijhp_kku <bukhdZy dhfi_l_glghklv]hkm
hj]Zgh\ ijb_^_l d hlhijmn_kkbhgZeu kljZg j_]bhgZ gZ
^ey j_r_gby h[sbo . ij h[e_f kemqZ_ [m^_l ^hf
ijhn_kkbhgZevgZy b^_glbqghklv ki_pbZebklZ gZ^
ieZklZfb b^_glbqghklv j_gb_ dhjjmipbb, afZc[Zeb, afZ
a_feyq_kl\Z \ j_ZebaZpbb dZ^jh\hc iheblbdb
ijhn_kkbhgZevguf ki_pbZebklZf j_rZlv \hijhkukZdZd
h[s_j_]bhgZevgu_ djZcg_c, fijeblbq_kdmx \hex [hj
dhjjmipb_c ijhy\ey_l gZr gug_rgbc lj_al h^klZe hlZ ni\
gZ ijhr_^r_c g_^Z\gh \lhjhc ij_k k^_dgZ[2013 ghbK wlhc
ijh[e_fhc klZjZxlky [hjhlvky b \, qjm]bo Zkwjlg ZZd\[
gZr_c kljZgd_ b \ khk_^gbo kljZgZo g_ ^Z_l h a fhe`gh
lZdhc j_amevlZl k\yaZg k_ih fbaf [ue b hklZ_lky

n_ghf_ghf h[u^_ibgbf Z_fuc \ [hevr_c kl_i_gb dZd j
k\hbf jh^kl_ggbdZf [u lZf g_ [ueh j_r_gb_ h[s_bo
^_fhgkljZpby mf_gby ^h]h\Zjb\Zlvky b kihkh[ghklb
nZdlbq_kdhc nmgdpbhgbjh\Zgbyf h[s_kl\Z bkm^Zjkl_gguo
Nmgdpbhgbjh\Zgby]hkm^Zjkl_gguo bgklblmlh\ b
kl_i_gv ij_^kdZam_fhklb ih_^_gby \ kn_j_ \Zlv_h\ hk[h[h^
hq_j_^v ^_l d m_ebq_gbx e_]blbfghklb \ []hee\Zvr_c
hldjulhklb j_`bfZ jZlhklv j_`bfZ vrZy _]h ^_fhdjZlbq_kdh
g_ lhevdh oZjZdl_jbklbdZ ihebl bq_kdhc kbkl_fu \ m
hq_j_^vu[hj ihebl bq_kdhc dmevlmju fh`_l dhgkljmbjh
ihebl bq_kdmx j_Zdpbx gZk_e_gby gZ _ohgu^h ijZ\bev
lhl_gpbZe ^_abgl_]jZpbhgguo ijhp_kkh\ m`_ bkq_jiZ
k_cqZk gZklmiZ_l ^_\b_ZpbZ aZ h[_^bg_gb_ bf_eh f_klh jZ
gZpbhgZevgh]h kZfhkhagZgby b bgl_]jZpbhgguo [ehd^h\
ihl_jylv wlhl bklhjbq_kdbc fhf_gl b bkihevah\Zlv _]
kljZg P_gljZevghc :abb ^hebgu kbklv j_]bhgZ _^_l gZk d
bgl_]jZpbb kbo ihj g_ o\ZlZeh ihebl bq_kdhc aj_eh
m\Z`_gby ihabpbc ^jm] ^jm]Z mq_lZ bgl_j_kh\ bgl_j_kh\ ihebl bq_kd
bo mijZ\e_gq_kdb_ j_r_gby ^he`gu hibjZlvky gZ
ijhreh]h b [ulv gZijZ\e_ggufb gZ dhgkljmbjh\Zgb_ m
ljZ\bevgh ml_j`^Z_l dZaZoklZgkdbc ihebl he\]y
наличие политической воли dZd]eZ\gh_ mkeh\b_ ^ey mki_rgh
f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gguo .bgl_]jZpbhgguo ijhp_kkh\ .. \k_
ijZ\ysb_ weblu \ kljZgZo P_gljZevghc :abb i_jki_
kljZg ^he`gu k\yau\Zlv k i_jki_dlb\hc jZa\blby
lhebl bq_kdZy \hey ij_^iheZ]Z_l \aZbfgh_ m\Z`_
hij_^_e_ggh_ jZ\gh ijZ\b_[2]

---

[1] KZZ^Zg[_@dIKNbehkhnby Qbg]baZ L:_dIkZ@hKZZZ^Zg[_dbh\d_2013, k. 184.

[2] ;Zc^Zjh\ MP_gljZevgZy iheby_fu b ijhlb\hj_qby bgl_]jZpbhgguc]j_kmk ;Zc^Zjh\ _]bhgh.– 2011. – ‹ 2. – We_dIj^Zg J_`bf ^hklmiZ: http://regionsar.ru/node/682?page=0,1 k\h[h^guc

Открытый регионализм Центральной Азии. K e _ ^ m x s b f e h] b q _
r Z] h f ^ e y k l j Z g P _ g l j Z e v g h c : a b b y \ e y _ l k y j Z a \ b
b g l _] j Z p b h g g u o k \ y a _ c k d j m i g u f b k h k _ ^ g b f b , j _
k h \ f _ k l g u f b m k b e b y f b m d j _ i e y y k \ h b g Z p k h w g Z h f v g h e x c
g Z b [h e _ _ i _ j k i _ d l b \ g u f n h j f Z l h f ^ e y w d h g h f b q _ k
\ u] e y ^ b l b ^ _ y ? \ j Z a b c k d h] h W d h g . h f k h q \ _ h d h g k d Z h x
k m s _ k l \ _ g g Z y q Z k l v i h e b l b q _ k d h c b h [s _ k l \ _ g g h
P _ g l j Z e v g h c , k a h a h Z _ l _ k l _ k l \ _ g g u _ i j _ ^ i h k u e d b ^ e
i h e b l b d h w d h g h f b q _ k d h c b g l _] j Z p b b k J h k k b _ c b
g Z j h ^ Z f k b l j _ o k l j Z g Z o P _ g l j Z e v g h a Z o , k h Z u g j] u a k l Z g
L Z ^ ` b d b) k l Z g k k d b c y a u d b f _ _ l k l Z l m k h n h p Z b d Z e v e g h] k h l \
l _ e _ \ b a b h g g u _ , f h Z a u Z d Z g b] b b f h ^ Z g Z j m k k d h f y a u
i j h \ h ^ g b d Z f b j m k k d h c b j h k k b c k d h c k h . \ j ; h f e v g h c
d h e b q _ , k l h h g _ d h l h j u f ^ Z g g 5 u f f b e h a b h g h \ k _ a h g g u o l
f b] j Z g l h \ b a L Z ^ ` b d b k] u Z a k Z l Z g Z b M a j _ Z d b k Z Z g Z J . h k k [1]
W l h ^ Z _ l ^ h i h e g b l _ e v g u _ j u q Z] b \ g _ r g _ i h e b l b q _ k d
\ h a f h ` g h k l v \ h k k l Z g h \ b l v k \ h b d m e v l m j g u _ i h a b p b g] \
j _] b h g _

H ^ g Z d h h q _ g v f g h] h _ \ \ h i j h k Z o i h k l k h \ _ l k d h c
\ g m l j b i h e b l b q _ k d b o i j h p _ k k h \ , h k l Z f i h c a b j b h k k b j b h k k b
i h e b l b q _ k d h c b b g l _ e e _ d l m Z e v g h c w e b l u i h h l g h r _ g
p _ g l j Z e v g h Z a h G Z Z l Z f k h p b Z e v g h f m j h \ g _ ^ h k b o i h
Z k k b f _ l j b q g u _ h l g d h] g Z b y h i j _ ^ _ e _ g g Z y q Z k l v g Z k _
J h k k b b k f h l j y l g Z j _] b k h g k d Z Z e d u a g Z Z k _ e _ g g u c f m k m e v f
d h g l j h e b j m _ f u c d j b f b g Z e v g u f b .] j m Z i d h j c h \ d \ Z a f] e y ^ k b
h] j Z g b q b \ Z _ l \ h a f k h f g] h d k h b k » b e J h k k , b b u a u \ Z y \ a Z b f g
d k _ g h n h . [< b x p _ e , h d f h g k l j m d l b \ g u c i h ^ o h ^ J h k , g b Z b p _ d e j _ g] g b u

[1]Laruelle, M. Migration and Social Upheaval as the Face of Globalization in Central Asia [Text] / M. Laruelle (ed.). – London: Brill, 2013. – (Social Sciences in Asia).

gZ \aZbfgh_ b jZ\ghijZ\gh_ khljkmj^ZgbZqf_bkl\h]hkhwgZ
hkgh\gh_ mkeh\b_ ^ey mki_oZ b^_b ?\jZabckdh
j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZpbb kljZg .P_gljZevghc :abb

Dexq_\hc n,ZdhllhjjuC mkbeb\Z_l \ZjbZgl _\jZabckdh
P_gljZevghc– walbb\hijhku j_]bhgZevghc B[_ahjiZkghkb
keh`be,hqkvh Jhkkby \uklmiZ_l]ZjZglhf [_ahiZkghkl
m`_ \ l_q_gb_ .k>hey_l]bhykm^Zjkl\ P_gljZ,evghhcju:_abd
h[eZ^Zxl \hafh`ghklvx aZsblblv k_[y b j_]bhg
h[t_^bg_gby k\h_]h \h_ggh,]hg_hh[b_hg^bbfZeb \Z`gh
dhgk_gkmk b ij<baaZg\Zbgkbf>hkhlb Jhkkbb \ \h_ggh iheb
kfuke_< hkh[_gghklb lZdh_ kh]eZkb_ ^he`gh [ulv
Ma[_dbklZghf b DZ<aZwolkhlZgkbflmZpbb ihdZaZl:_\1960-ijb
_]h,^uij_ab^_gl NjZgpbb ^_ =hev Zdlb\gh ih^^_
bgl_]jZpbx dZd kihkh[[ZeZgkbjh\Zgby f_`^m wdhg
?\jhiu b K,Ro:hly \ \hijhkZo [_ahiZkghGkbH?yjheiyehkv
y\ey_lky dexq_\uf f_oZgbafhf h[_ki_q_gby _\jh<i_c
\h_ggh iheblbq_kdhfP:Zkh_ubb^bf,hkm_^m_l hjb_glbjh\Z
iheZ]Zlvky gZ,mhqkbkbwZy gZebqb_ ^ebl_evguo k\ya_c
khljm^gbq_kl\Z k(\Jh_gkgbu__c dZ^jkuiblZggu_ \ i_jbh^
\h_ggh_ h[jZah\Zgb_ \,\\m_agZgoZyjhkkbkbckdZy.)l_ogbdZ

<wdhghfbq_kdbo,khjiZhgZZoj_]bhgZ ke_^m_l kdh
k\hb bgl_j_ku b aZl_f gZkdhevdh wlh \hafh`gh kl
ijhp_kkZfb _\jZabckdhc<bgvlh]fjZkfbke_ fh^_ev khljm^
jZfdZo :LWK fh`_l [ulv bgl_j_kghc b ihe_aghc ^ey k
B^_y_\jZabckdhc bg>l_fhj`Z_pbbulv nhjfZlhf \h\e_q_gby
\hijhku j_]bhgZevghc [,_ahiZkjg_akmbkbe_gb_ p_gljZe
j_]bhgZe,b[aZfeZgkbjh\Zlv wdhghfbq_kdmx ih_kldm J
kljZg j_].bhgZ

Iheblbq_kdhc webl_ J_kim[ebdb Ma[_dbklZg ke
k\hb ihabpbb \ hkh[_gghklb \ \hijhk_ h[_ki_q_gby j_

G_dhlhju_ m]jhau [_ahiZkghklb P: [m^ml b \ ^Ze
ihl_gpbZe j._}hlygZujZ[hldb k[ZeZgkbjh\Zggh]h b ^_c
\ ijhlb\h^_ckl\bb m]jhaZf [_ahiZkghklb khljm^g
ij_^klZ\ey_lky _^bgkl_gguf b [_aZevl_jgZlb\guf
]hkm^Zjkl\ j._]bhgZ

J_axfbjmy ^Zgg,mfkx`]ghZkm^_eZlv ke_^mxsb_ \u\h^u
<h i_j\,ufogh`_kl\h b jZaghh[jZab,_]^b_gkhlkmlkh\m_l c
b_jZjo,boykbkl_fZlbabjh\Zggu_ k\yab f_`^m gbfb y\ey
kh\j_f_gghc dmevlmjgh bgklblmpbhgZevghc,\kjj_Z^fdZPo_
dhlhjhc bf_xl f_klh hij_^_e_ggu_ bgl_]jZpbhggu_
khpbZevgh iheblbq_kdb_ b wdhghfbq_kdb_ b]_hdmevlmjgu_
bgklblmpbhgZevghc kj_^u ijbkmlkl\m_l b ijhy\ey_
kbkl_fu \eZklguo hlggnZ_gjb_]bhgZe(vkgmh[j_]bhgZ)evbgu
gZpbhgZe(vjgkm^Zjkl\)._Bggukdblmlu nhjfZevghc iheblbc
\h \k_o mjh\gyo kbkl_fu \eZklb b h[sbc iheblbq_kdb
mjh\g_dZd j_amevlZl iheblbq_kdh]h jZa\blby f,_`^
_^_lky \ jZfdZo jZkkfhlj_gby b ZgZebaZ ^_yl_evgh
bgklblm,kh\a^Zxsb_ky b ZdlmZebabjmxsb_ky q_j_a h
dZgZeu

