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**Fergana Valley is a Space of Opportunity,
Friendship and Good Neighbourhood**

**Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan: Expansion
of Trade and Economic Cooperation**

**Analysis of the Policy of Kazakhstan and
Sweden on Building Effective
Communications between the State and
Society**

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Belt During the Covid-19 Pandemic**

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FERGANA VALLEY IS A SPACE OF OPPORTUNITY, FRIENDSHIP AND GOOD NEIGHBORHOOD

Bakhtiyor Mustafayev

Head of the Centre of the Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Master of International Relations

Abstract. The Ferghana Valley, due to its geostrategic position, is characterized by its unique geographical location, geopolitical importance, energy and human resources, plays a key role in ensuring sustainable development in Central Asia. However, this region has been viewed for many years through the prism of challenges and threats to regional security. Meanwhile, the creation of a favourable atmosphere and positive dynamics of regional cooperation not only prevents the emergence of any serious conflicts, but, on the contrary, open up huge opportunities to turn the Ferghana Valley into a growth point for the entire Central Asia.

Key words: *Fergana Valley, Social tension, Transport isolation, Security problems, Regional cooperation, Investment attractiveness, Human capital, Regional cooperation, Transport hub, Public diplomacy, Cross-border cooperation*

ФЕРҒАНА АЛҚАБЫ - МУМКІНДІКТЕР, ДОСТЫҚ ЖӘНЕ ТАТУ КӨРШІЛІК АЛАҢЫ

Бахтиёр Мустафаев

Андатпа. Ферғана алқабы өзінің бірегей географиялық орналасуымен, геосаяси маңыздылығымен, энергетикалық және адами ресурстарымен сипатталатын

геостратегиялық жағдайына байланысты Орталық Азиядағы тұрақты дамуды қамтамасыз етуде басты рөл атқарады. Алайда, бұл аймақ ұзақ жылдар бойы аймақтық қауіпсіздікке төнетін қауіп-қатерлер мен сын-тегеуріндер тұрғысынан қарастырылды. Сонымен қатар, қолайлы атмосфера мен өңірлік ынтымақтастықтың оң динамикасын қалыптастыру қандай да бір елеулі қақтығыстардың пайда болуын жокқа шығарып қана қоймай, керісінше Ферғана алқабын бүкіл Орталық Азияның өсу нүктесіне айналдыру үшін зор мүмкіндіктер ашады.

Түйін сөздер: *Ферғана алқабы, әлеуметтік шиеленіс, көліктік оқшаулау, қауіпсіздік мәселелері, аймақтық ынтымақтастық, инвестициялық тартымдылық, адами капитал, шекара маңы ынтымақтастығы, көлік хабы, халықтық дипломатия, трансшекаралық ынтымақтастық.*

ФЕРГАНСКАЯ ДОЛИНА – ПРОСТРАНСТВО ВОЗМОЖНОСТЕЙ, ДРУЖБЫ И ДОБРОСОСЕДСТВА

Бахтиёр Мустафаев

Аннотация. Ферганская долина в силу своего геостратегического положения, характеризующееся уникальным географическим положением¹, геополитическим значением, энергетическими и человеческими ресурсами играет ключевую роль в обеспечении устойчивого развития в Центральной Азии. Однако данный регион долгие годы рассматривался через призму вызовов и угроз региональной безопасности. Между тем, создание благоприятной атмосферы и позитивной динамики регионального сотрудничества не только исключают появление каких-либо серьёзных конфликтов, а напротив, открывают колоссальные возможности для превращения Ферганской долины в точку роста всей Центральной Азии.

Ключевые слова: *Ферганская долина, социальная напряжённость, транспортная замкнутость, проблемы безопасности, региональное сотрудничество, инвестиционная привлекательность, человеческий капитал, приграничное сотрудничество, транспортный хаб, народная дипломатия, трансграничное сотрудничество.*

The Fergana Valley has always been in the centre of attention of representatives of the expert and analytical community. Analysis of modern scientific works shows that when studying the Fergana Valley, experts and scientists often use definitions such as “powder keg” [1], “hotbed of smouldering conflicts” [2] or “FATA”

(Federally Administered Tribal Areas) in northwest Pakistan [3].

Indeed, in all fairness, it is worth recognizing that in the 1920s and 1930s in Central Asia, state demarcation was carried out without taking into account ethnic and geographical factors, which gave rise to problems of unresolved state borders, a

¹ The Fergana Valley has a total area of 22 thousand square kilometres, its length is more than 300 km from west to east and up to 170 km from north to south.

shortage of fertile land and water resources, interethnic contradictions, unemployment and poverty. All this not only had a negative impact on the socio-economic situation, but also acted as a serious constraining factor in the development of regional cooperation.

However, are there any objective justifications and preconditions for the definitions characterizing the Fergana Valley as a so-called *depressed* region?

In the Republic of Uzbekistan, three regions (Namangan, Fergana, Andijan) are located in the Fergana Valley. In recent years, under the leadership of President Sh. Mirziyoyev, large-scale reforms have been carried out to improve the socio-economic situation and create the necessary infrastructure which are of strategic importance for ensuring sustainable development and stability at the national, regional and international levels.

At the national level

Since taking office the president of the country, Sh. Mirziyoyev, as of October 2020, made 13 visits to the Fergana Valley region (4 times to Fergana, 4 times to Andijan, 5 times to Namangan region). The intensity of visits at such a high level to the three regions of the Fergana Valley testifies to the priority attention paid by the leadership of Uzbekistan to development of the entire region. Increased attention is primarily directed to addressing the socio-economic issues of the region, taking into account the following main factors: Since taking office as President of the country, Sh. Mirziyoyev, as of October 2020, made 13 visits to the Fergana Valley region (4 times - to Fergana, 4 times - to Andijan, 5 times - to Namangan region). The intensity of visits at such a high level to the three regions of the Fergana Valley testifies to the priority attention

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firstly, it is the overpopulation of the region. It is noteworthy that in Andijan, Namangan and Fergana regions, which occupy 4.12% of the territory of Uzbekistan (18.5 thousand sq. Km), 28.2% of the population (9.69 million people) live; the first is the overpopulation of the region. It is noteworthy that in Andijan, Namangan and Fergana regions, which occupy 4.12% of the territory of Uzbekistan (18.5 thousand sq. Km), lives 28.2% of the population (9.69 million people)²;

secondly, the population density. According to the State Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Statistics, the population density in the three regions remains the highest compared to other regions. In particular, as of January 1, 2020, the population density per 1 sq. km in Andijan region is 727.4 people, in Fergana and Namangan regions it makes 555 people, and 377.8 people respectively. At the same time, the average population density in the republic per 1 sq. km does not exceed 75.5 people;

² Calculated by the author based on the data of the State Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan (www.stat.uz)

thirdly, human resources. Given the overcrowding in all three regions, there is a surplus of labour resources. This is also evidenced of the relatively high unemployment rate in the region. So, at the end of 2019, in the Fergana region, the level of unemployment, according to the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relations of the Republic of Uzbekistan, amounted to 9.7%, while the overall indicator for the country was 9.4%³;

fourthly, the geostrategic location of the Fergana Valley in terms of strengthening the regional cooperation in the economy, energy and transport. Being the most densely populated region of Central Asia, the Fergana Valley has a promising consumer market. The total population of the region is about 15 million people or about 30% of the total population of the three countries. The Kyrgyzstani part is home to 3.5 million people, the Uzbekistani is for 9.6 million people, and the Tajikistani part is for 2.5 million. The Fergana Valley forms the bulk of the flow of the Syrdarya River (about 70% or 29 km³ / year), which plays an important role in increasing the hydropower potential of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

The Fergana Valley is also of great interest from the point of view of logistics, in particular, the region can act as the shortest route from China to the countries of Europe and the Middle East. In the case of integration of the railway infrastructures of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan against the background of existing routes the distance between China and Europe and the Middle East will be reduced by 900 km, the time of delivery of goods by 7–8 days.

In these conditions, taking into account the specifics, resources and capabilities

of each region of the Fergana Valley, comprehensive measures are being taken to create new job places, reduce poverty and develop key sectors of the economy. Creation of the necessary conditions for development of small and medium-sized businesses, modernization and improvement of irrigation facilities, which opens up wide opportunities for the development of agriculture, entrepreneurship and industry, which are the key directions of economic development, deserve attention.

In particular, within the development program of the *Fergana region* in 2019–2022, it is planned to launch 688 projects for development of horticulture, fruit and vegetable clusters, production of building materials, handicrafts, silk industry, family entrepreneurship with a total cost of 26.5 trillion soums. In 2020 alone, within 544 projects, it is planned to develop 7.6 trillion soums of investments. As a result of the work carried out to date, within 571 projects, investments in the amount of 6.8 trillion soums have been allocated and almost 11 thousand jobs places have been created. In general, in 2020, the region plans to implement 913 investment projects and create 62 thousand jobs places⁴.

In the *Andijan region*, in 2020, within 789 projects, it is planned to master 7 trillion soums of investment and create 42 thousand job places. 13 projects for the sum of 106 million dollars will be implemented in the textile industry.

In 2020–202, in the building materials industry the goal was set to launch the production of import-substituting products in the amount of 106 million dollars as a result of implementation of 74 projects.

³ The unemployment rate in the first quarter made 9.4% / <https://www.gazeta.uz/ru/2020/05/27/unemployment>

⁴ All our reforms are aimed at ensuring the happiness, health and well-being of people / <https://pv.uz/ru/newspapers/pravda-vostoka-119-ot-6-ijunja-2020-goda>

In the *Namangan* region, work is underway to create 55 thousand job places as a result of development of projects for the sum of 13 trillion soums by the end of 2020. In this year, 1.6 thousand projects were launched for 8.3 trillion soums, which will create 35 thousand new job places. An illustrative example of solving the problems of unemployment is construction of 1,000 greenhouses on 36 hectares of undeveloped hilly lands. Currently, 800 greenhouses have already been built and handed over to the owners with a production capacity of 7 thousand tons of vegetables per year. The remaining 200 greenhouses are expected to be commissioned by the end of 2020.

The measures for improvement of the socio-economic situation in the Fergana Valley are not limited to the above examples. The country's leadership pays special attention to the development of human capital and raising the level of education, which is a guarantor of ensuring advanced development. Over the past two years, branches of leading foreign higher educational institutions have been opened in all three regions. Among them are the branches of Korea University Sejong and Latvian Higher School of Information Systems Management in Fergana, Indian Sharda University in Andijan and Ural State University in Namangan.

It is necessary to pay attention to the strategic approach of the Government of Uzbekistan at implementation of social, economic and infrastructure projects in the Fergana Valley. This is, first of all, a targeted approach and taking into account the features of each separate area. The main focus is on maximizing the existing potential and advantages of the region. Taking into account the specifics of the region, the

country has determined the spheres that can become the drivers of its development.

Secondly, in order to reduce poverty, the focus is not on providing subsidies to the poor, but on creating conditions and opportunities for their earnings. For these purposes, the country has created conditions to stimulate the entrepreneurial activity of the population. Subsidies, concessional credit lines are issued, investment is allocated to ensure working capital.

Thus, improvement of the social, economic and transport infrastructure contributes not only to prevention of conditions for emergence of social tensions, but also to increase the investment attractiveness of the regions of Uzbekistan in the Fergana Valley.

At the regional level

Sustainable and stable development of the Fergana Valley opens up wide opportunities for using the untapped potential of regional cooperation, which is due to the key role of the Fergana Valley in the regional security system of Central Asia. The main feature of the Fergana Valley is that the issues related to development and security are common for neighbouring states and are of a transboundary nature.

Due to the unity of geographical, civilizational, ethnic and economic conditions, the challenges and threats to security arising in this sphere cannot longer remain within the national borders for a long time and begin to manifest themselves on a regional scale.

In particular, the longest transboundary river in Central Asia, Syrdarya, small and large canals (Big Fergana, North and South Fergana, Big Andijan and Big Namangan), as well as hydropower facilities form a single integrated water-energy facility⁵ form the general basis of irrigation in the Fergana Valley.

⁵ It includes hydropower resources of Naryn and Karadarya, Andijan, Kasansay, Kairakkum, Karkidon, Papan reservoirs, Uchkurgan and Andijan hydroelectric power stations.

The Fergana Valley also has a significant potential in the regional transport system, which in the context of openness and interconnection can become an important regional hub connecting the countries of the region with China, South Asia, the Middle East and Europe.

The importance of the Fergana Valley in the field of regional security is determined by its proximity to Afghanistan. In this context, the socio-economic development of the Fergana Valley can make a significant contribution to prevention of drug trafficking and the activities of various extremist and terrorist organizations in Central Asia.

Taking into account the above, the Republic of Uzbekistan pays priority attention to strengthening multifaceted cooperation with Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Led by President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Sh. Mirziyoyev, in a short time, it was possible to sign agreements on state borders with Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, within the framework of which 85% of the Uzbek-Kyrgyz border were determined and 99.9% of the previously undivided sections of the Uzbek-Tajik border were agreed. Completion of the processes of delimitation and demarcation of state borders will undoubtedly help to prevent the emergence of conditions for border conflicts. As the analysis shows, the main reason for most border conflicts between Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan occurs as a result of minor everyday problems: a) construction of houses; b) use of water resources and pastures; c) issues between neighbours.

The particular attention is paid to the development of cross-border cooperation. It is noteworthy that today all existing 17 checkpoints operate on the Uzbek-Tajik border, and 16 checkpoints between Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, which have created favourable conditions for

strengthening public diplomacy and developing cultural and humanitarian cooperation. If five years ago, the Uzbek-Kyrgyz state border was crossed by 200-300 people a day, today it is more than 30 thousand a day. A similar situation is observed with Tajikistan. In particular, 20 thousand citizens cross the Uzbek-Tajik border every day.

Introduction of new mechanisms of cross-border cooperation is noteworthy. In particular, since 2018, the Council of Heads of Border Regions has been effectively functioning between Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, as well as in accordance with the Agreement on Cooperation Between the Regional Chambers of Commerce and Industry of the Border Regions of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, meetings between the business circles of the two countries are held on a regular basis, in the course of which the parties exchange views on topical issues of cooperation in the field of economy, investment, tourism and holding joint cultural and sports events.

Cooperation on water issues on a bilateral basis has noticeably intensified. A working group has been created to develop proposals for developing cooperation in all areas of water relations between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan [4]. Currently, work is underway to sign the Interdepartmental Agreement on Establishment of a Joint Bilateral Water Commission with Kyrgyzstan.

All this became not only an important step in the regional cooperation on the use of transboundary water resources, but also contributed to removing the issue of acute conflict potential from the regional agenda, while increasing the level of political confidence.