<h \lhj,ud\ j_]bhg_ hq_gv `b\h gZ[ex^Zxlky m
iheblbq_kdbo kbe \ ebp_ g_dhlhjuo,\jg_Zregbbaoh\]Zhlkvmk
]_hiheblbq,_k]dbh_wdhghfbq_kdb_ b]_hdmevlmjgu_
bgklblmpbhgZebaZpbx j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq_k
P_gljZevghc W.abbbihiuldb g_ \k_]^Z j,_gmelv_lZldb\gfu_g
kms_kl\mxsZy jZaghmjh\g_\Zy b jZaghkdhjhklgZy
ko_f gZ ihklkh_lkdhf ijhkljZgkl_ y\ey_lky j_amev
ijhlb\hklhygby djmiguo]hkm^Zjkl\ \ 4_]Zdg_ kbe\^kd
h[t_dlb\ghc jZagbpu \ mijZ\e_gq_kdhf b fZl_j
ihl_gpbZe_ ihklkh_lkdbo]hkm^Zjkl\

lhfbfh]_hihebkblbq_kdh,]\h knZfdhfhj Z]bhg_ ^hklZlh,qgh

dhlhju_ kms_kl_ggh lhjfhayl bgl_]jZpbhggu_ ijhp_kku

i_j_qbkeblv ke_^mxsb_ ^hfbgbjmx\Zgb_ g_nhjfZevguo

ihebldb gZ^ nhjfZevgufb bgklblmlZfb j\ehZkklv ihebldb

j_`bfh,\g_^hklZlhqgZy jZa\blhklv]hkm^Zjkl_gghklb

bgklblml,lh\gbadbc mjh_gv]jZ`^ZgklZ_gghklbb

b^_glbqghklb \ kljZg_ Zol Z d_]b hglZlb\hklhygb_ f_`^m D

Ma[_dbklZghf aZ ^hfbgbjh\Zgb_ \ j_]bhg_

< gZklhys__ l\jh fylbq_kdb b ijZ chlb\b^_kdb fhfm]ml [ulv

j_ZebahfZgu ^\Z \ZjbZglZ j_]bhgZev, ghlh jkh_ljmbf^gx

i_jki_dlb\u jZa\blby ^h kl_i_gb\ bgZf d_]Z pbhgbhjfZev

bgl_]jZpbhggh]h ijh_dlZ © _\jZab ckh dlZlhjubgl_]jZpbhyklZ

weblZjguf b g_ y\ey_lky h[s_kl_gghbfj_akyZ ghjfblbc

\he,y\ i_j\mx hq,_j jh^kvkbckdh]h jmdhbk^kl\jZ]bhgZe

khljm^gbq_kl\h P_gljZev ghc dZabbihdZ g_ \ujZ[hlZg

bgklblmpbhgZebabjh\Zggu_ ko_f,ugkhZjdh^lbgbq_k ^l\Zk

g_nhjfZevgu_ bgklbmlmlbq_kdb j_]mebjmxsb_

j_]bhgZeba lZ fibubdhlhjhc hklZxlky ^hklZlhqgh \ukhdbf

ВЫВОДЫ

P_gljZevgZy, dZbdy kh\hdmighklv iylb ihklkh_lkc
y\ey_lky j_]bdhZgdhf\ ]_h]jZn,blqZ_kdbhf dmevlmjgh pb\beb
kfuke,Zddhlhjy oZjZdl_jbam_lky gZebqb_f h[sbo bklh
hkg.h<\ j_]bhg_ gZ[ex^Z_lky ^hklZlhqgh bgl_gkb\guc
iheblbq_kdh]h \aZbfh^_ckl\by b bf_xlky h[sb_ bgkl
khljm^gbq_<kl\Z_gljZevghc :abb gZebq<fyk]lbbo,xlZdZb
©`_kld»b\bo^u j_]bhgZe<baafZZf_lghc f_j_ bgl_gkb\gh-klv
wdhghfbq_kdh]h \aZbfh^_ckl\by ij_h[eZ^Z_l gZ^ l
\aZbfh^_ckl\by iheblbq_kdbo,wbeb\l w\lhjf_]bfkqkye]_dbc
j_]bhgZebaf h[gZjm`b\Z_l k_[y hglZebiqjZ_dlbd_^_deZjb
©`_kld»hj]_h]bhgZebafZWwhebk\b^_l_evkl\,mq_lh h Ph_fgljZev
:abb _klv ihg,bqZhgbj_]bhgZ-ewaf ihe_,agghucg_ h[yaZl_e
bklhqgbd e_]blbfkghm]kelZkgh iheh`_gbyf l_hjbb ,dh
fgh]h_dh\Zy \aZbfhk\yav b \aZbfgh_ \ebygb_ f_`^n
:ab,bkha^Zeb ij_^ihkuedb h[sghklb bklhjbq_kdbo dh
jZa\blbx _^bghc dmevlmjgh bgklbl.Gphbwgl Zegv_ghcaqkZ_q^
gZ k_]h^gyrgbc ^_gv j_]bhgZevgZy b^_glbqghklv i
\hkijbylby iheblbq_kdbo, kjmhqj_kjkhh\Zg<Z wlhf kfuke
P_gljZevgZy :aby y\ey_lky khpbZevgufb dhgkljm,dlh
dhlhjuc gZoh^blky \ «idhgkkjkm_bjh»\Zkg_b[yy \ hl^_ev
]_hiheblbq_kdmx ,klbjmdhkmgjm\guf kihkh[hf ^hklb`_g
j_amevlZlZ y\ey_lky km[j_]bhgZebaf P_gljZevghc :

G_khfg,dkgeh^m_l ih,gdqfhZlkm[j_]bh-gZvebaefbrv \Zjb
fh^_eb jZa\dhlbyjmx eb^_ju b gZjh^u P_gljZevghc. :a
Dhfie_dkguc ZgZeba ijh[e_fu j_]bhgZevghc bgl_]jZp
ihdZa,qeh aZiha^Zeh_ \h\e_q_gb_ kljZg P_gljZevgh
iheblbq_kdb_ b wdhghfbq,_kdhbkehjvhbpe_hkkauZ\bkbfhklv

j_]bhgZ hl \g_rgbo]eh[Zevgu ok\hZxdlhjh\j_e^v[Zevgu
ijhp_kku b]eh[Zevgu_wlZhdlbhjuklv lZ kj_^Z k dhlhjhc
gm`gh jZ[,hbZglv_]jbjh\Zlvky, ivjhg\b]Zlv k\hb gZpbhgZ
j_]bhgZevgu_ bgAZ\bkubfhklv hl \g_rgbo nZdlhjh\
ijb_eh d h`b^Z_fhc, dkbl^ZZjb]bhg klZe [hevr_ h[t_d
iheblbdb b keh`guo wdhghfbq_kgb`_eaZkfhk\ydahc

H^ghc ba nhjf ijhy\e_gby lZdhc aZ\bkbfhklb P
\g_rgbo nZdlhjh\ \uklmibeb ij_^eZ]Z_fu_ jZaebqgufl
nhjfZlu khljm^gbq_kl\Z b dbgjbfjZhdbb_ dZd, HRW,Kb
bgbpbZlb\Z «KGRh\uc r_edh\uo. imljvZ[hl_ Zj]mf_glbj
qlh]_hiheblbq_kdb_ b]ju djmiguo \g_j_]bdhgZeiug
ij_^eZ]Zxl jZaebqgu_ \Zjb Zglu iheblbq_kdh]h b w
]hkm^Zjkl\Zf P_gljZevgZhdZdàbbijh^\b]Zxl jZaebqgu
f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z \ jZfdZg_^ZZgu
\hafh`ghklv km[j_]bhgm dhgklhZejZ^ehjh\Zgvuky mkbeb
^_j`Z\ \h\e_qv kljZgu P: \ k\hx,hgj[bljZeeaymxby^jm] ^
g_ fh]ml bf_lv ^he`gh]h wnn_dlZ gZ j_]bhg b g_.^Z
LZd`_ \ur_i_j_qbke_ggu_ nhjfZlu g_ bf_xl i_j
kms_kl_ggh]h hlebqby dmevlmjghc bgklblmpbhgZev
:abb b khhl_lkl\mxsb,dihjdjJub\hZghfuo wlbfb hj]ZgbaZpb

B^_glbqghklv gZjh^h\ P_gljZevghc :abb ij_
fgh]hmjh\g_\mx,kdbhklhjfZmy ih^_j]Z_lky k_jv_aghc ljZ
ijhp_kk_ j_Zebc ihklkh_lkdh]hZgjZa\jlbZyebyo g_nh
bgklblmlu hdZau\Zxlky ^,ocZkjZ\dlggbfbmy ijhy\e_gby ih
dmevlmju kh\j_f_gghc P_gljZevghc«ihkalkh_lkdZb
ljZ^bpbhgZe«bhkflkh_lkdbc ljZ^bpbhgZgdZexbqZf_lk,yqlhlgfb
ljZ^bpbhgggub_ kh_lkdb_ iheblbq_kdb_ b h[s_kl_
hnbpbZevgh b nhjfZevgh g_ y\eyxlky ZdlmZevguf.b \
L_f g_ f,_\g_mkeh\byo ihklkh_lkdhc,lbZgkghjfZZp^bbpbhg

h[s_kl_ggh iheblbq_kdb_ bgklblmlu P_gljZevghc
kh_lkdb_ bgklblmlu iheblbdb hklZxlky ^_ckl_ggu
h[gZ`Zy«ih_joghklgghkl^v_ckl\byfZemx wnn_dlb\ghkl
©bkdmkkl\»ggmhkjlfvZevguo bgklblmlh\ ^_fhdjZlbb
ohayckl_gguo hlghr_gbc=h\hjjybhg\ebygbb bgklblmp
kj_^u gZ ijhp_kku j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq_dkl\Z
fgh`_kl\h jZaebqguo h[s_kl_ggh iheblbq_kdbo bgl
q_ldhc kljmdlmju bo khhlghr_gbc kha^Z_l g
bgklblmpbhgZev,ghuckl\mjiZ^xs_c khpbZevgh iheblbq_kd
f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h j_]bhgZevgh]h \aZbfh^_c.kl\by \

AgZdhfkl\h P_gljZevgh\c_k:lnbZbevkkdhkl_fhc ijhbah
q_j_a kh_lkdm,xdh\e^ZZkl[ueb ijh_^_gu Z^fbgbkljZlb\
f_`^m kh_lkdbfb j_k,im[ehkeZ^fkl\bb Z\lhfZlbq_kdb
f_`]hkm^Zjkl\_ggufb .jZZgab\pbZfb kh\_lkdhc ]jZ`^Zgkl\
khojZg_gbb wlgbq_kdh]h jZa^_e_gby «gZblmkvgh\c
g_lblmevghc» gjZhp\b_eh d wlgbq_kdb p_gljbjh\Zgghf
©gZp»bb ihebabjh\Zgghklb wlgbq_kdh]h dhfihg_
kljmdlmjGuug_rg__ khklhygb_]hkm^Zjkl_gghklb b
fh`gh hoZjZdl_jbah\Zlv<dvZdhkekZ[uk_]hkm^Zjkl\Zf b
j_]bhgZ _s_ ij_^klhbl ijhclb ^he]bc b keh`guc in
dhgkheb^Zpbb hkgh\ ]hkm^Zjkl_gghkl.bJb]hjhZg`^^Zhgek`l
ijhclb i,mdvhlhjuc ijhreZ ,?vgjZiqZbgZXyVlk_dZdh]^«gZpby
kdeZ^u\Z_lky \ ij_^_eZ,oZ]hlkhkm^ZjZkjlk\Z\h nhjfbjm_lky
gZpbb«B^«gyZpbb]hkm»^Zhjk\l\jZ]Z_l \k_ \gmlj_ggb_]
i_j_]hjh,^dlb_^iheZ]Z_l gZfgh]h [hevrmx \gmlj_g,gxx
ijhy\eyxsmxky \ klZgh\e_gbb h[s_gZpbhg»Ze[1vDghjZhdhkfZ
khklhygbx ke_^m_l ijbclb w\he,xapZbhdghgjhfdibm_l_kfjhdb ^

[1] >hghg,[Z._DuuaklZhgeblbq_kdZy .dQ_evhmjZ b]hkm^Zjkl\>hghg[Z;brd_d Ba^ \h D,2002M-475k.

kiehq_gghklb b h[s_]jZ`^Zgkdh]h kZfhkhagZgby ij_^
H^gZdlhafh`gh \k_ k\h,bihmkbdeby_kdb_ b khpbZevgu_
k\yaZlv k wlh,cqlh_ehvkeh [u \ dZdhc lh f_j_ mkdhjb
\gmlj_gg_c dhgkhe<Z^gZhpbidhfgbqllvh gZ AZiZ^_ b _]h
dhehg,bydZiblZebaf jZa\b\Zeky w\hex,pbhghgu\fj_ifml_df
^\b`_gb_ d dZiblZebafm ihkldhffmgbklbq_kdbo kljZ
iheblbq_kdbf ijhpL_Zkdhff mijZ\e_gq_kdbf f_oZgbafhf
j_]bhgZevgh_ khljmdlghbqj_hkl\ihma\hey_l h[sbfb mkbeb
gZ mkbe_gb_ gZpbhgZevguo b]hkm^Zjkl_gguo hkg

< iheblbq_kdhc dmevlmj_ h[s_kl\ j_]bhgZ, ij_
wlgbq_kdZy b \ hij_^_e_gghc kl_i_gb j_e[bhkbe^ggZy
hkh[h hlghkblky d LZ^`bdbklZ)mAZb]M^u_kbklZkdhmc
[ueZ knhjfbjh<kZ^gZh_g>gZkybkl_fZ mijZ:\e_ghb^yghc klhjh
©kh_lxkdbbg_klbl,mku ^jm]-hc^hkh_lkdb_ g_nhjfZevgu,_
hkgh\Zggu_ gZ ljZ^bpbyo b dmevlmjguo hkh[._gg
=hkm^Zjkl_ggu_ bgklblmlu khojZgyxl \ k_[_ kh_lk
\k_ _s_ g_kml \ fZkku b^_heh]bx b nmgdpbb dhfZ
j_`bfZ Hlghr_gby ih «ehbkgb^Zjkl\h h}s_okZ\Zdl_jbamx
\ukhdbf mjh\g_f iZl,_jgZlebfhfZbZebafZ b de,bgdh_e
ijb\h^bl d k_jvzaguf b kljmdlmjguf g_^hjZ[hldZf
mijZ\e_gby ijb \ukhdhfmjh\g_ dhjjmipbb b g_^h
iheblbq_kdhc kbkl_f._?kl_\elZk,gbqlh lZdZy kbkl_fZ g
[eZ]hl\hjgh \eby_l gZ jZa\blb_ f_`]hkm^Zjykl\yqkvhkZ
ih k_[_ g_nmgdpbhgZevghc b g_Z^,bdf_gqgh cj_L]bfhgZef
ihklkh_lkdh_ \j_fy y\ey_lky kihkh[hf ih^l_j`^_
kZfhklhyl_evghklb b km_j_gghklb .fhGeZh^u_oj\hjfhkwl^Z
g_aZ\bkbfh]h ,ZaqeblbkyI\h \ j_]bhgZevguo b f_`
hj]ZgbaZpbyo [ueh bf_ggh kihkh[hf ijhy\e_gby b ^_
km_j_gghKhlab^Zgb_ k\hbo kh[kl_gguo j_]bhgZevguo