Interaction is rapidly developing to prevent challenges and threats in the field of emergency situations. From April 2019,

it is planned to hold joint meetings of the collegiums of the Ministry of Emergency Situations of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan every two years. Following the results of the first meeting held from 4 to 7 April 2019 in Bishkek, the parties adopted the Protocol. At present, the Regulations are being developed for the exchange of information on radioecological, hydrometeorological and geotechnical situations in the border areas.

In 2019, in order to strengthen the cooperation in the field of combating terrorism, extremism, drug trafficking, illegal migration, organized crime, the Tajik-Uzbek Interdepartmental Coordination Working Group in the Field of Security was created. The countries reached the agreements on jointly countering the activities of extremist and terrorist structures, they signed the relevant Plans of Comprehensive Measures for the security forces of Uzbekistan with Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Joint anti-terrorist measures were held with Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. All these measures have a positive impact on the timely identification and adequate response to the challenges and threats of religious extremism. It should be noted that as a result, in the Global Terrorism Index-2019, Uzbekistan rose from 127th place (2017) to 135th and Kyrgyzstan from 79th (2017) to 87th.

The above results achieved in all areas of interaction between Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan confirm the correctness of the chosen course of enhancing regional cooperation. There has been an unprecedented growth in mutual trade. In particular, the trade turnover of Uzbekistan with Tajikistan at the end of 2019 amounted to 480.9 million dollars, which is 19.1% more compared to 2018 (389.3 million dollars)

and 200% compared to 2017 (236.8 million dollars). The increase is also observed in trade with Kyrgyzstan. In particular, at the end of 2019, this indicator amounted to 818.4 million dollars (an increase of 40%).

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At the global level

Given the impact of sustainable development and security in Central Asia on development of neighbouring regions, ensuring stability and peace in the Fergana Valley opens up great opportunities for transregional cooperation.

In particular, the work of the United Electric Power System (UES) of Central Asia has been practically restored. At present, mutual supplies of electricity between Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan are actively carried out. Turkmenistan has expressed a desire to join the system. In July 2019, a joint declaration was signed on regional cooperation in the field of energy reforms and the creation of a single electricity market [5].

The intensification of cooperation between the CA countries in the energy sector, including Uzbekistan with Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, will increase the export potential in this industry throughout the region⁶.

In particular, the new power transmission line Surkhan-Puli-e-Khumri transmission line with a length of 260 km, which is being

⁶ The first Central Asian Energy Reform Conference was initiated by the government of Uzbekistan and took place in Tashkent in 2018.

built by Uzbekistan and Afghanistan, may become part of the CASA-1000 project. The construction of the Surkhan-Puli-e-Khumri power transmission line will increase the supply of electricity from Uzbekistan to Afghanistan by 70%, that is up to 6 billion kWh per year, which will allow serving 10 million households per day. The transmission line will also connect Kabul to the unified energy system of Central Asia and accelerate implementation of the CASA-1000 project.

Accordingly, a stable and uninterrupted supply of electricity to the population and facilities of the national economy of Afghanistan will fully reveal the potential of the Afghan economy. The solution of socio-economic issues is an indispensable condition for establishment of a lasting and long-term peace in Afghanistan, the achievement of which is one of the priority issues of ensuring international security.

Achievement of concrete results in the transport and communication sphere deserves special attention. In particular, the commissioning of the restored section of the Uzbek–Tajik interstate railway line of Galaba–Amuzang–Khushadi in March 2018 made it possible to connect Uzbekistan with the southern regions of Tajikistan, which gave an additional impetus to development of regional economic cooperation.

In turn, expansion of cooperation in the transport and communication sphere allowed, after 20 years of negotiations, to make significant progress in implementation of the construction of a railway connecting China and Central Asia through Kyrgyzstan. In particular, in June 2020, the first block train consisting of 25 containers with electrical

products departed for Turkmenistan from Lanzhou Railway Station in Gansu province (China) along the China–Kyrgyzstan–Uzbekistan multimodal transport corridor with the use of road transport on the Kashgar–Irkeshtam–Osh–Andijan section⁷.

It should be noted that today Uzbekistan has all the necessary conditions and infrastructure opportunities for implementation of the China–Kyrgyzstan–Uzbekistan railway Project. In particular, the launch of the Angren–Pap railway with a tunnel on the Kamchik pass may become one of the key elements of the planned China–Kyrgyzstan–Uzbekistan transit corridor⁸.

The construction of the China–Kyrgyzstan–Uzbekistan railway will allow not only expanding the transit potential of the CA region, thereby increasing rail traffic between Asia and Europe, but also integrating it into the trans-Afghan transport corridor, which will eliminate transport isolation and break the transport isolation of the Central Asian region strengthening the interconnectedness of Central Asia with the regions of Europe, South Asia, the Middle East and the Caucasus.

Elimination of existing contradictions and conditions for the emergence of conflicts in interstate relations in the Fergana Valley opens up wide opportunities for development of regional cooperation.

In this context, as a result of the observed positive trends in the region, a significant increase in trade turnover, investment and tourist inflow attracts attention. In particular, in 2019, the volume of trade turnover between the countries of Central Asia made 7.1 billion dollars, which is 16.9% more than in 2018. (5.9 billion dollars).

⁷ The first block train was launched along the multimodal transport corridor China–Kyrgyzstan–Uzbekistan/ <https://mift.uz/ru/news/zapuschen-pervyj-blok-poezd-po-multimodalnomu-transportnomu-koridoru-kitaj-kyrgyzstan-uzbekistan>

⁸ The length of the Angren-Pap railway is 123.1 km, the Kamchik tunnel is 19.2 km. The total cost of the project is almost \$ 1.635 billion, the Kamchik tunnel - \$ 455 million.

A similar situation is observed in the matter of attracting foreign direct investment, the volume of which in 2019 to the CA countries (excluding Turkmenistan) amounted to \$ 35.922 billion, which is by 32.3% more than in 2017 (24.315 billion dollars). Besides, the number of tourists visiting the CA countries in 2019 amounted to 25.49 million people (excluding Turkmenistan), which is by 24.9% more compared to 2017 (19.15 million people).

Undoubtedly, the stable and sustainable development of Central Asia will have a positive impact on ensuring the security of neighbouring regions in terms of the possibility of achieving mutually beneficial and comprehensive solutions based on consensus on all pressing issues on which countries have different visions and approaches.

The emerging model of the regional cooperation in Central Asia is widely discussed today among leading politicians and experts from the foreign countries and international organizations noting the need to study the positive experience of the CA countries.

As noted by UN Secretary General's Special Representative, Head of the UN Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia N. Herman, "Central Asia is noticeably increasing the trend of regional

cooperation and strengthening good-neighbourly relations with an emphasis on economic complementarity and cultural and civilizational proximity of states. Amid a decline in economic activity due to the global pandemic and the continuing threat of the spread of coronavirus, the positive dynamics of cooperation and mutual trust allowed the countries of the region to provide necessary and safe corridors for the movement of strategically important goods, food, humanitarian aid, medicines and medical supplies, energy resources⁹."

According to her, this example of unity, solidarity and well-coordinated work in the period of serious challenges is worth studying, it must be consolidated by international normative documents for a sustainable response in similar and more difficult situations in the future.¹⁰

In general, opinions about the potential for conflict in the Fergana Valley are largely ingrained stereotypes that do not correspond to modern realities. The presence of the geographical, human and energy potential of the countries located in the Fergana Valley, the favourable atmosphere and positive dynamics of regional cooperation not only exclude the emergence of any serious conflicts, but, on the contrary, open up great opportunities for turning the Fergana Valley into a growth point for the whole of Central Asia.

⁹ The first block train was launched along the multimodal transport corridor China–Kyrgyzstan–Uzbekistan / <https://mift.uz/ru/news/zapuschen-pervyj-blok-poezd-po-multimodalnomu-transportnomu-koridoru-kitaj-kyrgyzstan-uzbekistan>

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KAZAKHSTAN AND UZBEKISTAN: EXPANSION OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the study of trade and economic development of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan in the framework of expanding mutual cooperation. The mutual cooperation of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the Republic of Uzbekistan in the Central Asian region is strategically important. The article describes the role of Uzbekistan in the region, its integration priorities and joint projects with Kazakhstan. It has been substantiated that the expansion of close cooperation in trade and economic activities contributes to the development of healthy competition and strengthening the position of member countries in entering foreign markets.

Key words: *Central Asia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Trade and economic cooperation, World Trade Organization, Eurasian Economic Union.*

ҚАЗАҚСТАН МЕН ӨЗБЕКСТАН: САУДА-ЭКОНОМИКАЛЫҚ ЫНТЫМАҚТАСТЫҚТЫ КЕҢЕЙТУ

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Андатпа. Мақала өзара ынтымақтастықты кеңейту тұрғысынан алғанда Өзбекстан мен Қазақстанның сауда-экономикалық дамуын зерттеуге арналған.

Қазақстан Республикасының Өзбекстан Республикасымен өзара ынтымақтастығы Орталық Азия өңіріндегі стратегиялық маңызды басымдық болып табылады. Мақалада Өзбекстанның өңірдегі рөлі, оның интеграциялық басымдықтары және Қазақстанмен бірлескен жобалары сипатталған. Сауда-экономикалық қызметтегі тығыз ынтымақтастықты кеңейту салауатты бәсекелестікті дамытуға және қатысушы елдердің сыртқы нарықтарға шығу жөніндегі ұстанымын күшейтуге ықпал етуге негізделген.

Түйін сөздер: *Орталық Азия, Өзбекстан, Қазақстан, Сауда-экономикалық ынтымақтыстық, Дүниежүзілік сауда ұйымы, Еуразиялық экономикалық одақ.*

КАЗАХСТАН И УЗБЕКИСТАН: РАСШИРЕНИЕ ТОРГОВО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКОГО СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВА

Жомарт Махамбеталиев, Сағындық Кошербаев

Аннотация. Статья посвящена изучению торгового-экономического развития Узбекистана и Казахстана в рамках расширения взаимного сотрудничества. Взаимное сотрудничество Республики Казахстан с Республикой Узбекистан в Центрально-Азиатском регионе является стратегически важным. В статье описывается роль Узбекистана в регионе, ее интеграционные приоритеты и совместные с Казахстаном проекты. Обосновано, что расширение тесного сотрудничества в торгово-экономической деятельности способствует развитию здоровой конкуренции и усилению позиции участников-стран по выходу на внешние рынки.

Ключевые слова: *Центральная Азия, Узбекистан, Казахстан, Торгово-экономическое сотрудничество, Всемирная торговая организация, Евразийский экономический союз.*

Introduction

The relevance of studying the issue of trade and economic development of Central Asian countries is predetermined by the need to form a new vector for the development of foreign trade strategy and adaptation of the economy of Central Asian countries to the new realities. Therefore, within the framework of this study, it is not only legitimate, but also necessary to be considered in the context of the general development of investment, institutional and other policy directions that form the overall economic policy of Central Asian participants.

Today, the strategy of the foreign economic development of countries in the new conditions of globalization should be based on the task of developing a competitive and mutually beneficial policy.

Note that the countries of Central Asia with a combined population of 73.8 million people and a GDP of 255 billion US dollars in world GDP account for only 0.3%. The region accounts for 0.5% of the world trade turnover. In terms of GDP per capita within the region, the largest volume falls on Kazakhstan, which is more than 9 thousand US dollars. In second place is Turkmenistan with an indicator of 6.5-7.0 thousand US

dollars. In Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, GDP per capita does not exceed 2 thousand US dollars. The lowest indicator is in Tajikistan - about 800-900 thousand US dollars. At the same time, Tajikistan has the highest GDP growth rate, which over the past three years did not fall below 7.0%. At the same time, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have the lowest GDP growth rate in the region - 4.5%.

Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan: international rankings

According to well-known global ratings, among the countries of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are considered the most competitive and investment-attractive countries.

This progress was noted in the World Bank's Doing Business Index of Global Competitiveness for Doing Business, where the country improved its position by 3 points to 25th out of 190 countries, while Uzbekistan ranked 69th, Kyrgyzstan - 80, Tajikistan – 106 [1].

The ranking is assessed by 10 main indicators.

Table 1 – Indicators of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in the ranking «Doing Business»

No	Indicators	Uzbekistan	Kazakhstan
1	Registration of enterprises	8	22
2	Obtaining construction permits	132	37
3	Connection to the power supply system	36	67
4	Property registration	72	24
5	Getting loans	67	25
6	Protecting minority investors	37	7
7	Taxation	69	64
8	International trade	152	105
9	Enforcement of contracts	22	4
10	Insolvency resolution	100	42

Kazakhstan is inferior to Uzbekistan only on the indicator “Connection to the power

supply system”, according to all other indicators Kazakhstan has a competitive advantage.

According to in another authoritative international rating published by the World Economic Forum “Global Competitiveness Index” (GIC WEF), Kazakhstan took **55th place among 141 countries** [2], having improved its position by 4 points in comparison with the previous rating. Kyrgyzstan in this rating took the 96th position and Tajikistan - 104. The key partner of Kazakhstan in Central Asia Uzbekistan did not participate in this rating.

In general, according to the results of the rating by the GIC WEF, the competitive advantages of Kazakhstan are such factors as the labor market - 25th place (improvement by 5 positions) and business dynamism - 37 (improvement by 2 positions).

Intra-regional trade of Central Asian countries

Intra-regional trade of the countries of Central Asia does not play a major role in the turnover of states, which is evidenced by its low share in the total foreign trade of the countries of Central Asia - 8.4%. At the same time, the volume of mutual trade in 2019 amounted to 6.9 billion US dollars, and almost half is accounted for by Kazakhstan, the share is 49.3% (Table 2).

Table 2 – Share of Central Asian countries in mutual trade

Countries	2017 r.	2018 r.	2019 r.
Kazakhstan	49,4%	50,3%	49,3%
Kyrgyzstan	10,2%	7,9%	7,8%
Tajikistan	8,5%	8,1%	5,9%
Turkmenstan	4,3%	5,2%	6,3%
Uzbekstan	27,6%	28,4%	30,7%

Expansion of multilateral dialogue and cooperation in the Central Asian region, the importance of which in the Eurasian and global processes is steadily increasing, including in Uzbekistan, is a priority of regional and multilateral diplomacy.

From 2015 to 2019, Kazakhstan's mutual trade with Central Asian countries has been continuously growing from \$ 3.1 billion to \$ 5.3 billion (Figure 1), that is, over a five-year period, the volume of trade increased by 71%. More than 60% of mutual trade falls on export deliveries from Kazakhstan, which increased by 70.0%. Imports for this period increased by 72.7%.

Among the countries of Central Asia, Kazakhstan trades the most with Uzbekistan. Thus, at the end of 2019, the share of Uzbekistan in Kazakhstan's mutual trade with Central Asian countries amounted to 64.9%, while over 5 years it increased by 11.6 percentage points.