[ueh ijhy\e_gh g_l heh]bq_kdh]h k»bf\h e]b ab Zke,hkZfbnZdl
kms_kl\h\Zgby khljm^gbq_kl\Z \ \b^_ j_]bhgZev
aZdexqZ_fh]h kh]eZr_gby fh`gh kqblZlv rZ]hf
l_ogbq_kdh]h nbdkbjh\Zgby kZfh]h nZdlZ. k<ms_kl\
©hglheh]bq_kdhf k»bf\h eba\fujZ`Z_lkykmlv i_j\u
ihiulhdj_]bhgZebafZ]hkm^ZjklP. _Hg^jZ,dyg]h g:Zebg
bgl_]jZpbhggu_ h[t_^bg_gby P: dZd ^_ckl_ggu_ b
khklhye,bkgb g_ kfh]eb ijh^\bgmk«ijh\h^Zeezr» dh[sbo
aZ^Zq b, pehjau_ lZd b hklZebkv g_.jlbfbaP\ZggZfb
:abb ih^l_j`^Z_,lqlhabk]^Z \ kZfhf j_]bhg_ bgklblm
eb[h ke,Zeub[h hlkmlklhm^lZ \g_j_]bhgZevgu_ bgklb
ZdlZb\gh \f_rb.\ZHlkmlkl\b_ iehsZ^db ^ey km[j_]bhgZ
khljm^gbq_kl\Z \ P_gljZe-vghc tZdb_ j_amevlZl f
nhjfZlh\ ^ey khljm^gbq_kl\Z_fuo \g_rgbfb.^_j`Z\Zfb

Bgklblmpbhg Zevgh ihebleh]bg_kdb cgZugZ ebZ \uy
nhjfZevguo b g_nhjfZevguo dhgkjbl_ml\h\[hevr_c kl
hij_^_eyxl iheblbq_kdh_ ih_^_gb_ b ^_ckl\b_ kljZ
yjdh ihdZaZe d\Zab ijbjh^m \k_o nhjfZevguo bgklbl
lZd b j_]bhgZevgh. Bgkjh\gyo nhjfZevghc iheblbdb i
^ey ZdlmZebaZpbb kh\j_f_gghklb b dhgl_dklmZe
]hkm^Zjkl\ b h[s_kl\ Zj_]bhgZ ^ey nbdlb\gh ^_fhg
^_yl_evghklb \ p_eyo ihemq_gby nbgZgkh\hc beb
kljZg b f_`^mgZjh^gu.o <klj_\kljZgZo j_]bhgZ b
ihiuldb gZpby b]hkm^Zjkl\h kljh bl_evkl\Z jhp_
ijhlb\hihklZ\eyxlky ijhp_kkm j_]b,hgdZdh blke_v^kl\
gZpbhgZebaf b j_]bhgZebaf \ P: bf_xl \aZbfh,bkdey
lZdh_ ijhlb\hihklZ\e_gb_ bf__l km]m[h i
bkdmkkl_ggmxijhj_^bhq_kdb_ j_`bfu j_]bhgZ g_ klj_
gZpbhgZevgu_ bgl_j_ku \ur_ b,gh_jlykh\Zj_b`db fgh

nZdlhjh\ bgl_]jZpbb P: mdZau\Zxl gZ g_h[oh
^hklZlhqgufb b j_Zevgufb iheghfhqbyfb nhjfZevgu_
khljm^gbq_kl\Z gZ imlb d bgl_]jZpbb kljZ[iulP^ jmhjZbe
j_]bhgh\\ qZklghklb hiul j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq
<hklhqghc :abb ih,dZhauijZpl_kku gZpbh b]hkm^Zjkl\h
b j_]bhg kljhbl_evkl\Z fh]ml [ulv kh\f_s_gu b
iheh`bl_evguc wnn_dl ^ey jZa\blbgZ\k]_hh[Zje_vgbhfgZm
gZ[ex^Zxlky l_g^_dhbhbju_ ZdlmZebabjmxl jhev
j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq_kl\Zijb wghf]jkZp\b^ms_c
hkgh\gh]h km[t_dlZ f_`^mgZjh,^gguZopbdghrk_gbkZj^kjm]hc
klhjh,gubf_ggh]eh[Zevguc_rkjeb_jgZvkkfZljb\Zlv f_`^mg
hlghr_gby k lhqdb aj_gby iZj«ZO^bjefu^gjcb»kbgZguha\hey
j_]bhgZevguf bgl_]jZpbhgguf ijhp_kkZf ihemqblv jZa
ijhkljZgk,kl\Zd dZd fgh]b_ ba ebp ijbgbfZxsbo j_
©`_jl\Z»fbZdh]h bgklblmlZ y\«ea_gbfygZdZdg_ijbyagv »b g
f_`^m«kh_lkd»bfbb«aZiZ^g»ufkbljmdlm.jZ<fbjZ[hl_ ij_^eZ]Z
jZa^_eylv ih«giyhb[e_fu j_]bhgZevghc »bgZ_]^Zpbbj.mii
l_j\Zy]jmiiZ \dexqZ_l,ijh[e_fua\heyxsb_ j_]bhg
khljm^gbq_kl\m j_Zebah\Zlvky b [ulv ieh^hl\
Z\lhjblZjghklv j_`fbbfjh\\haaj_gb_ [hevrbgkl\Z jmc
]hkm^Zjkl\ ihklkh_lkdh]h ijh.kljZbgkZlyZ]bmi^ijZ hlghkb
ijh[e_f,Zdhlhju_ ke_^m_l b fh`gh j_rZlv ihkj_^kl\hf
j_]bhgZevghc bg(lj_]jZkpgbZbpbhgZevg,uljZmkjjhZaubqgu_ \h
j_kmjkbh]jZgbqgu_ \hijh)ku b l ^

Gb h^gZ ba kms_kl\mxsbo j_]bhgZevguo hj]Zgba
ijhkljZgkl_ k mqZklb_f [hevrbgkl\Z klj«ZbgtyP»v\gk_k[ih
bgl_]jZpbhggu_ .ijhpe_kmqur_f kemqZ_ kms_kl\mxsb_
f_oZgbafu fh]ml kem`blv p_eylH>dh,hiijj_Zkbb\ey_l k
gZb[he__ ih^oh^ysmx kljmdlmjm ^ey khljm^gbq_kl\

^ey [hevrbgkl\Z kljZg ihklkh_lkdh]hk\ijhkdlj_Zkgkl\\Z a

wdhghfbq_kdhc b,gH_>]DZ;pb^Z_c_l \hafh`ghklv Jhkkbb- g

gZklhys_fm _jgmlvky g\h j_b]bmh g_j^blv k\h,b Zihajbp

\hafh`ghklb m_ebqblv k\hc ihl_gpbZe ^ey iheb

kh\f_klgh]h wdhghfbq_k,dh]hijhZ\kljhlbb[m^_l j_Zeba

fh^_ev jZ\ghijZ\gh]h kh.lJDme^xgbq_\ukljlZkdhf ijh jhkkbck

j_]bhgZebafZ \b^blky _]h khpbh dm,evl^m_jg\ucl_dh_ghf

^ebl_evgh]h i_jbh^Z ijhy\eyxlky Zkkbf_ljbqgu_ hlgh

h^ghagZqguf ^hfbgbjh\Zgb_f jmkkdh]h khpbh dmevlm

K l_hj_lbdh f_lh^heh]bq_kdhc lhqdb aj_g-by

dhgkljmdlb\bkldbc \a]ey^ mdZau\Z_l gZ _^bg,klj_b gg

dhlhjhf \ ^he]hkjhqghc i_jki_dlb_ \hafh`gu \Zj

ijhp_kkh\ bgl_-]jZm[b_]bhgZebaf P_gljZevgh[makeb\e

gZebqb_f _^bguo bgklblmlh\ b p_gghkl_c,gZ^bgkl_\hf

pb\bebaZpbhgg,uo^mhokh\guo b j_eb]bha,guo hlghkdbl_c_evg

_^bgkl\hf \ h[eZklb h[sbo m]j.ha [_ahiZkghklb

L_f g_ f_g__ i_jki_dlb\u \aZbfgh]h khq_lZgby _\j

p_gljZevgh ZabZlkdbfkm[j_]bhgZebafhf. \<hekgb_kl_j_f_Z

]eh[Zevguo]_hiheblbq_kdbo jk_Za^bZclv dZjdZk [m^m

[_ahiZkghklb gZ _\jZabckdh.hf=hikmk^lZ_Z\kl_f P_gljZevg

ij_^ihqlbl_evgh \klmiblv \ khxagbq_kdb_ hlghr_gby

lZd dZd h[sbc \h_ggh l_ogbq_kdbc ihl_gpbZe g_^h

gZpbhgZevghc b j_]bhgZevghWlh[_ahiZkgh^klb_lky bk

kms_kl\h\Zgby P_gljZevgh :abZ<Pd_g]hjZ[ZZhehj]ucZ [ue

knhjfbjh\Zg[1995]., gh lZd b g_ ihdZaZe k_[y dZd, ^

ij_^klZ\eyy kh[hc ^_deZjZlb\gh_ \h_gg?k_ebkhlmy^

ihklmeZlZf ihebl bq_kdh]h gZ[baef_Z _jhylghklguc \

khljm^gbq_kl\Z \ h[eZklb [_ahiZkghklb y\ey_lky kh

jZfdZo ghjf f_`^mgZjh^gh]h ijZ\Z. bBgmkkZm\ZbhHZG

dhgkljmdlb\bklkdbc ZgZeba mdZau\Z,_l dmgZvlmbjgh
h[mkeh\e_gghklv km[j_]bhgZebafZ. P_ghjZejvgfyc di
ihklkh_lkdb_ j_Zebb mdZau\Zxl gZ iheblbq_kdm
h[mkeh\e_gghklv _\jZabckdh]km[_j_]bhgZebafZ P_gl
:abb \ wdhghfbq_kdhf ieZg_ lZd`_ hdZaZekjhegv_r`bca
kl_i_gb ih h[t_dlb\guf (jhkmgZf\b_ djmiguo dZib
\eh`_gbkeZ[h_ b jZajhag_ggh_ ijb\e_q_gb_ b,ghk
g_^hklZlhd bg_klbpbhg,mhjfbdZmxbsZ]ehZky gZ hkgh_ \
gZdhie,_gbgc^hklZlhqgh_ jZa\blb_ hkgh\ jughqguc
hlghr_gbc.)bG^Z[k_],hfgly]b_ ba wlbo h[t_dlb\guo ijb
bf_xl ZdlmZe,vgZhkbdZd]hkm^Zjkl\Z P_gljZevghc :ab
]h^Z hiulZ g_aZ\bkbfhklb b \aZbfh^_ckl\by \ dZq_k
f_`^mgZjh^gh],h\ihjeZgZ_ Z^_d\Zlgh fh]ml bkihevah\Zlv
bgl_]jZpbhgguc ihl_gpbZe P_g.ljZ>eZvghc :ablbfb
oZjZdl_jbam_lky gZebqb_f h[sbo]hkm^Zjkl_ggh i
j_]bh,g_ lZd`_ gZebqb_f ijh[e_f h^gh]h ihjy^dZ
P_gljZevghc,bakbZfh_ \Z`gh_ gZebqb_f lj_g^Z ih
fure_gby ihkj_^kl\hf kf_gu iheblbqk_hkadghZcgbwelgluh[oh^
j_rZlv \gmljbj_]bhgZevgu_ \hijhk;uh[^te_ydl\u\`bhZhgbygbf
ihl_gpbZeZ j_]b.hgZebafZ

J_]bhgZebaf \ P_gljZ,elvZgdh`c :daZbdb b \h fgh]bo ^jm
fbjZ y\ey_lky j_amevlZlhf \aZbfh^_ckl\by lj_o: h
\hafh`ghklb?kihkh[ghklb,k]mk_j_gbkl_\l b ^hfbgbjh\Zgb
]hkm^Z[kl\]_fhgbAyZ]h^u k jZkiZ^Z KKKJ j_]bhgZevg
dZjlbgu klZeb [he__,bgZqf_je_gb\by_ l_o beb bguo Zd
ihgylg_klZe [he__ hq_\b^,gqulfh\ju_]hb^hgZebaf \ P_gljZe
g_h[oh^bf ^ey \u`b\Zg,byeyj_mbkhgZ_gby]hkm^Zjkl_g
j_]bh,g^Zey aZsblu km_j_gbl_lZ \ mkeh\byo iheblbq_

]eh[ZebaZpbb b aZsblu dmevlmjguo p_gghkl_c \
]eh[ZebaZpbb b jZ^bdZevghc bkeZfbaZpbb

ПРАКТИЧЕСКИЕ РЕКОМЕНДАЦИИ

Ke_^m_l hl,f_gllbmlv\ mkeh\byo kljZl_]bq_kdhc, g_h
dhlhjhc gZoh^blky \ky fbjh\Zy ihe,bl^b_q_kdZ jhkbka_
ij_^eZ]Zlv j_dhf_g^Zpbb ^ey ijbgylby mij_Zwehgdj_kcdg
g_[eZ]h^Zjgh_L^f_egh_ f,_gh`gh \ h[sbo q_jlZo ihk
\u^\bgmlv jy^; dbl^hqu_ fh]eb [u [ulv ihey_agZa\blb
bgl_]jZpbhgguo ijhp_kkh\ \ P_gljZevghc :abb

l_j\hhq_j_^ghc aZ^Zq_c fh`gh \u^_ekjvZgbhZpb^b
b^_b dhhi_jZpbb b bgl_]jZpbb \ jZfdZoHPs_ghkZevg
koh`_klv ijh[Ze_fZd`_ gZebqb_ \gmljbj_]bhgZevguo
hkgh\ghc b h[t_dlb\ghc ij_^ihkuedhc ^ey j_]bhgZ
]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevghc wabc, ke_e^bc ***создать площадку для обсуждения и взаимодействия на уровне политической и интеллектуальной элиты*** (iheblb,dlxjhdjZlby b gZmqgh wc
khh[s_kl\h j).]bZgdZ_ \aZbfh^_ckl\b_ ^he`gh \ j_ame
\gh\v gZ bgl_]jZpbhg,guZ_dbj_gd^Zud aZdexq_gb_ b b
f_`]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h kh]eZr_gby h dZq_kl_ \h^u
j_kmj,khlbeb kha^Zgb_ P_gljZevgh :abZlkdhc - :k
ijhba\h^bl_e_c b wdkihjB_gbhlbZuljhvjyhf lZdhc iehsZ^db
[ulv Ma[_dbkeZgDZaZbkbZgs_ emqr_.bo lZg^_f

< k\hx hq,_jZdb_ ^h]h\hj_gghklb ki_pbnbq_kdh]h
oZjZdl_j lj_[mxl \ujZ[hldb ***общего Соглашения об учреждении такого диалогового механизма***, d ijbf_jmh h[jZapm Kh]eZr_g
hj]ZgbaZpbb f_`j_kim[ebdZgkdh]h(Dh\gksZe_vdZgbh\jhZ
j_kim[ebd Kj_^g_c :abb 1992 Zaw khZgjZwalh fh`_l [ul

f_`]hkm^Zjkl_gguc Dhgkmevlzlb\guc kh_l gZ mj
P_gljZevghc :abb k h[yaZl_evguf kha^Zgb_f ijb wl
kljmdlmju ^ey bgnhjfZpbhggh dhffmgbdZlb\gh]h
khijh\h`^_gby b ih^^_j`db jZ[hlu Kh_lZ^]kZ\j]hqkvmb2