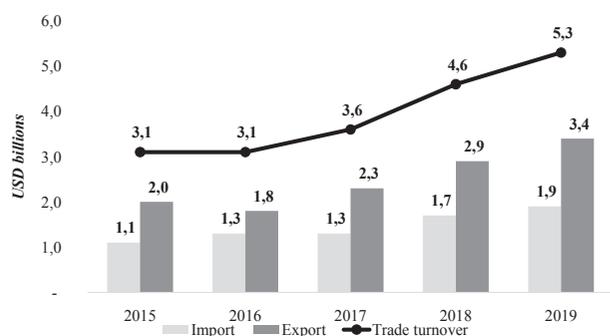


Figure 1 - Mutual trade of Kazakhstan with the countries of Central Asia

Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are linked by close trade and economic relations. The countries can be attributed to the most important strategic partners in Central Asia, on whose territory large reserves of natural resources are concentrated, such as hydrocarbons, uranium, gold, gas, oil and non-ferrous metals.

Since the Independence Day gained, the states have signed more than a hundred joint

documents in various fields of activity [3]. The main of which is the Agreement on the CIS Free Trade Zone, which provides for duty-free trade between the participants, with the exception of exceptions. Also, in the future, it is planned to build the International Center for Trade and Economic Cooperation "Central Asia" on the border of the two states, which will give impetus to the growth of intensity at checkpoints, since, despite the increase in the volume of traffic flows in Central Asia, the main cargo flows are concentrated in places of concentration population.

In the period 2007-2015. in Central Asia, the volume of rail, road and water transport, expressed in ton-kilometers, increased by 49%, that is, an average annual increase of 5%. This is significantly higher than in many middle- and high-income countries. In Western Europe, the volume of cargo transportation has significantly decreased after the 2008 crisis and has not returned to the level of the pre-crisis period. Eastern European countries are experiencing growth in traffic, with a growth rate of 2.8%, almost half of Central Asia [4].

Foreign and mutual trade of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

Trade turnover between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan for 2015-2019 doubled, or from \$1.7 billion to \$3.4 billion (Figure 2). As well as in Central Asia there are more exports than imports in the structure of mutual trade with Uzbekistan. On average, over five years, the share of exports is 59.5%, imports - 40.5%.

Exports to Uzbekistan from 2015 to 2019 increased from US \$ 942 million to US \$ 2.0 billion, or 2.1 times.

Basically, Kazakhstan supplied wheat (18.6% of all exports to Uzbekistan), semi-finished products from unalloyed steel

(7.9%), copper ores (4.3%), aluminum (4.3%), wheat flour (3, 8%), sunflower seeds (3.8%), cattle (3.5%), zinc ores (3.0%), oil products (3.0%), cement (2.7%).

Over the years, imports increased by 95.5% and amounted to USD 1.4 billion in 2019.

Most of all imported from Uzbekistan was natural gas (48.3% of all imports from Uzbekistan), fruits (12.5%), vegetables (6.2%), ethylene polymers (5.6%), cars (5.1%), zinc (2.8%), unalloyed steel rods (2.5%), lead ores (1.6%).



Figure 2 - Mutual trade between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan

In January-September of the current year the volume of mutual trade decreased by 16.5% compared to the same period of last year and amounted to USD 2.0 billion. The unfavorable dynamics is more connected with the consequences of the pandemic, when production stopped, consumer demand decreased and borders were closed.

Exports decreased by 1.3% from 1.46 to 1.44 billion US dollars. The decrease in imports was 40.1% or from 943.6 to 565.4 million US dollars.

The structure of both exports and imports remained unchanged. Uzbekistan mainly supplies natural gas, cars, vegetables and fruits. Kazakhstan exported the same wheat, semi-finished products from unalloyed steel, wheat flour, aluminum, etc. Also, thanks to joint meetings of working groups,

Intergovernmental Commissions, the export of passenger cars to Uzbekistan has increased from 232 units of equipment to 2,988 units, or almost 13 times.

In general, the structure of Uzbek exports to the world, which amounted to US \$ 17.9 billion, mainly consists of gold (27.5%), energy carriers and oil products (14.1%), textiles and textile products (9.1%), food products (8.5%).

The largest imports from the world are machinery and equipment (43.8%), chemical products (13.2%), metals and metal products (8.7%), food products (7.8%).

The main trade partners of Uzbekistan are China and Russia (Table 3), which account for 33.8% of the total foreign trade turnover of Uzbekistan [5]. This is followed by Kazakhstan with a specific weight of 8.0%, the Republic of Korea - 6.5% and Turkey - 6.0%.

Table 3 - Main trade partners of Uzbekistan

№	Country	Trade turnover (\$mln.)	Export (\$mln.)	Import (\$mln.)	Share tin turnover
	TOTAL	42 177,8	17 901,7	24 276,1	100%
1	China	7 620,9	2 519,0	5 101,9	18,1%
2	Russia	6 626,9	2 492,5	4 134,4	15,7%
3	Kazakhstan	3 367,8	1 429,7	1 938,0	8,0%
4	The Republic of Korea	2 755,4	93,5	2 661,8	6,5%
5	Turkey	2 525,2	1 203,6	1 321,6	6,0%
6	Germany	980,1	53,9	926,2	2,3%
7	Kyrgyzstan	829,1	679,0	150,0	2,0%
8	Afghanistan	618,0	615,1	2,9	1,5%
9	USA	596,2	29,1	567,1	1,4%
10	Turkmenistan	541,9	145,1	396,8	1,3%
	<i>Others</i>	<i>15 716,3</i>	<i>8 641,2</i>	<i>7 075,4</i>	<i>37,3%</i>

In the structure of Kazakhstan's export to the world, there are most of all mineral products (72.0%), metals and products from

them (14.1%), products of animal and plant origin (5.7%), chemical products (4.6%).

Imports mainly consist of machinery and equipment (43.2%), chemical products (13.8%), metals and products made from them (11.7%), animal and vegetable products (10.0%), mineral products (7.8%).

The main trading partners of Kazakhstan are Russia, China and Italy (Table 4), which account for 45.8% of the total foreign trade turnover of Kazakhstan [6] They are followed by the Republic of Korea with a share of 6.7%, the Netherlands - 4.7% and France - 4.4%.

Table 4 - Main trading partners of Kazakhstan

№	Country	Trade turnover (\$mln.)	Export (\$mln.)	Import (\$mln.)	Share in turnover
	TOTAL	97 774,9	58 065,6	39 709,3	100%
1	Russia	19 983,0	5 670,9	14 312,1	20,4%
2	China	14 792,5	8 003,9	6 788,6	15,1%
3	Italy	9 957,1	8 377,4	1 579,7	10,2%
4	The Republic of Korea	6 545,5	3 080,2	3 465,3	6,7%
5	Netherlands	4 635,6	4 398,3	237,3	4,7%
6	France	4 349,2	3 648,7	700,5	4,4%
7	Uzbekistan	3 415,1	1 996,6	1 418,6	3,5%
8	Turkey	3 237,6	2 420,5	817,1	3,3%
9	Switzerland	2 823,9	2 688,2	135,7	2,9%
10	Spain	2 368,8	2 176,0	192,9	2,4%
	<i>Other countries</i>	<i>25 666,5</i>	<i>15 605,0</i>	<i>10 061,5</i>	<i>26,3%</i>

Considering that both Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have the first two trading partners China and Russia, in the top ten includes the Republic of Korea, Turkey. It makes sense for close cooperation of the two states both in the markets of third countries and in their own markets, complementing each other.

Foreign trade and integration priorities of Uzbekistan

Up to this day, Uzbekistan has not participated in any trade and economic associations, integration unions or free trade agreements, with the exception of the CIS FTA and bilateral agreements between the CIS countries. But despite the existence of bilateral agreements on FTAs (Table 5) not all of them are practically implemented or applied. The table contains information about physically existing and operating RTAs, as well as notifications about existing RTAs [7].

However, since Sh. Mirziyoyev came to the post of president, he began to actively establish trade and economic relations with partners, resuming active negotiations on accession to the WTO, thereby making it clear that the country was moving towards trade liberalization. For the first time, an application for accession to the WTO was filed in 1994, the working group was created in 1998, but since the mid-2000s. its meetings with international experts were suspended. The process of the Republic's accession to the WTO started again in July 2019, when the Uzbek side submitted to the WTO an updated memorandum on the foreign trade regime to consider an application for the country's accession to the organization. In March 2020, Uzbekistan and the United States discussed the repeal of the 1974 Jackson-Vanik amendment to the US Trade Law, "which contradicts the fundamental WTO rules for ensuring" most favored nation in trade", as well as interaction during the fourth meeting of the a group on Uzbekistan's accession to the WTO and giving the country the status of a developing economy to obtain preferences in negotiations with the member countries of the organization [8].

Table 5 - Participation of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in regional trade agreements

Country	Uzbekistan	Kazakhstan
Kyrgyzstan	+	+
Tajikistan	X	X
Turkmenistan	X	X
Azerbaijan	X	X
Armenia	X	+
Belarus	X	+
Georgia	X	+
Moldova	X	X
Russia	+	+
Ukraine	+	+
Vietnam	-	+
Iran	-	+
Serbia	-	+
Singapore	-	+
CIS	+	+
EAEU	-	+

Note: "+" - physically existing and operating RTAs; "X" - notification of valid RTS; "-" - no RTS

At present, Uzbekistan's intention to join the EAEU is being widely discussed. President Sh. Mirziyoyev addressed the chairman of the SEEC with a request to consider and grant Uzbekistan the status of an observer at the EAEU. This is another indicator that Uzbekistan is opening the boundaries of trade and economic cooperation.

Undoubtedly, accession to the EAEU will give Uzbekistan certain benefits, including widen opportunities to increase foreign trade volumes due to the signed and existing free

trade agreements with Vietnam, Iran, Serbia, Singapore. Next, access to a single market of goods, services, capital and labor. The last is of great importance for Uzbekistan. On accession to the EAEU, customs posts at the borders will be removed, which will simplify procedures in mutual trade. There will be an opportunity to expand cooperation with the EAEU member states in different sectors of the economy, implement large investment projects, industrial cooperatives, and territorial clusters. Cooperation in the field of education will provide an opportunity for the training of highly qualified specialists.

For Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan's accession to the EAEU will give approximately the same positive effects as for Uzbekistan itself, such as simplification of border procedures, increase in mutual trade, simplification of transit traffic, free movement of labor.

Nevertheless, Uzbekistan will compete with Kazakhstan in the EAEU markets, in particular, market of agricultural products. There is a risk of ousting from the Russian market such Kazakhstani goods as tomatoes, onions and garlic, sulfates, ethylene polymers, paper pulp, cotton fiber, bed linen, zinc, wires and cables, freight railroad cars for a total amount of about USD 105 million.

Table 6 – main competitors from Uzbekistan for Kazakhstani goods on the Russian market

No	Code	Title	Import of RF from RU (\$ mln.)	Total export of RU (\$ mln.)	Import of RF from RK (\$ mln.)	Total export of RK (\$ mln.)	Total import of RF (\$ mln.)
1	6302	Bed linen, table linen, toilet linen and kitchen linen	21,5	28,4	14,7	14,9	190,8
2	7901	Unwrought zinc	20,1	163,3	16,4	279,3	41,5
3	0702	Tomatoes, fresh or chilled	19,3	46,6	15,1	15,7	629,8
4	3902	Polymers of propylene	19,2	32,3	27,7	30,3	397,8
5	8606	Railway or tramway freight cars, not self-propelled	8,5	9,1	13,7	20,5	66,2
6	5201	Cotton, not carded or combed	3,4	161,6	6,4	78,0	54,2
7	8544	Insulated (including enameled or anodized) wire, cable	9,2	17,0	2,2	11,7	1 060,5
8	4706	Pulps of fibers derived from recovered (waste and scrap) paper or paperboard or of other fibrous cellulosic material	3,7	23,6	2,1	3,0	11,9
9	2833	Sulfates; alums; peroxosulfates	2,3	15,1	1,9	11,3	42,6
10	0703	Onions, shallots, garlic	3,8	18,0	4,4	7,8	127,0
		Итого	110,8	514,9	104,7	472,5	2 622,3

Joint projects and initiatives

One of the positive facts of vertical intra-industry trade between countries is the presence of beneficial aspects of mutual cooperation and acceleration of industrial cooperation. Particular attention should be paid to the possibility of using of the mechanism of joint entrepreneurship, deepening industrial cooperation and trade and economic cooperation. Interstate cooperation is especially important in the production of light industry products, mechanical engineering, and the food industry.

An example - is the joint Kazakh-Uzbek project - the construction of the International Center for Trade and Economic Cooperation “Central Asia” [9].

The international center will be located on the border territories of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan in the area of the crossing points “Zhibek Zholy” and “Gisht Kuprik”. The total area of ICTEC will be 400 hectares.



Figure 3 – Crossing points on the Kazakh-Uzbek border in the South Kazakhstan region

The creation of ICTEC is aimed at the development of international and regional small-scale wholesale and retail trade in the border areas of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. To complete the task, services are provided for storage, packaging and packaging, assembly, pre-export processing

of products. In the future, the products will enter the markets of third countries.

In parallel with the development of mutual trade, there is the task of developing international tourism in the cities of Central Asia along the Silk Road.

The development of the infrastructure of modern international trade in the border areas will ensure the creation of new growth points [10].

Moreover, joint initiatives are a consequence of the development of priority goals, where Kazakhstan has launched a new for Central Asia four-year project Ready4Trade Central Asia (2020-2024) [11]]. The project is being implemented by the International Trade Center (ITC) in partnership with the MTI of RK and the Joint Stock Company “QazTrade” Center for Trade Policy Development”, funded by the EU and aimed at the development of intraregional and international trade between the Central Asian countries, including between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

The goals will be achieved by simplifying trade procedures between countries, strengthening the entrepreneurial potential of businesses, as well as improving cross-border e-commerce.

In order to reduce the time and cost of business in trade, certain procedural and regulatory barriers will be removed and/or simplified; increased transparency and improved predictability of cross-border procedures; accelerated procedural coordination in the region. To increase the competitiveness of business in terms of quality standards, technical regulations, Kazakhstani enterprises will be provided with the necessary knowledge and tools to comply with the requirements of cross-border procedures (a comprehensive export curriculum and an institute of mentors, a national portal on trade facilitation). Also, the

work is underway to strengthen the capacity of SMEs in the basics of e-commerce.

To date, priority export-import goods in trade between the two countries have been selected, teams of national experts have been formed, consultations and negotiations are being held with concerned participants.

As a result, a significant expected result of joint projects of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan may become:

1) Removing major regulatory and procedural barriers to international trade by increasing transparency and predictability of cross-border formalities, eliminating individual regulatory and procedural requirements, and promoting convergence of procedural and regulatory process across the region.