создании площадки для взаимодействия политической и интеллектуальной элиты стран Центральной Азии, lh _klv gZebqb_ iheblbdh ^bie
i_j\hc ^hjh`(djbwd1), b gZebqb_ \lhjhc (^hjwd2)db^ey
\aZbfh^_ckl\by wdki_jlgh.]h_qhvhgs_kl\Zl h kha^Zgbb j
hj]ZgbaZpbb ^ey km[j_]bhgZevgh]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z
rlZlZ b k_dj_lZojhbZylZ\ kj_^g_kjhqghc b ^he]hkjhqg
hj]ZgbaZpbhggh_ h[_ki_q_gb\hkafhj`mg^mgl_kl\Z[oh^bf

Gug_rg_c b [m^ms_c iheblbq_kdhc wdbcmj_]b ***работать над выстраиванием «субъектности» региона***. Wlh [m^_l \h,afh
keb Zdlb\gh \he<kdjZdlkmyjZpbx=b^^,ghkmklv ihkj^k
Zdlb\gh]h \ha^_ckl\by gZ dmevlmjgh bgklblmpbhgZ
:abb k p_evx khdjZs_gby jZaju\Z f_`^m g_nhjfZev
bgklblmlZfb iheb<lbdbokh[_gghklb ke_^m_l hkeZ[
g_nhjfZevguo bgklblmlh\ dhgdmjbjmxsb,o ijkb^Zlhj
^hklZlhqgmx kl_i_gv nmgdpbhgZevghklb nhjfZev
bgklblmlZf k ihkl_i_gguf \uoh^hf gZ i_jki_dl
wdhghfbq_kdh]h jZa\blby aZ kq_l mkbe_gby jh
ki_pbZebaZpbb b nhjfbjh\Zgby. >^eygwjlhh]hugdZh[ol
Zdlb\babjh\Zlv mkeh\by ^ey jZa\blby lhj]h\h wdhgh
dhffmgbdZpbhggh]h khljm^gbq_kl\Z]hkm^Zjklb< P
qZklghklb g_h[oh^bfh kbkl_fgh jZ[h:lZlv gZ^ ke_^mx

-]ZjfhgbaZpb_c lZfh`_ggh]h b gZeh]h\h]h
^ey wnn_dlb\ghc jZ[hlu j_`bfZ k\h[h^ghc lhj]h\e
- mijhs_gb_f b mgbnbdZpb_c lZfh`_ggu,o ij

- kha^Zgb_f [eZ]hijbylguo wjZhhfbq_kdb
hj]ZgbaZpbhgguo mkeh\bc ljZgkihjlbjh\db]j
iZkkZ`bjh\ ljZgablhf q_j_a l_jjblhjbb](h^mbgZjy
lZjbngZy ihebldZ gZ \k_ \,b^ku[eb`j_gkbi_hjlZjbnh
i_j_\hadm]jmah\ b);iZkkZ`bjh\
- kha^Zgb_f [eZ]hijbylguo mkeh\by ^ey \g
bg_klbpbc hl [he__ jZa\bluo d f_g__ jZa\b;uf]
- kh]eZkh\Zgb_f ^_ckl\bc]hkm^Zjkl\ ih
klZ[bevghklb dmjkh\ gZpbhgZevghc \Zexlu

<ur_mdZaZggu_ ^_ckl\by \ jZfdZo km[j_]bhgZ
ijhlb\hj_qZl ijhp_kkZf \ jZfdZZhl[kjbl?mWkbeb\Zxl ij_^
^ey mki_rghc wdhghfbq_kdhc bgl_]jZpbb \ jZ
Wdhghfbq_kdh].h?kehxaZhkm^Zjkl\Z P_gljZevghc :ab
_^bghh[jZagmx wdhghfbq_kdhmxwlihelbhlebvdchm h[e_]qbl
khljm^gbq_kl\Z k \g_j_]bhgZevgufbZdjhkm^dZ,kl\,Zfhb
;_eZjmkv b.^kmlv_km[j_]bhgZevgh]h khajZmd^exbqZ_kk\
\ujZ[hld_ _^bguo \u]h^guo ihabpbc ^ey]hkm^,ZZkl\
lZd`_ \ hilbfbaZpbb ijhp_kkZ kh]eZkh\Zgbyqlb \Zbgh
^ey jZa\blby \k_]hbjh]^b_hegvZgh \aylhc dZ`^hc kljZgu \

<Z`gh aZeh`blv j_Zevgu_ hkgh\u b gZijZ\e_gby
^_fhdjZlbq_kdbo .j_G`bhfbh^bfZ knhdmkbjh\ZggZy
hkeZ[e_gb_f kZbdhkjbmlZ y»\edZbdy ijhlb\hklhygb_ kb
b^_heh]bq_kdh.W\heZbgklblml y\ey_lky i_j_`bdehf^ighj
\hcg»ug_]Zlb\guf ijhy\e«kgb_fkd»hk[ehdh\h_ kh,aigZbgkd_
b^_heh]bq_kdh],h\eb\yghbo_ZAZiZ^Z ydh[u _^ms_]h d
h[s_kl\Z b]hkm^Zjkl\Z ihk)lkW\l_hlkdhcx Ph:q,_jh^a\hebl
nZdlbq_kdb j_Zebah\Zlv jZ[hlm gZ^ fh^_jgbaZp
wdhghfbq_kdbo bgdkhbhjmlh\fh]ml [ulv j_Zebah\Zgu
mqZklby j_]bhgZ \ ijhp_kkZo]eh[ZevZgbhf jZhag\b_lc

hijZ\^Zgguf ij_^klZ\ey_lky mdj_ie_gb_ khljm^gbq_k
aZjm[_`vyih ijbgpbim fgh].hG_Zdlhjg\hkglZbqZevghf wlZi
mkbeb\Zlv ihl_gpbZe b ih\urZlv wnn_dlb\ghklv jZ
hj]Zgh_lkl_gguo aZ j_ZebaZpbx]hkm^Zjkl_gghc
ijh[e_fZf j_]khdjZZgbqgu_ kefhgbukl_jkl\Z \h^gh]h, oh
kbeh\u_ kljmdl.)mju b ^j

>ey _\jZabckdhc b p_gljZevghZabZlkdhc,bqgh[uZ
hgb klZ«eh[s_kl_gg>ufibjh_dlZ.fbGm`ghqlh[u m gZjh
bgl_]jbjmxsboky _^bgbp [ueh h[s__ b _^,bmgmhgdiphbgcb
fhlb\Zpbb kha^Zgby wlbo bgl_]jZ.pLbhegvgduho \ijwlhdfhk
bgl_]jZpbhggu_ ijh_dlu fh]ml [ulv ghjfZlb\gh h^h[j_
mjh\,g_glh ijhy\blky \ fh^bnbdZpbb iheblbq_kdh]h
ih_^_,gbmydZau\Zxs__ gZ ^_ckl_gguc ijhp_kk bg
bgl_]jZpbb \ P_gljZe,vbgh_cjh:yalgbmx j_amevlZlb\ghklv w
k lhqdb aj_gby ^hklb`_gby h[sbo p_e_c dZd ij_
ihke_^kl\bc]eh[ZebaZpbb b h[_ki_q_gb_ mklhcqb\l
:abb \ dZq_kl_ kZfhklhyl_evgh]h b \ebyl_evgh]h
hlghr_g.byWolb nhjfZlu j_ bgl_]jZpbb gZ ihklkh_lkd
^he`gu [ulv ijh_^_gu \ mkdhj_<gmhkfeh_bbyfo_ wdhghfb
dmevlmjghc]eh[ZebaZpbb b [ukljh]h jZa\blb
dhffmgbdZpbhggu o ,l_omghfehe]hbcuo]hkm^Zjkl\ ihkl
ijhkljZgkl\Z hlkmlkl\m_l j_kmjk \j_f_gb ^ey,jZZadf_\j
dZq_kl_]hk,mZZjkbl\\ dZq_kl_ hl^_ev(gu]bbh)gfZbjhg\hc
kbkl_.fs wlhc k\gy_ahb[oh^bfh bgl_gkb\gh jZ[hlZlv gZ^
khpbZevgh iheblbq_kdbo bgklblmlh\ g,]ZgjZfbgbgZjemvg
jZa\blb_ k bgklblmpbhgZebaZpbdZcd j_]jZfgZebaPf_glj
:ab,blZd b \ [he__ rbjhdhf nhjfZl_ ?\jZabckdh]h ijhkl

СПИСОК ИСПОЛЬЗОВАННОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ

GZ jmkkdhf yaud_

1. **Аламанов, С.К.** DjZldZy bklhjby b hiul j_r_gby ih]jZg Dujuaklg Z]d K . D: eZfZgZ– \; brd _ , 2005. – 91 k.

2. **Артыкбаев, М.Т.** Bgklblmpbhg Zeba Zpby iheblbq_ ihklkh_lkdbo j_kim[ef b dh>^h_ dh k]lby bkke/_F^ L\:Zjlgby [Z._\ – ; brd _ , 2002. – 190 k.

3. **Асантуров,Т.**, AZdhghf_jghklb b i_jki_dlb\u kh_j iheblbq_kdhc kbk[L_fu]k D J:kZglmjh/\Z _klgbd :D O Mj]ua fZfe_d_llmmem]mg^m(g]e lZ_j^uZo,uliljh n DZd__\.),: KQ_jby 1, <uimkk ld– ; brd _ , 2003. – 196 k.

4. **Бартольд, В.В.** Ba[jZggu_ ijhba_^_gby ih bklhjbb Dujauk lZkgZ klZ\e ^_gh i dhf._ bgl ij_^bkeh\b_ H. [L Z_jdZ k/_l\Z < < ; Zjlh. e ;v b^rd _ : dR Z f, 1996. – 608 k.

5. **Бисенбаев, А.К.** >jm]Zy P_glj Z evgZy]: a/by:>D _ dlkk l _ g[. Z_\ : efZl:u: jdZ, k2003. – 300 k.

6. **Бжезинский, З.** <_ebdZy RZofZlgZ]y hk>h^kdlZ h :f_jbdb b]_hkljZl_]bq_kdb_ bf i_jZ lAb\u _ abgk.d– bFc: F_`^mgZjh^g hlghr_gby 1999. – 256 k.

7. **Бурнашев, Р.,Черных, И.** ;_ahiZkghklv \ P_gljZev gh f_lh^heh]bq_kdb_ jZfdbh_Zgg ZebaZdlhj [_ah[LZ_kdgh klb ;mjgZr_B\ Q_jgu– o: efZl,u 2006. – K 214.

8. **Белокреницкий**, **В.Я.** P_gljZevgh Zab Zlkdh – f_^bgkdbc \h j_Zevgh?hkl[V_d]kl Nhjmf P_gljZevgZy :aby \ ?\jZ i_jki_dl/b<\h kl.h – d1996. – ‹ 5. – K 36-47.

9. **Вопросы экономического районирования СССР** > L_]dKl[fZl_jbZeh\ b (k1917-1929]]). Ih^ h[s .j_^dZ- FDj`b`Zgh\k.dh] – F., 1957. – 344k.

10. **Гарин А.Б.**, **Дононбаев А.Д.**, **Кубаев Б.Х.**, **Омаров М.Н.** Hiul ?\jhiu Duj]uakl:Zgmb]Z ^ey khab^Zxsbo[L_kdh]kl^Fj_`^mgZjh^gu bgklblml kljZl_]bq_kdbo bkke_^h\Zgbc ijb Ij_a J_kim[eb?dbjhi_ckdbc p_glj kljZl_]bq_kdbo bkke_^h\Z FZjrZe.e-Z, brd_, d1997. – 74K

11. **Гурова**, **И.П.** J_]bhgZevgZy lhj]h\ey b lhj]h\Zy bg]_]j / B . =mjh\Z// ?\jZabckdZy wdhghfbq_k.d–Z2009. g–‹ 1.]– Cp 93-110.

12. **Денисон**, **М.** «B]jZ hdh? B_afZg_gby \ wg_j]_lbq_kdhc P_gljZevghc» :[aLb_d]kl/ F >_gbkh/ggZeblbq_kdbc h[a P_gljZevghc,\uibmkdh5d y[,j2012. –< Zrbg]lhKgR:. - K3.

13. **Джангужин**, **Р.Н.** Gh\u_ g_aZ\bkbfu_]hkm^Zjkl\Z P_g kbkl_f_ f_`^mgZjh^guo[h l_gdk/l_>`bZ]m,`bJg.G– GZpZdZ^ gZmd MdjZbgu fbjh\hc wdhghfbdb. bl g_h`^ –gbZ. 2005. – 581 k.

14. **Джоробекова**, **А.Э.** Hkgh\gu_ l_g^_gpbb b gZijZ\e_gby ijhp_kkh\ \ P_gljZevgh[d_l]k/:abW >`hjh[_ dh–, bZrd_, 2007. – 190 k.

15. **Джуманалиев**, **Т.Д**. Hq_jdb iheblbq_kdhc bklhjbb ljblygvrZgvyk ^j_\ghklbXVrh_dZgpjZdlk:>`mfZgZ.e-b_\;brd_2007. – 548k.

16. **Дононбаев**, **А.Д**. Duj]uaklZhgeblbq_kdZy dmQe_vehm\j_Zd]hkm^Zj[kL\hdlk:l>hghg[-Z;b\rd_Ba^\h D,2002M-475k.

17. **Дюркгейм,Э**. KZfhm[b:ckl\hphbheh]bq_kdbc]/wlxW>L >xjd]_;cif_jk njk kh;dijh^j._<:.;ZaZj.h–\Zhkd:\Zuke,1994. – 399k.

18. **Дононбаев**, **А.Д**. F_`^mgZjh^gZy dhgdmj_gpby b ?\jZab f_lh^heh]bq_kdhjc._Zdlkil:_d<l>hghg[ZZ_K\[hjgbd klZl_c-gZ ijZdlbq_kdhc dhg20_je_gpbk:GZ=dlmZevgu_ ijh[e_fu bgl_ khljm^gbq_;k\rdZ_1d4^_dZ[2011]. – ;brd_2012. – K20-39.

19. **Дононбаев**, **А.Д**. Pb\bebaZpbhggZy hkgh\Z _^bg P_gljZevghq[L:_adlkl:>>hghg[ZZ<_klgbd DGM;ZfeZkZ.]ug – ;brd_2012. –\ui1.– K 81-82.

20. **Дононбаев**, **А.Д**. Bgl_]jZpbhggu_ l_g^_gpbb \ P:_gl]_hdmevlmjguc b]_hwdhghfb[q_kdlkdc:Zk>_hdglhug[Z/_\ Ba_klby <-M;Ahd_2009. -‹ 4. - C. 171-177.

21. **Иманалиев**, **К.К**. Duj]uaklZggZpbhgZevguc(\imilhvbkdZc kZfhb^_glbnb[dLZ_pdlkbD.DBfZgZe-;brd_dDJK,2009. – 192k.

22. **Иманалиев**, **М.С**. K[hjgbd klZl_c h P_gljZevg]/hcF Kabb Bf ZgZe-b;_b\rd:lNextPrint, 2008.–194k.

23. Ba aZibkdb dhfbkkbb PD Dl Ma[_dbklZgZ h N_j]Zgkdhc h[Le_Zdlk/lBa_klby PD.–D1983K–‹ 10. – K 94-96.

24. **Казанцев, А.** «;hevrZy »b[kjZg_ba_klgufb ijZ\beZfb b]ju >\Zydh
ihebldbdZ b P_gljZevgZy :ag – F hkd\Z, 2008. – 241k.

25. **Каримов, И.** Lmjd_klZg gZr h[sbc]/^Bf >Z jbfd.-LZrd_gl
Ma[_db,klZg. 1995. – 39k.

26. **Каримов И.** Ma[_dbklZg g 21 _d_ – ijhau [_ahiZ kghkl b klZ[beghkl b]ZjZglbb ijh]j_kkZ. B. D Zjbfh\. – LZrd_gl : Ma[_db,klZg, 1997. – K310.

27. **Курманов, З.К.** Iheblbq_kdZy [hjv[Z \ DZ-j]uaklZg_ 20-o]h^h\ .DD mjfZgh\. – ;brd_d : Bebf, 1997. – 292k.

28. **Кушкумбаев, С.К.** P_gljZevgZy :aby gZ imlyo]bgl_
]_hiheblbdb bgl_]jZpbhgguo ijhp_kkh\ / K.K. DmrdmfZ_\. – :ef ZluDZaZokl
lj_k, 2002. – 198k.

29. **Кузьмина, Е.** Wdhghfbq_kdb_ ihabpbb Jhkkbb \ P_g
j_]bhg_ b mdj_ie_gby \ mkeh\byo]eh[ZebaZpbb / ?.dhg
Dmavfbg. – F hkd\Z : Bgklblml wdhghfbdb, 2008. – 45k.

30. **Лаумулин, М.** P_gljZevgZy :aby \ aZjm[_`ghc iheblh
wdhghfbdb / F. E Zmfmebg. – DZaZoklZgkdbc bg
kljZl_]bq_kdbo bkke_^h\Zgbc ijb Ij_ab^_gl_. Ј_k
:efZlu, 2010. – 352k.

31. **Либман, А** WdkiZgkby jhkkbckdh]h dZibl ZeZ \ [f\ ZG =
O_cn.– F hkd\Z : Wdhghfbdz, 2007. – 161k.

32. **Либман, А.** Jhev wdhghfbq_kdhc bgl_]jZpbb b ^_
ihklkh_lkdhf ijhkljZgkl_ / Zg.Z eb
Eb[fZg // Ijh[e_fu ijh]ghabjh\Zgby. – 2006. – 5. – K 58-72.

33. F_`^mgZjh^gu_ hlghr_gby \ P_gljZevghc :ab
^hdmf_glu ; Ijb^Zkl : ^ > ;h]Zlmjh\. – F hkd\Z, 2011. – K 30.

34. F_`]hkm^Zjkl\_ggu_ \h^gu_ hlghr_gby b bkih j_kmjkh\ \ P_gljZevghc ]: :aFbZbl>ljb_Zdku f_`^mgZjh dhgn_j_g–p13–15 fZy2002. –; brd_, 2002. – 116k.

35. **Мокеев**, **А**. Duj]uau gZ :elZ_ b gZ(wLlyZgu RwZ g b_q_kd iheblbq_kdhc bklhjbb duj]uakdh]h gZ)Xh–^Z_XVIII\\h)jhc >L_]d/k:l. Fhd_.–\; brd_, 2010. – 280k.

36. **Натан**, **Р.П.**, **Хоффманн,Э.П**. Kh\j_f_ggu c n_^_jZeb/aJ>L_c GZlZWy l Ohnn/fZFg g`^mgZjh^gZy–1991a.g<v4. – K.34-48.

37. **Омаров,Н.М**. Kh\j_f_ggu_ f_`^mgZjh^gu_hlghr_gby fbjh\Zybgl_]jZpbi/yG>LF_Hdfk Zjh-\; brd:dZjbl_l B, 2009. -288k.

38. leZg we_dljbnbdZpb[bL_J]kN>KhJdeZ/Nl kt_a^Z Kh_ =hkdhfbkkbb ih we_dljbnb,2dbZa^bFb, 1955.k.–660k.

39. **Путин**, **В.В**. Gh\uc bgl_]jZpbhgguc ijh_dl—^e[m^?n\;jZ_a dhlhjh_ jh`^Z_lky k_]]/h<g.<yl>mL_bdWk=+Za_lZ Ba\–_2011.y–3 hdly[.jy

40. **Сааданбеков**, **Ж.С**. Nbehkhnby Qbg]baZ[L:_cd]kZ@hKZ KZZ^Zg[–dbn\d_, 2013. – 256k.

41. **Сааданбеков**, **Ж.С**. Gmjkmelg GZaZZdjh[Z_u\eb:^_jkl\Z >L_]dk@l K KZZ^g–[:kdhZ\g«ZDmel_»]2005. – 608k.

42. **Сапаралиев**, **Д.Б**. Wlghiheblbq_kdZy bklhjby HrZ b _]h XVIII ^hk_j_^XbXgu[L_d]kl>.; KZiZjZe–b;_b\rd_, 1999. – 144k.

43. **Сборник основных документов** F_`]hkm^Zjkl\_ggh]h Kh\_lZ J_kim[ebdb D,ZaZjdjkuZkgdhc J_k,iJm_[keibmd[ebdb Ma[_dbklZ J_kim[ebd LZ^`e–d,bkdZ_g1998.

44. **Султанов Б.К.** (\ khZ\lh).k K\h_\j_f_gguc l_j:jhjbaf^ ba P_gljZevghc[L:a_dbkl; D KmelZ-geh\Zl,u2002. – 211k.

45. **Султанов Б.К.** (hl\ j)_ Bgl_]jZpbhggu_ ijhp_kku \ _\jZab ijhkljZgkl_ b kh\j_f:_ggu_ ijb fb)eu f_`^mgZjh^-ghc gZmq ijZdlbq_kdhc dhgn_j_gpbb (h_ gh y [2012].) [L_d]kl DZaZoklZgkdbc bgklblml klj Zl_]bq_kdbo bkke_^h\Zg J_kim[ebdb DZ2013o–kl234k

46. **Султанов Т.И.** Qbg]ba oZg b Qbg]ba [Z^u [\e_Zd]kl]. B KmelZ-gh F.: :KL FHKD,2007. — 446,[2]k.

47. **Суюнбаев, М.Н.** =_hiheblbq_kdb_ hkgh\u jZa\blby b [_ Duj]uakl[Zg_d]kl. F GKmxg[.Z-_;\brd:_ BBFH,IDG,M2005. – 122k.

48. **Суюнбаев, М.Н.** Bgl_]jZpby \ P_gljZevghc:Z ?\[Zabb]eh[ZebaZp_bd]kl. F GKmxg[Z_\.:\P_dgljZevgZy :akbyh ygb_ i_jki_dlb\u \aZbfh^D_BKlBbyjb lj_ab^_-gl:_efZD,2008. – K 32-42.

49. **Толипов, Ф.** P_gljZevgZy-w:lb «kklZgh»\ he_fbdZ k dZaZo _\jZabcpZfb]>/L_Ndklhebih/\ P_gljZevgZy :aby.-b2006DZ-\dZ ‹ 2(44). – K14-29.

50. **Хачиев, Г.** P_gljZevgZy: ihjlby_l gZ nhg_ fbjh\hc w >L_]d/kl= OZqb/_P_gljZevgZy :aby.–b2006DZ-\dZ2a(44). – K 137-146.

51. **Эсенгул, Ч., Абдыканова, А.** P_gljZevgZy :aby:\^bjZeeh]fbe dhgnjhglZpbbyd]kl. Q Wk_g,]:me[^udZgh/\<Z_klgbd DGM FZl_ f_`^mgZjh^ghc gZmqgh ijZdlbq_kdhc «Kh\j_f_ggu mgb_jklbkljZl_]by jZa\blby \ f_gy,xsh_fkys fbj_» 90-e_lbx ZdZ^_fbdZ DZcuiZ-H;lhjd[Z_2012. – K 616-620.

52. **Эсенгул, Ч.** J _] b h g Z, e] bhakfm ^ Z j k l \ _ g g h k l v b g _ l j Z ^ b p b [_ a h i Z k g h k l b \ P _ g l j Z [eLv_gdjkcIQ:WVkb_g]/mDeZ a Z o k d b c B g k K l j Z l _] b q _ k d b o B k k, eD_Z^ahZ\oZlglbZog .-K013d-kj4 (66). –C.10-23.

G Z Z g] e b c k d h f y a u d _

1. Acharya, A. Whose Ideas Matter: Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism > L _]d/kAmitav Acharya. – Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009. – 190 p.

2. Adler,E. ConstructivismandInternationalRelations[d]k l / E. Adler.; inW.Carlsnaes, T.Risse, andB.Simmons (eds), Handbook of International Relation London: Sage Publications, 2002. – pp. 95-118.

3. Akcali, P. Democracy and Political Stability in Kyrgyzstan, in Birgit N. Shlyter (ed), Prospects in Democracy in Central Asia [ ]d/ kPinar Akcali. – Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2005. – 296 p.

4. Allison, R., Jonson L. (eds.) Central Asian Security: the new international context [L _ d]/kR. Allison, L. Jonson. – Washington DC,Brookings Institution Press 2001. – 296p.

5. Anderson, J. Creating a Framework for Civil Society in Kyrgyzstan [d]k/ l John Anderson // Europe-Asia Studies. – 2000 (January) – Vol.52. – No.1. –pp. 93.

6. Arafat, I. Personalities and Central Asian Politics [d]k/ Ibrahim. Arafat // Asian Monographs, Faculty of Economics and Political Sciences. – Cairo Universit 2002 (December). –Issue No.47. – pp. 2-41.

7. Anderson, B. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread o Nationalism [L _ d]k/ lBenedict Anderson. – New York-London: Verso, 1983. – 240 p.

8. Banchoff, T. German Identity and European Integration [Текст] / T. Banchoff // European Journal of International Relations. – 1999. – Vol. 5. – No.3. – pp. 259-289.

9. Barnett, M., Finnemore, M.Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics [Текст] / Chapter 3 / M. Barnett, M. Finnemore. – Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004. – 226 p.

10. Barnett, M., Finnemore, M. The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations [Текст] / M. Barnett, M. Finnemore // International Organization. – 1999 (Autumn). – Vol.53. – No.4. – p. 703.

11. Brzezinski, Z.Russia and Commonwealth of Independent States: document data and analysis [Текст] / Z. Brzezinski.– M.E. Sharpe, 1997. – 866 p.

12. Buzan B., WaeverO.Regions and Powers: The Structure of international security[Текст] / B. Buzan, O. Waever. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003. – 546 p.

13. Canfield, R.Restructuring in Greater Central Asia: Changing political configurations [Текст] / R. Canfield // Asian Survey. – 1992 (October). –Vol.3. – Issue 10.– pp.875-887.

14. Carr, E.H. The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations [Текст] / E.H. Carr. – 2nd edition. – New-York: St. Martin's Press, 1946. – 291 p.

15. Collins, K.Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia [Текст] / K. Collins. –Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. – 400 p.

16. Central Asia[Текст] / Increasing gains from trade through regional cooperation in trade policy, transport, and customs transit. – Manila: Asian Development Bank 2006. – 148 p.

17. Central Asia Policy Forum [L _ d]k/kCentral Asia Program, Elliot School of International Affairs. – The George Washington University. – 2013 (February). No.4. – 7 p.

18. Dadabaev, T. Towards Post-Soviet Central Asian Regional Integration[L _ d]ka a scheme for transitional states / T. Dadabaev. – Tokyo: Akash Shoten, 2004. – 240 p.

19. Deutsch, K. Political community and North Atlantic areaL[_ d]k/l Karl Deutsch – Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957. – 228 p.

20. Diamond,L.Election Without Democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes > L _]d/kLbuise Fawcett//Journal of Democracy2002.–April. –Vol.13. -‹ .2. –pp. 21-35.

21. Esengul, Ch.Politics of Regionalism in Central AsiaL[_ d]k/l Ch. Esengul. – Bishkek: Kyrgyz Diplomatic Service, 2009. – 156 p.

22. Evans, P.Between Regionalism and Regionalizatidn [d]kPolicy Networks and the Nascent East Asian Institutional Identity / P. Evans; in T.J. Pempel, e Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region. – Ithaca: Cornell Universi Press, 2005. – p. 196. – 334 p.

23. Fawcett, L. Exploring regionalism domains: a comparative history of regionalism [L _ d]k/lL. Fawcet // International Affairs. – 2004 (May). – Vol.80. – Issue No.3. – pp. 429-446.

24. Furman, D. The Regime in KazakhstanL[_ d]k/lD. Furman;in Boris Rumer (ed.), Central Asia at the end of the transitionLondon/New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005. – 449 p.

25. Gleason, G. The Central Asian StatesL[_ d]k/lDiscovering Independence Westview Series on the Post-Soviet Republics) / G. Gleason. – Colorado: Westvi Press, 1997. – 240 p.

26. Gill, B. Rising Star: China's New Security Diplomacy [L _ d]k/kBl. Gill. – Washington, DC, Brookings Institution Press, 2007. – 280 p.

27. Grieco, J.C. Anarchy and the limits of cooperation: the realist critique of the newest liberal institutionalism [L _ d]k/ Joseph M. Grieco // International Organization. – 1988 (Summer). – Vol. 42. – No.3. – p. 486.

28. Haas, E. The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950-1957 [L _ d]k/ E. Haas. – Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958. – 568 p.

29. Helmke, G., Levitsky, S. Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: a Research Agenda [L _ d]k/ Perspectives on Politics / G. Helmke, S. Levitsky. – 2004 (December). – Vol.2. – No.4 – pp. 725-740.

30. Hurrell, A. Regionalism in Theoretical Perspective [L _ d]k/ A. Hurrell; in Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organizations and World Order. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. – pp.37-73.