2) Improving the capacity of small and medium-sized enterprises to comply with cross-border requirements, especially quality standards, technical regulations, and relevant preferential trade schemes. This, in turn, will provide individual enterprises with the necessary tools and knowledge to comply with cross-border procedural and regulatory requirements, and expand business support opportunities to assist the private sector in implementing project internationalization initiatives.

3) Increasing opportunities for women-led enterprises to participate in international trade by encouraging women to participate in trade.

The creation of a new economic corridor «Shymkent-Tashkent-Khujand», which will connect Shymkent, Tashkent, Khujand, as well as Turkestan, Tashkent, and Sogd regions, is planned within the framework of the Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation Program. It is home to 15% of the population of Central Asia [12].

There is easy cross-border labor mobility along this corridor, fueled by close

historical, cultural, ethnic and linguistic ties between three countries. These three cities and regions complement each other economically, especially in the areas of agriculture and food.

CAREC economic corridor: «Shymkent-Tashkent-Khujand» will significantly increase the competitiveness of the region, improve the logistics infrastructure, and reduce the cost of production of goods and services.

The catalysts for the creation of an economic corridor were the change in the status of Shymkent, which is now a city of republican significance, and the improvement of the business climate between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

ADB has begun the assessment of the economic potential of the corridor at the request of the member countries of the Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation.

Conclusion

The review of the economic analysis made it possible to conclude that the ongoing integration processes in Central Asia, including Uzbekistan's accession to the WTO and potential accession to the EAEU, shows an inevitable trend of globalization and transformation of the trade regime in the future. The result will be trade liberalization, simplified market access and reduced barriers in the Central Asian region, which in turn will open up opportunities for expanding mutually beneficial cooperation for the countries of the region.

At the same time, there are concerns of high competition in certain sectors of the economy. Nevertheless, the countries of Central Asia should be considered from the point of view of partnership and cooperation, mutual investments, the possibility of creating joint projects to further deepen the

division of labor and joint access to foreign markets.

When considering the beneficial aspects of integration processes and intensifying production cooperation, vertical intra-industry trade takes the main position. The implementation of joint projects such as the creation of ICTEC, Ready4Trade Central

Asia contribute to the formation of modern formats of international and regional trade.

Finally, the deepening of trade and economic cooperation will lead to increased transparency and predictability in Central Asia, simplification of trade requirements, and facilitation of regulatory convergence in the region.

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ANALYSIS OF THE POLICY OF KAZAKHSTAN AND SWEDEN ON BUILDING EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE AND SOCIETY

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Abstract. Throughout the history, government and society have been interconnected. The state is an instrument for the implementation of the sovereign will of society, of the entire people. A citizen having a trouble in any sphere of his/her life, be it healthcare or education, tries to communicate with the government. Sometimes, the communication can be successful and citizen finds the solution of the issue. However, there are cases when the demands and problems of the society are left unheard. Each state creates policies to build an effective communication with its people. The article will provide the analysis of tools and actions of Kazakhstani and Swedish governments to build an efficient relationship with its society.

Key words: *Society, Government, Kazakhstan, Sweden.*

ҚАЗАҚСТАН МЕН ШВЕЦИЯНЫҢ МЕМЛЕКЕТ ПЕН ҚОҒАМ АРАСЫНДАҒЫ ТИІМДІ КОММУНИКАЦИЯ ҚҰРУДАҒЫ САЯСАТЫН ТАЛДАУ

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Аңдатпа. Тарих бойында үкімет пен қоғам бір-бірімен сабақтасып келеді. Мемлекет - бұл қоғамның, бүкіл халықтың егемендігін жүзеге асырудың құралы. Өмірдің кез-келген саласында, мысалы денсаулық сақтау, білім беру және т.б. мәселелерге тап болған азамат билікпен сөйлесуге тырысады. Кейде қарым-қатынас сәтті болуы мүмкін және азамат проблеманың шешімін табады. Алайда, қоғамның қажеттіліктері мен проблемалары естімей қалатын кездер болады. Әр мемлекет өз халқымен тиімді коммуникация құру үшін саясат жасайды. Мақалада Қазақстан мен Швеция үкіметтерінің өз қоғамымен тиімді қарым-қатынас орнату бойынша құралдары мен іс-әрекеттеріне талдау жасалады.

Түйін сөздер: *қоғам, билік, Қазақстан, Швеция.*

АНАЛИЗ ПОЛИТИКИ КАЗАХСТАНА И ШВЕЦИИ ПО ПОСТРОЕНИЮ ЭФФЕКТИВНЫХ КОММУНИКАЦИЙ МЕЖДУ ГОСУДАРСТВОМ И ОБЩЕСТВОМ

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Аннотация. На протяжении всей истории правительство и общество были взаимосвязаны. Государство – инструмент реализации суверенной воли общества, всего народа. Гражданин, у которого проблемы в любой сфере жизни, будь то здравоохранение, образование, будет пытаться обратиться к государству. Иногда общение может быть успешным, и гражданин находит решение проблемы. Однако бывают случаи, когда запросы и проблемы общества остаются неуслышанными. Каждая страна разрабатывает политику для построения эффективного общения со своим народом. В статье будет представлен анализ инструментов и действий правительств Казахстана и Швеции по построению эффективных отношений со своим обществом.

Ключевые слова: *общество, государство, Казахстан, Швеция.*

In the UN understanding, governance is democratic only when each individual and all citizens, without exception, have the opportunity to build their future and ensure the development of their society. Respect for human rights is a prerequisite for realizing human potential. The main

problems in the effective realization of human rights are the lack of democracy, weakness of leaders and democratic institutions [1].

As the President of Kazakhstan, K. Tokayev claims “Kazakhstani citizens are greatly concerned about the development

of a dialogue between the authorities and society. Such a dialogue should be based on the recognition of pluralism of opinions. Different opinions, but one nation. Here is the main landmark” [2].

In general, the orientation of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and his team towards openness, the implementation of a dialogue with society, the creation of new and improvement of existing mechanisms of interaction of state bodies of all levels with citizens and non-state structures fully justifies itself, contributing to an increase in the level of public confidence in the country’s leadership and its support of the official political course.

One of the state-of-the-art tools to build an efficient communication with the population is to create an online platform. Since April 22, 2019, the Virtual Reception of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan has been operating. It enables every citizen to send inquiries to the name of the Head of State and receive answers that have legal force. In just 3 months since the opening of this reception, about 1,500 applications were received here, which were subsequently considered by authorized employees of the Presidential Administration [3].

During his election campaign, Tokayev initiated a republican action “Birge” from May 13 to June 7, 2019, within the framework of which interested citizens were given the opportunity to voice their concerns and offer their options for their solution, sending them to the public reception offices of the then candidate for Presidents of the Republic of Kazakhstan. As a result of this action, Tokayev received more than 500 thousand proposals and wishes. Later, they and the provisions of the pre-election program of the Head of State formed the basis for a list of 106 measures within 19 directions entrusted to implementation by authorized

state bodies. In addition, during the pre-election campaign, 228 public reception offices of Tokayev worked throughout the country, receiving more than 21 thousand citizens [4].

In his first Address to the people of Kazakhstan, Kassym-Zhomart Tokayev put forward the concept of a “Hearing State”, which is a mechanism for ensuring a constant dialogue between the authorities and society, responding promptly and effectively to all requests of citizens. It is obvious that the practical implementation of this concept is carried out as follows. First of all, on June 12, 2019, the National Council of Public Confidence was established under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The main goal of its activities is to develop proposals and recommendations on topical issues of state policy based on a broad discussion with representatives of the public. The Council’s competence includes such tasks as conducting a public examination of draft concepts, state programs and regulatory legal acts, considering significant strategic issues taking into account the views of civil society, ensuring a constructive dialogue between representatives of the public, political parties, the non-governmental sector and government bodies [5].

During the second meeting of the National Council of Public Trust, held on December 20, 2019, the Head of State summed up the interim results of the work of this body and outlined specific measures that constituted the first package of reforms of a political, economic and social nature. The following activities are included in the political and legal block of relevant reforms:

1. Introduction of the principle of notification of organizing peaceful assemblies.
2. Reducing the registration barriers required to create political parties, including

reducing the minimum number of party members from 40 thousand to 20 thousand people.

3. Introduction of a mandatory 30% quota for women and youth on the electoral lists of political parties.

4. Legalization of the institution of parliamentary opposition.

5. Ensuring the accession of Kazakhstan to the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

6. Humanization of Article 174 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Incitement of social, national, tribal, racial, class or religious hatred) [6].

Another important direction in the implementation of the concept of the “Hearing State” is to improve the mechanisms of interaction between state bodies of different levels with the population. In addition to the Virtual Reception, in July 2019, in the Administration of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, a Department for monitoring the consideration of applications was created [7].

In his Address to the people of Kazakhstan dated September 2, 2019 “Constructive public dialogue is the basis of stability and prosperity in Kazakhstan”, the Head of State Kassym-Zhomart Tokayev set a specific task for the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan to improve the legislation on rallies. In particular, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan noted that “According to the Constitution, our citizens have the right to freely express their will. If peaceful actions do not pursue the goal of violating the law and the peace of citizens, then you need to meet halfway and, in accordance with the procedure established by law, give permission for their conduct, allocate special places for this. Moreover, not on the outskirts of cities. But any calls

for unconstitutional actions, hooligan actions will be suppressed within the law “. Moreover, the director of the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Zarema Shaukenova claims that the law on peaceful assemblies signed by the President has become a confirmation of the successful implementation of the concept of a “hearing state”, since with the adoption of this law, the channel of communication between the authorities and society is expanding. Any protest action is a signal for the authorities, a way to get feedback from the active part of Kazakhstanis, expressing certain moods in society, publicly voicing problematic issues, requests and aspirations of certain groups of the population, as well as individual citizens [8].

The general public’s trust in the European Union, as in other political institutions, has steadily eroded over the past decades, with a significant drop since the start of the financial and economic crisis in 2008. Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission, acknowledged this worrying trend in his inaugural speech at the European Parliament in November 2014, when he set the tone for his “last-chance Commission”: “Either we succeed in bringing the European citizens closer to Europe — or we will fail” [9].

If to speak about one European state, Sweden has for a long time been viewed as a paradigmatic case for progressive politics. Swedish social democracy, to which the progressive character of such politics was attributed, could legitimately claim to have mastered the historic task of the revisionist Left: building a societal coalition around the goal of enhancing social welfare for all, while safeguarding the profitability of business and delivering economic growth.

Openness and transparency are vital

ingredients in Swedish democracy. A democratic society is protected by four basic laws: The Government Act, the Freedom of the Press Act, the Basic Law on Freedom of Expression and the Succession Act. These laws constitute the Swedish Constitution and take precedence over all other laws. The constitution states that all citizens have the right to freely seek information, organize demonstrations, form political parties and practice their religion.

Based on the idea of transparency, Sweden has a website – **openaid.se** – which is built on open government data. It offers individuals, NGOs, aid recipients and officials the chance to access and study official government data. The aim is to further transparency and openness in humanitarian efforts and to inspire other institutions to increase their transparency and openness towards the public [10].

In Sweden, plenty of NGOs as well as individual activists are involved in the advancement of human rights. Among the Swedish organizations active both at home and abroad is Civil Rights Defenders, which works to empower human rights activists at risk [11].

Moreover, Sweden is committed to increasing digital collaboration among government agencies in order to improve citizen-centric services. With this commitment, the government expected to promote a more open government that supports innovation and participation by working towards a shared and open digital

infrastructure. Overall, this commitment was found to have moderate potential impact. The milestone activities were important prerequisites for the implementation of the innovative, multi-annual e-government programme. The programme, adopted by Parliament in December 2014, is focused on the development of digital services to facilitate contacts between public authorities and citizens or companies [12].

Sweden has a remarkable track record in sustaining a high level of well-being of its citizens. The country performs above the OECD average in all dimensions of the OECD's Better Life Index, and these good outcomes are typically shared widely across the population. In addition, Sweden is one of the leading countries in receiving asylum seekers.

To sum up, based on the analysis we can state that both states are making conditions for better life of their citizens. In the times of technological progress, interaction of government and society is based on electronic platform. In both countries electronic platform was built “to hear” their citizens. We can claim that current task of governments is to form effective feedback with the population. The task of state bodies is to comply with the criteria of a “hearing state”, to work out in detail each appeal received, to actively explain in an accessible language information about current programs and policies pursued by state bodies etc.

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ANALYSIS OF THE OPEN DIALOGUE PLATFORM: THE CASE OF ANTI- CORRUPTION AGENCY

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Abstract. Countries around the world are developing Open government or E-government online platforms, where citizens can directly participate in the elaboration of legal norms, budgeting as well as address the authorities on various matters. In this paper author conducts an analysis of the Open Dialogue platform that is available for the ordinary citizens within the framework of Kazakhstani E-government. The focus of the analysis is the appeals of citizens toward the Head of Anti-Corruption Agency of Kazakhstan. The various trends are identified: the main reasons for the appeals; the regions that most frequently appeal; government bodies that most often criticized by the public; the ways how anti-corruption agency resolves the issues of citizens.

Key words: *Anti-Corruption Agency, Open Dialogue, Appeal, Accountability, Open Government, Citizen Engagement*

АШЫҚ ДИАЛОГ ПЛАТФОРМАСЫН ТАЛДАУ: СЫБАЙЛАС ЖЕМҚОРЛЫҚҚА ҚАРСЫ АГЕНТТІК КЕЙСІ

Слямжар Ахметжаров

Аңдатпа. Бүкіл әлем бойынша елдер ашық үкіметтік немесе электрондық үкіметтік онлайн-платформаларды дамытады, онда азаматтар құқықтық нормаларды

әзірлеуге, бюджетті жасауға тікелей қатыса алады, сондай-ақ түрлі мәселелер бойынша билікке жүгіне алады. Бұл мақалада автор қазақстандық электрондық үкімет шеңберінде қатардағы азаматтар үшін қолжетімді ашық сұхбат алаңына талдау жүргізеді. Талдаудың басты мақсаты азаматтардың Қазақстанның сыбайлас жемқорлыққа қарсы агенттігінің басшысына өтініштері болып табылады. Әр түрлі бағыттар анықталды: өтініштердің негізгі себептері; жиі жүгінетін аймақтар; халық жиі сынайтын мемлекеттік органдар; сыбайлас жемқорлыққа қарсы агенттіктің азаматтардың мәселелерін қалай шешу жолдары.