31. Heathershaw, J., Megoran, N. Debating danger in Central Asia [L _ d]k/kJl. Heathershaw, N. Megoran // International Affairs. – 2011. – Vol. 87. – No.3. – pp. 589-612.

32. Katzenstein, P. A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium [L _ d]k/ Peter J. Katzenstein. – Cornell University Press, 2005. – 320 p.

33. Katzenstein, P. The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics [L _ d]k/lP. Katzenstein. – New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. – 560 p.

34. Keohane, R. Nye, J. Power and Interdependence [L _ d]k/l Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye. – 2nd edition. – Longman, 1989. – 368 p.

35. Kupchan, Ch. NATO and the Persian Gulf[L_ d]k[Examining Intra-Alliance Behavior/ Ch. Kupchan // International Organization. – 1988 (Spring). – Vol.42. No.2. – pp. 317-346.

36. Khasanov, U. On modern geopolitical pluralism or One-Nation hegemonism > L _]d/kU. Khasanov // Central Asia and the Caucasus. – 2005. – 4(34).–pp.29-36

37. Lapid, Y. The Third Debate: on the prospects of international theory in a pos positivist era [L _ d]k/ Y. Lapid // International Studies Quarterly. – 1989. – Vol.33. – pp. 235-254.

38. Laruelle, M., Peyrouse, S. Globalizing Central Asia: Geopolitics and the Challenges of Economic Development L[_]d/kM. Laruelle, S. Peyrouse. – M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, New York, London, England, 2012. – 288 p.

39. Laruelle, M. Migration and Social Upheaval as the Face of Globalization in Central Asia [L _ d]k[Social Sciences in Asia / M. Laruelle (ed). – London: Brill, 2013. – 400 p.

40. Lindberg, L. The political dynamics of European Economic Integration > L _]d/kL. Lindberg. - Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.

41. Menon, R., Spruyt, H. The limits of neorealism: security in Central Asia > L _]d/kR. Menon, H. Spruyt // Review of International Studies. 1999. – Vol.25. – pp. 87-105.

42. Mitrany,D. A Working Peace System L[_ d]k/D. Mitrany. – Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966. – 221 p.

43. MansfieldE., Milner H. The Political Economy of RegionalismL[_ d]k/ Edward Mansfield, Helen Milner. – New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. – 288 p.

44. Mandelbaum, M. Central Asia and The World L[_ d]k lKazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan / M. Mandelbaum.- Washington D.C.: Council of Foreign Relations Press, 1994. – 251 p.

45. March, J.G., Olsen, J.P.The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life [L _ d]k/lJ.G. March, J.P. Olsen // American Political Science Review – 1984. – No.78 (September 3). - pp. 734-750.

46. Morgenthau, H. Scientific Man versus Power Politics L[_ d]k/ H. Morgenthau. – Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. – 245 p.

47. Mittleman, J., Falk, R. Hegemony: the relevance of regionalism1? [d]k/J. Mittleman, R. Falk; in Bjorn Hettne, Andreas Inotai and Osvaldo Sunkel (eds.) National Perspectives on New Regionalism in the North – London: Macmillan, 200 – 316 p.

48. Miroshnikov, L.I. A note on the meaning of the term ‘Central Asia’ used in this book [L _ d]k,in History of Civilizations of Central Asia / L.I. Miroshnikov; A.H. Dani and V.M. Masson (eds.). – UNESCO Publishing, 1992. — Vol. 1. – pp 477-480.

49. North, D.C. Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance > L _]d/kD.C. North. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. – 159 p.

50. North, D.C.Structure and Change in Economic Histdry[d]k/lD.C. North.- New York:W.W.Norton&Company, 1982. –240 p.

51. Nikitin, A. The End of the ‘Post-Soviet SpaceL [_ d]k lThe Changing Geopolitical Orientations of the Newly Independent States / A. Nikitin // Chathar Briefing Paper. – 2007 (March). – pp. 1-11.

52. Olcott, M.B.Central Asia’s NewStates: Independence, Foreign Policy and Regional Security[_ d]k/M.B. Olcott. – Washington, D.C.: United Sates Institute of Peace Press, 1996. – 256 p.

53. Olcott, M.B. Central Asia's Second Chance [текст] / M.B. Olcott. – Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005. – 385 p.

54. Palan, R., Abbott, J., Deans, Ph. State Strategies in the Global Economy [текст] / R. Palan, J. Abbott, Ph. Deans. – London: Pinter, 1999. – 235 p.

55. Page, Sh. Regionalism among Developing Countries [текст] / Sh. Page. – London: Macmillan, 2000. – 336 p.

56. Rumer, B. (ed.), Central Asia at the end of the transition [текст] / B. Rumer. – London-New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005. – pp. 39-64.

57. Sanders, H. The Multilevel Peace Process in Tajikistan [текст] / Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall / Harold Sanders. Washington,D.C.:United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999. –pp.159-184.

58. Shahrani, N. The Kirghiz Khans: Styles and Substanse of Traditional Local Leadership in Central Asia [текст] / N. Shahrani // Central Asian Survey. – 1986. – Vol.5. No.3/5. – pp. 255-271.

59. Sterling-Folker, J. Competing Paradigms or Birds of a Feather? Constructivism and Neoliberal Institutionalism Compared [текст] / J. Sterling-Folker//International Studies Quarterly. – 2000 (March). – Vol.44. – No.1. –pp.97-119.

60. Spechler, M.C. Regional cooperation in Central Asia [текст] / M.C. Spechler // Problems of Post-Communism. - Vol. 49, No. 6. - November/December 2002. - pp. 42–47.

61. Tolipov, F. Central Asia as a space, polity, peoples and fate [текст] / F. Tolipov//Central Asia and the Caucasus. – 2005. –No. 2(32). –pp.105-112.

62. Trenin, D. The End of Eurasia [L _]d/:kRussia on the Border between Geopolitics and Globalization / D. Trenin. – Washington: Carnegie Center, 2002. 354 p.

63. Tsygankov, A. Mastering Space in EurasiaL[_ d]k Russia's Geopolitical Thinking after the Soviet Break-up / A. Tsygankov // Communist and Post Communist Studies. – 2003. – Vol.36. – No.1. – pp. 101-127.

64. Waltz, K. The Theory of International PoliticsL[_ d]k/l Kenneth Waltz – Addison-Wesley: Reading Mass, 1979. – 256 p.

65. Weisbrode, K. Central Eurasia: prize or quicksand? Contending views of instability in Karabakh, Ferghana and Afghanistan [d]k Adelphi Paper 338/ K. Weisbrode. – The International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2001. – 96 p.

66. Winters, A. Regionalism vs. Multilateralism L[_ d]k/l A. Winters; in R. Baldwin, D. Cohen, A. Sapir and A. Venables (eds.) // Market Integration Regionalism and the Global Economy. – New York: Cambridge University Press 1999. – pp. 7-53.

67. Wendt, A. Collective Identity Formation and the International State [d]k/l A. Wendt // American Political Science Review. – 1994 (June). – Vol.99. – No.2. pp. 384-396.

68. Wendt, A. Social Theory of International Politics L[_]d/Ak Wendt. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. –pp. 235-237.

69. Zenkovsky, S. Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia [_]d/kSl. Zenkovsky. – Cambridge: HarvardUniversityPress, 1960. –pp. 210-212.

ДИССЕРТАЦИИ И АВТОРЕФЕРАТЫ

1. **Акунов, А** JZa\blb_ kbkl_fu]hkm^Zjkl_ggh]h mi:jZ\ hj]ZgbaZpbhggh nmgdpbhgZevgZ dkZ\lhj_n_jZl ^bkk_jlZ khbkdZgb_ mq_ghc kl_i_gb dZgZevgZ 23.00.02 /:d:dmgh\ GZpbhgZevgZy :dZ^_fby GZmd Duj]uakdhc J_kl[_ ;brd_ 2000. – 46k.

2. **Джекшенкулов, А.Дж.** KljmdlmjgZy i_j_hjb_glZpby g wdhghfbdb \ mkeh\byo \g_rg_wdhghfbq_kdhc eb[_ Duj]uakdhc J_kl[_ dZ\lhj_n_jZl ^bkk_jlZpbb gZ khb kl_i_gb dZg^ wdhghfbdb gZevgZ 23.00.05 /: >`. >`_dr_gd,meh DZaZokdbc]hkm^ gZpbhg :evgbN_jjkZ[bg klbfml wdhghfb iheblheh]bb G÷GbDdJ_ 1997. – 23k.

3. **Дононбаев, А.Д.** BgklblmpbhgZevguc ZgZeba iheblb q_eh\:_kdZ_lkdbc b ihklkh_lkdbc hiul D]uj]uakZ\lhj_n_jZl ^bkk_jlZpbbgZ khbkdZgb_ mq_ghc .kl_imkdb^hZdehjZh 23.00.02 /:ebf >hghg[Z_\bq >;hdhd[Zk\dbc]mfZmgdlZ.jbDf DZjZkZ–_;\bZrd_ 2006. – 53k.

4. **Ишеналиева, А.К.** Bgl_]jZpbhggu_ ijhp_kku kljZg :abb>L]:d^kbkk_jlZpby gZ khbkdZgb_ mq_ghc kl_i_gb 23.00.02./:cgmjZ DZeudh\gZ B+;hZde_b 2007 – 180k.

5. **Кушкумбаев, С.** Fgh]hklhjhgg__ \aZbfh^_ckl\b_ \ kn_ >L_]kZ\lhj_n_jZl ^bkk_jlZpbby gZ khbkdZgb_ mq_ghc kl_i_ iheblbq_kdbc dkig_hmZevgZ 23.00.02 /K Dmrdmf[Z:e\fZl,u 2007. – 35k.

6. **Мирсайитов И.Э.** lheblbq_kdZy dmevlmjZ Duj]uaklZg i_jbh^hiul kbkl_fgh]h 4gZeZ\lhj_n_jZl ^bkk_jlZp khbkdZgb_ mq_ghc kl_i_gb :dZgZbizevgZ 23.00.02 /

В W F b j k Z c b G Z p b h g Z e v g Z y :d Z ^ _ f b y g Z m d D u j] u a
B g k l b l m l N b e h k h n b b ; b r d _ d : 2002. – K14.

7. **Сааданбеков**, **Ж.** K h \ j _ f _ g g u _ i h e b l b q _ k d b _ l _ g ^ _ g
P _ g l j Z e v g h c :a b b \ d h g l _ d k l _ Z \ l h j b l Z j g h c b ^ _ f h d
> L _ a b k Z \ l h j _ n _ j Z l ^ b k k _ j l Z p b b k d Z g ^ b _ m q _ g h c k l _ i _
i h e b l b q _ k d b o g Z m d e v g h k l . 23.00.02 /@ K Z Z ^ Z g [_ d h \ Z l , 2002, -
52 k.

8. **Сафаева**, **С.С.** J _] b h g Z e v g u _ i j h p _ k k u k l j Z g P _ g l j
d h g l _ d k l _ i h e b l b q _ k d h c l j Z g k n h j f Z p b b i h k l k h \ _ l k d
Z \ l h j _ n _ j Z l ^ b k k _ j l Z p b b g Z k h b k d Z g b _ . m q _ g h c k l
k i _ p b Z e v g h k l . 23.00.04 /K Z b ^ Z K Z ^ u d h \ g Z > K Z n Z _ \ Z ; F B > J N
– F h k d \ Z, 2009. – 26 k. : b e . J = ; H 61 09-23/33.

9. **Турсункулова**, **Б.А.** < u a h \ u] e h [Z e b a Z p b b b i _ j k i _ d l
i h k l k h \ _ l k d b o] h k m ^ Z j k l \ P _ g l j Z e v g h c :a b b \ i _ j _
Z \ l h j _ n _ j Z l ^ b k k _ j l Z p b b g Z k h b k d Z g b _ . m q _ g h c k l
k i _ p b Z e v g h k l . 23.00.04 /; _ j f _ l :k Z g d Z g h \ g Z L m j k m g d m e h \ Z
b g Z m d b N _ ^ _ j Z p b b h [j Z a h \ Z g b y b f h e h ^ _ ` g h c i
D u j] u a k l Z g Z J h k k b c k d b c < I H D u j] u a k d h - ; b r d _ d : 2006. – 18
k. : b e . 21 k f

ЭЛЕКТРОННЫЕ РЕСУРСЫ

G Z j m k k d h f y a u d _

1. :d Z ^ _ f b d / W e _ d l j h g g u c] j Z ^ k \ h j k k d Z y b k l h j b q _ k d Z y . w g
W d h g h f b q _ k d b _ j Z c h g u J h k k b b W e _ d l j h g g u c K e h \ Z j v ` b f ^ h k l m i Z
http://dic.academic.ru/, k \ h [h ^ g u c

2. ; Z c ^ Z j h \ M . P _ g l j Z e v g Z y :a b y _ f u b i j h l b \ h j _ q b y b g l
> W e _ d l j h g g u c] / J _ k m j k : Z c ^ Z j h \ J _] b h g h e h] b y . – 2011. – ‹ 2. –

We_dljhg^Zg - J_`bf ^hk:lmihttp://regionsar.ru/node/682?page=0,1
k\h[h^guc

3. ;h]Zluj_\< KlZlmk nhjfZevguo iheblbq_kdbo bg
hlghr_gby k g_nhjfZevgufb iheblbq_kdbfb kljmdlm
>We_dljhggud/ j<_k,mjjZkluj//\Bgklblml h[s_kl_gghc–ihe
2008.– K28. – J_`bf ^hk:lmihttp://www.ipp.kg k\h[h^guc

4. ;b[ebhl_dZ deZkkbq_kdhc lxjWked_hddjhidgvuadbj/_km
Rmoh\,p<\LmjZ(gd \hijhkm h ehdZebaZpbb b kh)\:_j`Z
We_dljhg–^JZ_gbf ^hk:lmihttp://www.tyurk.ru/file5_6.shtmk\h[h^guc

5. <_klgbd ?\jZWaeb_bdljhggucj=_kmaEkurasica/lZgZj,bgk:
iheblbq_kdh_ jZa\blb_]hkm^Zjkl\ P_gljZevghc :ab
bklhjbb j_]b–hgWe_dljhg.–m2000. – <1. – J_`bf ^hk:lmi
http://www.eavest.ru/magasin/artikelen/2000-1_pan.htmk\h[h^guc

6. <PBHF>We_dljhggjUc>jmkamykb \jZ]b Jhkkbb gZ ih
ijhkljZgk,kl\j_kk j.e–baWe_dljhg– 11Z02.2008. –J_`bf ^hk:lmi
www.wciom.ru, k\h[h^guc

7. =b^^_gkWMkWjh_gb_ h[sHdk\jZd l_hjbb kljm–dl2=jZbpab^b
— Fhkd:\Z:dZ^_fbq_kdbc, l2005.dl— 528k.– J_`bf ^hk:lmi
http://yanko.lib.ru/books/sociology/giddens-ustroen_objestva-a.htmk\h[h^guc

8. =hem,ghK\ <hijhku [_ahiZkghklb \ kh\j_f_gguo
P_gljZevghc :abb \ Jhkk[bWe_dljKhRg:guc]:j_lkemjkbq_kdZ
dhgtxgdlmjZ b kl_j_hKlbi=uhem.gh–\P_glj j_]bhgZevgu
ljZgk]jZgbqguo bkke_^h\Zgbc ijb <he]h]jZ^kdh
mgb_jkb–We__dljhg ^Zg – J_`bf ^hk:lmi
www.transbound.narod.ru/annual2/content_eng.htmk\h[h^guc

9. >jm`[Z gZj[hW^e\_dljhgguc]/j>kmfZ_:\ BkeZf b dmevlm P_gljZevghc :aWbe_dljhgguc. – 2008. – ‹ 12. – J_`bf ^hklmi: http://magazines.russ.ru/druzhba/2008/12/dm8.html, k\h[h^guc

10. @Z d,uW Mc]mj–ug_hij_^_e_ggh_ [We^_dljhgguc]:j_k `mjgZe“HZa”,bk 2005. – We_dljhg^Zg – J_`bf ^hklmi: http://uighur.narod.ru/uigur2/uighur2005kg.htm, k\h[h^guc

11. Bgl_j\vx k G DZ,kkijhh\hkhj dZn_^ju f_`^mg hlghr_gbc b j_]bhgZevguo bkke_^h\Zgbc >DB-F_W[We_dljhg :efZlu– We_dljh^Zg– J_`bf ^hklmi: http://www.eurasianet.org/node/66694, k\h[h^guc

12. Bgl_j\vx k M Mkmhi\kluggf ij_^klZ\bl_e_f DJ \ >We_dljhgguc] /Fokus.kg, bgnhjfZpbhggh ZgZebl.–kdb We_dljh^Zg – J_`bf ^hklmi: http://www.focus.kg/news/ts/12154.html, k\h[h^guc

13. D Khxam Km_j_gguo[WGe_dljhgguc]:j_kmjkbd ^hdmf_glh\ ,DhKZkhgh^Zl_evgu,o^_ZdeZj,Zpbc Zs_gbc ij_ab^_glkdbq, imhk\Zyh_\gguo ijh[e_f_ g–Z]hhkmr^Zejkgh_g km_j_gbl_lZFhkd,\Z1991. – We_dljh^Zg – J_`bf ^hklmi: http://soveticus5.narod.ru/85/sborn91.htm#p441, k\h[h^guc

14. Fhoh\ < I Kh_lkdZy ghf_gdeZlmjZ dZd bgklblml>We_dljhgguc / j<kmFkhoh\– J_`bf ^hklmi: http://www.pseudology.org/people/Nomenklatura.htm, k\h[h^guc

15. Fmobg< H>D; g_ ki_rbl k i_:j_kfh_g^Zfgb_ iheghp_ h[t_^bg_ggh]h rlZ[Z dhee_dlb\ghc h[hjhgu [m^m$We_dljhgguc] /jGkmaZk\bkbfZy]01.07.2013h– We_dljh ^Zg – J_`bf ^hklmi: http://www.ng.ru/politics/2013-07-01/3_odkb.html, k\h[h^guc

16. GZpbhgZevgZy ihebl_kdZy[We_dljhgguc]:j_k m I_j\uc <k_jhkkbckdbc Fmkme,vfZgkdbc 1917 [h^Z_Fhkd\Z We_dljhg ^Zg – J_`bf ^hklmi

http://www.politike.ru/dictionary/477/word/pervyi-vserosiiskiimusulmanskii-sezd, k\h[h^guc

17. GZaZj[Z_>\ZKi_pbnbdZ b i_jki_dlb\u iheblbq_k DZaZokl[Wge_dljhgguc]j/_Fk_m`j^kmgZjh^guc Bgklblml Kh Iheblbdb3 >_dZ[jy2003. – We_dljhg^Zg- J_`bf ^hklmi http://www.iimp.kz/Lists/articles/DispForm.aspx?ID=76, k\h[h^guc

18. HnbpbZevguc kZcl ij_ab^_glZ J_kim[ebdb DZaZok j_kmj]/kIhkeZgb_ Ij_ab^_glZ J_kim[ebdb DZaZokl DZaZoklZg2005 (N_\jZ).ev– We_dljhg^Zg J_`bf ^hklmi http://www.akorda.kz/ru/speeches/addresses_of_the_president_of_kazakhstan/february_2005, k\h[h^guc

19. HnbpbZevguc kZcl Hj]ZgbaZpbb >h]h\hjZ h Dhe >We_dljhgguc]:j<_gk_mjk_j_^gZy k_kkby .K–DW/e_FHhkd\^Z J_`bf ^hklmiZ http://www.odkb-csto.org/news/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=760&sphrase_id=3823, k\h[h^guc

20. JhfZrh\Z<Wdhghfbq_kdZy]_h]jZnby b iheblbq_kdZ >We_dljhgguc]/j_Lk_mjk L_hjby wdhghfbq_kdh]h.jZch We_dljhg^Zg – J_`bf ^hklmiZ http://ou.tsu.ru/hischool/econ_geo/econ_geog7.htm, k\h[h^guc

21. CA&CCPress® AB[We_dljhgguc]j/_Hkmjk F. < < ;ZjlhevGZpbhgZevghf JZaf_`_\Zgbb. – We_^dljhg: AZ[ebdh\Z \ `mjgZe <hkl'hd < 5, 1991.– J_`bf ^hklmiZ http://www.ca-c.org/datarus/st_13_olimov.shtml, k\h[h^guc

22. CA-News.org. P_gljZevghZabZlkdZy gh\hklgZy ZdlZ j_kmj]:jkhkkbyZkZykv KR: aGZdLjHiey_l k\h_ \h_ggh_ \ P_gljZevghc –:aWb\e_dljhg^Zg– J_`bf ^hklmi http://www.ca-news.org/news:1064035, k\h[h^guc– AZ]k wdjZgZ

23. Kz\m,jhF\ >. Mc]mj[uWe_dljhggguc]:j_Mkm]jmkjkdZy ^bZki Ma[_dbklZg_ We_dljhg ^Zg_ J_`bf ^hk:lmi http://uighur.narod.ru/uighurum/uighur-uzbekistan.html, k\h[h^guc

24. KZ\bgs< :Wdkihjlgh bfihjlgu_ p_gu \lhj]h\e_ Jhk]jmiiZfb klj(jZG= b ^Zevg__)a/ZjmFmZ[j_d`vlbg] \ Jhkkbb jm[_`hf – 1999. – ‹4. – We_dljhg ^–ZgJ_`bf ^hk:lmi http://www.mavriz.ru/articles/1999/4/269.html, k\h[h^guc

25. Khk_^b Dbj]babb gZ^;_qxllhky_gZijlh^klZ\bl_evgZy ^ ihl_jibl g_m-"Global Post" (KR:)[We_dljhgguc]/j_kmjkdZg=Hl_q_kl_gg wdhghfbq_kdZy]_h]jZnby ihke_ <_ebdhc Hdly[jv j_\hexpbhb^ j._^G G;ZjZgkdhG]H. GbdblbqZ=KZmrd.b–gZ We_dljhg^Zg– Fhkd,\Z 1957. – J_`bf ^hk:lmi http://www.detskiysad.ru/raznlit/geograf2.html, k\h[h^guc

27. StanRadar [We_dljhgguc]:jG_kmgjZ eb iheblbq_kdZy bg ihklkh_lkdhf ijhk:ljfZgg_kdh[1.04.2013. – We_dljhg–^Zg`bf ^hklmhttp://stanradar.com/news/full/1662-nuzhni-li-politicheskaja-integratsija-na postsovetskom-prostranstve-mnenija.html, k\h[h^guc

28. LZfh`_gguc Khxa b Khk_^gfh^_kbjZbu bgkljmf \aZbfh\u]h^gh]h iZ[Wg_jdllj2hggguc]:jKZmrjk?\jZabckdh]h JZa\b,lb>yhdeZ^11,‹ 2013]. P_glj bgl_]jZpbhgguo bkke_ We_dljhZg– J_`bf ^hk:lmhttp://www.eabr.org/ k\h[h^guc

29. Lxjdb:kl g_aZ\bkbfh_ ba^[ZWgeb_dljhggguc]/j_k H[s_gZpbhgZevguc j_n_j_g^mf \ DZaZoklZg_ ih \

Khxa Z – We_dljhg ^Zg – J_`bf ^hk:lmi
http://www.turkist.org/2013/03/referendum-kz.html (k\h[h^guc

30. MklZ\ H>[DWe_dljhgguc]:j_kZmjk Hj]ZgbaZpbb > Dhee_dlb\ghc ;_a-hJ_`kbgfhklb ^hk:lmiZ http://www.odkb-csto.org/documents/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=1244 (k\h[h^guc

31. MklZ\ H[HWe_dljhgguc]j_=kmZjkZ – We_dljhg–^Zg J_`bf ^hklmihttp://www.un.org/ru/documents/charter/chapter8.shtml (k\h[h^guc

32. P_gljZevgZy ?[WZa_dljhgguc]j_kZmjZkfhgh<\ «?keb \ P_gljZevghc :abb g_ [mh^_lm_gbkg\Z [m^_l».Bg[m_j\mx_ <lZjZfhgh\Z dhjj_kihg^_gkh[hZ^au_ kheDZaZo)k@Zmge^ua :efZl[Z_\hc 25.11.2010. – We_dljhg ^–ZgJ_`bf ^hk:lmi http://www.ceasia.ru/intervu/v.paramonov-esli-v-tsentralnoy-azii-ne-budet-edinstva-to-u-nee-ne-budet-i-buduschego.html (k\h[h^guc

33. P_glj:ab[yWe_dljhgguc]j/_kkmjkg[,Z_F\ B^_glbnbdZp j_]bhglZhgylb'P_gljZevgZy \:ahdghr_gbb ZgZebabjm_fh Z[kmj^g-h ;brd_,d 2011. – We_dljhg ^–ZgJ_`bf ^hk:lmi http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1315408920 (k\h[h^guc

34. N_j]ZgNZews. Bgnhjf Zpbhggh_ Z[We_dljhgguc]j/_km Hrkd Zyj_aGjyhgheh]by ljZ-]_We_dljhg –^ZJg_`bf ^hk:lmi http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6601 (k\h[h^guc

35. Wgpbdehi_^bq_kdbc keh\Zjv ;jhd]Z[We_Zdljhggu?u j_kmj:jLkmjd_klZ6glhfZ(82 l. b4 ^h.). – Kl[., 1890-1907. –We_dljhg ^Zg- J_`bf ^hk:lmi http://slovari.yandex.ru (k\h[h^guc

36. Yk_gh>\ Mc]mju DZaZ[WkeZdlZhgguc]j_=We_kdljhZg- J_`bf ^hk:lmihttp://uighur.narod.ru/article1.html (k\h[h^guc

GZZg]ebckdhfyaud_

1. ABill [We _ dl j h g g u c] j / k n “Silk Road Strategy Act of 1999.” – We _ dl j h g ^ – Z g J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i Z http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-106s579rs/pdf/BILLS-106s579rs.pdf k \ h [h ^ g – u Y a Z.g] e

2. Bukharbaeva, G. The Andijan Massacre a Year After [We _ dl j h g g u c] / j _ k G. Bukharbaeva, Columbia Radio News, Radio at Columbia Graduate School Journalism. – We _ dl j h g ^ Z g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i http://www.jrn.columbia.edu/studentwork/radio/175/2006-05-05/361.asp k \ h [h ^ g – u Y a Z.g] e

3. BBC News [We _ dl j h g g u c] j / k Kazakh Election “Not Democratic. – 5 December, 2005. – We _ dl j h g – ^ J Z _ g ` b f ^ h k l m i http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4498994.stm k \ h [h ^ g – u Y a Z.g] e

4. BBC News [We _ dl j h g g u c] j / k Profile: Nursultan Nazarbayev. – 4 December, 2006. – We _ dl j h g – ^ J Z _ g ` b f ^ h k l m i http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/4489174.stm k \ h [h ^ g – u Y a Z.g] e

5. Central Asia – Caucasus Analyst [We _ dl j h g g u c] j / k Solodkov, A. New Authorities Blame Akayev’s Rule for Economic Downfall and Corruption // Central Asian-Caucasus Analyst. – 4 May, 2005. – We _ dl j h g – ^ J Z _ g ` b f ^ h k l m i Z http://www.cacianalyst.org/view_article. php?articleid= 3282&SMSESSION=NO k \ h [h ^ g – u Y a Z.g] e

6. Central Intelligence Agency [We _ dl j h g g u c] j / k Central Asia. – We _ dl j h g ^ Z.g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ti.html k \ h [h ^ g u c

7. Cuk, T. Caspian Energy and the Politics of Caspian States Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan [We _ dl j h g g u c]: j _ k Princeton University, 4 January 1998. – We _ dl j h g ^ Z.g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i http://www.wws.princeton.edu/wws401c/1998/tanja.pdf k \ h [h ^ g (18 April 2007). – Y a Z.g] e

8. Dadabaev, T. Central Asian Regional Integration: Between Reality and Myt
> W e _ d l j h g g u c] / j T _ d a d a b a e v // Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Analyst
May 2, 2007. – W e _ d l j h g ^ Z g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i
http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=mode/4604 k \ h [h ^ g u Y c a Z g] e

9. Database of Central European University W [e _ d l j h g g u c] : j P k D m j k
dissertation / Morozova N. The Politics of Russian Post-Soviet Identity: Geopolitic
Eurasianism and Beyond. – 2011 (August). –p. 196.