Түйін сөздер: *сыбайлас жемқорлыққа қарсы агенттік, ашық диалог, апелляция, есеп беру, ашық үкімет, азаматтық қатысу*

АНАЛИЗ ПЛАТФОРМЫ ОТКРЫТОГО ДИАЛОГА: КЕЙС АНТИКОРРУПЦИОННОГО АГЕНТСТВА

Слямжар Ахметжаров

Аннотация. Страны по всему миру разрабатывают онлайн-платформы открытого правительства или электронного правительства, где граждане могут принимать непосредственное участие в разработке правовых норм, формировании бюджетов, а также обращаться к властям по различным вопросам. В данной статье автор проводит анализ платформы «Открытый диалог», доступной для граждан Казахстана в рамках электронного правительства. Предметом анализа являются обращения граждан к руководителю Антикоррупционного агентства Казахстана. В ходе анализа были выявлены ряд тенденций: основные причины обращений; наиболее часто обращающиеся регионы, наиболее критикуемые государственные органы; пути решения антикоррупционным агентством запросов граждан.

Ключевые слова: *антикоррупционное агентство, открытый диалог, обращение, подотчетность, открытое правительство, гражданское участие*

Introduction: government and accountability

The concept of good governance has become the fashionable nowadays. Countries around the world try to incorporate the elements of good governance into their public administrative frameworks. The World Bank starting from the 1996 conducts regular assessment of countries in terms of various parameters, one of which is the voice and accountability. Generally, the accountability implies the situation when the actions of the particular body are the subject for the monitoring and inspection from the side of other institutions.

Taking broader perspective, there are different ways in which governments can be held accountable. From the perspective

of the Public Administration discipline accountability implies the responsibility of the civil servants to disclose the information regarding how public resources are being used as well as how the state bodies are achieving their objectives [1] [2]. Going further, there are different types of accountabilities indicated by scholars. For instance, Bovens points toward the political accountability, which is when the elected officials are obliged to account for their actions in front of the population [3]. This is because the elected officials are the representatives of the citizens, the latter literally delegated their power to the formers.

Another form of accountability is the social one. According to the Joshi

and Houtzager the application of social accountability requires from authorities the citizen-centered governance style [4]. The citizens are expected to participate in the decision-making process as well as the allocation of the budget resources into the various activities. However, Grandvoinet and Raha suggest that the notion of social accountability and consequent concept of citizens' participation is very context depended [5]. This is because societies in the different parts of the world diverge considerably in terms of the readiness and ambition to be involved into the decision-making process or the oversight of the political authorities.

Some scholars tried to investigate the notion of the accountability from the perspective of the principal-agent framework. Griffin et al consider citizens as the principals, who are supposed to set objectives and targets for the agents, which are the governments [6]. However, scholars indicate that in authoritarian regimes the principle-agent framework works in a different way in comparison to democracies. To be more precise, in autocracies citizens are excluded from any forms of participation in the decision-making process. Thus, the principal-agent relations purely occur within the governmental apparatus, where the political authorities take the role of principal, whereas the administrative servants are the agents. In contrast, in democratic countries citizens take the role of principals, which puts a pressure on the governments and makes the accountable in front of the population.

One of the recent trends in governance practices around the world is the introduction of the so-called online open platforms designed to make the governments more transparent in front of the society. In the international framework the Open Government initiative has been driven forward by the OECD. This organization gives credits to the Open Government since it provides the inclusivity of citizens into

the process of decision-making, maintains the system of checks and balances as well as speeds up the processes of acquiring the services [7]. According to the Linders and Wilson the widespread introduction of the open databases and provision of online services by governments are aimed to make the processes within the state's bureaucracy clear and transparent to the public [8].

O'Connor et al argue that Kazakhstani authorities are not truly committed to the objectives of the Open Government [9]. Scholars point out that state's bureaucratic apparatus resist against the top-down initiative of the implementation of this online platform. This is because Open Government requires from the civil servants the transparency and accountability, the very concepts that undermine the informal practices within the Kazakhstani civil service. Thus, O'Connor et al evaluate the adoption of the Open Government in Kazakhstan as a symbolic measure directed toward stimulation of the international image of the country.

Open Government in Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan has already taken steps to boosting its government's social accountability. In 2015 the First President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has announced "100 concrete steps" policy. The purpose of this program is the implementation of systemic reforms in Kazakhstan in order to enter the 30 most competitive countries in the world. In this program in the 94th step the need for the launch of Open Government is specifically mentioned.

The Open Government platform has been introduced in Kazakhstan in the year of 2016. This platform functions within the framework of Electronic Government, which has been developing in the country smoothly since 2006. According on the provided information on the web-site the

mission of the Open Government is “to create a transparent accountable state, empower citizens to manage the state, strengthen the fight against corruption, and use new technologies to improve the effectiveness of public administration.”

There are different instruments through which citizens can monitor the actions of state bodies and engage into the decision-making process on the Open Government platform. Citizens can observe the relevant statistical data uploaded by state bodies through the *Open Data* component. By using the *Open Legal Acts* component citizens can learn the recent legal documents that have been adopted by the state. Another feature is the *Open Budget* component, where citizens can find out all the expenses initiated by state bodies. Also, citizens can evaluate the performance of state bodies through the component of *Assessment of the Effectiveness of Government Agencies*. Last but not least, citizens have the opportunity for directly addressing the heads of state bodies through the component of *Open Dialogue*.

The *Open Dialogue* tool allows citizens to make an appeal to the heads of central government bodies such as Ministers and heads of various agencies as well as to ask questions from the regional and local Akims. According to the “*Law on access to information*” the state bodies are obliged to provide the response for the requests during the 15 days.

There are several issues with the functioning of Open Government in Kazakhstan. Firstly, lack of wide coverage of Internet, especially in rural areas set obstacles for the inhabitants of these regions to fully access the service. Secondly, in order to access to the Open Government platform, individuals need to have the electronic signatures. This requirement serves as the sort of filter for ordinary citizens, since the procedure of obtaining the electronic

signatures requires from the citizens to visit the One-stop shop centres, which is time consuming. In addition, in order to use the Open Government platform, citizens need to have the certain level of computer literacy. As the procedure of entrance on the platform and online interaction with the governmental bodies demand the computer skills. Consequently, some categories of population due to low computer literacy levels are deprived of the opportunity to use the tools of the Open Government.

In this paper particular interest presents the communication process that takes place on the *Open Dialogue* service between the Head of Anti-Corruption Agency Alik Shpekbayev and the citizens. It should be mentioned that according to the Transparency International Kazakhstan’s report the Head of Anti-Corruption Agency along with the Ministers of Interior, Healthcare and Labour are among the top recipients of requests from the citizens [10].

Research questions and methodology

It worth considering in details how the state bodies interact with ordinary citizens through the *Open Dialogue* platform. For this paper, the Anti-Corruption agency is chosen as the unit of analysis. This is because, Anti-Corruption body has the legitimate authority and capacity to monitor the public authorities on their compliance with the ethical standards and anti-corruption regulation. Ordinary people appeal to Anti-Corruption agency in order to find justice. Thus, it would be interesting to find out the tendencies that emerge through the communication of this body with the society. The forthcoming **research questions are:**

1. What are the most common causes for the appeals to the Head of Anti-Corruption agency?
2. Which regions most frequently appeal to the Anti-corruption agency?

3. Which government bodies are most often criticized by applicants?

4. How does Anti-corruption agency resolve the issues of applicants?

In order to find the answers to the research questions, I have applied the content analysis of the online appeals to the Head of Anti-Corruption agency on the *Open Dialogue* platform.

I have analyzed 341 appeals over the period of August-October 2019. It should be mentioned that considered appeals were either in Russian and Kazakh languages. After the analysis of the appeals I was able to answer to the posed research questions and identify important trends that emerge during the communication process between the Head of Anti-Corruption Agency and the ordinary citizens.

Findings

1. Most common causes for the appeals

The core reasons for the making of appeals to the Head of Anti-Corruption Agency have emerged gradually as the main bulk of requests have been analyzed. There is a variation in the causes for the appeals. For the most part citizens address the Head of Anti-Corruption agency when they directly or indirectly encounter with the cases of corruption. Another popular reason for the appeal is dissatisfaction of citizens with the level of service provided by state bodies as well as the incompetence of civil servants. Besides, people complain about the red tape in the governmental apparatus that set obstacles for the solution of the issues of applicants. It follows that those who are disagree with the courts decisions also appeal to the Heads of Anti-Corruption Agency. In addition, citizens make complaints about the abuse of authority. To make it clearer, the list of the most popular topics in requests looks as follows:

Table 1. – The most popular reasons to appeal to the Head of Anti-Corruption Agency

Reason for the request	Frequency
Applicants' encounter with corruption	18,6 %
Poor-quality work of state bodies and incompetence of civil servants	16,3 %
Red tape	15,7 %
Disagreement with the courts decisions	12,5 %
Abuse of authority	9,8 %

As it can be noticed abovementioned five most popular reasons of the appeals constitute more than 70% of all the requests made to the Head of Anti-Corruption Agency. It worth considering in details each of the reasons of the appeals.

Applicants' encounter with the corruption

According to the analysis of the requests on the Open Dialogue platform, corrupt related practices are most salient in the next institutional bodies:

- Police
- Hospitals
- Tax department
- Bailiffs
- Quasi-governmental organizations

Within the police department, citizens point toward the money extortion practices from the side of road police:

“Dear Alik Zhatkambaevich (the Head of Anti-Corruption agency). On the Almaty-Talgar highway, police officers do not issue fine tickets for the exceed of speed limit instead they threaten the car drivers with deprivation of driver license. Many drivers solve this problem informally. They pay about 10,000 - 15,000 tenge directly to the pockets of police officers. Police officers stop hundreds of cars each day. I ask you to conduct an investigation and undertake necessary measures in order to stop such practices on the road Almaty-Talgar.”

The complaints regarding the corrupt practices in hospitals indicate that doctors are bribed by patients in order to

circumvent the queues, receive the quotas for surgeries, obtain the medicine that is already subsidized by the government.

In regards to Tax department, citizens complain about the regular inspection conducted by tax officers, who are inclined toward the extortion of money from the small enterprises.

According to the requests of the applicants, they faced the corruption from the bailiffs. These agents required the bribes for the removal of the seizure of the bank accounts.

The citizens encountered with the corruption from the side of quasi-governmental organizations. Mainly these were the monopolist bodies, which provide the water, energy, and other goods for the consumers. The corruption activities usually occur when the employees of such monopolist organizations connect the citizens to these services.

Poor-quality work of state bodies and incompetence of civil servants

Complainants point toward the incompetence of police officers in investigation the criminal cases. Usually, citizens refer to the inability of policemen to investigate adequately the home theft and robbery cases.

Requests regarding the improper work of hospitals contained the information about severe consequences of the medical errors that resulted in the deterioration of the health of patients and in some cases to the unexpected deaths of the relatives of complainants.

Also, complainants indicate the reluctance of the tax department employees to provide the comprehensive information about the order and technicalities of tax payments. The formal answers to the requests of complainants lead to the repetition of the requests.

Going further, the complaints regarding the bailiffs indicate the issues that arise during the process of collection of alimonies. Women claim that bailiffs are ineffective in

the enforcement of the court decisions to extract the money transfers from their ex-husbands.

In addition, citizens by and large make the complaints about the interruptions in the supply of gas, water, electricity and heating provided by the monopolists. Also, citizens indicate that monthly bills do not correspond with the actual amount of the services received.

Red tape

The citizens complain about the red tape that takes place within the police department. The various appeals demonstrate the ineffectiveness of the government bureaucracy in dealing with the problems of citizens. For instance, the appeal below shows how the representatives of the Ministry of Interior slow down the investigation process:

We sent several letters through the e-government portal to the address of Minister of the Interior E.Z. Turgumbaev. Despite our repeated appeals to him and other higher officials, no effective measures have been taken by the Turksib Department of Internal Affairs in Almaty! There are only formal replies and excuses! The deputy head of the Turksib police department, Reshetnikov, and senior operative Asanov N., were from the very beginning aware of the suspects in our theft, but they did not take any action to speed up the disclosure! We also believe that these law enforcement officers delayed the detection of the crime for two (2) years! For all these two years, we have seen the investigator in our case only once. It seems that we, the citizens of the Republic of Kazakhstan, who are in a difficult life situation, hoping for the help of our state and the justice of the authorities, are writing to nowhere. Before us a long time ago a wall of indifference hypocrisy and falsehood arose! Tell me, where else can we address?! At the UN? To international human rights organizations? Should we start really the public outcry in social media in order to attract the attention from

the governing bodies and law enforcement bodies?

Abuse of authority

Complainants report about the extensive pressure from the police in regard to the applicants or their relatives. There are cases when police forced applicants to withdraw the statements or plead guilty for committing crime:

“Good afternoon, Alik Zhatkambaevich. My name is Sergey Alekseyevich Snitsarenko. This is a complaint against police officers. On November 17, 2019, at about 4 p.m.-5 p.m., near the tax building in Kostanay St. Maulenova 21, I was approached by 2 police officers in civilian clothes, without presenting an official certificate and without introducing themselves, without explaining my rights and obligations, they asked me to go with them to the police station. They said that received a statement in regards to my name. They, talked rudely to me and prevented me from using the mobile phone. Although my identity was established and I had an identity card with me, they kept in the department for 6 hours, They put pressure on me, the detention protocol was not drawn up. They prevented me from contacting a lawyer and relatives. Two mobile phones of the Samsung and LG brand were seized in the department without my consent. I kindly request that appropriate measures be taken with respect to the unlawful actions of police officers. My rights and freedoms were violated, I intend to appeal to all the relevant authorities.”

Other reasons for appeals

Apart from complaining on the poor performance of government bodies and the related corruption cases, citizens propose the various suggestions in order to improve the provision of the public services as well as combat the corruption. For instance, there is a suggestion to oblige all the civil servants, including the political and administrative ones to declare the earnings. According to the complainant this will

stimulate the principles of transparency and accountability among the civil servants:

“Currently, state employees are divided into 2 categories: civil and public servants. Salaries of civil servants are regulated by the Decree of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated December 31, 2015 No. 1193 “On the system of remuneration of civil servants, employees of organizations supported by the state budget, employees of state enterprises” where everything is transparent and you can find out what the monetary content of certain employees of state institutions and state treasury enterprises. However, the salaries of administrative and political civil servants are still kept secret, although their material support comes from taxpayers. Thus, I recommend you in order to implement the principles of transparency and accountability to introduce an open access regarding salaries of administrative and political public servants.”

It is interesting to note, how citizens, particularly businesspeople report about the ineffectiveness of the various state programs, which are directed toward supporting the small and medium enterprises. For instance, number of citizens indicate the difficulties in acquiring the low interest rate loans distributed through the Entrepreneurship development fund “Damu” or the National Chamber of Entrepreneurs “Atameken”. Also, entrepreneurs encourage the Anti-Corruption agency to initiate the audit of the national holdings “Samuryk-Kazyna” and “Baiterek” as these bodies in the eyes of public do not provide the level playing field in the procurement process for all the entrepreneurs.

2. Level of engagement of regions

Generally, in terms of the number of appeals to the Head of Anti-Corruption Agency, regions could be divided into the three groups. The first group is the regions with high appeal rate that is between 10-20%. Citizens from Almaty city, Astana city and Almaty region appeal at a considerably

higher rate in comparison with other regions. Partly this can be explained by the higher population densities in these regions. However, weak performance of governmental bodies accompanied by the widespread corruption are another reasons for the higher rate of appeals from these regions.

The appeal rate in another group of regions constitutes around 6-10%. While in the third group the proportion of appeals out of total number of analyzed appeals constitutes less than 5%. It is evident that the regions with low population densities appeal less as opposed to regions with the high populations. The full list of regions with the appeal rates is presented below:

Table 2. – The ranking of regions in terms of the appeals to the Head of Anti-Corruption Agency

Region	Number of appeals	Proportion out of total number of analysed appeals
Almaty city	61	17,9%
Astana city	47	13,8%
Almaty region	44	12,9%
Shymkent city	29	8,5%
East Kazakhstan region	22	6,4%
Turkestan region	22	6,4%
Kyzylorda region	21	6,2%
Karaganda region	17	4,9%
Pavlodar region	15	4,4%
North Kazakhstan region	14	4,2%
Atyrau region	9	2,6%
Zhambyl region	8	2,4%
Aktobe region	8	2,4%
Kostanay region	7	2,1%
Mangistau region	6	1,7%
West Kazakhstan region	6	1,7%
Akmola region	5	1,5%

3. Governmental bodies with high rate of appeals

According to the analysis of the citizens' complaints Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Health are the general recipients of the

criticism in the appeals. The poor work performance as well as extensive corruption practices in the police and hospitals motivate people to complain through the Open Dialogue platform. Almost half of analyzed appeals to the Head of Anti-Corruption Agency (158 out 341) contain the complaints in regard to the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Health.

4. Response strategies of Anti-Corruption agency

In response to the complaints of citizens Anti-corruption agency usually exercises the two options. Firstly, in case the described violations fall under the competence of the Anti-corruption body, the investigation is initiated. Consequently, the disciplinary measures can be undertaken in regards to the employees of governmental bodies, who violated the ethical standards or demonstrated poor performance. Also, when the citizens provide enough evidence of public servants engagement into the corruption activities, the prosecution measures can be undertaken and those cases can be brought to the trials.

Another popular method of response is the redirection of the appeals to other governmental bodies. As a rule, Anti-Corruption body refers to the law, where General Prosecution office conducts supreme supervision over the legislature. Thus, the responses, which do not fall under the competence of Anti-Corruption agency are redirected to the General Prosecution office. Typically, the redirection statement is presented in the following way:

“We clarify that according to the Regulation on the Anti-Corruption Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan approved by Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated July 22, 2019 No. 74, this issue is not the responsibility of the Agency. According to Article 5 of the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On the Prosecutor’s Office”, the prosecutor’s office exercises supreme supervision over the legality of the activities of law enforcement

agencies in the field of pre-trial investigation. That is why your complaint was sent to the General Prosecutor's Office of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan in order for further investigation. In case of disagreement with this answer, you have the right to appeal it"

Concluding remarks: open dialogue's assessment issues

Taking everything into consideration, Anti-Corruption agency most of the time explain the nuances of the legislature to the citizens and responsibilities and scope of the functioning of each governmental body. The Anti-Corruption body explains to applicants which body is responsible for their particular question.

It could be noticed that the individuals consider the Anti-Corruption agency as the ultimate authority, which is capable of resolving the issues of citizens. This is especially evident during the analysis of the complaints that come from the regions. Individuals could not solve their problems at the regional level, thus they are forced to appeal to the central level, where Anti-Corruption agency has the special role.

It should be indicated that according to the decree N45 of the Minister of the Information of Kazakhstan dated 6th of February 2017 all the state bodies are assessed in terms of the management of the Open Government platform. To be more precise, state bodies are evaluated in terms of the number of documents they uploaded into the portals of *Open Data*, *Open Legal Acts*, *Open Budget*. As for the *Open Dialogue* portal the state bodies are assessed in terms of the response

rate to the appeals. In the assessment process the points on the scale from 1 to 10 are given for the fulfilment of each component of the Open Government platform.

The major drawback of the evaluation process conducted by the Ministry of Information is that it does not include the assessment of the quality of the data uploaded by the state bodies into the portal. In the similar way, the responses of the state officials to the appeals of the citizens on the *Open Dialogue* portal are not evaluated in terms of the resolution of the issues. So, there is no direct incentive for state bodies to resolve the problems of citizens, instead it is enough to provide some explanation to the citizen or redirect his or her appeal for other state bodies.

As a result, such a drawback in the assessment process set obstacles for the further development of the *Open Dialogue* portal in the process of communication between state officials and ordinary citizens. The responses of the state bodies to the appeals do not provide them legitimacy in the eyes of the public. Thus, the Open Government platform and particularly *Open Dialogue* portal still remain the symbolic initiatives of the Kazakhstani authorities implemented in order to build the positive image of the country on the international arena. So, there is an urgent need for the modification of the assessment process in Open Government platform with the emphasis on the quality of the information provided by the state bodies as well as the resolution of the appeals of citizens. Such modification in near future will make the state more transparent and accountable in front of the Kazakhstani population.

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CRISIS IN THE EU: VECTORS OF DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract. The article examines in detail the current development trends of the European Union in the context of combating the coronavirus pandemic. The author demonstrates the current state of affairs in the EU in health care, economy, social sphere. Provides data on further GDP growth and the welfare of the entire eurozone in the current crisis. In addition, the analysis of the EU foreign policy in the context of global instability, tension with the “centers of global power” (USA, China, Russia) was carried out. Special attention is paid to the further development strategy with Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Key words: *Foreign Policy, Domestic Policy, Covid-19 Pandemic, Defence and Security.*

ЕО ДАҒДАРЫСЫ: ДАМУ ВЕКТОРЛАРЫ

Әлішер Әбдірешев

Андатпа. Мақалада Еуропалық Одақтың коронавирус пандемиясына қарсы тұру жағдайындағы қазіргі даму тенденциялары егжей-тегжейлі қарастырылған. Автор денсаулық сақтау, экономика, әлеуметтік салалардағы ЕО-ның қазіргі жағдайын көрсетеді. Қазіргі дағдарыс жағдайында ЖІӨ-нің одан әрі өсуі және бүкіл еуроаймақтың әл-ауқаты туралы мәліметтер береді. Сонымен қатар, жаһандық тұрақсыздық, әлемдік «қуат орталықтарымен» (АҚШ, ҚХР, РФ) шиеленісу жағдайында ЕО сыртқы саясатына талдау жасалды. Орталық Азия мен Қазақстанмен одан әрі даму стратегиясына ерекше назар аударылады.

Түйін сөздер: *сыртқы саясат, ішкі саясат, коронавирус пандемиясы, қорғаныс және қауіпсіздік.*

КРИЗИС В ЕС: ВЕКТОРЫ РАЗВИТИЯ

Алишер Абдрешев

Аннотация. В статье подробно рассмотрены текущие тенденции развития Европейского союза в контексте борьбы с пандемией коронавируса. Автор демонстрирует текущее состояние дел ЕС в здравоохранении, экономике, социальной сфере. Приводятся данные по дальнейшему росту ВВП и благосостоянию всей еврозоны в условиях существующего кризиса. Кроме того, проведен анализ внешней политики ЕС в условиях глобальной нестабильности, напряженности с мировыми «центрами силами» (США, КНР, РФ). Отдельное внимание уделено дальнейшей стратегии развития с Центральной Азией и Казахстаном.

Ключевые слова: *внешняя политика, внутренняя политика, пандемия коронавируса, оборона и безопасность.*

Introduction

The crisis caused by the coronavirus pandemic has led to significant negative economic and social consequences and health problems in the European countries. Currently, the main focus of the EU's domestic policy remains on combating the spread of COVID-19, restoring and restarting the economy. The main challenge for the countries of the region is implementation of a coherent policy.

Besides, the European Union is facing new challenges in the foreign policy. Transatlantic tensions in NATO, the declining global influence of the United States, the growing role of China and difficult relations with the Russian Federation are forcing the EU to transform its foreign policy. Announced in July this year, the motto of Germany's presidency in the Council of Europe, "Together for Europe's recovery", implies not only measures to save the economies of the EU countries, but also the intention to take the position of a key geopolitical player in the rapidly changing global world order.

Domestic policy

Health Policy

A special feature of the European Union is that the health policy in general is the prerogative of national governments of member states, including the power to impose a state of emergency and anti-epidemic measures. The political powers of EU institutions are limited to a coordinating role.

However, there are still significant differences between European countries in financing and quality of healthcare. Thus, while the leading countries in terms of healthcare spending are France and Germany with 11.3% of GDP, the least-expenditure countries are Luxembourg with 5.5% of GDP and Romania with 5.2% of GDP.

With the spread of the coronavirus in the EU in February–March this year, the primary measures of European States were taken at the national level, including closure of borders (provided for in EU treaties in emergency situations) and a temporary ban on the export of medical equipment, which caused criticism of EU countries for focusing on their own interests and EU institutions for inaction in the first weeks of the pandemic.

The introduction of large-scale EU measures to combat coronavirus was in mid-March this year, including allocation of 37 billion euro of budget funds to support healthcare, business and labor, adoption of an agreement on joint procurement of protective equipment between 25 European countries, allocation of 47.5 million euro for 17 research projects in the field of antiviral vaccines and testing.

Also, at the suggestion of the European Commission (EC), the first joint strategic medical equipment reserve (rescEU stockpile) within the EU Civil Protection Mechanism was established in March this year to assist EU states in the fight against coronavirus, including the provision of equipment for laboratories, artificial ventilation devices, reusable masks, drugs and vaccines. The equipment is distributed according to country needs by the Emergency Response Coordination Centre.

Economic policy

In the third quarter of 2020, EU GDP decreased by 3.9% indicating a recession in the region. Besides, relative to the second quarter, GDP increased by 12.1%. Currently, the largest GDP growth is in France (18.2%), Spain (16.7%) and Italy (16.1%). According to IMF forecasts, EU GDP growth will reach 5.3% in 2021 [1] [2].

The EU's measures aimed at stabilizing the economic situation is primarily in launching the ECB's quantitative easing program to ensure the economy's liquidity through retirement of securities, providing the ECB with concessional loans to banks in the euro area, suspending the European Commission's restrictions on national budget deficits and the level of public debt, as well as restrictions on state aid to European companies.

The Emergency Program to support the

European economy in the amount of 540 billion euro presented by the European Commission, the European Investment Bank and the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) in April this year includes three components:

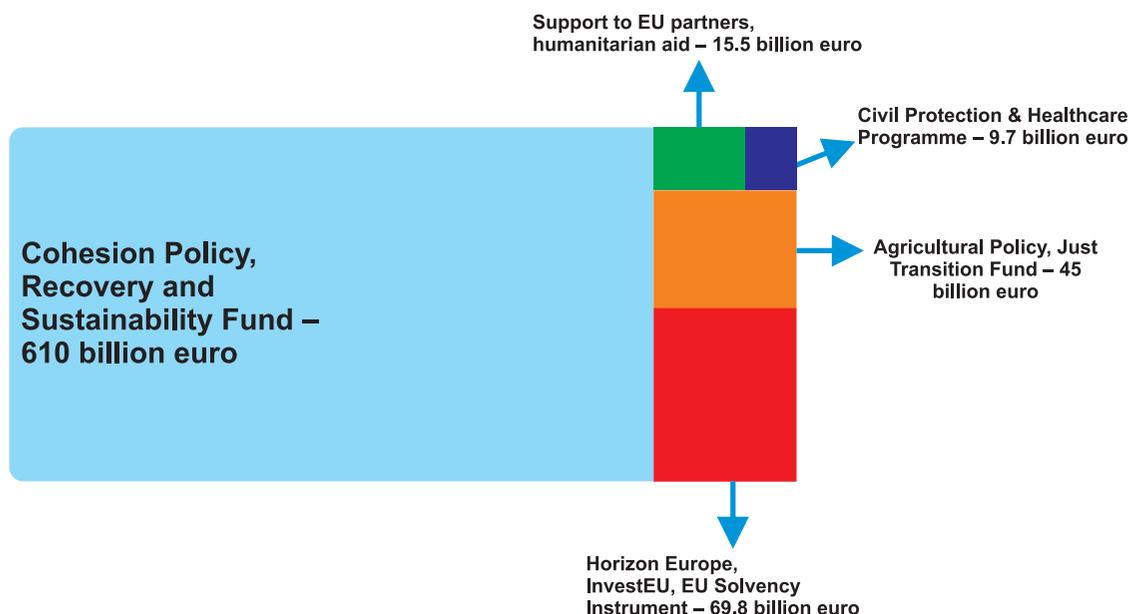
- Support to Mitigate Unemployment Risks in an Emergency or SURE in the amount of 100 billion euro of targeted compensation to employers (including Italy, Spain);
- the program of concessional lending in the amount of 200 billion euro to support small and medium-sized businesses;
- 240 billion euro in the form of borrowed funds to prevent the default of the most affected countries (Italy, Spain) [3].

A large-scale plan for the recovery of the EU economy due to COVID-19 Next Generation EU within the EU Budget adopted along with the long-term EU budget for 2021–2027 in the amount of 1.1 trillion euro in July 2020 is aimed at providing additional budget funds by temporarily increasing the maximum contribution of member countries from 1.2% to 2% of GNI and issuing securities.

According to the plan, assistance in the amount of 750 billion euro, including

390 billion euro in the form of grants (through bond issues) and 360 billion euro of loans under the European Recovery Plan will be used to as a kick-start for the economy by stimulating private investment, supporting investment, reforms and industries of member states and national health systems.

The grants are intended to boost the economies of the EU countries most affected by the pandemic, including Italy – 81.8 billion euro, Spain – 77.3 billion euro, France – 39 billion euro, Poland – 38 billion euro, Greece – 32 billion euro.



Social policy

The application of measures against the coronavirus pandemic, in addition to the economy, has had an unprecedented impact on the labour market. In September 2020, the unemployment rate in the EU reached 8.3% (in September 2019, the unemployment rate was 7.5%) and the total number of unemployed in September was about 15 million people (compared to the previous month, there is an increase by 42 thousand people).

The crisis has a negative impact on the situation of the most vulnerable groups of the EU population. The proportion of people experiencing serious financial difficulties in the EU is 5.6% of the population, or about 24 million people. However, in OECD countries, more than one in three people do not have sufficient funds to support their families financially for at least three months in the event of a sudden loss of income. According to a survey by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions conducted in April 2020, almost 40% of European residents report a deterioration in their financial situation compared to the situation before

the pandemic.

In this regard, most EU countries have introduced or expanded measures to support employees and companies within proven national short-time work schemes (STW schemes), which differ in the duration of support and the amount of salary compensation.

The European Union plans to provide further support and financial assistance to implementation of STW schemes of national governments through the SURE credit scheme (Support to Mitigate Unemployment Risks in an Emergency). Along with this, since May this year, the European Commission is considering the project of Start Unconditional Basic Incomes throughout the EU, the implementation of which will guarantee funds to every citizen, reduce differences between regions and promote greater socio-economic cohesion of the EU countries.

EU foreign policy in the context of current challenges

Over the past few years, the perception of the United States as a global leader has decreased among the leading EU member

states. The four-year period of D. Trump's leadership in the White House caused irritation in Europe primarily among the locomotives of the EU, Germany and France, and also plunged the transatlantic partnership into a dead end. To date, Germany and its leader A. Merkel are active promoters of the post-American world concept in the EU. "We grew up in the certain knowledge that the United States wanted to be a world power. Should the US now wish to withdraw from that role of its own free will, we would have to reflect on that very deeply." The German Chancellor's fears are explained by a well-justified phobia of the possibility of a further breakup of the EU, especially against the background of Brexit, which has seriously reduced stability within the Union. The COVID-19 pandemic has demonstrated the unwillingness of member countries to take a consolidated approach to solving common problems.

Today, Germany and France, in addition to the primary tasks of getting the EU out of the economic crisis caused by the pandemic, put the strengthening of the EU's leadership in the international arena at the forefront. In addition to France and Berlin, the former Merkel ally and current President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen shows ambitions in this issue, who, upon taking office, promised to make the European Commission a geopolitical structure, where Brussels will take a more assertive position. The new leadership of the European Commission and Germany's political elite, being the locomotive of European integration, are ready to take responsibility and lead the European Union in terms of its transformation and strengthening in the current difficult period of uncertainty.

According to Brussels, strengthening of the foreign policy course should be based on the following steps:

- increase in external impact costs by up to 30%;
- changing the mechanism for making decisions on foreign policy within the EU (instead of the current approval by 28 members, it is proposed to make decisions by majority);
- creation of a pan-European army (in addition to NATO);
- creation of the European Security Council (as a regulator of the EU foreign policy) [4].

At the same time, an important factor is the factor of skepticism among many Western experts about the possibility of reformatting the EU's foreign policy towards a more rigid course. As is commonly known, the EU was initially formed as a peace project, where so-called soft power always prevailed, and as practice shows, during various crises, the EU failed to show sufficient firmness and flexibility, and diplomatic efforts often did not justify their effectiveness in difficult situations.

Defense and security issues

The EU defense and security sector is going through a difficult stage in its development. Brussels is increasingly sending signals about the need to create a strategic autonomy that would be able to turn the EU into an independent entity, not only from the point of view of the single market, but also as the owner of a powerful military and defense potential [5].

According to various experts, the starting point of current security problems in the EU is considered to be 2014 (Russia's annexation of Crimea and the beginning of a protracted military campaign in Eastern Ukraine). The Russian factor is pushing countries such as Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine to join NATO. However, Europe understands that these aspirations to join NATO will only aggravate the security

system within the organization and will not solve problems.

An important circumstance was Trump’s policy of reducing US activity in the international arena and reviewing military cooperation with the EU and the latter caused particular wariness in Brussels. The radical decision of the former US President to reduce the military contingent in Germany in the summer of 2020 was frowned upon by Berlin. According to experts, this step

weakens the structure of the European security and the question of what direction the new US administration will take in this area remains open.

In addition to the above, Trump’s administration focused its attention on dissatisfaction with the EU policy regarding allocation of funds for the defense needs of NATO as many countries do not allocate enough funds (*see Figure 1*) [6].



Figure 1. – Statistics of military expenditures of NATO countries in millions of US dollars and as a percentage to GDP, 2014–2019

The current stage of the European security architecture is undergoing structural changes and is characterized by increased efforts to create an independent center of power. Besides, the existing hotbeds of tension within the EU itself are increasingly forcing active followers of the European integration (Germany, France) to return to the financial issue of reforms, which is difficult to implement during the COVID-19 pandemic due to lack of investments in the defense budget. Opponents in this issue are traditionally left-wing parties and the states of Southern and Eastern Europe that are most affected by the pandemic and which are currently more concerned about economic recovery.

Tension with the world's "centers of power" (USA, China, Russia)

The current crisis agenda between the US and China and the sanctions isolation of the Russian Federation make it difficult for Brussels to build a dialogue with each of these countries. However, not all EU states are ready to follow a common European course in relations with the world's "centers of power". The United States, China, and Russia continue to develop bilateral affairs with individual European countries becoming less involved in the dialogue with Brussels.

The USA. A topical issue for Europe today is the future policy of the new US administration and the future of the transatlantic partnership, one of the main pillars of the existing world order. In recent years, Trump's administration has demonstrated its alienation and disregard for traditional partnerships. The demands of the head of the White house to force European leaders to increase military spending in NATO, threats to impose sanctions on construction of Nord Stream 2, and the latest decision to withdraw the part of the

military forces from Germany demonstrated Washington's aloofness from the alliance with Brussels.

Knowing about the political views of Biden from the Democratic Party and his strategy for resuming a comprehensive dialogue with the EU, Brussels positively perceived the results of the US presidential election. Besides, according to experts, the European Union should not make premature conclusions on this issue, and without looking back at its overseas neighbor, continue to build a new configuration of its foreign policy course.

The PRC. In light of the cooling of affairs with Washington and the crisis in China–United States relations, the EU is not yet closed from cooperation with Beijing. China, in its turn, against the background of the emerging trend of anti-Chinese policy of the United States, is ready to actively move towards a close partnership with the EU. Earlier, the parties successfully agreed on a new impetus in bilateral trade outlining a major investment deal (due to the pandemic, the summit in Leipzig scheduled for autumn was canceled, as was the signing of the agreement on mutual investment). In 2019, the European Union, against the background of Washington's trade war with Beijing, managed to achieve concessions regarding the access of European companies to the Chinese market. However, according to experts, it is not known whether the EU will be able to influence China in case of non-compliance with its obligations.

The country's political system, disregard for human rights and the state's influence on the economy still remain a stumbling block on the path to a close economic partnership with Beijing. Besides, Brussels is concerned about the repressive policy of the Chinese authorities in relation to Hong Kong with permanent pressure on the existing liberal system.

The RF. Cooperation with the Russian Federation remains uncertain. Relations between the EU and Russia have always been cyclical, from a constructive dialogue to tough confrontation. The German Chancellor, reviewing the EU agenda during her presidency of the Council of Europe, described the current relations between Brussels and Moscow as a “critical and constructive dialogue” aimed at “peaceful coexistence”. According to experts, anti-Russian sanctions are an obstacle to constructive cooperation, while there is still a dialogue between the two countries. The EU accounts for almost half of Russia’s trade.

Today, Brussels considers close cooperation with Beijing and Washington as a priority, despite all the difficulties of the dialogue. Relations with the Russian Federation are not considered as a priority. The reason for this is the militaristic orientation of the Russian policy, which is regarded in the West as a challenge to the global world order.

Impact on Central Asia and Kazakhstan

Central Asia is traditionally on the radars of leading players. First of all, these are Russia and China, which are actively implementing their economic projects here. So far, the EU strategy has looked rather faded against their background. According to experts, the EU did not take into account the specifics of the region as a whole and the policy of a single country. In this regard, intensification of relations among the Central Asian countries mainly takes place within a bilateral dialogue with individual EU member states and not with the European Union itself.

The current crisis conditions open up new opportunities for cooperation between the EU and Central Asia. First of all, in the post-

coronavirus period, the sphere of medical cooperation, pharmaceutical field, exchange of experience, development of vaccines, etc. is becoming more active. In this regard, taking into account the new realities, there is a high probability of revising the new EU strategy in Central Asia in the direction of more substantive interaction in the medical sphere and overcoming the economic crisis.

One of the most effective steps to strengthen the impact on Central Asia was the assistance package allocated by Brussels in the summer of this year called Central Asia COVID-19 Crisis Response (the total budget of the program is 3 million euro, of which 1.6 million euro is allocated to Kazakhstan). This measure should be viewed from the point of view of the Brussels humanitarian project, which is designed to strengthen the EU’s role in Central Asia and identify claims to leadership in the fight against the COVID-19 pandemic.

The current processes in the EU related to the review of foreign policy and its further activation may in the future strengthen the influence of Brussels on Central Asia and Kazakhstan. A key role in this issue can be played by the active leadership of the European Commission, which should solve the main problem of the EU related to disunity within the Union itself and the need to develop a more effective strategy for Central Asia, which would include closer interaction with the united front.

Conclusion

The COVID-19 crisis has highlighted the problems of EU institutions and political leaders in coordinating efforts to implement common policies in the socio-economic and healthcare sectors, as well as the existing differences between the donor countries of North–Western and the beneficiary states of South–Eastern Europe.

In the context of the ongoing pandemic, the key challenge for the European Union is to ensure implementation of a coherent policy in restoring the pan-European economy, combating the spread and consequences of COVID-19 and distributing assistance to different European countries in terms of economic development.

According to European experts, the potential risks for the EU in the crisis due to COVID-19 are primarily related to the possible strengthening of the role of national governments and shifting away from market policies and, as a result, the growth of internal conflicts within the European

Union. Based on the situation with the UK's exit from the EU and uncertainty in relations with the United States, the European Union will continue to actively strengthen its policy of greater independence in its foreign policy. Besides, contradictions remain within Europe, which include unwillingness of many member states to sacrifice their national interests in favor of the common EU policy. In this regard, despite recent tendencies indicating activation of the European Union in the international arena and its claims to a leading role in a changing world, the EU still cannot be considered as a consolidated player.

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DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN COUNTRIES ALONG THE SILK ROAD ECONOMIC BELT DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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Abstract. The article discusses questions regarding the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the foreign economic cooperation of countries. It analyses the situation in the world before and during the pandemic and also considers the main steps out of the crisis and further cooperation along the of the Silk Road Economic Belt.

Key words: *Pandemic, Multi-vector Interaction, Economic Development, Coronavirus, Silk Road, World Community.*

COVID-19 ПАНДЕМИЯСЫ КЕЗІНДЕ ЖІБЕК ЖОЛЫНЫҢ ЭКОНОМИКАЛЫҚ БЕЛДЕУІ БОЙЫНДАҒЫ ЕЛДЕРДІҢ ЫНТЫМАҚТАСТЫҒЫН ДАМУ

Асыл Малибекова

Аңдатпа. Мақалада COVID-19 пандемиясының елдердің сыртқы экономикалық ынтымақтастығына әсері туралы мәселелер қаралды. Пандемияға дейін және пандемия кезінде әлемдік қоғамдастықтағы ахуалға талдау жүргізілді, сондай-

ақ дағдарыстан шығудың негізгі қадамдары және Жібек жолының экономикалық белдеуі бойындағы ынтымақтастықты одан әрі дамыту мәселелері қаралды.

Түйін сөздер: пандемия, көп векторлық, экономикалық даму, коронавирус, Жібек жолы, әлемдік қоғамдастық.

РАЗВИТИЕ СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВА СТРАН ВДОЛЬ ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКОГО ПОЯСА ШЁЛКОВОГО ПУТИ ВО ВРЕМЯ ПАНДЕМИИ COVID-19

Асыл Малибекова

Аннотация. В статье рассмотрены вопросы касательно влияния пандемии COVID-19 на внешнеэкономическое сотрудничество стран. Проведён анализ ситуации в мировом сообществе до и во время пандемии, а также рассмотрены основные шаги выхода из кризиса и дальнейшее сотрудничество вдоль Экономического пояса Шёлкового пути.

Ключевые слова: пандемия, многовекторность, экономическое развитие, коронавирус, Шёлковый путь, мировое сообщество.

Currently, according to many heads of state, there is a solution that can lead the countries to cooperation, joint prosperity, joint development and comprehensive advantage, that is *one belt and one road* or as it is also called the Silk Road. This is the path of mutual understanding and trust, multi-vector interaction, peace and friendship. It is these words that we have heard in recent years and we continue to hear them from Chinese senior leaders.

More than 2000 years ago, the Eurasian most courageous and hardworking people opened several trade routes and human communications associated with the civilizations of Asia, Europe and Africa. Later they called these routes the Great Silk Road. For centuries and millennia, the main value of the Great Silk Road has been passed from hand to hand and from generation to generation. Its main meaning was peace and cooperation, openness and tolerance, borrowing and sharing experience, advantages and benefits. This

road has contributed to the development of human civilization in general, and, accordingly, to the prosperity and development of neighbouring countries, in particular. The Great Silk Road is a symbol of the connection between East and West, a common heritage of history and culture of all peoples of the world. In the 21st century, in the era of peace, prosperity, cooperation and common good, a rather slow recovery of the world economy, the international and regional situation remains quite complex and confusing. Currently, it is especially important and urgent to continue and develop, first of all, the importance of the Great Silk Road.

The modern world is undergoing profound and complex changes. The global financial crisis is still felt in its severe consequences, the world economy is slowly recovering and is not one-sided in its development. Over the years, there has been an important change in the international structure of trade and investment, as well as

in multilateral investment and trade policies. In this situation, one country after another faces serious development challenges. The joint creation of *One Belt and One Road* responds to the call of the modern world for multipolarity, economic globalization, cultural diversity, social digitalization and maintaining the spirit of open regional cooperation and overall independent trading system. The whole world is open to the global economy. Establishment aims of *One Belt and One Road* are to promote free but regular movement of labour, highly efficient resource allocation and deep market integration. In the future, the project will enable the countries along the Silk Road to adjust their economic policies to a higher, larger scale and deepen regional cooperation forming jointly a structure of open, tolerant, balanced and profitable regional economic cooperation. For many years, this mega project, even in the West, was considered one of Beijing's main tools for expanding and strengthening its influence on the planet.

This is how many countries saw their future before the 2019 global pandemic, which hit the whole world.

Now COVID-19 clearly shows that the Chinese mega project, in addition to investments and loans, can export the problems of one large country to other countries. These are the phrases that are heard from the stands of the project's opponents.

Today is another critical moment for the exchange of technology, ideas and goods. Moreover, the intensity and speed of such exchanges have reached an unprecedented maximum in the history of the planet. It explains the massive spread of COVID-19 pandemic. According to a computer model created by health experts at the Johns Hopkins Center for Health Security, diseases such as COVID-19 can spread across the planet in

six months and kill about 65 million people in a year and a half [2].

According to him, China is under enormous pressure from the current situation. Today, Beijing's priority is money. China needs to strike an acceptable deal with the United States in a trade war. Moreover, now the Republic of China has to deal with both the economic and financial consequences of the coronavirus epidemic.

The rapid spread of COVID-19 on all continents, which was officially recognized as a pandemic by the World Health Organization (WHO), which, among other things, allowed companies to abandon contracts on the basis of Force Majeure, could not but affect such a large-scale project as *One Belt, One Way*. This caused many delays and disruptions in many BRI projects, jeopardized a year of planning and tens of billions of dollars of economic diplomacy spent on its implementation.

Work on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has reached an impasse, the project cost exceeds \$ 60 billion [3]; in the Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone (SSEZ) in Cambodia at the Payra large coal power plant in Bangladesh. Many projects have been suspended or postponed in Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar and other countries.

In the literal sense of the word, the United States has also made every effort to wage a kind of war against the *One Belt, One Way* Project.

Numerous projects have been halted due to the coronavirus.

However, most of the leaders of the countries took the situation in hand and tuned in to fight.

In the current difficult conditions, the countries have united and together began to overcome the new challenges of our time.

No matter what to be discussed – politics

or economics – the topic of coronavirus is always accompanying. The most important conclusion that can be drawn in connection with the epidemic of a new type of coronavirus is that all countries shall, hand in hand, build a community of the common destiny of the mankind.

Political manipulations only give the virus a favorable opportunity to break up everyone one by one.

The virus is the common enemy of the humanity and solidarity and cooperation will be the strongest weapon against the virus. The epidemic, at the cost of human lives, teaches us that countries shall overcome geographic, ethnic, historical, cultural and even social differences and, hand in hand, build a community of the common destiny of the mankind and jointly protect our planet.

In recent months, the Chinese side has launched the largest global emergency humanitarian campaign since the establishment of the republic in order to implement the concept of a community of the common destiny of the mankind. They provided emergency assistance to almost 150 countries and 4 international organizations, including helping them to urgently solve existing problems. At the initiative of the PRC, thematic videoconferences of health experts were organized for more than 170 countries. China unreservedly shared its experience in diagnostics, treatment, prevention and control measures.

China, observing all quality standards, has launched a large-scale production of medical devices and equipment that are in demand all over the world. Only medical masks and protective clothing were exported for 56.8 billion and 250 million, respectively [4].

The PRC seeks to help others and never stands aside, despite the fact that some

political forces have fabricated various negative interpretations of the intentions of the Republic of China.

For example, the United States and other Western countries accuse China of luring their partners into debt bondage. They are forced to pledge copper mines, ports and other assets. China rejects this criticism. Everything China has done has never pursued any geopolitical goals, never had any economic calculations and never set any political conditions.

According to diplomats, the PRC's only goal is to save lives and help people as much as possible. After all, not only politicians, but the whole world is convinced that combating the spread of the epidemic in only one country is not the end of the epidemic, real victory will come only when the infection is suppressed in all countries.

As the country's ambassador, China intends to continue to provide assistance within its capabilities to countries in need, to carry out in-depth international anti-epidemic cooperation for the final victory of the mankind over the pandemic. At the same time, the ambassador stressed that the world will no longer be the same and that it is necessary to move forward.

Today, it may be affirmed that the Chinese social system and management system have withstood a comprehensive test of strength. The Chinese economy will emerge from the epidemic more stable and powerful, the people will more united and confidently follow the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics and continue the process of the great revival of the Chinese nation.

In this current situation, it is necessary, first of all, to ensure the development of the country's diplomatic services, which will be adapted to the new situation and the solution of new problems, with the gradual creation of more favorable conditions for resumption

of interstate exchanges. Countries shall take effective measures to strengthen mutually beneficial international cooperation and the overall development of the world. The world shall promote international contacts to reduce the level of poverty, make an even greater contribution to implementation of the global agenda for sustainable development for the period up to 2030.

For example, Chinese diplomacy intends to focus on five priority tasks on the background of a constant fight against the epidemic. In particular, to promote domestic development, maintain the stability of the global industrial and supply chains, stimulate trade and investment and resist pressure from the downward trend in the global economy.

The task is to firmly defend state interests, the interests of national sovereignty, security and development and resolutely restrain attempts by external forces to interfere in the internal affairs of each country.

Now it is simply necessary to deepen partnerships, develop relations with major powers based on maintaining stability, deepen the points of contact of state interests with neighboring countries and strengthen cohesion and friendship with other partners.

Today, China intends to firmly defend multilateralism, promote global governance of the health system and support the WHO's role in global anti-epidemic cooperation.

The most important issue is expansion of the international cooperation in prevention and control of the epidemic, interaction in the health sector within the *One Belt, One Road* initiative.

Despite the very difficult epidemiological situation around the world, non-interference in the internal affairs of each individual state is included in the fundamental norms of international relations that shall be observed by all countries and no attempts to interfere

in the internal issues of this or that state are inadmissible.

China will continue to build *the Belt and the Road* together with other countries because the impact of the pandemic on cooperation under *the Belt and the Road Initiative* is temporary. From a general and long-term perspective, going through the struggle in the face of the epidemic will strengthen the foundation for joint building of the initiative and make the prospects broader. Over the past seven years, China has signed *the Belt and the Road Cooperation* documents with 138 countries, jointly launched more than 2,000 cooperation projects and addressed the issue of employing a huge number of people [1].

During the epidemic, many of the infrastructure projects of this initiative played an important role in the fight against the epidemic. For example, against the backdrop of a large-scale suspension of air flights, the number of trains on the China–Europe route from January to April alone increased by 24% compared to the same period last year.

Over the past seven years, China's aggregate trade with countries along *the Belt and the Road Initiative* has exceeded \$ 7.8 trillion and direct investment in these countries has reached 110 billion dollars. Despite the negative impact of the epidemic, China's investment in the countries of the Initiative has increased by 11.7% in the first quarter of this year and the volume of trade increased by 3.2%.

That is why it will be necessary to work even more diligently to promote the Digital Silk Road, create new growth points for the economic development of countries and give a new impetus to the recovery of the global economy. After all, globalization is an irreversible trend in the world development and a powerful impetus to human progress.

In turn, our country, as a loyal partner of the PRC, despite the difficult economic situation, also did not stand aside during the pandemic.

Kazakhstan is providing neighboring countries with all possible assistance in overcoming the consequences of the coronavirus pandemic.

As a responsible member of the international community, Kazakhstan, as far as possible, provides the necessary humanitarian aid to partners in a difficult situation due to the pandemic.

As part of the fight against COVID-19, humanitarian aid was provided to Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in the form of deliveries of a total of 10 thousand tons of flour. As stated in the press release, “This assistance aimed at meeting the needs of fraternal and friendly countries in these difficult days was highly appreciated by the authorities of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan.”

It should also be noted that it was Kazakhstan that became one of the first countries to supply medical protective equipment to the PRC amid the outbreak of the coronavirus infection.

Today, the provision of humanitarian aid is an important component of the Kazakhstani foreign policy. In recent years, Kazakhstan has provided humanitarian aid to many countries.

According to the information, the Turkish investors operating in Kazakhstan (YDA Group and Nobel İlaç) rendered the country the humanitarian aid in the form of medicines and medical materials. The activities of these organizations are a vivid example of mutual assistance between the two fraternal countries. After all, the quarantine period will end sooner or later, then the consequences will play a great role in international affairs.

Even if one avoids harsh epithets

such as “collapse”, “disintegration” or “catastrophe”, it is clear that the world considered *global* ceases to exist and rests only on the manifestation of goodwill of the leaders of the largest states of the world. Now, at the peak of the pandemic, the greatest optimists of globalization admit that the end of the quarantine period is still very far away and many old habits and the general course of things that was considered *natural* may never recover.

The global coronavirus pandemic has major geopolitical implications. The world will never be the same. However, there is clearly no time to say what it will be like. The outbreak has not yet passed and global epidemic have not yet reached its peak.

To date, the coronavirus has buried all the main legends of globalization:

- the effectiveness of open borders and the cohesion of all countries of the world;
- the ability of supranational institutions to cope with an emergency;
- stability of the world financial system and the world economy as a whole in the face of serious challenges;
- the futility of centralized states, socialist regimes and disciplinary methods in addressing major issues and the complete dominance of liberal approaches to them;
- the complete success of liberalism as a means of addressing all problem issues.

All this turned out to be ineffective in countries such as Italy, other EU countries infected with the virus or the United States. On the contrary, the abrupt closure of the society, reliance on internal resources, strong state power and separation of the sick from the healthy people, citizens of the country from foreigners, etc., gave their results.

Despite how the war on coronavirus ended, globalization has undoubtedly failed.

The new multipolar world is likely to be something like this: some regions of

the world, civilizations, continents will gradually have independent players.

Much depends on who and how can defeat the epidemic, if effective, disciplinary measures will become an integral part of the future political and economic structure. Temporary isolation dictated by the immediate threat of infection from other countries and regions, separation of economic ties and the necessary separation from a single financial system will force states with the epidemic to rely on their own forces, such as food security and a certain economic autonomy. Even if liberalism and capitalism remain, they will be placed in a national framework in the spirit of mercantilist theories that will seek to keep the monopoly of foreign trade in state hands.

It is impossible to say in advance what a multipolar world model will look like. However, the very reality of violation of the universally binding dogma of liberal globalization will open up completely new opportunities and paths for any civilization.

Of course, this will lead to the redistribution of forces and functions in other civilizations. If Europe maintains its unity, it is likely to create its own military bloc independent of the United States, which was already discussed after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Eurocorps project). Without outright hostility to the United States, such a bloc would in many cases pursue Europe's legitimate interests, which can sometimes be very different from those of the United States. First of all, this will affect affairs with Russia, Iran, China and the countries of the Islamic world.

China has long been a beneficiary of globalization, having managed to adapt to it in order to pursue its national interests, but now Beijing will have to rebuild itself increasing its regional power. However, it is in this direction that all the processes in

the PRC have been developing lately, that is strengthening of Xi Jinping's power, the *One Belt, One Road* project, etc. The future is not in globalization in the Chinese way but in the development of a Far Eastern project with a special Confucian and partly socialist specificity. Contradictions with the United States in the Asia-Pacific region will clearly intensify.

However, the global demonic coronavirus marks a turning point in world history. Not only stock indices or oil prices are decreasing, but also the world order. We live in an era of liberalism, general description, stages and standards. Human societies began to move freely, no dogmas, no dollar imperialism, no free market magic, no dictatorship, no global exchange. Each pole will build the future in its civilizations.

What neither ideology, nor wars, nor terror, nor religious movements could become, was made by an invisible and deadly virus.

After the pandemic, Kazakhstan will also make its own adjustments in its development.

Today it has become fashionable to use the idea that after the virus, the country will be different. However, as many politicians and scientists have already said, nothing global will happen within countries. Humanity has gone through many epidemics worse than this one. Nobody automatically changed their moral values. People and authorities quickly forget everything. To change the moral foundations, the nature of the state, to instill new values, we need to make greater efforts.

One thing is clear, in order to preserve our statehood, we need changes. Social stratification and the absence of common values of citizens can corrode the country's foundation. We need to change the social landscape and the essence of state power.

The Republic of Kazakhstan is a rich state and its citizens are poor. This contradiction

will continue to hinder the country's sustainable development. We have not been able to convert multibillion-dollar strategic resources like hydrocarbons and metals into the people's welfare. The vast majority of the population is poor. The oligarchs, who have taken possession of the sources of the country's public goods, want to make money in Kazakhstan, spend it abroad and help foreigners. The oil sector is monopolized and operates in accordance with closed and gray schemes. A cartel has been created in the country to please certain groups. It is not interested in creating open rules of the game.

The state policy shall be aimed at solving the urgent problems of a person, a particular citizen of the country. Not a man for the sake of the economy, but the economy and economic development for the sake of citizens and their worthy lives.

As for the external state economy, the international contacts of the head of state today are subordinated to the most important goal, that is to ensure favorable external conditions for addressing the issues of the country's strategic development in the face of a challenge unprecedented in modern history, such as the coronavirus pandemic.

Currently, all countries are concerned about the negative impact on the world community of the sanitary crisis. The efforts of states are aimed at ensuring epidemiological and economic security. In this situation, the states, international institutions and organizations are working in close cooperation, joining forces to combat the spread of COVID-19 and providing each other with humanitarian aid.

Besides, Kazakhstan is also concerned about the further development of the Silk Road. Although this issue has recently faded into the background, it is encouraging that China intends to continue developing this project.

Although China's economy has begun to recover from the pandemic, the pace remains uncertain.

Beijing is facing growing calls to renegotiate loan repayments for hubs, power plants and transport links, which look overwhelming as economies around the world, from Latin America to Africa to the Middle East, go through a difficult period and globalization slows down.

A June study by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs found that 20 percent of *One Belt, One Road* projects were "severely affected" by the pandemic, while another 30 to 40 percent were "partially affected".

Concerns about global recession have provoked China's partners to take a different view of the viability of these projects in their countries, which could lead to their revision or even cancellation of the projects.

However, so far none of the major contracts of the *One Belt, One Way* program have been terminated due to the pandemic, this initiative is too important for China to be postponed for a long time.

But how Beijing will handle projects in the face of pandemic problems around the world will be a key test of its international diplomacy skills.

Even before the pandemic, fears of rising debt and corruption were growing and the financial environment is now exacerbating all this.

China's state-run media have begun to promote less expensive global technology and health initiatives rather than high-profile infrastructure projects.

China has also already taken advantage of this pandemic to focus on digital initiatives such as e-medicine, commerce, payments and training and analysts believe Chinese companies have enough opportunities to expand these projects in Central Asia.

Moreover, despite a more cautious

approach to the *One Belt, One Road* program, China remains one of the few sources of funding that could bring Central Asian governments closer to China.

But with regard to the achievement of the Chinese-Kazakh joint establishment of the *One Belt and One Road*, it should be noted that they fully demonstrate that the impact of the epidemic on the Chinese-Kazakh cooperation is temporary and partial. Cooperation between the two countries has not been interrupted, but has moved forward even more. As long as the parties continue to work together, crises can be turned into opportunities and better adapted to new realities during the pandemic. It is clear that as the epidemic is gradually brought under control, the demand for cooperation between the two countries will increase at an accelerated pace and new spaces for cooperation will open up to provide a

stronger impetus for deeper cooperation in areas like science and technical innovation, healthcare, distance education, finance, cross-border e-commerce and agriculture, which will bring even greater benefits to the citizens of the two countries.

Thus, since the beginning of 2020, the COVID-19 epidemic raging all over the world has caused unprecedented consequences and challenges to the international production and supply chain. Against this background, China and Kazakhstan, as eternal all-round strategic partners, together overcome difficulties, help and support each other and strive to consolidate the results of bilateral trade and economic cooperation. Despite the difficulties and challenges, the steps taken by China and Kazakhstan to jointly build the *One Belt, One Road* have always been firmly advanced and continue to become deeper.

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