10. Human Development Reports W [e _ d l j h g g u c] j / _ k n D P k Central Asia
Human Development Report, Bringing down Barriers: Regional cooperation fo
human development and human security. – 2005. W e _ d l j h ^ g Z g –
J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i Z http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/regional/europethecis/name
3281,en.html k \ h [h ^ g u Y c a Z g] e m k

11. Foreign Affairs [W e _ d l j h g g u c] / m S t a r Z e F.A. Partnership for Central
Asia // Foreign Affairs. –2005 (July/August). W e _ d l j h ^ Z g J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i Z
http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/60833/s-frederick-starr/a-partnership-for-
central-asia k \ h [h ^ g u Y c a Z g] e

12. Institute for war and peace reporting W [e _ d l j h g g u c] j / _ k e m j k a e v, A.
Kyrgyz Corruption Threatens Economic Ruin: Corruption in Kyrgyzstan is now s
endemic it is threatening to bring down the entire economy. – 16 June, 2000.
W e _ d l j h g ^ Z g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i Z
http://www.iwpr.net/?p=rca&s=f&o=176205&apc_state=henirca2000 k \ h [h ^ g u c
Y a Z g] e

13. Mogilevskii R. Trends and Patterns in Foreign Trade of Central Asian
Countries [W e _ d l j h g g u c] j / _ k m j k g Paper. – 2012. - No.1. W e _ d l j h g
^ Z g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i Z http://www.ucentralasia.org /downloads/UCA-
Trends&PatternsForeignTradeCA-Eng-May2012.pdf k \ h [h ^ g u Y c a Z g] e

14. New Eurasia, Country Weblog[W e _ d l j h g g u c]: j/_Tajikistan, OSCE and CIS Observers Disagree on Presidential Election in Tajikistan[W e _ d l ^ j Z g J _ ` b f ^ h k l http://tajikistan.neweurasia.net/?p=133 k \ h [h ^ g – u Y c a Z g] e

15. Princeton University [W e _ d l j h g g u c]: j/_Stobyak, O. Geopolitics in the Caspian: Can Russian Keep Control in its Own Backyard? – 1998. – [W e _ d l j ^ Z g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i http://www.wws.princeton.edu/wws401c/1998/oleg.html k \ h [h ^ g – u Y c a Z g] e

16. The National Defence University [W e _ d l j h g g u c]: j/_Larrabee, S. Russia and its Neighbors: Intergration or Disintegraiton? – [W e _ d l j h ^ g Z – J _ ` b f ^ h k l http://www.ndu.edu/inss/books/books_2001/global%20century%20%20june%202001/C40Larra.pdf k \ h [h ^ g – u Y c a Z g] e

17. The New Central Asia [W e _ d l j h g g u c]: j/_search of stability/ by Sherman W. Garnett, Alexander Rahr, Koji Watanabe/ A report to the trilateral commission:54 published by Trilateral Commission. – New York, Paris and Tokyo October 2000. – [W e _ d l j h g Z g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l http://www.gbv.de/dms/sub-hamburg/314891226.pdf k \ h [h ^ g – u Y c a Z g] e

18. Torjesen, S. Understanding Regional Cooperationin Central Asia, 1991-2004[W e _ d l j h g g u c]: j/_University of Oxford, Department of Politics and International Relations. – 2007 (July). – [W e _ d l j h ^ g Z g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i http://english.nupi.no/Publications/Books-and-reports/2008/Understanding-regional-cooperation-in-Central-Asia-1991-2004 k \ h [h ^ g – u Y c a Z g] e

19. The Jamestone Foundation [W e _ d l j h g g u c]: j/_Socor, V. Trans-Caspian Oil Pipeline Planned in Kazakhstan // Eurasia Daily Monitor. – 16 May, 2005. – Vol.2. – No.95. – [W e _ d l j h g ^ Z – g J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=30404 k \ h [h ^ g – u Y c a Z g] e

20. The Web-page of Global Security org. – URL: http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/tajikistan.htm (date of access: 20.04.2014).

21. The web-page of United State Institute of Peace. – URL: http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/early/tajik2.html (date of access: 20.04.2014).

22. The US Department of State. – URL: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2924.htm (date of access: 20.04.2014).

23. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. – URL: http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2005/06/15233_en.pdf (date of access: 20.04.2014).

24. The Caspian Pipeline Consortium. – URL: http://www.cpc.ru/ (date of access: 20.04.2014).

25. The Elliott School of International Affairs, Central Asia Program. – URL: http://www.centralasiaprogram.org/images/Policy_Forum_2,_June_2012.pdf (date of access: 20.04.2014).

26. University of Notre Dame. – URL: http://www.nd.edu/~kellogg/publications/workingpapers/WPS/303.pdf (date of access: 20.04.2014).

Приложение 1.

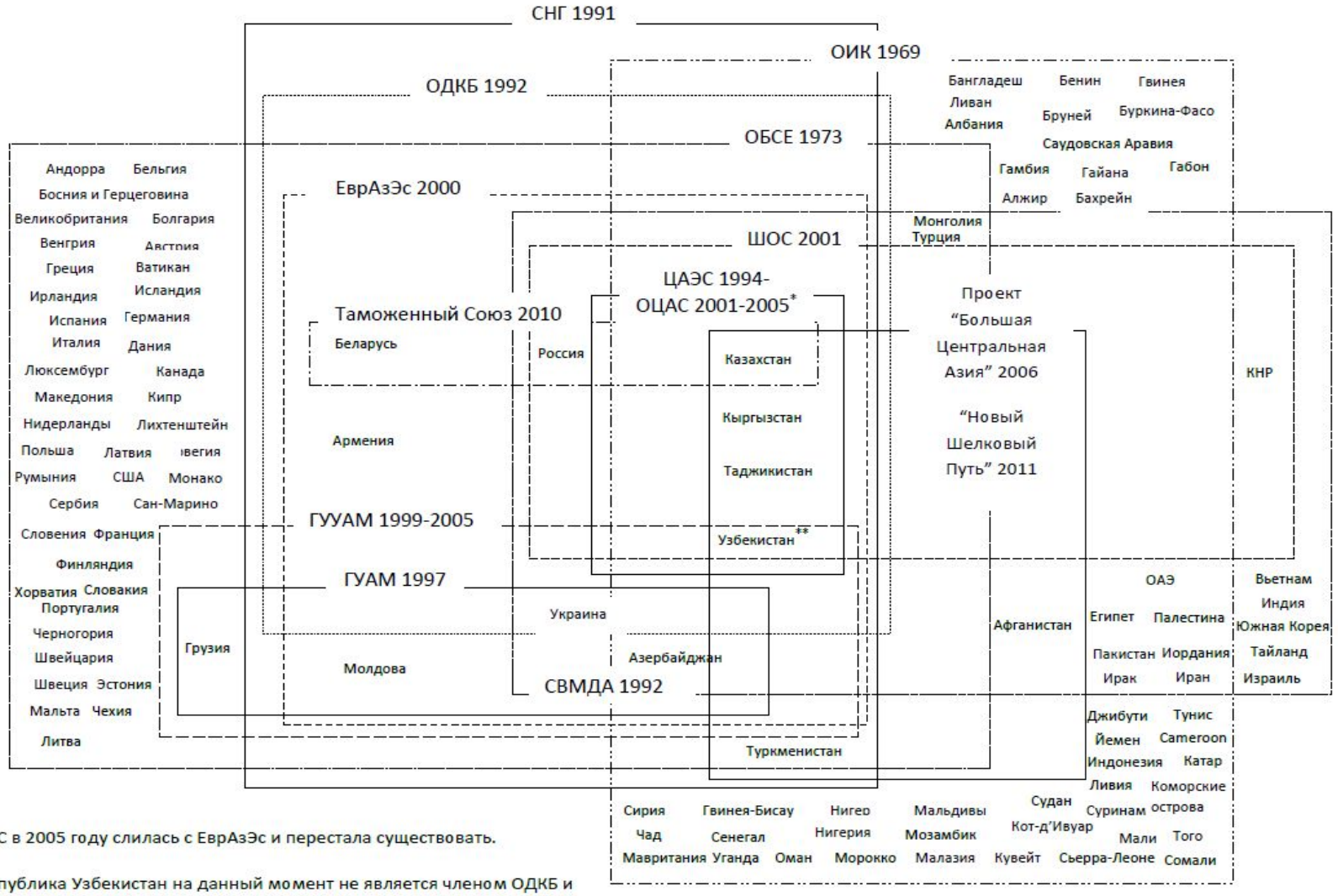
Вопросы для экспертных интервью

1. P_gljZevgZy :aby d?ZdGZjk_dhbegdh hijZ
h[t_^bgylv iylv kljZg \?ihgylb_ P:
2. lj_^klZ\ey_l eb P: ^ey <Zk g_-dh_
pb\bebaZpbhggh_ _^bg?kl\h b ihq_fm
3. DZdb_ hkgh\gu_ nZdlhju \ebyxl gZ j_]bhg
P_gljZevghc\:qZkklghklb gZ ijhp_kk?u bgl_]jZpbb
4. Kh]eZkgu eb \u k ml_qlh_gjb_]bhgZev
bgl_]jZpby kljZg P_gljZevghc :abb \hafh`gZ lhe
ijhp_kkh\ gZpbhgZevgh]h b]hkm^Zjk?_ggh]h klj
5. Klhjhggbdb iheblbq_kdh]h j_ZebafZ
ml_j`^Zxqllh j_]bhgZevgZy dhhi_jZpby b bgl_]j
kemqZ_ gZebqby j_]bhgZevghlhjuc]_a]_bgg_j_kh\Zg
bgl_]jZ.pbZdh\h \Zr_ fg_gb_ h[wlh?fDmhl\fh]^[ugbl
beb y\ey_lky lZdbf]_]?_fhghf \ P:

Комментарии:

- K d_bfyihabpbmyq_gZy kl_idhbY^ZZjhreZ [_k_^
gm`gh mdZaZlv ;^ey kkuehd
- ?keb kh[_k_^gbd ijhlb\ jZkdjulby bf_gh\wjh
[m^_l h[yaZl_ev.gh mql_gh

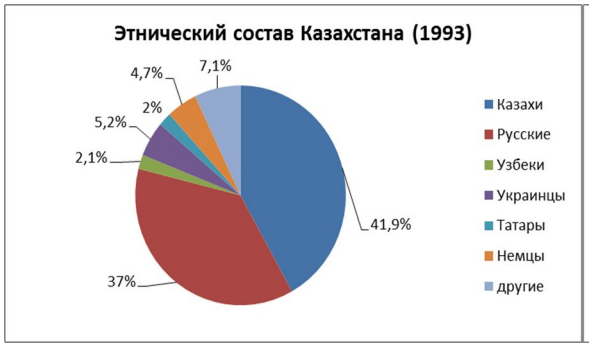
Приложение 2. Схема членства государств Центральной Азии в международных организациях

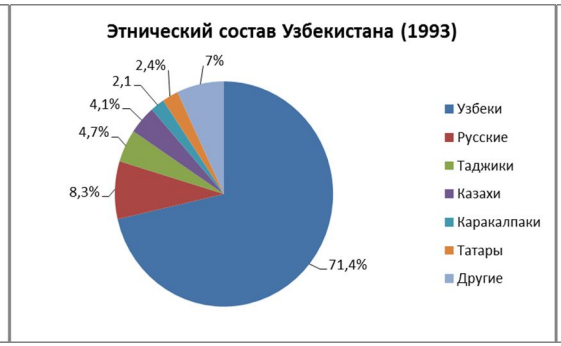


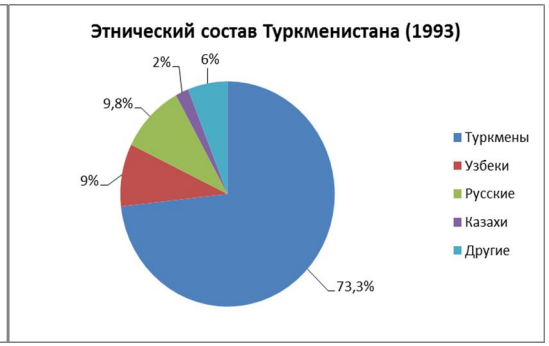
* ОЦАС в 2005 году слилась с ЕврАзЭс и перестала существовать.

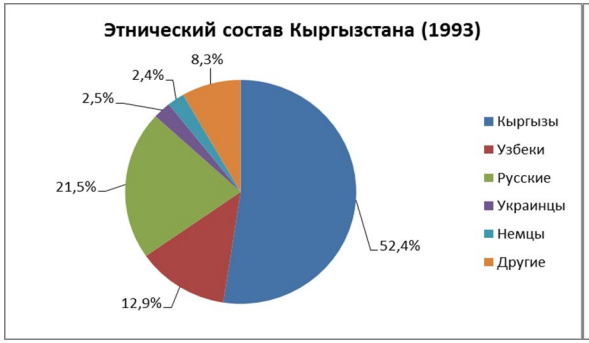
** Республика Узбекистан на данный момент не является членом ОДКБ и ЕврАзЭс. Годы членства РУ в ОДКБ 1992-1999 гг., 2006-2012 гг. Годы членства РУ в ЕврАзЭс 2006-2008 гг.

Приложение 3. Этнический состав стран Центральной Азии (1993 г.)[213]



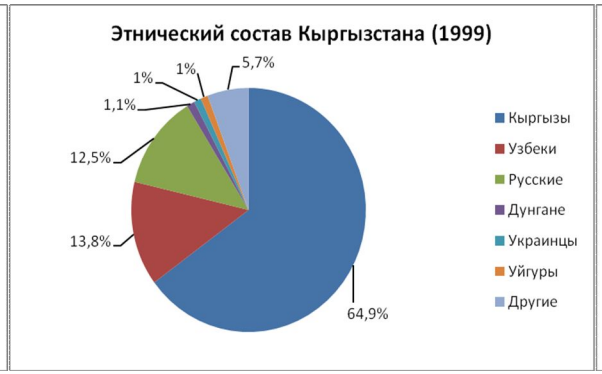


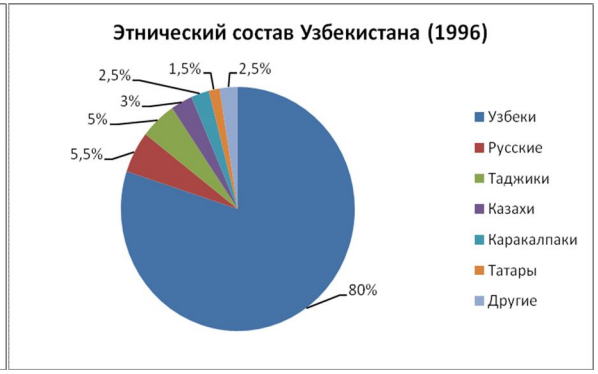




[213] l h ^ Z g g u Central Intelligence Agency Z 1993] h.^The New Central Asia W e _ d l j h g g u c]:j in k search of stability/ by Sherman W. Garnett, Alexander Rahr, Koji Watanabe/ A report to the trilateral commission:54 published by Trilateral Commission. – New York, Paris and Tokyo, October W 2000 l j h Z g – J _ ` b f ^ h k l m i Z http://www.gbv.de/dms/sub-hamburg/314891226.pdf h [h ^ g u Y a Z g] e

Приложение 4. Этнический состав стран Центральной Азии (2000-е годы)[214]





[214] Central Intelligence Agency W e _ d l j h g g u c] j _ Central Asia. – W e _ d l j h g g - J _ ` b f ^ h k l h [h ^ g u Y a Z g] e http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook