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# The Final Stage of the OSCE Chairmanship

BULAT SULTANOV,

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Kazakhstan assumed the OSCE chairmanship in the complicated period for the world community. The terrorism, extremism, natural-climatic cataclysms, ecological and humanitarian disasters, poverty, about one billion starving people in the world, epidemic, interethnic and inter-religious conflicts, global financial and economic crisis have shown vulnerability of the human civilization, all states without an exception before modern threats and challenges. It is enough to mention Greece presiding in OSCE in 2009 and already in the next year, endangered European currency, and also the public safety as a whole.

Still one year ago in Europe existing relation to the forthcoming Kazakhstan's OSCE chairmanship the vice-president of the Council Europe Parliamentary Assembly Paul Villi stated. In his article devoted to this theme, under the rather specific name "Term of office is limited, Potential is boundless", the Belgian senator, in particular, paid attention to that "for the first time in history of the OSCE the state of the former Soviet Union, the country with the prevailing Muslim population is at the helm of this regional organization. All in surprise! What does this country plan to make? Could it sustain the wide responsibility and resist to many challenges and threats? Could it pour fresh blood in the Organization veins?"

The ex-president of Academy of Sciences of France, leading French historian Helene Carrere D'Encausse has asked questions herself in connection with it— someone could really think in the mid-seventies of the last century when the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe had just been created, "that one fine day Kazakhstan would head it. That the leader of this country, is never earlier existence on the world maps, would become someone like the guru for other heads of the Central Asian region".

In these difficult conditions, in the atmosphere of certain bias, our country offered the concrete program

of the OSCE chairmanship. The president Nursultan Nazarbayev, addressing to participants of the OSCE Permanent Council session in Vienna, on 14 January, 2010, had underlined that Kazakhstan considered the OSCE as one of key mechanisms of the international security and cooperation on the vast space from Vancouver to Vladivostok. In many respects, the Head of Kazakhstan had declared, such position was reason for the unique geographical composition of the Organization participants, experience of interaction between the states and the turned out instruments.

According to Nursultan Nazarbayev, the OSCE chairmanship, being one of key mechanisms of the international security and cooperation on the space from Vancouver to Vladivostok, in the most complicated period of the modern history, is not only great honor, but also high responsibility for the country.

Understanding and approval of the world community were met by the laconic and deep in its context motto of the Kazakhstan chairmanship – "Trust, Traditions, Transparency and Tolerance."

The President of the RK has formulated the following key aspects of the Kazakhstan chairmanship in OSCE: elaboration of joint mechanisms for the prevention of possible crisis situations, expansion and strengthening of consensus fields on basic security issues, and also concerning the Organization, transformation of OSCE into the structure recognizing variety of the world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

To the beginning of the Kazakhstan chairmanship the OSCE was in the deep crisis. The deadlock condition round the arm control, the domination of the humanitarian direction in its activity, "frozen" conflicts on space of the Organization and other crisis problems strengthened a critical spirit to OSCE prospects. Some states brought up even proposal on dissolution of the given international structure.

The voices were actively heard that the OSCE created at the height of "cold war", wasn't capable to adapt for new geopolitical realities. Confirmation of it was the eleven-year pause with the holding of



the Organization Summit which visually demonstrated absence of coordination and readiness of the countries-participants for a dialogue, elaboration of consensus approaches on basic problems of OSCE development.

In these conditions the President Nursultan Nazarbayev took a firm stand and a position of principle in favor of OSCE, having declared that "there is no alternative to it". The head of Kazakhstan had proved this thesis not only unique geographical composition of 56 states-participants of the Organization, and also the gained experience of the political interaction and the economic cooperation, accumulated after the Helsinki Summit in 1975. The Kazakhstan leader underlined stagnation or disappearance of OSCE could create dangerous vacuum on space from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

Therefore Nursultan Abishevich called the leaders of the countries entering into the OSCE, to show political will, to interrupt a prolonged pause (previously the summits were held in each two-three years: Paris - 1990, Helsinki - 1994, Budapest - 1994, Lisbon - 1996, Istanbul - 1999) and to hold the Summit of heads of OSCE member states, thereby having proceeded to understanding of new realities in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In connection with it in his video address to the Permanent Council on 14 January of this year the President officially submitted the offer to convoke the summit within the limits of the Kazakhstan chairmanship.

Nursultan Nazarbayev formulated the possible agenda of the summit as follows: actual problems of security and cooperation in the zone of OSCE responsibility, situation in Afghanistan, adaptation of the Organization to the nonsimple challenges facing with the states, elaboration of adequate responses to the threats, tolerance issues.

Unfortunately, in connection with April-June events in Kyrgyzstan, there was a necessity to include in the agenda of the summit in addition an issue on situation development in Kyrgyzstan and acceptances of collective measures on a non-admission of this country transformation to "the second Afghanistan".

As the time showed, OSCE states-leaders had agreed with arguments of the President of the RK, and on 3 August the Ministerial Council for foreign affairs of the OSCE states-participants made the decision on holding of the OSCE Summit in Astana on 1-2 December, 2010.

At the same time new global challenges required effective actions from OSCE and finally its reformation. According to Nursultan Nazarbayev, a paramount aim was restoration of lost "brand of the Helsinki process" and giving "new breath" to the OSCE by an establishment of interaction with the Eurasian regional structures because the European safety is impossible today without the Asian dimension.

Therefore the idea of the President about transformation of OSCE from the Euro-Atlantic organization into Eurasian became a basic pivot of the Kazakhstan chairmanship. Such approach of the Head of Kazakhstan is explained by the complex vision of global developments. Therefore in the sphere of the international relations our country has put forward a conception "the Eurasian safety" which has currently entered into a practical lexicon of politicians, diplomats, and also international affairs experts. Though, to tell the truth, first this initiative has been met by the international community with misunderstanding, and even bewildered.

But time passed, and at last the meaning of Nursultan Nazarbayev's initiative was understood in the West. In particular, on 19 October, 2010 at French-German-Russian Summit in Deauville (France) the leaders of these countries had already been discussing joint work on safeguarding not only on the Euro-Atlantic, but also Eurasian space as a matter of course. In connection with it N.Sarkozy, D.Medvedev and A.Merkel had underlined great importance of the OSCE Summit in Astana which would give possibility to discuss these issues with participation of leaders of 56 member states of the Organization.

On this post Astana has made maximum efforts for trust strengthening between the states which are to the East and the West from Vienna. These states, members of one Organization, are still divided by various geopolitical interests: 1) entering into EU, the NATO; 2) aspiring to enter into EU, the NATO; 3) entering into EurAsEC, CSTO and SCO.

Therefore from the first day Kazakhstan focused attention on a non-admission of occurrence of new dividing lines on OSCE space, to formation of trust atmosphere, and also to expansion and strengthening of consensus fields on basic issues.

With a view of strengthening of the Eurasian cooperation the republic had made arrangements with participation of OSCE representatives of supervising structures. OSCE Trans-Asian Parliamentary Forum in Almaty (on 13-14 May of this year), the Third summit CICA in Istanbul (on 7-9 June) and the infor-



mal meeting of OSCE Foreign Ministers in Almaty (on 16-17 July) were held.

By estimations of analysts, the Kazakhstan chairmanship in the Organization shows the confident and effective style of work. On all declared priorities within the limits of three measurements the systematic activity bringing concrete results is carried out. In OSCE debate had spirited, there were new ideas and approaches to issues of its work strengthening.

Within a year the big work on formation on the Organization platform of new approaches for ensuring of the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian safety was carried out.

Within the first basket where settlement of the "frozen" conflicts is of primary importance, the incumbent chairman of OSCE made a working trip to the countries of Southern Caucasus in February. By results of a trip "Road Map" preparation on the further peaceful regulation of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh is carried out.

According to Georgia for Kazakhstan it is important to continue the Geneva discussions, having emphasized creation of normal living conditions for the simple citizens who have become victims of a confrontation.

On the Transdnistria settlement Kazakhstan promotes renewal of negotiations in the "5 + 2" format.

Our country confirms its adherence to preservation of the European supervisory regime over conventional armaments and measures of trust and safety strengthening.

Kazakhstan acts on the premise that OSCE member-states' security is inseparable from safety of the neighboring states, including not entering into the Organization. First of all it is Afghanistan. We consider that the military decision of the Afghani problem doesn't exist. Therefore it is necessary to concentrate efforts round social and economic restoration of this country.

In November, 2009 between Astana and Kabul the intergovernmental agreement was made according to which the program on training of one thousand Afghani citizens in institutions of higher education of Kazakhstan during the current year started to be realized. During 5 years in the Kazakhstan high schools 200 Afghani citizens will enter. Training will be given on specialties in which the Islamic republic is in greater need of: public health services, agriculture, pedagogy, safeguarding of the state's borders, internal law enforcement. In September the

first Afghani students have already started training in the Kazakhstan high schools. The Government of the RK has allocated USD 50 mln. for these purposes. About USD 4 mln our country has sent for restoration of schools, hospitals and roads in Afghanistan.

From Kazakhstan in IRA regular deliveries of seeds of agricultural crops, the equipment and mineral fertilizers are carried out. In March the RK sent 6 thousand tons of rice to Afghanistan as the humanitarian help.

The important direction of OSCE chairmanship is the sustainable development of the Central Asia. Astana intends to involve potential of the Organization for development of regional cooperation, collective counteraction to new challenges.

Therefore Kazakhstan as the OSCE chairman gives particular attention to the decision two interconnected problems in the Central Asia. The first is neutralization of direct threats and challenges impending on OSCE from the outside, from the southern direction. And the purpose is protection of OSCE from the south-east direction.

Coordination of efforts of OSCE is necessary for its achievement, on the one hand, the Central Asian countries, on the other, in the sphere of not military aspects of safety – struggle against terrorism, extremism, the drug-trafficking, organized crime, arms smuggling, illegal migration in the Central-Asian direction.

Kazakhstan can be the coordination center of counteraction to these threats.

The second task is assistance to adoption universal democratic standards and traditions in the CA to liquidate soil for distribution of terrorism, religious extremism and the drug-trafficking. The purpose is familiarization of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian countries with world democratic traditions and standards. For this purpose it is necessary to perfect the Kazakhstan model political and state system, liberalization of Kazakhstan political life, to familiarize with the best universal traditions, including perfection of the legislation on elections, political parties, mass-media, reforming of public service, judicial system, on the one hand, the subsequent distribution of results of this work and the gain experience for the Central Asian countries, – on the other hand.

The special actuality for region is a problem of struggle against the drug-trafficking from Afghanistan. Despite taken measures, including with assistance of the international organizations it is not possible to suspend illegal drug trafficking. In



our opinion, the problem of struggle against the drug-trafficking is considered unilaterally. The insufficient attention is given to import suppression in IRA, including from the Central Asian countries of precursors (acetic anhydride, ammonium chloride, sulfuric acid and etc.) without which heroin manufacturing is impossible. It is easier and cheaper to block access of precursors to Afghanistan, than export of the made heroin from this country. According to experts of the United Nations, in the Afghani territory there are about 400 laboratories on opium processing in heroin, along the border with the CIS countries.

All designated questions were discussed within the limits of actions for perfection of reaction mechanisms in the sphere of not military aspects of safety, in particular, at the OSCE Conference on struggle against a drug trafficking on 8-9 July in Vienna and at the Conference on terrorism prevention on 20-21 October in Astana.

Cooperation adjustment between OSCE and the Organization of the Islamic conference is actually in which Kazakhstan will preside in 2011. Cooperation of OSCE and OIC is possible within the dialogue of civilizations and religions, including following problems: modern understanding of international law, migratory issues, problems of integration of Muslim communities in the European countries, the rights of Muslim women and youth in the western societies.

The Kirghiz events for OSCE and Kazakhstan as a chairman were real test where fragile balance was established at present. The RK rendered and renders assistance to the neighboring republic both as the OSCE chairman, and on a bilateral basis.

The created Kazakh-Kirghiz diversified working group is engaged in rendering to Kyrgyzstan the urgent assistance. In April Kazakhstan sent seeds, fertilizers, and also 3 700 tons of diesel fuel. As a result in the KR spring-field works were successfully finished. In total from Kazakhstan to Kyrgyzstan the humanitarian help was sent for the sum of USD 11.5 mln. In particular, 1 800 tons of rice, 128 tons of buckwheat have already been put. For building and habitation repair to Osh and Djalal-Abad oblasts 184 tons of metal slate, 29 cars of wood have been allocated. According to the ambassador of Kyrgyzstan in our country, "any power hasn't really helped yet, except for Kazakhstan and Russia".

Now the Kazakh and Kirghiz experts have prepared the program of economic revival of Kyrgyzstan which will be considered at the international donor

conference this month in Almaty. The Kirghiz party estimates the requirement for the help at a rate of USD 1,286 bln.

Afghanistan is important for ensuring of regional safety. Despite military potential build-up of the NATO, the power decision of the Afghani problem isn't present. Restoration of economy and granting of the decision of own destiny to the population of this distressful country under the aegis of the United Nations can be alternative only.

Kazakhstan, along with OSCE chairmanship, in June it started its management in other authoritative international structure – the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. One of the basic aspects of the Kazakhstan's SCO chairmanship is maintenance of peace and stability in the Central Asia, including by entering into cooperation of this organization with OSCE.

Therefore it is quite logical that Kazakhstan supports activization and increase of struggle efficiency against the international terrorism, religious extremism, the drug-trafficking, illegal migration, the organized crime and other new threats by an establishment of all-around cooperation between the Euro-Atlantic organizations (EU, the NATO) and the Eurasian structures (CSTO, EurAsEC, SCO)

In the second basket – economic-ecological measurement – the RK gives particular attention to assistance to the economic development and environmental protection within the limits of the concept of the general safety in Eurasia. In these purposes within the limits of CICA Summit in Istanbul the Conference "Security and Economic cooperation in Eurasia in the 21<sup>st</sup> century" was held in which delegations from 21 countries took part on 7-8 June.

At the beginning of July the Third Astana Economic Forum was organized on which the President Nursultan Nazarbayev submitted the offer on adaptation of the Bonn document and the Maastricht Strategy Document of OSCE to the changed economic conditions by working out of the new document "Maastricht plus", considering post-crisis tendency in the world economy.

In consideration of terrorist acts on surface transport which have become frequent in the world, our country in OSCE gives particular attention to the development of transcontinental transport corridors (railway, automobile, aviation) and pipeline routes, and also to ensuring of their safety. On 29 January, 2010 the international conference "Logistics Role on a way Europe – Asia" was held in Almaty. Par-



ticipants of conference studied the experience of the European states on the organization of transport-logistical corridors, and also transport-logistical possibilities of automobile corridors on space of Europe, the CIS and Asia.

In February in Vienna and in May in Prague the two-stage conference was held devoted to safety of surface transport and simplification of the international automobile and railway traffic in the region of OSCE and at crossing of the Organization borders, and also influence of international transportation on the environment.

Our country within the OSCE the negotiating process is in progress on joining of national transport systems, harmonization of national legislative bases and creation of conditions for free moving of passengers, cargoes and vehicles, increase of safety of all types of transport.

The main object in this sphere is the begun building of the road transit corridor of the international class the Western Europe – the Western China on the route of Horgos – Almaty – Aktobe – Orenburg – Kazan – St. Petersburg (extent of 8 445 km). Extent of the Kazakhstani site is 2 787 km, cost – USD 5.4 bln. The Kazakhstani part of a corridor it is planned to construct by the end of 2013. In 2010-2012 on this project 50 thousand persons will be involved.

Certain interest represents the railway project under the European standard from China to Europe via Kazakhstan and further – via Turkmenistan and Iran. The serious contribution of our country to development of global power safety is the diversification of routes of deliveries of energy carriers from Kazakhstan and the Central Asia to the world market.

At present the building of the oil pipeline “the West of Kazakhstan – the West of China” is entered in the final stage. In December, 2009 the construction of the first gas pipeline Turkmenistan – Uzbekistan – Kazakhstan – China was completed and the construction of the second gas pipeline the Central Asia – China is in progress.

Unfortunately, the ecological situation in the Central Asia, first of all in Aral Sea Basin continues to worsen. Huge tracts of land are unfit for the human life activity. The enormous damage caused to the national economy and health of the population doesn't give in calculation.

As the Minister of Economic Development and Trade of the RK Zhanar Aitzhanova considers, Kazakhstan aspires to use all existing potential of OSCE in the field of the environmental protection. In

particular, in November, 2009 in Astana the International Fund of Rescue of Aral Sea and OSCE Center signed the memorandum of cooperation according to which the big work in the Kazakhstan part of the zone around Aral Sea has already been carrying out. On 12 October of this year in Euro Parliament there were special auditions of high level on the Aral problematic. Now there is a process of preparation of special donor conference on Aral which will take place at the end of the year.

In aspiration to raise the importance of the second basket by the incumbent chairman of OSCE f two new posts of personal representatives on transport and ecological issues were established.

The third basket – the human measurement, being one of key directions of Kazakhstan's OSCE chairmanship, imposes special responsibility for conformity to the European standards of life, development of political and social institutes on our country.

Therefore within the government program “the Way to Europe” of the RK plans to improve the Kazakhstan legal system, socio-political institutes, a civil society on the basis of European political-legal, philosophical and moral values which are achievements of the world civilization.

First of all Kazakhstan is interested in the gain experience of the European political institutes, the social legislation, high standards of human rights and freedom. Thus we consider that occurrence process in all-European civilized space should take into consideration own national and cultural identity.

On 29-30 June in Astana the OSCE Conference of high level on Tolerance and Non-discrimination was taken place with participation of three personal representatives of the incumbent chairman on tolerance and non-discrimination. Certainly, it would be desirable to accelerate as much as possible a process of political and democratic reforms in our country. But revolutionary impatience, attempts to run forward, as a rule, lead to discrediting of the most light ideas and plans.

In this term it is necessary to listen to the American congressman's opinion, the co-chair of Helsinki commission Alcee L. Hastings In his opinion – “twenty years is a short term for the construction of democracy. At times in the West it seems to us that democracy can be constructed in a short time. I consider that in the USA democracy is under construction till now”.

Thus, we can surely say that Kazakhstan's chairmanship has successfully provided the balanced



filling of all three baskets of OSCE activity over all period of the chairmanship in the Organization.

The positive estimation on Kazakhstan's chairmanship in OSCE was stated at the 19th Annual Session of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly on 6-10 July, 2010 in Oslo. In particular, the chairman of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Zhao Soares has declared: "Kazakhstan carries out the chairmanship in the Organization with exclusive dynamism".

The chairmanship of Kazakhstan in OSCE was positively estimated at the informal meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of OSCE state-members (Almaty on 16-17 July of this year). According to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France Bernard Kouchner, the vigorous activity of Kazakhstan in OSCE was a hit for all Organization. The French diplomat has underlined the chairmanship of Kazakhstan is a stabilizing element while the Central Asia passes through a serious crisis, and gives an opportunity to attract attention to this region. Also B. Kouchner has supported a position of Kazakhstan concerning the evolution of OSCE from Euro-Atlantic in the Euro-Asian community on safety.

For effective adaptation of OSCE to promptly changing realities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century this structure needs in some kind of "rebooting". In many respects it is caused also by understanding of necessity of revival of "spirit of Helsinki", radical reforming of OSCE and its adaptation to conditions of the multipolar world. And we hope that at the December Summit in the center of Eurasia in Astana with participation of leaders of 56 states-participants will "reboot" this major international organization, define strategic directions of its development in new quality as Eurasian in the main new geopolitical conditions of modern global development. The people of the OSCE countries have the right to hope that their leaders will have enough wisdom and political will for decision-making on ensuring of universal safety and cooperation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We believe that such urgent problems, as a situation in Afghanistan, position in Kyrgyzstan, fight against terrorism, religious extremism, the drug-trafficking, illegal migration, and also measures on maintenance of the inter-ethnic and inter-confessional consent will be considered at the Astana Summit.

The forum main task in the capital of Kazakhstan consists in attraction of attention of the leading countries which are members of the Organization, to the safety and cooperation problems, actual aspects of social and economic and political development of

the Central Asian countries. And certainly, we expect consideration of giving to OSCE of the euro-Asian structure status. Then logically there is a following question –to participants of the summit why not to consider possibility of renaming of OSCE in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Eurasia?

In this connection the special urgency is represented by the initiative of President Nursultan Nazarbayev about holding of the OSCE forum, nominated at the OSCE Summit in Istanbul. Such forum could become a constant dialogue platform of two authoritative international structures at which it would be possible to consider actual problems of security and cooperation on Eurasian space.

Holding of the OSCE Summit in the Kazakhstan's capital is important event in the Kazakhstan's history. The right to reception of a similar scale international forum along with Kazakhstan chairmanship in Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and also chairmanship of the RK coming in the future year in the Organization "Islamic Conference", is evident acknowledgment of authority and political weight growth of our country on the international scene.

According to the Belgian senator P.Ville, it is possible to welcome only aspiration of Kazakhstan "to give a fresh drink of breath and a new impulse of activity of this authoritative Organization".

According to the Kazakhstan diplomats, holding of the OSCE Summit in Astana isn't branding action as some Kazakhstan experts and public figures try to present it. Recently in mass-media there were more persistently to "be thrown" following messages: "What for OSCE Summit in Astana is necessary? Quasi, except household inconveniences and the problems connected with holding of a forum, the specified event will give nothing to inhabitants of the Kazakhstan's capital. And in general, holding of this summit almost doesn't break the right and freedom of the capital people".

To carry such opinions to narrow-minded gossips it is difficult for the simple reason. Who inspires such hearings and who spreads them, by the way, rather professionally, perfectly understands, what positive importance is holding of the international forum of such high level for our country, what multiplicative influence will be Astana OSCE Summit for the Kazakhstan economy. And so, it will positively be reflected in well-being of every person of Kazakhstan.

Our society is united that it is impossible to exist at the expense of natural resources with which our



people have been awarded by God. However, therein someone periodically tries to "throw" in public opinion different "theories" about ostensibly "oil damnation" and so on.

Therefore at the initiative of the President Nursultan Nazarbayev this year the Strategic plan for development of the country till 2020 is accepted, the Government program on the forced industrially-innovative development (FIID) is confirmed. Within the industrialization the Map into operation tens industrial objects at hundred billions tenge will be put in the current year. It will be created 20 thousand workplaces. In 5 years it is planned to increase a share of not raw export from 10 % to 40 %.

Ponder over the given figures. Realization of this scale program will give enormous effect. The country will turn into an industrial power. It is clear that for service of under construction giants the large quantity of the enterprises of small and medium business is required.

For realization of the program FIID huge investments – not only internal, but also foreign are required. But the foreign investor will put up the money only in those countries where there is a favorable investment climate. Into this concept enters not only presence of the source of raw materials, a corresponding infrastructure, highly skilled personnel, competent engineering and technical personnel, but

also stability, a public order, comfortable conditions for residing.

Now all countries without an exception, including our neighbors in the region, are interested in attraction of foreign investments. Therefore the governments of all states compete literally to acquire the right for holding of the international forums, symposiums. Because leading world politics, financiers, heads of the largest transnational corporations take part in such actions. Forums of similar scale are shined with thousand representatives of printing and electronic mass-media. Therefore the information on them operatively reaches literally each corner of a planet. Notably the international forums are an advertising of the higher class which costs very expensively.

This year the Washington Summit on nuclear safety was such world forum, for example. Seoul prepares for holding of Summit G-20. Russia actively prepares for the Summit of *Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation* (APEC) next year. Believe, the population of these countries actively supports holding of such international forums, despite certain inconveniences during one-two days. Thousand citizens work free of charge at such forums as volunteers because understand, such forms, as a rule, give a strong impulse to social and economic development of the countries-organizers.

# Role of the International Organizations in Stabilization of the Situation in Afghanistan

BULAT AUELBAYEV,

*Head of Foreign Policy Department of the KazISS under the President of the RK*

**C**urrent year has been informative with political events for all history after formation of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

First, the opinions have been given utterance about concrete terms of a withdrawal of the foreign contingent from the Afghan territory. In the course of changes of foreign policy priorities of the US new administration, on the military bases Fort Bliss in Texas the President B.Obama declared that speed of a withdrawal of American troops from Afghanistan would depend on situations in this country and should presumably begin at the end of July, 2011<sup>1</sup>. About it the national security advisor of the US president the general John H. Johns, acting at the Washington Institute Center for American Progress, specified that this date was only the beginning of delegation of power on safeguarding in Afghanistan to the Afghan authorities<sup>2</sup>.

Allies of the USA on a military alliance hold the same positions. For example, German Chancellor A.Merkel declared on 27 January, 2010 in the Bundestag that Germany would start a stage-by-stage withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan at the latest next year and would try to finish this operation in 2014<sup>3</sup>.

The Prime minister of Great Britain David Cameron has expressed opinion on end of the military company by the British armies in Afghanistan in 2011, taking into account developing situations in this country. To the given policy the Canadian management inclines, and the Netherlands turns off the military contingent in the Afghani territory this year<sup>4</sup>.

At the International Conference on Afghanistan in Kabul (on 20 July, 2010) in which delegations about 70 countries took part, it had been recognized that the situation in the country remained difficult and date of a withdrawal of troops of a coalition was transferred for 2014<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, for all time of being of foreign armies in Afghanistan, the US new policy on the limited (incomplete) turning of the armies in Iraq and Afghanistan had designated counting point of term of the military influence in the Afghan territory.

Secondly, in the internal policy of Afghanistan there are difficult enough processes: after presidential election of 2009, long time an issue of formation of the government is solved. From 2 June, till 4 June in Kabul the National Consultative Peace Jirga (NCPJ) was held - nation wide consultative meeting of Afghanistan. Jirga brought up issues of reconciliation programming with the armed opposi-

<sup>1</sup> Obama: Speed of a withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan will depend on situations in this country//News agency TREND [the Electronic resource]. - 2010. - an access mode: <http://ru.trend.az/regions/world/usa/1743864.html>. - access date: 9/1/2010

<sup>2</sup> The USA will delegate responsibility in Afghanistan to local authorities in 2011 //RIA Novosti [the Electronic resource]. - 2010. - an access mode: [http://www.rian.ru/defense\\_safety/20100125/206234184.html](http://www.rian.ru/defense_safety/20100125/206234184.html). - access date: 1/25/2010

<sup>3</sup> Angela Merkel: the Stage-by-stage withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan will begin in 2011//Doutsche Welle [the Electronic resource]. - 2010. - an access mode: <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,5175103,00.html>. - access Date: 1/27/2010.

<sup>4</sup> Armies of the Netherlands leave Afghanistan//KM.RU [the Electronic resource]. - 2010. - an access mode: [http://ne.ws.km.ru/vojska\\_niderlandov\\_uxodyat\\_iz\\_af](http://ne.ws.km.ru/vojska_niderlandov_uxodyat_iz_af). - access Date: 8/2/2010

<sup>5</sup> The withdrawal of troops of the NATO from Afghanistan was postponed.//NEWSru.com [the Electronic resource]. - 2010. - an access mode: <http://www.newsru.ru/world/20jul2010/afghanistan.html> - access Date: 6/20/2010)



tion, reintegration of Talibs in the peace life and elaboration of mechanisms of negotiating process with the representatives of the irreconcilable armed opposition, and also discharge of all prisoners arrested by foreign armies on a basis of "unauthentic data" and measures on deletion of some leaders' names of Talibs from «the black list» of UN Security Council. The parliamentary elections spent on 18 September in Afghanistan also occurred against discussion concerning national reconciliation and preparation for responsibility transfer to the Afghani armed forces for safeguarding in the territory of the country. These events testify an amplifying tendency in the environment of the Afghan political elite and society to play more independent role in the country before the fact of hopelessness of power restraint of the internal political struggle from the external forces.

Thirdly, a series of the scandalous episodes connected with change of a management of the US Central command of armed forces, the report of the chairman of subcommittee of the House of Representatives of the USA N. Loewy and the report of the US auditor on the numerous facts of abuse, drug addiction and corruption in the Afghan army, and also appearance in the Internet more than 90 thousand documents of the NATO, became the illustration of low efficiency of the military company of coalition forces in Afghanistan. In this respect the world community had doubts about perspective character of the military mission termination of the international armies in ISAF structure that causes the big concern both in the states next to Afghanistan, and in the world as a whole. Thereupon there are three questions: whether the international contingent will execute its mission, whether there are these half-hearted measures or with leaving of last peacemakers the Afghan society will plunge into the fierce civil conflict. Therefore, after a designation of time position ISAF and the NATO in Afghanistan, the hope is entrusted to other international structures of security promoting if not to full settlement of a situation in this country, that to restriction of destabilizing influence from its territory.

For the Central Asian countries the Afghani problem also isn't an abstract theme. Three republics – Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan directly border on Afghanistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan though have no general borders with this country, but

also feel on itself distribution of negative factors from its territory. Thereupon a priority task of regional and national safeguarding of the Central Asian countries there is a search of ways of an exit from the crisis situation connected with growth of new threats from Afghanistan. Here it is necessary to notice that sights and positions on this problem among heads of the Central Asian republics are almost common.

For example, in the article of the Head of the Kazakhstan N. Nazarbaev "Destiny and prospects of OSCE" it is noticed that "the military decision of the Afghan problem doesn't exist. Kazakhstan, as well as many other countries, is sincerely interested in stable and peaceful Afghanistan and will concentrate efforts, first of all, on projects of humanitarian character"<sup>6</sup>.

In statement of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan I. Karimov at the plenary session of the UN Summit "Purpose of development of the millennium" it was told, "that the military decision of the Afghani problem isn't exist, and the selected strategy of coalition forces on the pacification of Afghanistan doesn't give expected results. Every day the continuation of the war aggravates even more with a distress of the people of Afghanistan and complicates the problem decision even more. In the developing situation search of alternative ways of peace and stability attainment in Afghanistan is extremely of the great importance. Among them, in our opinion, creation of the contact group 6+3 could play an important role under the aegis of the United Nations offered by Uzbekistan still in 2008. The sense and essence of our initiative act on the premise that Afghans should solve problems of their country with assistance of those countries who are interested in the end of the war and the stable future of Afghanistan because of their security"<sup>7</sup>.

At the 37<sup>th</sup> session of Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of Islamic Conference (CMFA OIC) the President of the Republic of Tajikistan E. Rahmon noted, "that the problem of Afghanistan has only no military decision and this issue demands from all of us collective actions in which all factors would be considered and realities are the most important,. Therefore projects and programs should be strengthened by the social and educational component. We support

<sup>6</sup> Nazarbayev N.A. Destiny and prospects of OSCE // News, on 28 January, 2010

<sup>7</sup> The statement of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov at the plenary session of the UN Summit "Purpose of development of the millennium" – New York, on 20 September, 2010 // the Press-service of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan [the Electronic resource]. – 2010. – an access mode: <http://www.president.uz/news/archive/viziti/>. – access Date: 9/20/2010



any undertakings in the field of peacemaking and consider that the international strategy of actions in this country, first of all, should lean on the people of Afghanistan and creative cooperation with the official authorities"<sup>8</sup>.

**At the 65th session of General Assembly of the United Nations the President of Turkmenistan G. Berdymuhamedov** also assured that "Turkmenistan understands and supports efforts of Afghanistan's management directed on settlement of the situations by negotiating means, creation of the national consent atmosphere in the country and reconciliation. It corresponds to our vision of development prospects of the intra-afghani processes. It is necessary for us to render all assistance to Afghan partners from the side of the world community"<sup>9</sup>.

Thus, above mentioned statements of the first persons of the Central Asian republics, testify that the region countries are closely interested in formation of the capable and stable Afghan state, and also its integration into the regional and international community.

At the same time, in the modern world Afghanistan is difficult and simultaneously important geopolitical knot in the global strategy of some influential subjects in the world. For the West countries it is continuation of the Central Asian strategy directions, in particular during the last time the USA actively aspires to join the Central Asia to the Afghan problem decision. From 2001 in the territory of some republics of CA the American and NATO military bases have been placed. From 2008 via region the system of northern transit transportations of cargoes for needs of the western military coalition began to be adjusted. With assistance of the American government and the international financial institutions (ADB and WB) power project KACAPEM/CASAREM and other transport-communication projects are actively developed. The similar plans connecting Central Asian republics with Afghanistan, China, Iran, India and Pakistan also develop and realize.

For certain political community of Russia the difficult military-political situation in Afghanistan is considered on the one hand as defining position of transport and power deadlock from the southern borders of the Central Asia, on the other – the Central Asian region is regarded as "soft" defense of the

southern Russian boundaries from threat of distribution of radical Islamic ideas and movements.

Simultaneously with it for the Central Asia Afghanistan has assumed ambiguous significance. The Afghan territory gives the chance to the Central Asian republics to diversify directions of trading, transport and power development. Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan actively find possibilities of the electric power export to Afghanistan and the states of Southern Asia, the Uzbek, Tadjik and Turkmen managements plan and build railways and highways from the borders of the republics into the Afghan territory, at the same time for Turkmenistan the actual project is a realization of "the Trans-Afghan gas pipeline".

Nevertheless, the general threats for the countries of the Central Asia are:

- the drug-trafficking and illegal distribution of narcotics;
- distribution of ideas of the religious extremism and international terrorism;
- influence strengthening on political process from the side of OCG;
- basing of the armed oppositional formations;
- cooperation of activity of destructive forces in the territory of Afghanistan.

It is accepted to consider that the given threats proceed not only from the irreconcilable Afghan opposition joint movement "Taliban", and also any not Afghan armed terrorist and separatist groupings, including "Al-Qaeda", any adventurers and mercenaries for whom the territory of Afghanistan became a refuge.

Thereupon for the Central Asian countries become actually the issue of coordination of efforts on prevention of non-conventional threats and challenges within the international organizations and regional structures of safety. The issues connected with the Afghan problem decision, are discussed at the international dialogue platforms and the organizations at which there is a comprehension of that the situation settlement in Afghanistan demands application of the complex approach in the solution of existing problems. As already it has been specified above, use only power methods of the solving problems in Afghanistan shows the inefficiency and thereupon the question on

<sup>8</sup> Statement of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan E. Rahmon at the 37th session of CMFA of the states-participants of the Organization of Islamic Conference. Dushanbe - on 18 May, 2010//the Press service of the President of Tajikistan [the Electronic resource]. – an access mode: [http://www.prezident.tj/rus/novostee\\_180510j.html](http://www.prezident.tj/rus/novostee_180510j.html). – access Date: 5/18/2010

<sup>9</sup> Statement of the President of Turkmenistan at the 65th session of General Assembly of the United Nations Organization – New York, on 20 September, 2010//Internet-gazeta Turkmenistan.ru [the Electronic resource]. – an access mode: <http://www.turkmenistan.ru/ru/articles/34976.html>. – access Date: 9/21/2010)



creation of conditions for normal social and economic development of this country is updated. At present the assistance of «the external help» for formation of new Afghan statehood vitally is necessary.

In the territory of Afghanistan a considerable quantity of the international organizations operates, called to promote the IRA in the sphere of safety, sustainable development of economy, observance of human rights and etc. At the same time for today the main of them there is **International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)**, operating on the territory of Afghanistan since 2001. ISAF is the international army contingent headed by the NATO, and operating in the IRA according to the resolution № 1386 of UN Security Councils. The main task of ISAF is a support of the Afghan government for that the international forces together with the National Security Force of Afghanistan carry out military operations on all country, and directly participate in development of the Afghan National Army (ANA) and the Afghan National Police (ANP) through **NATO Training Mission (NTM-A)**.

Rendering of assistance ANP within forces and means is one of key auxiliary tasks of ISAF. In this field they cooperate and give support to the USA, and also the **EU Police Mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL)** which began in June, 2007. Together with it, within the international contingent the international initiative – **The Provincial Reconstruction Teams' (PRTs)** carrying out functions of assistance to restoration and development of Afghanistan also is realized.

At present the military support from the international coalition is the basic restraining force from the scale destabilization of the situation in Afghanistan and deep humanitarian crisis. Despite amplifying criticism in the world mass-media concerning actions of the NATO and ISAF, these structures take upon the whole weight of responsibility for military-political conditions in the Afghan territory. If to consider character and accessory of other present international organizations in the Afghan territory (in the appendix) it becomes clear that at a conclusion of the militarized international structures, foreign humanitarian and non-governmental establishments will curtail the activity at once there.

In this case the countries of the Central Asian region promote military mission of the NATO and ISAF, creating for them conditions of transit of cargo deliveries to the military man and rear maintenance in what there is a mutual interest. Caution that the power method of influence has no effect, is more directed at perspective scenarios of situation devel-

opment in consideration of worsening conditions in Afghanistan. In case of defeatist leaving of the militarized international forces the Central Asian states will directly face threat of instability distribution from the Afghan territory to the Central Asian region. In this respect from region republics the reserved (non-critical) position is observed to action character of the given international organizations and that time, for which they can constrain threat of the military conflict, it is necessary to define tendencies of a peace exit from the Afghan crisis at the expense of the regional international organizations.

In creation of possible mechanisms of threat localization proceeding from the territory of the IRA, **the Regional Security Organizations – CICA and SCO** play the certain role. The given organizations have versatile character of activity which structure of participants includes a number of the CA countries. In the context of the Afghan problematic, it creates good preconditions to settlement of the situation around Afghanistan for attraction of resources not only two large powers, as Russia and China, being UNSF members, but also Iran, Pakistan and India which are observers in SCO. As one of mechanisms in the given direction it is possible to consider activity of **Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS)**, and also created in November, 2005, **the Contact group between SCO – Afghanistan**. With holding of special conference on Afghanistan in Moscow in March, 2009 under the aegis of SCO, activity and structure of the contact group became considerably wider. Not only representatives of the Organization's member states, but also other countries, the international organizations, including the United Nations took part in it. The participants of the Moscow Conference recognized that situation normalization in Afghanistan assumes the complex approach combining power methods of terrorism and illegal drug trafficking suppression by means of social and economic restoration of this country. It is noted necessity at qualitatively new level of coordination of the international efforts. In this respect within SCO there is also a possibility of the initiative advancement of Uzbekistan «6+3» as the most effective geopolitical configuration on settlement of the Inter-Afghan conflict.

At the same time the regional international security organizations as SCO and CSTO while don't actively interfere with the Afghanistan problematic and their positions are more likely defensive character. For member states of SCO threat of the international terrorism, extremism and separatism directly and not



unreasonably contacts a situation in Afghanistan. In this plan a number of the Chinese researchers underline necessity of an active participation of SCO for the permission of the Afghan problem or division of responsibility with the USA and the NATO. In particular, there is an opinion that in the intermediate term prospect in SCO it is necessary to create the dialogue mechanism with the NATO and the USA for the purpose of conducting joint struggle against regional terrorist forces, and also to ensure safety with joint efforts. Thus as a paramount problem the measures on a non-admission of the potential structural conflict between SCO, the USA and the NATO in the geopolitical and military sphere are specified<sup>10</sup>.

At all difference of approaches of the Chinese authors to an estimation of a role and prospects of SCO in Afghanistan, the majority of them recognize necessity of expansion of organizational liability zone. At the given stage for the Chinese management fastening of the economic positions in Afghanistan is priority and in this direction China has already been carrying out the project on development of a copper deposit in Ainak in northern Afghanistan. The Chinese company «China Metallurgical Group» plans to invest USD 3,5 bln. in the Ainak deposit<sup>11</sup>.

The Russian politicians and researchers don't share the position of the Chinese experts though the general for them is the negative perception of the American project about a reconstruction of "the Big Central Asia". On the Central Asian direction of the Russian foreign policy in the military issues decision the priority is given CSTO, corresponding instruments which are a **Working Group under the CMFA CSTO** over Afghanistan, and also created recently the **Collective Operative Reaction Forces (CORF) CSTO**. According to experts the CSTO tasks can be realized in the form of security mode creation in the area of borders between the Central Asian countries and Afghanistan, and also rendering of the technical and humanitarian help to the Afghan management.

In a narrowing of differences of the Central Asian republics, Russia and China there was an institutional execution of interaction between CSTO and SCO, expressed in signing of documents on cooperation between their secretaries in 2007. In particular, coun-

teraction of accruing growth of drug transit becomes the actual problems facing these international organizations. For example, Secretariat of CSTO offered to discuss the plan of joint actions with SCO on activation of struggle against the drug-trafficking from Afghanistan. Between the parties contacts with the support of RATC SCO in Tashkent are come into.

Despite the fact that, SCO and CSTM have built a neutral position to the military-political mission of the NATO and the International coalition in Afghanistan, there are certain prospects of interaction between the given regional structures. In particular, cooperation with the NATO could be realized through the Special contact group of SCO over Afghanistan and the Working group under the CMFA CSTM over Afghanistan. The EU Strategy creates good bases for interaction with the EU concerning the Central Asian countries, providing a number of measures on situation stabilization in Afghanistan, first of all, in the sphere of border control and struggle against the drug-trafficking, and also on the constructive dialogue mending with regional structures in the Central Asia. Such interaction can be carried out within the framework of concrete programs of EU, such as **CADAP (the Plan of action on struggle against drugs in the Central Asia)**, **BOMCA (the Program on management of borders in the Central Asia)**.

To situation settlement in Afghanistan the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** has high potential of assistance possibilities.

Moreover, Kazakhstan presiding in the given organization in 2010, initiates its active participation in the Afghan problem solution. As it is known, 43 of 56 member countries of OSCE, anyhow, are involved in the military operations and in economy restoration in Afghanistan. Argument of an intensification of OSCE efforts in the Eurasian direction and separately for the issues decision Afghan sociopolitical and economic crisis is indivisibility of the security principle.

Also the financial item of expenses which would specify in excessiveness of expenses of the NATO countries to the military company should become an important argument to change of tendencies from the military decision of the Afghan problem to social interaction and economic formation of Afghanistan. For example according to experts from the research

<sup>10</sup> Zhang Jianzhong, Pan Guan «the Vector of SCO development in a context of ensuring of regional safety and its influence»//Research center of SCO at SHAON [the Electronic resource]. – an access Mode: <http://www.coscos.org.cn/>. – access Date: 4/26/2008)

<sup>11</sup> Izimov R. Uy. The role of SCO in the situation settlement in Afghanistan: a position of China//east Time. Institute of the strategic analysis and the forecast (ISAF) [the Electronic resource]. – an access Mode: <http://www.easttime.ru/analitic/3/8/869.html>. – access Date: 10/1/2010)



organization «the Project - national priorities» expenses of only the USA for military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq have already exceeded USD 1 trillion. In the report it is underlined that if the sum spent for the military company would be directed to civil spheres, that, this money would suffice for training payment in colleges within nine years to 19 million students<sup>12</sup>.

Important event of Kazakhstan's chairmanship in OSCE is preparation for the Astana Summit of heads of the states and the governments which will give the further impulse to Organization development, including developments of common positions to measures of situation stabilization assistance in Afghanistan. From all raised themes of the agenda of the given action, it is possible to concentrate in the separate line attention of the Organization members to gradual transition from expensive financing of the military companies to investment of social and economic and cultural development of Afghanistan. It would be desirable if each member country of OSCE according to the resource potential engages execution of an educational policy in relation to the Afghan youth.

In the given context such dialogue platform as **the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA)** plays the important role, having the similar purpose with OSCE in the security sphere. Considering the structure of this Forum is various enough and covers the countries of regions of the Pacific Rim, Southern and Central Asia, the Middle East with their especial culture, specific possibilities and problems, creation of profile platforms for safe development of Asia which would be interesting only for all its members is expedient. For example, it is regular dialogue between law-enforcement authorities of the Forum states-participants on counteraction of a drug trafficking and counteraction of OCG's activity. In the plan for development of the tolerant relation between the Asian states the development of the general ethical rules of covering of disputed themes in zone of CICA, directed on political character of the problem solution should become the first step.

The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) becomes an important platform of the Afghan problem solution assistance in which frameworks a number of the basic documents regulating mutual relations of the Muslim countries in the sphere of safety, economic and humanitarian assistance is accepted.

Among them it is Resolution of OIC № 10/36- POL about state in Afghanistan. Also the Kazakhstan initiatives of a dialogue platform development within the limits of CICA and cooperation between Islamic and European structures for safety have been supported by Resolution OIC №31/36-PDL. The Organization of Islamic Conference shows the interest in activation of dialogue with the western partners, and in this direction of its activity Kazakhstan is taken away the certain role. Having passed the active period of the OSCE chairmanship, one of the basic structures of the European safety, the Kazakhstan diplomacy at the introduction for a role of the moderator in OIC will have a certain reserve to involve the new mechanism of «dialogue of civilizations». That is to raise the issue of transition from passive conducting dialogue to active interaction on the basis of parity between the Islamic world and the western countries. For example, it is possible to continue and expand a theme of the peace solution of the Afghan problem, counteraction to threats of the international criminality and the drug-trafficking distribution, and also others conflict factors with sharing of resources of OSCE and OIC.

As the most active economic partners of Afghanistan are following organizations: **the World Bank (WB), the Asian Development Bank, Islamic Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund** and others. The Main financial «mover» of country developments is the **International Fund for Reconstruction of Afghanistan (FRA)**. From the moment of creation in 2002, the Fund succeeded in involving for needs of IRA USD 3.6 bln. FRA carries out the activity under control of the World Bank and the special Committee consisting of the Asian development bank, Islamic development bank, the development Programs of the United Nations and WB. From 2010 till 2013 the Fund intends to allocate to Afghanistan financial assets to the sum of USD 2.6 bln. that at 32 % more than payments the last three years.

Meanwhile, **the International Development Association (IDA)**, entering into structure of the World Bank, also actively participates in development of Afghanistan. In particular, IDA takes part in financing of the third phase of National Solidarity Program which is considered one of the most successful national programs of the country development.

At the same time it is necessary to allocate also activity of **the Asian development bank (ADB)**.

<sup>12</sup> Experts: expenses of the USA for military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq have exceeded 1 trillion dollars//the Voice of Russia [the Electronic resource]. – 2010. – an access Mode: <http://rus.ru/2010/06/10/9477881.html>. - access Date: 6/10/2010)



As a whole, cumulative economic support to Afghanistan from ADB – credits, grants, guarantees, the technical help, co-financing, is about USD 2.1 bln. Thereby, IRA is the 18th largest borrower of ADB in the world.

It is necessary to notice that the given credit of ADB in 2002 to Afghanistan at a rate of USD 167.18 mln, in frameworks of the Post-conflict multi-sectorial program, became the first credit of IRA for 23 years, received from the international financial institution. At present financing from ADB is realized within the limits of the agreements reached in 2008 at the Parisian conference on Afghanistan where the Bank was obliged to allocate IRA USD 1.3 bln. from 2008 till 2013. Thereupon, ADB is the fourth largest donor of Afghanistan.

At the instance of the Afghan party, the basic sphere of financing mentions following directions:

#### THE APPENDIX

##### **The international humanitarian organizations and NGOs, operating in Afghanistan**

###### **The international humanitarian organizations:**

International Organization For Migration

World Health Organization

*United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan*

The World Bank

The *UN Refugee Agency*

EU-Afghanistan

UNESCO

*UN Human Rights*

*United Nations Development Fund for Women*

*United Nations Development Programme*

###### **The structures, coordinating by NGOs:**

*Afghan NGOs Coordination Bureau*

*British Agencies Afghanistan Group*

*Afghanistan NGO Safety Office*

*Microfinance Investment and Support Facility*

*Afghanistan*

###### **The foreign non-governmental organizations:**

*Afghans for Civil Society (USA)*

Islamic support (WB)

The international support for Afghanistan (Canada)

The foodstuffs for the starving (USA)

The help to Afghanistan (USA)

MEDAIR (Switzerland)

CARE (USA)

The Afghan Support Organization (USA)

International Humanist for the peaceful and prosperity (USA)

The Afghan well-being (Pakistan)

SHUHADA (Pakistan)

The international medical group (USA)

USAID (the US Government)

The global rights (USA)

power, transport networks, irrigation and agriculture.

Operational communication between the Bank and the government of IRA, and also a private sector and a civil society is provided by means of Afghanistan Resident Mission, created by ADB in 2003. ARM directly participates in discussion of a policy and represents itself as information base for realization of development projects in IRA.

Thus, for the counteraction to threats and the challenges, proceeding from the Afghan territory, it is necessary to associate efforts of the states and the international organizations. In the given context regional associations operating in the Central Asia in close cooperation with other international institutes can play an important role in the solution of the Afghani problem, promoting realizations of the global concept of the multi-polar world.

The Afghan communication (UK)

The Christian help (UK and Ireland)

Worldwide Care (Ireland)

ADRA (Germany)

ACTED (France)

Caritas (Germany)

Global partnership for Afghanistan (USA)

The international mission of the help (USA)

INTERSOS (Italy)

MARYLIN (UK)

Muslem Hands (UK)

The Afghan-American Chamber of Commerce

Internews (USA)

The initiative Afghanistan (Germany)

Afghanistan of Tomorrow (USA)

The Afghan schools (UK)

The rights & democracy (Canada)

School leaderships (USA)

###### **NGOs focused on the women's rights:**

*The Afghan Women's Mission (USA)*

The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan

*Afghan Women's Network*

*Afghanistan Women Council*

The Afghan Woman's Education Center

*Global Fund for Women (USA)*

*Humanitarian Assistance for the Women and Children of Afghanistan*

The initiative to Educate of Afghan Women

The help to the Afghani children (USA)

###### **NGOs focused on the children:**

War Child (USA)

Children in crisis (UK)

*Help Afghan School Children*

Rescue children (USA)



# Topical Issues of the Trans-Boundary Rivers in the Central Asia

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Existing contradictions between republics of the Central Asia in issues of hydro-power engineering and rational use of water resources of the Trans-boundary Rivers pass in a political confrontation stage now. The problems accumulated for the years in the water-power sphere and agriculture have reached a critical limit in a number of the Central Asian states. For the republics located in the upper of the rivers, shortage of power resources during the winter period became chronic, and the countries in the lower of the rivers began to test a severe shortage of water for agricultural needs.

Between republics of the Central Asia there are problems of cooperation concerning use of water resources of the trans-boundary rivers which is not solved yet. Inconsistency of a policy in the water-power sphere can lead to negative social and economic and ecological consequences in a number of the region countries.

Water is a strategic resource of life-support and a sustainable development for the whole regions of the world and the people occupying them, and level of security is a paramount indicator of life quality.

Prevalence of national interests in the policy of the Central Asian countries over necessity of decisions of the general regional problems have led to actual absence of the mechanism of a joint management of water resources, despite available arrangements. In these conditions on development of hydro-power engineering of the Central Asia geopolitical interests of regional and world powers began to render essential influence. The given circumstance not only negatively affects regional cooperation, but also can cause split between the countries of the Central Asia.

Joint interstate use of the specified resources represents the difficult process demanding reciprocal

concessions, findings of compromises, and also acceptance and observance of concrete obligations.

However it is not always possible to reach agreements, and some republics resort in water use to unilateral measures that for other countries of region frequently attracts adverse consequences.

So, it is possible to ascertain that level of sufficiency of water supply and a hydro-economic situation in the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan which are in the lower of the Syr-Darya River, depends on the water policy of the states located in the upper of the river. It creates vulnerability of positions and, in certain degree, undermines foreign policy security of the country and interferes with sterling realization of its national interests.

Thereupon formation of the coordinated and balanced regional mechanism of hydro-power regulation becomes a priority – within the limits of realization of the Central Asian vector of foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan and ensuring of its national safety.

Below a condition and prospects of development of a hydro-power complex of the Central Asia in the context of realization and protection of national interests of our state in the given sphere are considered.

As a whole the condition of the hydro-power complex of the Central Asia is characterized by following parameters (the initial data).

In the pool of the Syr-Darya River four republics of the Central Asia – Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are located. On territories of the states of region water resources are non-uniformly distributed – about 85 % of it is concentrated in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan [1].

The Central Asian region is located in the arid zone, it is impossible to cultivate agricultural crops without irrigation. Therefore almost in all states of



region prevails the irrigation demanding considerable volumes of water resources.

In region in aggregate there are enough fuel and energy resources necessary for maintenance of requirements of the Central Asian countries on rather remote prospect. Therefore the basic issue consists not so much in their physical deficiency, as in necessity of condition creation for an effective utilization of available potential taking into account features of its territorial distribution by joint efforts.

The modern mechanism of management of hydro-power resources in pool of the Syr-Darya River doesn't correspond to realities of time and doesn't guarantee their frictionless distribution. The water-economic infrastructure of pool of Aral Sea is made by 60 water basins and 45 hydroelectric power stations [2].

The hydro-power complex of the Central Asia possesses the largest energy potential reaching, by different expert estimations, from 430 to 460 bln kwh a year. Thus the region hydro-power potential is realized only at 10 %.

The Central Asia possesses about 170–180 cu. km of water resources from which for today it is used more than 90 %. Relations between mountains and plains form the main mechanism of a moisture exchange in all droughty territory of the region. At heights of 3500–4000 m above sea level eternal snow and glaciers are located. The precipitations accumulated in glaciers are stored many decades and support a drain of the rivers in droughty years. In two massifs of the Tian Shan and the Pamirs the largest glaciers and fresh water stocks in the world are located [3].

The *Interstate Commission for Water Coordination* of the Central Asia is the basic mechanism of the water-power sphere regulation of the region for today.

Thus, the hydro-power complex – owing to the considerable potential and life-supporting roles for all without an exception of the countries of region – is of special interest for cooperation. At the same time, in this sphere there are a number of unresolved problems.

The condition of the hydro-power complex of the Central Asia is defined by presence of some factors, interfering its effective development. As a whole, all problems can be grouped in three large-size blocks:

- imperfection of normative-legal base;
- insufficient institutional base;
- absence of the effective financial and economic mechanism.

Level of water-power interaction efficiency of the Central Asian states directly depends on presence of

the comprehensive, concretized and realistic contractual basis of cooperation.

For today, owing to the work done by corresponding departments of the countries of region, the base to the further development of normative-legal base – towards strengthening of systemacy, detailed elaborations of steps and refusal of declarative positions is put.

The previous agreements have been directed on water resources management settlement in pool of Aral Sea. Level and contents of each document corresponded to realities of time conclusion. The main principles put in them, didn't contradict the international water law and world practice.

Other effective method of the permission of a contentious issue is joining to the international conventions in the field of settlement of issues of the trans-boundary rivers and their ratification [4] which represent the general legal basis for development of two- and multilateral contracts and agreements. In them basic position that each state has the right to a fair share in use of waters of trans-boundary river pool is fixed, obligations on not to damaging to reservoirs, including ecological, organizational structures and cooperation mechanisms of the states in this area, including notification and exchange system of information are outlined.

At the same time, it is significant that it hasn't been defined:

- responsibility and obligations of the states for mutual deliveries of fuel and power resources during the rule of various water security;
- financing sources of realization of joint actions.

As consequence, existing agreements and annual reports don't guarantee appropriate use and control of water resources and don't cover all aspects of a joint management of trans-boundary waters in region. In particular, maintenance with irrigation water of the irrigated earths especially located in the lower of the river, water inflow to Aral Sea, necessary for maintenance of its ecosystems isn't guaranteed, doesn't prevent occurrence of emergency situations in pool of the Syr-Darya river in high-water years.

Absence of coordination in the key directions of cooperation has an impact, first of all, on the present condition of water-power economy. They are:

- a policy of conducting agriculture (irrigated agriculture), directed on optimum distribution and effective expenditure of water resources, and also stage-by-stage transition on moisture-saving and other progressive technologies;



- an energy policy directed on an interstate imbalance regulation in consumption and manufacture of the electric power;

- a policy of modernization existing and building of new objects of a hydro-power complex.

All aforesaid ones demands development of united principles of realization of water-power cooperation.

As already marked earlier, hydro-power interaction of the countries of pool has found the confused character inconvenient to settlement. In this sphere the inconsistent interests of the states, branches of economy and the international institutes are crossed. Accordingly, at decision-making between economic expediency and political relations, certain warps to the side of the last ones are observed.

This circumstance has predetermined absence of the effective institutional mechanism in the format of the interstate organization which carries out regulating non-conflictive influence on water-power relations between the countries of region. At the same time, creation of similar structure which should provide steady work of all hydro-power complex of pool – a basic issue of cooperation in this sphere.

Now stable and uninterrupted functioning of the hydro-power complex of the Central Asia depends on following conditions:

- maintenance of performance of interstate agreements on efficient control and rational use of water-power resources;

- maintenance of performance of the decision of the *Interstate Commission for Water Coordination* on operating modes of water basins;

- maintenance of performance of compensatory deliveries of fuel and energy according to the accepted arrangements.

Realization of the first condition is interfered by the following:

- absence of regional economic integration programs, and also insufficient cooperation within the limits of efficiency increase of irrigated agriculture on the basis of the model, allowing to optimize work differentiation in region;

- unauthorized water intake for own needs some by transit states;

- absence of effective ways of an exchange between existing national systems of hydrological control at the regional level;

- low account of ecological requirements in complex use and protection of water resources of pools;

- insufficiency of information exchange, first of all, the hydra-meteorological data between the

countries of region for maintenance of more exact forecasts of water content and management improvements by trans-boundary water resources.

Realization of the second condition is interfered by the following:

- various priorities of the countries concerning sharing and exchange of water-power resources;

- in infringement before the concluded multi-lateral agreements, a number of the states of pool conducted separation negotiations on a bilateral basis – for satisfaction of own seasonal requirements to the prejudice of other countries;

- building of the new hydraulic engineering constructions having negative influence on trans-boundary level, without the coordination with other states of pool.

Realization of the third condition is interfered by the following:

- absence of mechanisms of conflict resolution and methods of compensation of economic losses as a result of infringement of agreements on sharing of water and power resources;

- absence of accurate quotas and limits on water intake in pools, considering ecologically expedient volumes of water in the rivers, and also fair and uniform distribution between the countries.

Available regulation institutes– the *Interstate Commission for Water Coordination*, pool-type water economic associations “Syr-Darya” and “Amu Darya”, and also Incorporated dispatching center “Energy” – for the objective reasons, cope with the designated problems not in full.

All aforesaid ones bring p to date formation of supranational institute of regulation of hydro-power cooperation.

The requirement for synchronization and harmonization of a national water policy of the Central Asian states with measures of regional economic cooperation sharply increases.

It is necessary to understand even regulating a drain, it is impossible to satisfy simultaneously interests of all states, the compromise and the guaranteed system of indemnifications are necessary. In real-life conditions in region such compromise is possible only under condition of satisfaction of irrigation requirements of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

In parallel by them corresponding compensatory deliveries to the republics located in the upper of the river, in the equivalent volume – in the form of coal, wheat, fuel mazut, gas, other energy carriers should be carried out.

Failures of compensatory deliveries occur owing to both insolvency of consumers of fuel and water,



and imperfection of the mechanism for indemnification volume estimation.

Along with it, rather serious potential of renewed mountain power resources is not realized though, according to some experts, they can be exported to China, India and Pakistan. It is necessary to notice that Tajikistan takes the 8<sup>th</sup> place in the world in size of water resources potential, but thus 50 % of the electric power is imported. Kyrgyzstan uses the hydro-potential only at 7 % [5].

At the same time, the majority of water basins have been constructed more 25 years ago. At the present stage they have undergone to soiling and their efficiency on 30 % less, than it has been planned. Therefore existing large hydroelectric power stations need service and modernization.

Despite availability of an investment of financial assets in development of objects of water-power engineering (the region is capable to satisfy more than 71 % of requirement for energy at the expense of water-power engineering) it is enough problematic to find the investor in such specific projects.

First, the international legal status of the rivers of Aral Sea isn't defined. The recognition of transboundary character of the Syr-Darya River means free consumption of water resources and necessity of the coordination of building of hydraulic engineering constructions with other countries. Some countries of pool don't agree these conditions.

Secondly, water-power projects are represented capital-intensive enough, and in certain cases required volume of means exceeds GDP of country in 25 times, as, for example, in Tajikistan. Thus, the external source of financing on favorable conditions that it means long term, a long preferential period and rather low rate is required.

Thirdly, at building of hydro-power objects and constructions regular excess of actual expenses over planned is observed that also doesn't stimulate investment activity.

Low level of power independence in the presence of a considerable hydro-energy potential causes aspiration of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan to water-power engineering development.

**Position of Tajikistan.** Building of Rogunsky Hydroelectric Power Station in the conditions of the hardest financial and economic crisis finds scale of national idea in Tajikistan. As the basic argument for the permission of interstate conflicts because of distribution of water-power resources of Tajikistan advances the thesis about necessity of building of new hydrosystems as in pools

of each of two basic rivers function a large hydrosystem in each with a water basin: at the Syr-Darya river – Toktogulsk, at the Vakhsh river – Nureksk. With a view of effective realization of the drain regulation it is necessary to build new hydrosystems and, thereby, to divide between new and old hydrosystems for irrigational and power modes of works.

**Position of Kyrgyzstan.** At present the Cabinet of Ministers of Kyrgyzstan has concentrated on the decision of a task of increase in generating capacities of domestic water-power engineering. Active search of investors for building of new Hydroelectric Power Station – “Kambarata-2” is conducted. Standing in the lower part of the stream of Naryn river “Kambarata-1” is constructed already at 40 %, and the Republic hopes to finish its building at the expense of own reserves. The project of Kambarata Hydroelectric Power Stations is called as enormous and capable sharply to amend situation of Kyrgyzstan regarding its power supply by experts.

**Position of Kazakhstan.** Kazakhstan is interested in the guaranteed deliveries of water resources during the vegetative period and a safe operating mode of Naryn-Syr-Darya Cascade during the inter-vegetative period. Maintenance of the above-named aspects is probably only at coordinated by all countries of pool an operating mode of water basins Naryn-Syr-Darya Cascade.

**Position of Uzbekistan.** Water, according to norms of the international water law, should be a resource for general use. In issues of water use from the general river any of the states shouldn't have privileges and possess the big right in relation to other states. Uzbekistan supports a recognition historically developed in pool of each concrete river of state affairs in the field of interstate water division and water use. Thus actions of one state shouldn't cause damage to another one.

It is necessary to notice that all countries of pool of the Syr-Darya River are interested in long-term regulation of a drain from the Toktogulsk water basin.

The states showing interest in projects of development of water-power resources in the Central Asia are the USA, EU, China, Russia, Iran and India.

As a rule, to projects of development of the water-power complex of the Central Asia external forces have not so much commercial, as geopolitical interest. The competition between regional powers for rising of presence and influence in region is at stake.

**The International Institutes for Development and the Organizations** assist in development of regional cooperation and in difficult interstate processes on regulation of water-power resources of pool and



represent as arbitrators. Also they carry out development of feasibility study, consulting, analytical, technical and financial support of projects.

The largest among them are the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, Islamic Bank of Development, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, USAID, Global Environment Fund.

The further development of cooperation and interaction deepening in the water-power sphere demands additional efforts from all interested parties – the states, interstate integration structures, the International Institutes for Development, the Non-Governmental Organizations.

At the present stage the basic contractual processes on water-power subjects develop within the limits of EurAsEC and the International Fund for the saving of Aral Sea.

Despite presence of the principle consent on the highest level of EurAsEC concerning necessity of development of the mutually advantageous and balanced mechanism of regulation of water-power processes for the Central Asia, discussion and the coordination of offers on this matter has found a prolonged character.

In these conditions the Republic of Kazakhstan in interests of national safety and strengthening of regional leadership is capable to strengthen and activate work in the water-power sphere.

As a whole, for today development of the specified activity in two directions is expedient:

- *an external direction* – the further strengthening of the foreign policy and diplomatic actions directed on creation of the effective mechanism of water-power regulation in the Central Asia;

- *an internal direction* – the further continuation of the water economic and water security actions directed on regulating possibility increase of hydraulic engineer-

ing constructions of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Being based on norms and positions of the international water law, it is necessary purposefully and methodically to realize the doctrine of generality of interests, considering river as one hydrological unit which management should be carried out as a comprehensive whole. According to this doctrine of the international water law, each state within pool has the right to undertake actions against any other state of pool if this state can affect a resource without cooperation and the permission of its neighbors.

For today there is an understanding of that the long-term and effective mechanism of water-power regulation should be based on the account of interests of each of the parties, namely: needs of the states of the lower reach – in water, and upper reach – in power resources.

The regulatory mechanism on character should be complex, be based on principles of the international water law and, probably, rational to add it – taking into account regional features.

For effective coordination of water-power processes, probably, the supranational structure, capable to regulate them as across, and on a vertical is necessary.

Consensus achievement between the countries of the Central Asia concerning use of water resources of the trans-boundary rivers is necessary for maintenance of a sustainable development and a non-admission of occurrence of conflicts in region. Participation of not regional players in the water-power sphere of region is connected with their financial possibilities and strategic interests. However support of one of the influential parties separately taken the Central Asian state can break in the long term not only fragile structure of regional mutual relations in the sphere of distribution of water resources, but also negatively influence on geopolitical balance in the Central Asian region.

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# Paradoxes of the Post-Crisis World: a Positive Role of Disbalance of the Global Financial Architecture in the Economic Growth of the Countries with the Raw Economy

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**A**t present a necessity of reforming of the global financial architecture is generally recognized and it is discussed only directions of this reforming, and also, as far as possible the real reforming of the existing system of the world financial system. If the real and system reforming is to be carried out which should touch upon the bases of the existing financial architecture provoking formation of crises, that the given reforming will lead to contradictory consequences.

Preparatory to passing to the given contradictions, in brief we will consider the basic system lacks of acting financial architecture and necessary directions of its reforming.

1. Growing uncontrollability of the world markets owing to discrepancy of object and subjects of regulation. Herewith the existing and real common global financial market there is no common global regulator of the market. As the present crisis has shown regulation attempts of the global market by forces of separate national regulators are inefficient.

2. Advancing development in the financial sphere in comparison with the real sector of the world economy, especially – in the developed economy of the postindustrial type, conducting to the most concentration of money in system of the global financial markets. As compared to real sector this phenomenon

conducts to the advancing generation of profit in the financial sphere for the account of “effect of a pyramid” when means incoming in the increasing volumes push to the top of the price of financial actives and, thereby, raise a rate of profit in the financial markets that, in turn, involves new investors etc. As a result on all sectors of the organized markets “bubbles” are inflated, an inflation of them (conducting to the next crisis) becomes only a matter of time.

3. Progressive increase of an issue of non-governmental financial instruments that sends the global money supply of soaring which are not under the control to the Central Banks and, thereby – to constant decrease in their possibilities on regulation both the financial markets, and macroeconomic parameters as a whole.

4. Essential distortions and turbulence in goods markets owing to exchange character of pricing. As increase of an exchange turnover role in commodity assets in the international trade, the prices of these assets were more and more out of a real basis (the cost price, supply and demand volumes) and more and more became derivative from liquidity in the world financial markets and moods of speculative investors.

5. Presence of the unregulated segments in the global financial market becoming some kind of “black holes” uncontrollable issue and sources as



the huge volumes of liquidity inflating "bubbles" in the markets, and the centers of crises when these "bubbles" begin to collapse, carrying away trillions invested dollars with itself. In connection with the present crisis as one of such segments it more often is named derivatives of the off-exchange market and, in particular, CDS (credit default swaps).

6. The deformed system of investment criteria based on subjectivism of credit ratings of three rating agencies – Moody's, Standard and Poor's, Fitch, and also on the audit reports of "the big four" – KPMG, Deloitte Touche Tomatsu, PricewaterhouseCoopers and Ernst and Young.

In our opinion all these lacks of modern financial architecture cause its basic problem – generating of the superfluous liquidity inflating bubbles and chaotically migrating between various sectors of the financial markets that conducts to constant growth of risks of crises occurrence. Great volumes of the speculative liquidity not connected by long-term obligations can leave the market at any moment and cause a collapse of the prices, and with them – to provoke problems of both financial, and real economy sectors. Consequently, for minimizing of the possibilities of new crises generating, it is necessary to neutralize the lacks above mentioned, mainly – regarding cutoff from the markets of speculative liquidity, and also, as soon as possible, elimination of its formation bases.

Measures on the system stabilization of the world markets for the risk minimization of a crisis formation should be adequate to the problems generating crises. It is possible to range with them the followings:

- System reforming of the investment criteria based now on ratings of three agencies; refusal of subjectivity of these agencies in appropriation of ratings and transition to the criteria of investment based on the objective financial indicators and coefficients, giving real representation about a condition of emitters is necessary.

- Search of decisions at the international level on the water drain of superfluous liquidity of the financial markets and reorientation of investment flows from the speculative sphere in projects (including international), providing scientific and technical and social progress (by means of issue of the international securities, capable to absorb surplus of flow of funds on the one hand and to provide at their expense financing of globally significant problems in the scientific and social spheres).

- Tax regulation of speculative operations in the international markets, and also the establishment of

the differentiated rates of the taxation coordinated at the international level for the participants of the financial market stimulating them to carry out financing of real sector of economy, instead of speculative operations with financial assets.

- System reforming of exchange trade by the raw goods, up to refusal of it by the leading countries-exporters in favor of transition to the system of long-term contracts at the stable prices that will allow stabilizing of both the world markets, and world economy developments.

- Cutoff from operations in the organized markets of uncontrolled investors (investment companies from the offshore zones), and also a prohibition for institutional investors on investments in the financial instruments, issue bypassing regulators (difficult derivatives).

- Regulation system creation of the world markets on the basis of interventions of the state resources (for example, resources of sovereign funds) in case of increase in the market volatility over reasonable limits for the price stabilization.

- Division of bank business into credit and investment (return to the practice of action time of the law of Glass-Steagall) for the purpose of, first, liquidation of the channel of a transfer of financial crises in real sector and, secondly, cutoff from credit resources of speculators of the financial markets.

- Creation of global system of early detection of financial crises with use of monitoring of key parameters of leading economy of the world and the basic segments of the organized markets.

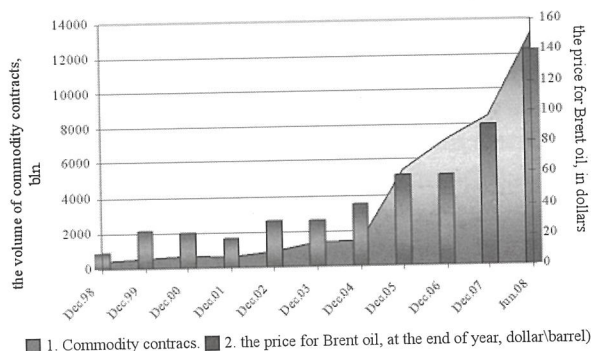
Some of the given measures can demand the big period of realization, others have mainly technical character and can be realized within the limits of acting prudential regulations at the national level (for example, refusal of rating criteria of placing of actives or an interdiction for investments in off-exchange derivatives). Technically all or the majority of these measures can be realized, despite counteraction of a financial lobby and other obstacles, however in this case it is possible even more negative consequences for the world economy or, at least, very much a considerable quantity of the countries.

In the paradoxical image cutting off from the present system of the world financial markets functioning in many respects is absurd and unnatural, an attempt to put global financial architecture in the proper can to lead to a boomerang effect and even more to aggravate world economy problems. The countries with the high importance in economy and



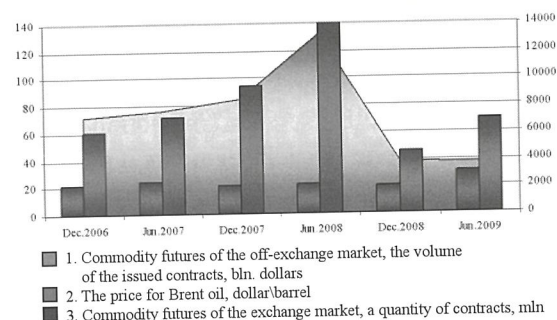
export of extracting branches (and also, in a certain measure – agriculture) will incur the basic losses in case of potential correction of system lacks of existing financial architecture. These losses will be a consequence of inevitable reduction of prices on the raw goods, both industrial and agricultural origin in case of cutoff from the markets of the speculative capital as this capital and notorious superfluous liquidity had been providing the inflation of bubbles and rise in prices in the world goods markets during last decade. So, according to the Bank for International Settlements, the volume of commodity contracts from the beginning of 2005 till the second quarter of 2008 has grown almost tenfold (from USD 1.443 to 13.229 bln.)<sup>1</sup>. It is obvious that growth of world consumption of raw materials for three years physically couldn't grow in 10 times, and this increase is caused only by the massed inflow to the goods markets of any means of institutional investors.

The interrelation between volumes of commodity contracts and dynamics of the oil price, dependence confirming of it, is resulted in drawings 1 and 2.



**Drawing 1.** Comparative dynamics of volumes of the issued off-exchange commodity contracts<sup>2</sup> and the prices for Brent Oil.

The given schedules visually show that fact, what exactly lacks of the modern financial architecture underlying last crisis (superfluous liquidity, generating of “poor” actives, a huge speculative component in exchange pricing) have provided a rise in prices for raw materials during the 2000s and, thereby – the growth of economy of the countries with raw economy, including, Kazakhstan and Russia. Thus, the normalization of the global financial architecture directly contradicts interests of the countries with the big raw material economy.



**Drawing 2.** Comparative dynamics of volumes of commodity futures of the exchange and off-exchange markets with the prices for Brent oil in the “pericrisis” period 2006 – 2009

Other paradox of the situation is that within the limits of an operating financial system interests coincide, apparently, countries absolutely different in economic type. Raw economy and the countries of «a financial oligopoly» are interested in preservation status quo (the USA, Great Britain and Switzerland) also. Strangely enough, among the most suffered from features of the present financial system functioning with its exaggerated markets, it is possible to name the countries, making end production. About it the preliminary data testifies to dynamics of GDP in “extracting” and “processing” economy in crisis of 2009 (table 1).

Table 1.

Growth rates of GDP in developing countries with raw economy and the developed industrial countries (according to CIA World Factbook).

“Extractive” developing economies		“Processing” developed economies	
country	Growth of GDP in 2009	country	Growth of GDP in 2009
Qatar	9.5	Korea	0.2
Uzbekistan	6.7	France	-2.2
Turkmenistan	6.1	USA	-2.4
Nigeria	5	Canada	-2.5
Bahrain	2.9	Belgium	-3.1
Oman	2.7	Austria	-3.5
Algeria	2.6	the Netherlands	-3.9
Iran	2.6	Sweden	-4.4
Kazakhstan	1	Italy	-4.8
Saudi Arabia	0.2	Great Britain	-4.8
Kuwait	-1.7	Germany	-5
Angola	-0.6	Japan	-5.3
Venezuela	-2.9	Finland	-7.6

<sup>1</sup> Sources: BIS Quarterly Review, December 2008. International banking and financial market developments; OTC derivatives market activity in the second half of 2005, May 2006

<sup>2</sup> BIS Quarterly Review: ‘December 2008. Table 19: Amounts outstanding of over-the-counter (OTC) derivatives.



Considering the growth of world GDP following the results of 2009 is estimated in -0,8 %, apparently that crisis year was more successfully, with indicators above an average raw economy was endured that was caused first of all by huge speculative liquidity which at the beginning of 2009 returned to raw activities and provided positive economic dynamics for the extracting countries. Thus (one more paradox of present financial architecture) it is possible to tell, that exactly the help of the developed countries to their economies in many respects has predetermined such scenario so the lion's share of this help had been going to the financial sector, and, getting there – again arrived at the financial markets and raised for them the prices. Thus, actually developed countries helped not so much commodity producers, as extracting economies all over the world on the following chain of money movement “the state – banks – investment operations – growth of the world markets”. In our opinion, the accent to the aid of financial sector, instead of real, had predetermined a total deal of GDP growth in 2009, presented in table 1.

Thus, one more paradox of acting financial architecture is that the given system approaches more for less developed economy, actually, stimulating laying-up of other technological setups. As raw production is the exchange goods, that is, the investment instrument, it is always in demand within the limits of acting system of the world markets. On the contrary, manufacturing industry production, from real estate to home appliances, is subjected to strong changes of demand during the crisis periods as isn't an investment active and, consequently, is bought only by end users, instead of investors that conditions slow restoration of demand. This situation has arisen literally last years together with moving of investment activity to raw contracts. Even in the

crisis of 1998 the situation was return – falling of the prices for commodity activities rigidly beat on the raw economy and became stimulus of development processing as reduced costs on raw materials. In 1998-99, after the crisis in South East Asia almost all developed countries had positive and high rates of increase of GDP whereas raw economy or strongly slowed down the growth, or in general «left in a minus». Now the reverse situation – the developed economies making end production, are in more difficult situation as under double blow of reduction in demand for the production and the high prices for raw materials for its manufacture.

Despite all lacks and absurdity of the formed global financial architecture, it is necessary to recognize that it suits the majority of the leading countries (or their groups). The system of the financial markets in its present kind creates powerful instruments of influence on the world economy for the USA and forms a considerable share of GDP through activity of the financial companies. The EU countries, especially leaders, also are interested as in activity of the large financial companies, and in increase of the importance in the world processes supervised now through financial networks. The extracting countries also are interested (or should be) in preservation of a high speculative component in the raw markets, providing stably high prices. At such interest of a considerable quantity of the influential states, the acting financial architecture has every prospect of the further existence, despite all its basic lacks and unnaturalness of formed economic models. And the basic paradox of the post-crisis world consists in it – to keep absurd system of the global economy, understanding its absurdity and consciously preserving it with a view of the further extraction of profits by interested parties.



# Economic Activities of the Transnational Companies in Kazakhstan

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One of the most significant tendencies of development of the world economy in the modern world is activation of globalization processes in all its spheres, including investment one. Thus the major element of development of the world economy and direct participants of all spectrum of the microeconomic relations are transnational corporations (TNC). Last decade the TNC began actively to expand its activity and in Kazakhstan. Attraction of foreign capitals in the national economy, prevailing volumes of them are arrived from the TNC, is an important source of the investment development support and can involve increase of an openness and competitiveness of the republic in the world market. On the other hand, activity estimations of the TNC, their influence on the economic development and safety of the accepting states are ambiguous.

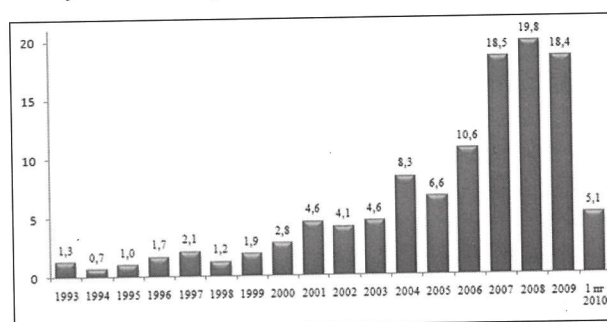
In the given article influence features of economic activities of the foreign TNC on efficiency and stability of development of economic branches of Kazakhstan are considered.

For an estimation of expediency of the capital attraction of the foreign TNC in the various branches of Kazakhstan's economy it is necessary to reveal the interrelation of foreign direct investment (FDI) and efficiency of functioning of national economy as a whole.

The analysis of the situation which has developed in the sphere of FDI testifies to a favorable investment climate and image of Kazakhstan. According to National Bank of the Republic of Kazakhstan, steady positive dynamics of FDI inflow in the country is observed since 1993 (drawing 1).

The volume of gross inflow of FDI in Kazakhstan's economy from 1993 till the first half-year of 2010 has made more than USD 113 bln. It is remarkable that

more than half of this sum was involved only for last 3,5 years (about USD 62 bln. from 2007 till the 1<sup>st</sup> half-year of 2010).



**Drawing 1.** Dynamics of the gross inflow of FDI, bln. USD

*The note:* It is made according to National Bank of the RK ([www.nationalbank.kz](http://www.nationalbank.kz))

Despite deterioration of the investment climate of Kazakhstan in 2009 as a result of negative influence of the world crisis when the volume of FDI inflow in the country was reduced in relation to previous year to 7 %, the country has kept the attractiveness to potential investors, including to the largest suppliers of the capital in the world - TNC.

Investment tendencies in the structure of foreign investments by the countries don't practically change last years. In the structure of accumulated gross inflow of FDI by the countries from 1993 till the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 2010 the USA (17,8 %) and the Netherlands (20,6 %) dominate. First ten investors it was included also Great Britain (8,2 %), the Virgin Islands (5,6 %), France (5,5 %), Italy (4,3 %), China (3,6 %), Russia (3,6 %), Canada (3,5 %), Switzerland (3,3 %) (table 1). As a whole first ten basic countries-investors account for 76.0 % (USD 86 093.9 mln.) of all saved up foreign investments of Kazakhstan.



Table 1.  
Structure of gross inflow FDI by the countries  
from 1993 till 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 2010

#	Country	mln. USD	% to the total
1	the Netherlands	23 280,1	20,6%
2	The USA	20 134,9	17,8%
3	Great Britain	9 279,3	8,2%
4	the Virgin Islands	6 378,7	5,6%
5	France	6 198,1	5,5%
6	Italy	4 868,3	4,3%
7	China	4 082,5	3,6%
8	Russia	4 076,8	3,6%
9	Canada	4 012,6	3,5%
10	Switzerland	3 782,7	3,3%
11	Other countries	27 160,0	24,0%
	Total	113 253,9	100,0%

The note: It is made according to National Bank of the RK (www.nationalbank.kz)

The essential share of investments from the Netherlands it is explained, first of all, its soft fiscal and regulating policy in which result the Kazakhstan emitters prefer to spend listing of Eurobonds at the stock exchanges of the given country. Besides, the Netherlands is a favorable offshore zone for structuring of the investments, therefore in Kazakhstan many projects are financed from the management companies of this country. So in 2009 USD 6,1 bln. of USD 18,4 bln. of foreign investments Kazakhstan have got from the Netherlands. In the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 2010 the volume of investments has made USD 1,8 bln. from the given country that almost in twice more than the similar period of last year. As of March 31, 2010 the considerable share of the Dutch capitals goes to operations with real estate, rent and services to the enterprises of Kazakhstan (11,7 % of all foreign investments), financial activity (7,1 %) and the mining industry (4,5 %).

Direct investments from the USA to Kazakhstan are aimed, first of all, at the diversification of sources of power and other raw materials and control achievement over the markets. They are basically directed to the sphere of extraction and export of oil and gas, maintenance of their transportation to the world markets, to the manufacture and export of other kinds of mineral raw materials from Kazakhstan. As of March 31, 2010, the share of direct investments from the USA directed to projects of oil and gas sector makes 6.5 % of their general volume to the country, and in the operation with real estate, rent and services to the enterprises – 4.2 %.

Thus, the largest investors of Kazakhstan's economy are traditionally offshore or states with the liberal

tax mode. Unfortunately, the lack of the information doesn't give possibility to define, what share of these investments is directly "foreign" (for example, Dutch or British), what - offshore, but having a foreign origin, and what - offshore, but having a domestic origin, i.e. carried out by Kazakhstan companies, but registered in offshore jurisdictions. According to experts, the basic volume of investments from the offshore jurisdictions is made nevertheless money of the domestic companies and the private persons, earlier deduced in the offshore. It testifies that "foreign" the given investments are only actually.

It is necessary to notice that, despite a global economic crisis, on a number of directions from some countries the substantial growth of volumes of attracted investments is observed. For example, in 2009 volumes of the investment from Pakistan (fifty two-fold), Mongolia (twenty three-fold), Georgia (9,8 times) have repeatedly increased. In the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 2010 the sharp increase in investments from Canada (657-fold), Singapore (415-fold), Barbados (406-fold), the United Arab Emirates (59-fold) and Uzbekistan (33-fold) was observed.

Interest to investment to Kazakhstan from the states which prior to the beginning of the present world crisis weren't included into number of leaders on the investing in the Kazakhstan's economy, it probably explains their desire to diversify structure of their investments. As a result, unseen optimistic signals from the western markets, the rich Arabian countries, and also China, Japan, South Korea and other countries began to show activity at the market of Kazakhstan, earlier preferring to invest money in Europe and the USA.

As to investments from the Arabian countries on the one hand, they can help Kazakhstan's economy to cope with a time lack of liquidity, on the other, lead to fastening existing non-diversification and raw orientation of economic structure of our country. The reason is absence of new technologies and new innovations in the structure of the Arabian investments which are traditionally characteristic for the American and European investments. Thereupon it is not necessary to hope for high-grade replacement of the Arabian investments by Western else.

As it is known, increase of investments in the national economy indicating country-investor intention to strengthen their positions in the country-recipient and allows it to influence dynamics and structural features of economic development of host country. For instance, in reply to "the political" credit of China



for the sum of USD 10 bln, Kazakhstan had to go to super-concessions: sale of half of *Mangistaumun-aigaz* JSC, minority occurrence of the Chinese in the capital of exploring and production of KMG and others. It is necessary to notice that the basic part of the given Chinese credit is target and connected when investments can be sent only to projects in which the Chinese companies participate and the Chinese state is interested. It is important for China to get access to the source of raw materials; therefore the structure of its investments in Kazakhstan is extremely poorly diversified.

Therefore for Kazakhstan it is necessary to go on at this rate to adhere to the multivector foreign policy which allows to minimize potential influence of the countries-investors on the economy and policy of our state and successfully to balance between the basic powers and their interests in the region. Thus, concluding investment contracts with other countries, it is necessary to champion national interests of Kazakhstan and to welcome, first of all, "clever" foreign investments which involve not only financial resources, but also new technologies and scientific development, open the new possibilities and new commodity markets for the Kazakhstan business. Today such investments are necessary to us for realization of the industrial program.

As a result of objective processes of globalization of world economy and transnationalization of manufacture and capital activity of TNC gets the rising role acting in the international scales and being in the driving seat in strengthening of microeconomic ties. Thus for the majority of the world countries including Kazakhstan, the TNC as the form of the international business, is the most effective for national economic development.

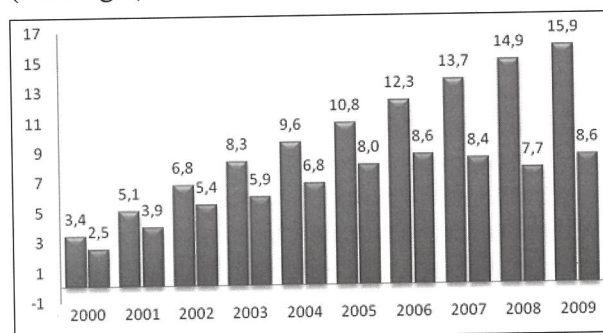
At present the TNC supervises over 50 % of world industrial production, more than 60 % of international trade, about 80 % of patents and licenses for the new technology and know-how, almost 90 % of foreign direct investments (FDI). Of 500 most powerful international companies 85 supervise 70 % of all foreign investments, realize 80 % of all made electronics and chemistry, 95 % of pharmaceuticals, 76 % of production of mechanical engineering.

Almost all trade in raw materials at the world markets is supervised by the largest international corporations, generally concentrated in the North America, Europe and Japan. The volume of made production at the enterprises of these corporations annually exceeds USD 1 bln., the number of employees

about 77 million. At present the leading role in global processes belongs to the TNC of the USA, but this rupture gradually decreases owing to strengthening of positions of the TNC of the Western Europe, Japan, and also developing countries (China, Hong Kong, Mexico, Korea, etc.).

The contribution of the foreign TNC to the economic development of the host country is rather difficult for estimating unequivocally. On the one hand, the TNC create unique possibilities for development of national economies: attraction of their investments leads to increase of economic growth rates of the country and infrastructure improvement. On the other hand, for the majority of host countries, in particular for the transit and developing states, activity of the TNC is a serious problem: they don't set themselves a task of economic development realization of the host country, and are guided only by maximization of incomes for the invested capital. Financial power of the largest corporations allows them to oust national investors from the most attractive sectors of economy, to create rigid pressure upon national manufacturers and using frequently methods of a dishonest competition.

In our opinion, the investments of TNC have played the positive role from the point of view of FDI inflow. In 2009 numbers of the enterprises registered in Kazakhstan and the companies with foreign pattern of ownership has made 15,9 thousand, of them carried out the activity 8,6 thousand enterprises (drawing 2).



■ Number of registered legal persons  
■ Number of acting legal persons

**Drawing 2.** Dynamics of numbers of legal persons registered and acting in the RK with foreign pattern of ownership, thousand enterprises

The note: It is made according to National Bank of the RK ([www.nationalbank.kz](http://www.nationalbank.kz))

As a whole in comparison with 2000 the number of the acting enterprises and the companies with foreign pattern of ownership has grown in 3,4 times.



Thus their basic share is concentrated in Almaty and Astana.

One of widespread forms of activity of the TNC in Kazakhstan is creation of joint ventures (JV). For today the foreign companies are present practically at all branches of the national economy. Thus the majority of the TNC functioning in Kazakhstan is concentrated in oil-producing branch: Chevron-Texaco, ExxonMobil, BP, Total Fina Elf, ENI Group and others. For instance, development of the Caspian sea oil deposit of Kashagan which is reckoned among 5 of the major deposits in the world on oil stocks, is carried out by joint efforts of companies Eni, Shell, ConocoPhillips, ExxonMobil, Inpex both KazMunaiGaz. Oil-and-gas recovery on the deposit of Karachaganak is carried out by the international consortium Karachaganak Petroleum which includes companies Eni, BG, Lukoil and Shevron.

Besides at the market of Kazakhstan and other foreign oil companies aspire to expand the presence, such as Korea National Oil Corp (KNOC) which wishes to unite of effort with national company KazMunaiGas in the future in the sphere of development of deposits of raw materials in other countries, i.e. out of Kazakhstan.

The expansion of presence of China in oil-and-gas recovery branch in Kazakhstan deserves a special consideration. So, in 2008 the share of the Chinese companies in oil recovery branch made 19,2 %, and in the sphere of gas recovery- 11,6 %. It is necessary to notice that in comparison with 2000, the share of the Chinese companies has grown on oil in 2,6 times, and on gas – in 2,9 times.

Presence at the ferrous metallurgy of Kazakhstan is presented by the enterprises of TNC - ArcelorMittal and Kazhrom. Thus the basic share of manufacture of steel production (99,5 %) and cast iron (100 %) is fallen to ArcelorMittal Temirtau JSC.

In the processing sector of the country there are production facilities such TNC, as the manufacturer of drinks Coca-Cola Company, and the manufacturer of tobacco production Philip Morris Company, and also the manufacturer of household electronics LG Electronics. The given corporations aren't export-oriented, and work only in the home market of the republic.

Many of the largest American, European and Japanese TNC are widely presented in the market of Kazakhstan in such branches, as pharmaceutical, automobile, the food-processing industry and electric equipment. For example, American General Electric

realizes joint projects with the Kazakhstan companies in the mechanical engineering; in the pharmaceuticals sphere the project on manufacture of the hi-tech x-ray equipment together with Aktoberentgen is realized; in the railway sphere – the project is begun on the modern locomotive assembly of mark Evolution together with KazakhstanTemirZhol. Besides, work is conducted with the large Korean companies, as LG Chemical, Kores, SK Telecom and others.

As a whole, participation of the various foreign TNC in privatization of the domestic enterprises has resulted not only in occurrence of the foreign capital and new market mechanisms in the republic, but also in strengthening of their political role. According to experts, the majority of decisions in the field of an industrial policy are accepted not without pressure of the large companies of raw sector of economy. As a result reproduction of a mineral-raw-material base of Kazakhstan chronically lags behind mining operations growth; excavation of only rich layers conducts to irrational use of minerals and fast exhaustion of a mineral-raw-material base of the country.

As world experiment shows, the TNC can concentrate their attention only on statistical comparative advantages of the host country, for example, on presence of the largest mineral deposits or cheap labor. Modernization should include both production efficiency increase, and transformation of statistical comparative advantages of the given country in dynamic by adjustment of communications of branches of the foreign companies with domestic enterprise circles, and also qualification developments of labor or by means of introduction of more difficult technologies. Besides, according to experts, foreign investors not always adhere to the ecological standards declared by them. Orientation of the foreign TNC only on inclusion of highly remunerative segments of the Kazakhstan economy in the system of the international division of labor can lead depression of less profitable branches of the domestic economy.

Mutually advantageous cooperation and assistance of foreign corporations to transition of national economy from the raw orientation to manufacture of the goods with the high added value cost should become the main priority of economic policy of Kazakhstan in relation to the TNC. That is process of mutual relation formation of the state and TNC should be formed on model of strategic partnership when ideology, forms and methods of the coordination of interests of Kazakhstan and the TNC are directed on achievement of general aims, strategy



and criteria of development. Thus it is necessary to adhere to necessary parity between strategic targets of Kazakhstan, problems of social and economic development and interests of the TNC in the national economy. Besides, it is already quite obvious that absence or easing of control from the host country over the TNC activity lead to negative social and economic consequences.

Thus, the analysis of economic activities of the foreign TNC and its influence on efficiency and stability of development of economic branches of Kazakhstan allows drawing of following conclusions and recommendations.

Presence of stocks of resources of mineral-raw materials and their export in Kazakhstan is given certain possibilities of development to the country. So, last 15 years in the economy of Kazakhstan steady dynamics of inflow growth of the foreign investments was observed sharply reduced only last years, first of all, because of displays of the world economic crisis. Also the crisis has led to quantity reduction of large high-profitable and quick-covering investment projects; necessities of growth of the state presence for key sectors of economy; to strengthening of risks for large business and to decrease in investment appeal of Kazakhstan. In these conditions the government has set itself a task of an investment climate improvement in the country and further to stimulation of FDI inflow in economy. Thus foreign investments are considered as one of the major sources of modernization of national economy. However the next years Kazakhstan should enter a rigid competition to other states for investment resources of the world.

At the same time practice of many foreign countries shows that attraction of foreign investments can have ambiguous consequences for the economic safety of the country and doesn't guarantee stable and high rates of the economic growth. Evident acknowledgement of it is experience of such developing countries, as Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, and also the countries of East and South East Asia. On grounds of their experience, it is possible to draw a conclusion that inflow of foreign investments can make the most positive impact on country development to the effect that the states have own strong economic policy and involve foreign investments according to its priorities.

In spite of the fact that in Kazakhstan as priority directions of development not raw branches of economy are chosen, the basic share of FDI, still, is fallen to the mining industry and execution of

geological exploration and researches. It actually fixes raw orientation and promotes deformation of other branches of the Kazakhstan economy that as a result can lead to negative social and economic consequences. It became clear that the global economic crisis isn't capable to change branch structure of investments, and favorable conditions for a diversification of economy of Kazakhstan are missed.

In these conditions it is possible to consider two variants of the further economic development. One of them - the inertial, focused on preservation of raw specializations and the further actually priority development of fuel and energy and metallurgical complexes. At the given variant the next years there is impossible a qualitative reorganization of economy with priority development of modern hi-tech science intensive branches, and investment of branches of manufacturing industry at the acute shortage of financial assets will appear very limited. It is necessary to consider and social consequences of depression or full degradation of those regions, which development it is not connected with a mining industry.

As a whole, it becomes clear that the way of raw orientation preservation of economy not only is inefficient, but also is unpromising. It puts in dependence all national economy from demand of the developed countries for the resources of mineral-raw materials, the world prices for the resources, established by these countries at will. And development of technologies and distribution of alternative energy sources in the western countries the next years will finally lead to sharp reduction of demand and even replacement of production of a fuel and energy complex from the world market.

Not in the last instance it is necessary to note and the ecological side of raw orientation preservation of economy. As recent oil accident in Gulf of Mexico has shown, in the world in oil area there are neither absolutely safe technologies on extraction, storage and oil refining, nor technologies on their localization. Unfortunately and Kazakhstan isn't an exception of the list of a risk zone which the same large accident can comprehend. Now oil-and-gas recovery at Caspian Sea (at the largest closed reservoir of the world), and also their processing and transportation became the reason of occurrence of severe winds, pollution of water and air pool in the region.

Other direction of possible development is the so-called postindustrial way providing structural reorganization of economy, first of all, of the industry,



creation of conditions for priority development of economically effective productions of manufacturing industry, competitiveness increase of a domestic production, and also maintenance of steady growth of a living standard of the population. The solution of these problems will demand huge financial resources and strengthening of investment activity, both at the state, and regional levels. It is impossible to achieve increase of welfare of the community, development of the social sphere, updating of the industrial device, increase of production efficiency, defense capability and payment of public debts without it. If to consider a modern economic situation and a status of the finance of the country, that effective and sterling realization of the given direction of development is represented not realizable the next 10-15 years.

Development and introduction of the accurate program of structural reorganization of the national

economy aimed at reduction of dependence of the country from export of natural resources and dotted support of export-focused manufactures is necessary for advancement of postindustrial development of the country sideward, and the accumulated funds of National fund are necessary for using on the further profound development of processing sector. In the relation of activity of the TNC mutually advantageous constructive cooperation and conducting of active dialogue on development of processing branches and assistance of the foreign TNC to the national economy transition to manufacture of the goods with the high added cost should become the main priority of the economic policy of Kazakhstan. Thus for prevention of negative social and economic consequences Kazakhstan should adhere to rigid state control of activity of the TNC in THE national economy.



# Central Asia as Viewed by Contemporary Political Analysts

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## IN LIEU OF AN INTRODUCTION

### Europe and Central Asia: Identical Interests

After a long interval, Romanic-speaking Southern Europe (Italy and Spain) revived its interest in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, while France, the U.K., and Germany never lost theirs. In 2008, the Cassa di Risparmio Fund of Bologna published a fundamental work [2] which gathered between its two covers everything historians, ethnographers, and political scientists had to say about Kazakhstan.

This is the second part of the historiography on literature about Central Asia which appeared earlier this year in *Central Asia and the Caucasus* [1]. It is intended to fill the gap about the books on Central Asia which have appeared in the last two years that were not covered in the previous article.

Five of the thirteen chapters were written by Kazakhstan historians, archeologists, ethnographers, and sociologists. Those who devised this definitive publication and identified its ideology intended to trace the cultural and civilizational developments in contemporary Kazakhstan based on rich archeological material and historical sources related to the country's nomadic past. The problems of our day and modernization of Kazakh (Kazakhstan) society have been covered in just as much detail.

It seems that Italian social anthropologists will find the book especially interesting and useful.

The Spanish academic community devoted its works entirely to Kazakhstan's current developments. *Great Powers and Regional Integration in Central Asia: A Local Perspective* was prepared with the active involvement of Kazakhstan experts and published in English by the Opex Fund operated by the Foreign Ministry of Spain [3]. The joint effort was coordinated by M.

Esteban and N. de Pedro, the two ideologists of this collective work. This relatively small book deals with geopolitics and the international status of Central Asia; each of its structural units looks at the regional policy of the key international actors who have their own interests in the region (Russia, China, the U.S., Turkey, Japan, and the European Union). As expected, the Spanish authors concentrated on the relations between the European Union and Central Asia, while their colleagues from Kazakhstan were given the opportunity to express their opinion about the policy of other powers.

Mario Esteban is convinced that Russia, the influence of which is shrinking, is relying on regional cooperation exercised through the EurAsEC and CSTO as an instrument to reinforce its presence in the region. The Spanish expert believes that China is rapidly building up its regional influence and is the driving force in the SCO. The United States, writes Mario Esteban, is concentrating on the Greater Central Asia (GCA) project designed to "reintegrate" the region with South Asia (particularly with Afghanistan and Pakistan). The Turkish geopolitical project is based on the idea of Turkic unity. The Spanish author regards Japan as the largest donor, which is not entirely correct; he has rightly written, however, that in Central Asia Tokyo is mainly driven by its intention to form a counterbalance to China. The EU and Central Asia: Strategy for a New Partnership adopted in 2007, which serves as the basis of the EU's geopolitical activities in the region, fails to fully take account of Central Asia's geopolitical specifics. The Spanish analysts intend this publication to be a geopolitical appendix of sorts to the strategic document.

Nicolás de Pedro proceeds from the assumption that Central Asia is becoming increasingly important to Europe for four reasons:

(1) it is a source of threats which might affect Europe;



- (2) it is rich in energy resources;
- (3) it is a place where the interests of Russia, China, and America clash;
- (4) it borders on Afghanistan.

The ruling regimes and the opposition are satisfied with the EU's presence in the region, which cannot be said for other geopolitical actors. This is especially obvious in Kazakhstan, which tends to identify itself with Europe to a much greater extent than its regional neighbors and which is chairing the OSCE in 2010. The European Union does its best to avoid geopolitical intrigues—it concentrates on economic and education issues, which, the Spanish author hopes, will bear fruit sometime in the future when the present generation of regional leaders retires.

The European Union supports regional integration in principle, which can be described as a weakness rather than a strong point of its Central Asian policy: the disagreements among the republics are too obvious to be ignored. On the whole, concludes the author, the European Union is pursuing a simple, pragmatic, and absolutely clear policy: it is encouraging economic development and integration in the region, a lower level of political dependence on outside forces, and prevention of confrontation in the Cold War style.

The Casa Asia of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, which has pooled the efforts of French, Central Asian and Spanish experts, published the work *La situation de la gouvernanza en Asia Central*<sup>4</sup> dealing with the nature of the region's political regimes and socioeconomic relations in the context of its historical and structural specifics; economic and social evolution of post-Soviet Kazakhstan; the problem of effective governance in Uzbekistan; and the economic and political relations between Spain and Central Asia. The book contains political and economic statistics for each of the region's republics.

Sebastien Peyrouse, likewise, has written a lot about the EU's strategy and policy in the region [5].

The report ordered by the Foreign Ministry of Finland and compiled by an expert group headed by Frederick Starr takes a look at the relations between Finland and the Central Asian and Caucasian countries<sup>6</sup> and evaluates the level of cooperation, methods, and key trends of Helsinki's policy in the regions. According to the authors, Finland's policy is developing within the common European strategy (economic cooperation, fighting threats, etc.); however Helsinki has its own preferences: support of NGOs, promotion of gender equality, prevention of conflicts, migration, and the banking sector.

The report, which offers clear recommendations to the Finnish government on its further regional policy, stands apart from other similar publications. It should be said that the presence of Prof. Frederick Starr, American political expert and author of the GCA doctrine, is very much felt in this publication [7].

### Japan, China, and Central Asia: from Eurasian to Pan-Asian Strategy

Prof. Starr, who is frequently criticized from all sides (Central Asia, Russia, and the West) for his GCA concept [8], had to disavow the concept [9] by saying that his ideas had been misinterpreted and misunderstood.

The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute at the Johns Hopkins University (SAIS), where Frederick

Starr and his colleagues are based, has remained the pioneer of Central Asian studies. We have already written about some of them [10].

A collective monograph called *Japan's Silk Road Diplomacy* [11] deserves special mention. Edited by U. Tomohiko and H. Tetsuya in cooperation with C. Len, the book takes a look at what predated Tokyo's current Central Asian policy and covers practically all aspects of Japan's cooperation with the region.

The authors believe that Japan should move away from its regional policy and its concentration on economic assistance. While acting formally with the West, it preferred to ignore the democracy related issues very much in the center of American and European attention. Tokyo should join the democratization process, write the authors.

They also suggest that Tokyo should shift its attention from geopolitical to economic issues in its relations with the region. It should be said in all justice that at no time has Japan demonstrated a bias toward geopolitics.

Experts admit that the Japanese leaders have never looked at Central Asia as a critically important aspect of their diplomatic and foreign economic strategy. It seems that this trend will continue, even if the authors would have preferred the opposite; they believe that Tokyo should abandon all forms of rivalry with Russia and China to be able to continue its policy in Central Asia. In fact, they say that Japan could have found a more constructive form of cooperation with these two countries.

The authors stress that the mounting economic influence of China and South Korea in Central

Asia can no longer be ignored. As a North Asian power, Japan could have invited its neighbors to



pursue a common strategy and close ranks in a united front. The authors make no secret of the fact that energy resources are today and will remain in the future the main (or even the only) driving force behind Japan's strategic activities.

The monograph dwells on another important issue: Japan's Central Asian policy in the context of its pan-Asian strategy and its strategic relations with the United States. The pan-Asian factor clearly underlies Tokyo's new conception with respect to Central Asia. Built at first on the Central Asia plus Japan formula and then on the so-called Eurasian strategy, today it rests on the so-called Arc of Freedom and Prosperity, a concept currently being elaborated in the corridors of power. The very name speaks volumes: it brings to mind the geopolitical projects Japan applied to Asia in the first half of the 20th century. Tokyo has obviously remained loyal to its pan-Asian policy in Central Asia.

The authors, however, agree that Japan should formulate its own geopolitical approach in the form of the Expanded East Asia (together with China and South Korea) or Eastern Eurasia (the same partners and Russia) projects. The Eurasian countries could have become, at least theoretically, a platform for Japan and Central Asia, as well as for all interested players.

This means that in its Central Asian policy, Japan once more runs across the dilemma (which also exists in many other foreign policy trends) of whether it should follow its interests (which will make its policy purely Asian) or continue following American strategies (to remain a hostage of American geopolitics with ensuing consequences).

A highly creative tandem formed by M. Laruelle and S. Peyrouse has authored a definitive work within the SAIS program called *China as a Neighbor: Central Asian Perspectives and Strategies* [12] based on the thesis that since 2000 China has been playing an increasingly greater role in Central Asia. Today, it can threaten Russia's traditional domination in the region.

For a long time, China remained devoted to its traditional "wait-and-see" policy in Central Asia. Beijing looked at it as a buffer zone, however, its geographical proximity and the new economic reality are pushing China toward more active involvement. The local states have not missed the U-turn either: Beijing has moved away from flexible diplomacy and "soft power" to demonstrate to some of them that they are not "equal partners," Kazakhstan with its "strategic partner" status—a title Beijing is not lavish with—being the only exception.

The authors have dwelt in detail on the so-called Chinese Question and its numerous dimensions, the

main being international policy and geopolitics. The domestic dimensions of the Chinese Question vary from country to country and depend on their domestic contexts. The ideas about the Chinese Question are different in different republics, but none of the states (with the exception of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan) treats it as an important and contradictory civilizational and geopolitical issue. It should be said, however, that Beijing unwittingly pushed academic Sinology into the practical sphere of politics and international relations.

China's strategy is aimed at filling the economic vacuum the Soviet Union left behind in the region, and elsewhere as a matter of fact. Its regional strategy is part and parcel of the Xinjiang factor, the Uighur problem, etc. Chinese investments should be treated as the means and methods used to hook the Central Asian republics; the authors, however, are very skeptical about the strategy's longterm success.

So far, China is pushing ahead in the financial and banking spheres from which Russia is absent; Moscow is trying for all it is worth to keep fuel exports, the nuclear industry, and energy production under its control.

Moscow and Beijing share common approaches at the geopolitical level: they need stability and shrinking Western influence. Their economic interests, especially in subsurface resources, are developing into economic rivalry.

A separate chapter deals with the way the Central Asian countries treat the Chinese factor from the political, political scientific, and social points of view; much space is given to the struggle between the anti-Chinese and pro-Chinese groups in Kazakhstan. Their disputes are discussed in detail in the academic, political, and economic contexts.

It should be said that the book contains a profound and vast survey of history, as well as an assessment of the development and state of the political "think-tanks" in the local countries, their interpretation of Chinese policy, and the attitude toward China in each of them.

The authors concluded that throughout the last decade China has developed into the main focus of attention of regional politicians, political scientists, the media, and society; the so-called Chinese Question has become a topic of intense political debates. Despite their continued prejudices against China, the regional elites and political communities refrain from open anti-Chinese statements.

In the economy, where the interests of various groups directly depend on external investors and part-



ners, the anti-Chinese and pro-Chinese confrontation is much more open, even though it is actively pushed into the shadows. The defense and security structures, as well as the secret services are still in two minds about China, which probably fits the mood at the top.

M. Laruelle and S. Peyrouse have pointed out that the possibility of closer relations with China evokes different feelings in different countries. Anti-Chinese feelings predominate, on the whole, in Kazakhstan, while pro-Chinese sentiments are much more strongly felt in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan (reference to the latter is open to doubt).

The authors have paid particular attention to the efforts of Central Asian strategists and politicians to find certain "third way:" either an alliance with the West or an independent and relatively strong regional alliance to dispel with the need to choose between Beijing and Moscow. The region, however, has not yet arrived at a united opinion about its relations with China.

The French academics are convinced that the region—mainly Kazakhstan—criticizes Russia and does not like the West. China is hated: the authors are amazed at the regional level of Sinophobia which stems from widespread ignorance about this country.

They have concluded that the further the Central Asian country from China, the higher the tolerance level. In countries where China is present at the everyday level (Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan), Sinophobia is much more pronounced.

Chinese regional policy is shrewd, write the authors: satisfied with the fact that Moscow has shouldered the financial burden of the strategic balance in the region, Beijing has no intention of pushing the Russians out. Any attempt to move to the fore will arouse Moscow's stiff opposition. To avoid any confrontation with a united front of Russia and the Central Asian states (China got a taste of this when dealing with the Border Rivers), it relies on bilateral relations within the region.

An alliance between Russia and China will infringe on the interests of the United States and the

EU (not of the Central Asian states) and deprive them of the chance to promote democracy and liberalize the local regimes. As part of the local economic landscape, China leaves Western businesses no chance (potential or real) of becoming entrenched in the region; Beijing demonstrates no mean skill in camouflaging its anti-Western policy to leave

Moscow with the far from attractive role of an anti-Western force.

The authors conclude that it is in the interests of the Central Asian countries to keep the Chinese-Russian alliance in check by counterbalancing it with a "third force."

There is any number of articles and other publications dealing with the Chinese presence in Central Asia, the SCO, and many other issues (mainly the special 2009 issue of *The China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*) [13].

Another issue of the same publication deals with the relations between India and Central Asia [14]. Western authors devote much attention to the regional security issues (drug trafficking, the SCO, and other international structures) [15], as well as the situation in Afghanistan [16].

### Regional Problems

Erica Marat, a research fellow with the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, has already published two works, one of them dealing with the impact of the world crisis on labor migration in Central Asia [17], which says the following.

Three of the Central Asian republics—Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan—can be described as donors which supply Russia and Kazakhstan with workforce. The author describes Putin's Russia as a xenophobic expanse that is very hostile toward Central Asian labor migrants, while Kazakhstan is a "new home" for them.

She has also pointed out that there is practically no interstate cooperation or coordination with respect to migration policy and draws attention to numerous social and economic problems, such as extremely low wages, appalling labor and living conditions, legalized slavery, lack of rights, illegal migration, etc.

The guest workers market has remained almost intact: most guest workers have retained their pre-crisis jobs, however the inflow of new workers has noticeably dwindled.

To decrease the region's dependence on workforce export and to minimize its negative effects, Erica Marat suggests the following: developing local small and medium businesses; encouraging stronger interstate cooperation in the sphere of migration (especially between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan); rendering support of international (obviously Western) structures in the field of professional training; launching wider information campaigns against illegal workforce traffic; making investments in secondary specialized education; promoting education for women; fighting corruption, etc. Another, and bigger,



work by the same author called *The Military and the State in Central Asia* [18] and subtitled "From Red Army to Independence" shows the author's desire to create a wide historical panorama. As far as we know, this subject has been avoided by Western political commentators, which makes her choice very interesting indeed.

The author deals not so much with military history and the Soviet traditions still alive in Central Asian society. She looks into the army's Bonapartist and political potential in the post-Soviet expanse as a whole and Central Asia in particular and concentrates on the Central Asian military's situation in Soviet times; the contradictory assessments of the Afghan campaign ("we won the war"); military institutions as part of the post-Soviet development of the national states; rivalry among regional security structures; NATO's and America's presence in the region; and transformation of the "internationalist" armed forces into nationalist. The result is a mixture of historical, social, political, organizational, technical, and geopolitical problems.

The author proceeds from the assumption that from the early 20th century to the present time, the military remains a political factor with the main role to play in politics, state development, foreign policy, and everyday life.

The author's obvious competence would hardly have made this thesis palatable for the Soviet leaders (starting with Trotsky and Stalin); the presidents of the newly independent states, likewise, will never accept it: the army should remain an instrument rather than an independent political force.

Certain debatable issues nevertheless, the book's highly specific subject makes it an important and interesting contribution to Central Asian studies.

Another no less interesting book familiarizes the Western reading audience with the architect of the most successful Central Asian state. I have in mind the book by Jonathan Aitken *Nazarbaev and the Making of Kazakhstan* [19] which summarized the long talks between the President of Kazakhstan and the author, with whom Nazarbaev shared his reminiscences and ideas. The work is full of information previously unknown to the wide public and specialists; it is highly unlikely that the President could have permitted such a confidential and open conversation with any other foreign journalist.

The author not only described the path covered by the main character of his book, but also revealed what circumstances and personal qualities made him the "father of the nation" and the architect of modern Kazakhstan.

Jonathan Aitken describes the Kazakh President as having the iron core of a steelmaker and the foresight of a reformer. He writes that Nazarbaev remains untainted by the scandals, even though they inevitably and indirectly affect his reputation. He points out: "On progress toward religious freedom, press freedom, human rights and fair elections Kazakhstan has done more than Russia, China and other states of the region put together" (p. 4). The author describes the gist of the policies of the republic's leader as slow progress from autocracy to democracy. He readily agrees with President Nazarbaev's slogan: "The economy first, political restructuring next" (p. 4).

In the foreign policy sphere, the President is skillfully maintaining good relations with Moscow, Beijing, and Washington, a no mean achievement and guarantee of the republic's stable position on the international arena; the middle class ensures domestic stability.

The author explains his self-appointed task of telling the Western audience about Nazarbaev's role in contemporary Kazakhstan without which establishment of the young state would have been impossible by the fact that the West rarely or never identifies the republic's achievements with the name of its first president.

The book is divided into 14 chapters: the first half deal with the Soviet period and the second with the post-Soviet period of his life. For obvious reasons, the story of the post-Soviet period is highly dramatic: it was at that time that Nazarbaev shouldered his historic mission of building a modern Kazakhstan.

Chapter Eight, aptly called "The Birth Pains of Independence," describes the problems the young state had to grapple with. The key chapter entitled "Entering the 21st Century," a story about the current stage of the country's development, is divided into two parts: "Part I—The Domestic President" and "Part II—The International President," which are dealing with domestic and foreign policy issues, respectively.

In an effort to explain to the Western reader why no Western-style democracy is possible within a relatively short time in a country with a decade or even centuries-long authoritarian tradition, the author asks himself, "Does this mean that Nazarbaev's glass is half empty or half full?" He seems to understand and justify his protagonist.

The book is not limited to the problem of democracy; the author touches upon the far from simple relations inside the president's family and the not entirely legal activities of his former son-in-law Rakhat Aliiev.



Education is one of the central domestic issues because, the author argues, the President is shaping the elite, the leaders destined to continue his cause. The President is a past master of balancing all foreign policy issues and an ardent supporter of active involvement in every possible international organization.

The author appreciates the President's sense of humor, which helped him get out of a fairly sensitive situation created by the film *Borat: Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan* and its author Sasha Baron Cohen.

As an international personality, says the author, Nazarbaev is neither an "ex-communist leader" nor a "Moscow style autocrat," tags popular late in the 20th century. He is a much more sophisticated international politician. Jonathan Aitken has written that the president's complicated and contradictory foreign policy course, a so-called multivectoral policy, and its fairly hazardous balancing between Moscow and Washington in particular, were justified by the republic's OSCE chairmanship, a strategic goal realized despite the U.S. Department of State and the fairly cool relations with Dmitry Medvedev at the start of his presidency.

The author ends the book with a chapter about Astana, the country's new capital, which the President treats as his favorite child: it is much more than a capital, a successful project, or a symbol. It should be said that the decision to move away from Almaty, the republic's capital, was not an easy one: the President appreciated its elegance, international culture, dynamic lifestyle and the picturesque mountains that surround the city. But it was these mountains that limited the further development of Almaty (in the past this happened to Manhattan and Hong Kong). The author refers to other reasons: ecological problems, potentially destructive earthquakes, dangerous proximity of the Chinese border, and the rarely mentioned excessively Soviet (or Russified) context. Nazarbaev, who followed in the footsteps of Peter the Great, George Washington, and Kemal Atatürk, was not guided by what Aitken described in French as "*folie de grandeur*" and not because he wanted to distance himself from the opposition based in the southern capital. It was a well-justified and strategically correct decision which confirmed the President's foresightedness and wisdom, as well as his willpower and determination as a truly national leader.

The "Epilogue" does not offer fundamental conclusions about Nazarbaev's role in history; the author points to the emotional nature of the story based on 23 hours of personal interviews.

The author, who writes that President Nazarbaev knows that his mission is far from complete, deems it necessary to ask: "What is his legacy to his people, his region and the international community?" (p. 245). "Kazakhstan's glass deserves to be described as half full rather than half empty" (p. 246) which constitutes a positive (with reservations) assessment of what has been done. When writing about a certain ambiguity in the President's personality, Jonathan Aitken quotes former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev: "Never forget that Nazarbaev is a man of two cultures. He is both Russian and Asian in his roots and outlook" (p. 247). The author adds: biculturalism explains Nursultan Nazarbaev's political achievements and the historic scope of his personality.

The book, which brims with hitherto unknown facts derived from confidential talks with the President and his personal archive, is of potentially great importance for Kazakhstan experts.

A revised and extended edition of D. Schreiber's book about Kazakhstan [20] should be also mentioned. It is a classical travel guide for German speakers with a lot of useful information; none of the locally published guides can rival it.

The Friedrich Ebert Fund published the book *Zentralasien: der Blick nach Aussen* (in Russian and German) dealing with the foreign policies of the region's countries as assessed by corresponding expert communities. The book, the third one dealing with this subject, is intended for wide readership [21].

The joint Indian-Kazakhstan publication *Contemporary Kazakhstan: The Way Ahead* deals with the republic's foreign policy status [22]. A group of French academics (P. Chuvin, R. Létolle, and S. Peyrouse) produced *Histoire de l'Asie central contemporaine* [23]. René Létolle in his *La mer d'Aral* [24] looked at the region's ecological plight. A short essay by Sebastien Peyrouse deals with local agriculture and its problems [25].

### India and Central Asia: Geopolitical Reconnection

The collective work *Reconnecting India and Central Asia: Emerging Security and Economic Dimensions* prepared under Prof. N. Joshi's overall guidance and editorship has revived the rather neglected issue of Indian and Central Asian contacts. The very fact that the work appeared in the United States rather than in India or any of the Central Asian republics speaks volumes about India's greatly increased geopolitical importance and, hence, its influence in Central Asia.



The book, which was published within the SAIS program at the Johns Hopkins University headed for many years by Prof. Starr, testifies to American and Western attention to India and its role in Central Asia [26]. Strictly speaking, the monograph deals with two key problems which found their way into the book's title: security and economics. It raises another, no less consequential question: the status of each of the partners in the context of the new geopolitical developments.

In general, the authors look at India and Central Asia as parts of GCA, which also includes South Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey. They have not limited themselves to geopolitics and security, but have moved on to discuss economic contacts, which supplies them with the clout and importance they have not yet acquired.

The above fits into the notorious GCA concept Frederick Starr put into circulation; his foreword sets the tone, while his ideas dominate the book.

What do the authors think about the community of Indian and Central Asian interests in the context of their identical interpretation of the threats and challenges?

They proceed from the assumption that at all times India has been and is aware of Central Asia's geopolitical importance as part of a vast and strategically pivotal area. There is a strong conviction in the Indian corridors of power that the changing geopolitical and strategic situation in Eurasia calls for India's restored (allegedly) regional role. Today the country, along with the global players, is trying to join the geopolitical struggle for the region's resources.

Seen from New Delhi, the Big Game around the region looks like a cooperation/competition between two pairs of geopolitical actors: the U.S. and the EU, on the one side, and Russia and China, on the other. So far, carried by inertia, India is still cooperating with Russia, while China's increasing presence is pushing it toward the United States.

Delhi is convinced that the Central Asian countries share its belief that no single power should dominate the region. At the same time, the Indian expert community believes that the Russian and Indian perceptions about China's future role in Central Asia are likely to coincide and can be described as immediate concerns.

Central Asia might become part of the strategically hazardous neighborhood dominated by expanded Af-Pak, which Delhi fears more than anything else. India and the Central Asian countries should pool forces to address the problem of Afghanistan. The authors even criticize the Obama Administration, which is

prepared to flirt with the so-called Taliban moderates and is even encouraging the forces responsible for the 2008 heinous terrorist act in Mumbai.

The authors are quite open about the fact that India is focusing on Central Asia's energy resources, Kazakhstan being the attraction; the two countries are already tied by the Strategic Partnership Agreement; this and Afghanistan's possible membership in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) will allow India to knock together a regional bloc of sorts as part of the "Look West Policy" it has been working on since the early 1990s. If realized, Delhi would become the leader of the GCA project recognized by the West and other actors. Successfully completed, the project would allow India to establish the trade and transport contacts with Central Asia it badly needs.

The authors supply relevant figures to clarify the geopolitical interests of some countries. By

2015, India's trade with the EU, CIS, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan could reach \$500-600 billion annually. Even if 20 percent of the trade were to pass by overland routes through Afghanistan and Central Asia, it would be worth \$100-120 billion (in transit revenues? What about the cost of the goods themselves?). Some of the northern Indian states prefer the transit route across Afghanistan and Pakistan, which is geographically much more expedient. India still needs a pipeline to bring fuel from Turkmenistan across Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The authors are fully aware of the GCA project's mainly hypothetical nature: instability in Afghanistan and the acrimonious relations between India and Pakistan, etc. being too high political obstacles to be easily negotiated. In view of the above and bearing in mind that the country's strategic establishment is prepared to study it, they put a new geopolitical agenda on the table. For strategic reasons and to gain access to the region's energy resources through direct supply lines with Central Asia, India should work toward stabilization in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

India can count on the United States as a partner in this geopolitical project (we have in mind unification of Central and South Asia); at the practical level, America can also help to stabilize Pakistan.

The authors are convinced that the strategic partnership between New Delhi and Washington could be extended to Central Asia as well. This will create a geopolitical U.S.-India-Russia triangle. Tajikistan (which is very close to Afghanistan and Pakistan topographically, religiously, socially, and economically) can be described as one of the closest targets of cooperation. For the sake of the country's future,



experts suggest that India should pay more attention to the youth and the new elite that is gradually emerging in Central Asia and Afghanistan.

On the whole, write the authors, India's Central Asian policy should be correlated to a much greater extent with its Asian strategy.

Some time later India will probably find it possible to invite some of the local countries (Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) into the SAARC, of which it is the leader. Experts warn India against becoming dependent on integration or stabilization in Afghanistan and Pakistan; Iranian ports and railways offer an excellent alternative for its contacts with Central Asia.

The authors describe India as a "latecomer to the region," which accounts for their inflated attention to geopolitical issues. At the same time, they are obviously out to present India as a global player to account for its regional interests and to link it to certain strategic triangles (which involve America, Russia, or China). India's real interests are much more modest—they are regional rather than global, on a par with Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey.

The book, which traces the progress of global thinking in India in search for a worthy place in the world, makes for interesting reading. It is even more interesting because it concentrates on Central Asia, a geopolitical target of long standing (prize No. 1 in the Great Game on the Eurasian chessboard). India does not want, and cannot afford, to be left in the cold.

### Russia: More Than a Neighbor

Russia's never flagging interest in Central Asia is amply confirmed by a large number of publications, many of them worth closer attention. One is the collective effort *Gody, kotorye izmenili Tsentral'nuu Aziu* (The Years which Changed Central Asia) published in 2009 under the joint leadership of V. Naumkin, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, RAS, and German expert P. Linke [27].

Russian academics have identified five groups of key problems still present in the region.

- First, has transformation of Central Asia been completed? A positive answer suggests another question: What state models have been created? The authors concluded that the Central

Asian political systems and models are moving toward consolidated national states.

- The second problem deals with the ideology and research instruments individually or collectively employed in Central Asian studies. This chapter is openly

critical of the West and its ideologists who, the authors insist, demonstrate abstract (at best) or even malicious approaches designed to tear the region away from Russia, which treats Central Asia not as a geopolitical abstraction but as a very real extension of its territory.

- The third, longest, chapter deals with the states, their political evolution and socioeconomic transformation. The authors concluded that Kazakhstan has not yet achieved the main goal of transformation. The republic has failed to transform the relations of ownership to means of production to create a class of free personified owners as the main driving force behind economic development and the cornerstone of civil society. They describe the republic's political reality as a symbiosis of power and property which serves as an impressive façade far removed from genuine democracy.

The situation in Kyrgyzstan is tagged as "retreat to authoritarianism": in an effort to build up his own vertical of power, Bakiev curtailed many of the democratic achievements. The events of April–June 2010, however, indicate that the republic has been drawn into another period of turbulence. If they continue, these trends, the authors warn, might split the country and make it easy prey for its stronger neighbors. Today, it is moving in this direction.

When writing about Tajikistan, the authors concentrate on the negative factors such as the clan nature of the republic's politics and economy, the low economic development level, the widespread poverty, and strong outside influence. Turkmenistan stands apart from the other Soviet-successor states, however the progress of its transformation can easily be analyzed within the context common for all the Central Asian countries. Its totalitarian political regime can be described as one of the dominant factors underpinned by the hydrocarbon factor greatly responsible for the country's economic and foreign policies.

The section dealing with Uzbekistan is of a descriptive rather than analytical nature: it is defined as the region's pivotal state, which inevitably affects its development and international status. A thesis which is at least ten years old is still alive: the republic has not realized its vast socioeconomic, political and international potential.

External actors and recommendations received a lot of attention. Uzbekistan, for example, is advised to address the following priorities: fighting poverty; supporting the Russian language; and carrying out an in-depth analysis of the local specifics and political culture. It should also drop the double standard practice. The republic's leaders should pay particular attention to NGOs and all sorts of funds in order to



prevent them from turning into the opposition's purse. The powers that be should create a more competitive milieu for the local elites and pay less attention to the fairly formalized opinions of foreign experts who know next to nothing about the local reality.

The authors have pointed out the obvious differentiation among the local states brought about by their transformation pace: Kazakhstan is moving toward a regional status, while Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan remain "poverty poles." There is another, no less important, observation: despite their numerous failings and errors, none of the local countries has degenerated into a "failed state" (so far the events in Kyrgyzstan have not yet suggested this conclusion). As distinct from the post-Soviet Caucasian states, the Central Asian republics have proven stable enough even though they have their share of troubles: Will they remain secular or will they become Islamic states? The answer is not clear. The widespread poverty and pressure from the West are playing into the hands of the Islamists. There is another problem rooted in the region's past: none of the states has been able to separate the government from the economy.

The authors have admitted that the West has successfully destroyed all the elements of socialism—a dubious victory to say the least. The West, determined to prevent the revival of the Soviet system and socialism as well as what it calls the Soviet Empire in any form, played in the hands of large corporations and the local regimes. The results left the designers openmouthed.

Several chapters deal with the close contacts between Europe and Central Asia; seen from both sides, they do not look like peripheries, and this not only because of the local states' membership in the OSCE. Europe has much closer relations with Central Asia than any other Western country or region.

Radical Islam and its role in the region are discussed in the fourth chapter. Political Islam sprang into life while Soviet power was dying. Today, there are three possible approaches to this phenomenon: total suppression (Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan); neutralization of the radical groups and a cautious dialog with the moderates (Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan); and cooperation up to and including involvement in the power structures (Tajikistan).

Chapter Five looks at the external factors that have a role to play in the political transformations and regional security. Russia, China, the U.S., and the EU are described as the principal actors, while the others (Turkey, Iran, India, Pakistan, and Japan) are left outside the scope of the analysis.

The authors do not beat about the bush: Russia is the key regional actor, the relations of which with

the Central Asian countries go far beyond interstate limits: the historical, cultural, socioeconomic, civilizational, and geographic ties between the former metropolitan state and the regional states are too strong to be ignored. The human (humanitarian) factor is also very important. Russia is mostly concerned with stability; it seeks to rely on the region's geopolitical potential to upgrade its own status among the other key actors and to achieve international recognition of its regional role.

Russia and the United States are locked in latent rivalry. Washington, which is firmly determined to squeeze the pragmatically minded RF out of the region (and the post-Soviet expanse, for that matter), is guided by ideological considerations (this was true, at least, of George W. Bush's policy).

As distinct from the United States and the European Union, Moscow does not indulge in moralizing, avoids double standards, and never flirts with anti-government forces. Free from unpleasant surprises, its open and predictable political course does much to uphold its current advantageous position. Moscow rejects the Islamic alternative for Central Asia as incompatible with Russia's strategies; this explains its strong opposition to the forces backed by certain circles in Pakistan and the Arab countries.

China, which has armed itself with the American "soft power" doctrine, is demonstrating a lot of caution in the region. In its effort to slow down or even halt China's discreet progress, Washington is fanning the "Chinese threat" theory welcomed by certain forces in Russia and the Central Asian states. In the event of dramatic negative developments in the region potentially detrimental to its interests, the authors write, Beijing will hardly remain neutral.

This chapter offers even more scything criticism of America's regional policy. In 2005, the Bush Administration armed itself with the GCA project now being used as a battering ram to achieve undivided political and economic domination and drive out potential rivals (Russia and China).

The European Union stands a better chance of gaining more ground in Central Asia: there are no negative connotations; as distinct from the United States, which is exporting democracy far and wide, the EU looks at democracy as a cultural value to be grown at home. Its presence in the region will add to stability and give democracy a better chance.

The EU Central Asian policy is best described as cautious; according to lavishly quoted European experts, more active involvement of the European Union would trim down the excessive vigor of



America, Russia, and China to create a more balanced context.

On the whole, the authors describe Western policy as “democratic messianism” geared at what the West and the loyal elite can use to their advantage and ignoring alternatives. Tested in Latin America, this model was found wanting: the resultant gap between the very poor majority and the filthy rich minority proved unacceptably wide.

Put in a nutshell, the following sums up the above:

- First, economic liberalization should outstrip political, not vice versa;
- Second, the Central Asian countries failed to transform the nature of ownership; the state acts instead of civil society, which is split along the “rights-privileges” line;
- Third, the set of democratic institutions in all countries is mistakenly taken for democracy.

The main conclusion is that none of the political regimes of the new type which sprang into existence in post-Soviet Central Asia has anything in common with any of the known political scientific models of transit from authoritarianism to consolidated democracy of the liberal type.

This means, write the authors, that each of the states will have to come up with its own transformation model.

Prof. I. Zviagelskaia of the Institute of Oriental Studies, RAS, has chosen a different approach in her recent book *Stanovlenie gosudarstv Tsentral'noy Azii: politicheskie protsessy* (Development of Central Asian States: Political Processes) [28]: it is neither a political scientific nor an analytical work.

The first three chapters look at the history of the Russian Empire's conquests, colonization of Turkestan, and the development of Central Asia and Kazakhstan as parts of the Soviet Union to reveal the paradigm of Central Asia's historical movement toward Russia.

When dealing with post-Soviet independent development, the author pays particular attention to nation-building, political culture, the Islamic factor, ethnic and labor migration, outside influences, and potential and real threats and conflicts.

A member of the group involved in establishing a dialog between the sides in the Tajik civil war, which was very conducive in settling the conflict, Irina Zviagelskaia dwells on the civil war of the early 1990s in greater detail.

The holidays and rites of the Central Asian peoples were not forgotten either.

The 200-odd pages of her monograph come to the conclusion that the region's future is still vague.

It will obviously diversify its contacts for the simple reason that Russia neither has the desire nor the ability to monitor them. “The natural and mutually needed ties should not be broken when the Soviet generation leaves the stage. We cannot afford this.” Very true.

China in Central Asia is a subject that cannot be ignored: its increasing relevance has become too obvious. A monograph coauthored by S. Zhukov and O. Reznikova of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, RAS entitled *Tsentral'naya Azia i Kitai: ekonomicheskoe vzaimodeystvie v usloviakh globalizatsii* (Central Asia and China: Economic Cooperation in the Globalized World) [29] says that globalization alone provides the relevant framework within which the content and direction of accelerating China-Central Asia cooperation can be adequately analyzed. This rising world power is involved to a much greater extent than the others in transforming the Central Asian economic expanse. To channel the Central Asian economic processes in the desired direction, China is relying on its market and non-market competitive advantages and skillfully using global and regional mechanisms of cooperation (the WTO and, to an ever increasing degree, the SCO).

Neither the Central Asian nor the Eurasian countries can compete with China in the non-raw material branches; this means that the future and the structure of their economic growth is fairly limited.

The authors have found enough arguments to describe the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (XUAR) as a rapidly developing center and a leader of GCA economic activities. Today, the growing macroregion includes Xinjiang, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia's neighboring regions and, to a certain extent, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and probably Uzbekistan will be drawn in later.

The microregion is building economic structures designed to complement what Central Asia has at its disposal; it serves as a transit route leading to Greater China. The volume of industrial production and investments and the scope of construction of the transborder transport infrastructure testify to XUAR's fast progress toward a leading economic role in GCA.

Xinjiang owes its impressive achievements to its new role as a bridge between Central Asia and the developed central and southern Chinese provinces, write the authors, as well as to the fact that Beijing still redistributes considerable economic resources in favor of the XUAR.

The Russian authors have pointed out that China regards its economic cooperation with Central



Asia as a byproduct of the main task: accelerated development of the country's western fringes.

Beijing treats Kazakhstan as a strategically important partner because of its transit capacities, which are very much needed for obtaining energy resources from its Central Asian neighbors. Experts believe that Astana deliberately invited Beijing to discuss the regional gas projects in order to prompt Moscow to make concessions.

After carefully analyzing the subject and summarizing the results, the authors arrived at the following conclusions.

- First, in the coming decade economic cooperation between China and Central Asia will develop by leaps and bounds; this fits the global trends, while China is gradually becoming a powerful economic center.
- Second, despite the growing flow of goods, services, investments, and technology between China and Central Asia, the importance of these contacts for the sides involved will remain lopsided because of their incommensurable economies.
- Third, for objective reasons, China's economic interests in the region are concentrated in Kazakhstan, the region's economic leader.
- Fourth, very much like the other centers of global economic might, China needs the region's natural resources, particularly Kazakh oil and Turkmenian natural gas.
- Fifth, China agreed to set up the SCO to promote its economic interests in Central Asia (there were other reasons as well); it relied on all forms of multisided diplomacy and rhetoric to win over Central Asia in a non-confrontational manner.
- Sixth, slowly but surely the Central Asian countries are developing into a raw-material appendage not only of the European, but also of the Chinese economy.

The main conclusion is that Central Asia is confronted with the need to adapt to China's economic upsurge. The authors have not missed another aspect: Russia's interests are affected by the mounting economic cooperation between China and Central Asia, and they suggest that the

Kremlin should take into account Chinese experience when drafting Russia's long-term national strategy.

Dr. Chufurin's recent monograph [30] can be described as a continuation of the previous publication (in 2008 he headed the collective of authors of a monograph dealing with Russia's regional policy) [31].

The monograph comprises three parts.

- The first part looks at regional security; it investigates the non-traditional security threats, what is being done to fight them, and the points on which the region's states disagree or even conflict. One of the chapters deals with Washington's regional policy, which the author puts in a nutshell as another frontier of its foreign policy or, to be more exact, military political strategy. The author investigates the regional role of the CSTO and Russian-American relations in the regional security sphere. The first part ends in a chapter dealing with the Afghan

(or rather Af-Pak) impact on Central Asian security: it censures America's Central Asian policy and what has come of it.

- The second part looks at trade and economic cooperation, as well as other aspects of the relations between the Russian Federation and the Central Asian republics, the most important issues being migration, financial cooperation, transport and communication, and joint use of hydropower. A detailed analysis of the relations between Russia and Kazakhstan described as the linchpin of the integration processes conducive to closer economic ties in the eastern part of the CIS is offered in one of the chapters.

- The third part looks into the past and present of the SCO, the evolution of its tasks, and the forms and methods employed to respond to the security threats, as well as economic cooperation within SCO and the prospects for its expansion. Its further expansion (in the form of fully-fledged membership) is hardly expedient, yet partnership looks promising and potentially attractive: the United States and Japan might be tempted, to say nothing of Afghanistan.

Dr. Chufurin points out the recent serious political and economic contradictions between Russia and Central Asia which should be carefully analyzed and smoothed out.

He offers four reasons for what is going on:

1. The objective political and socioeconomic complications in the local countries.
2. The negative impact of regional and global developments.
3. The inconsistent and contradictory policy of the Central Asian leaders with respect to the scope and aims of cooperation with Russia.
4. The rapidly developing competitive potential of third countries: the local states are willing to cooperate with the West and the East.

Russia should pursue a pragmatic policy in the political sphere, says the author, and rely on the CSTO and SCO to promote regional and its own security.

In the economic sphere, Russia should work to-



ward as favorable a cooperation climate as possible for the sake of its continued economic influence. Dr. Chufirin is convinced that Russia should and can present itself not only as an attractive economic partner, but also as an effective guarantor of the local states' economic independence. The bold and far-sighted recommendations of the Russian academic refute the clichés, myths, and sentiments current in the West and among certain Central Asian elites about Russia's determination to regain control in the colonial-imperial style. Dr. Chufirin has proved the opposite.

### IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION

This far from complete survey of the literature on Central Asia shows that the academic and political scientific communities have not lost their interest in

the region. The past few years have abounded in collective and personal monographs about Central Asia; Kazakhstan is treated as a topic in its own right. The authors are obviously interested in long-standing issues, such as geopolitics, international relations, domestic policy, and the economy, as well as in recent ones (the military as a regional factor). Political science and auxiliary disciplines are as interested in Central Asia as ever, their interest going beyond purely academic boundaries.

Those who wonder whether foreign writings about the region are worth reading should understand that wittingly or unwittingly our foreign colleagues help us to understand ourselves better and take a detached view of our problems. The experience of foreign countries may be invaluable in helping us to correct our errors and improve our situation.

1. See: M. Laumulin, A. Malik, "Central Asia as Viewed by Contemporary Political Analysts," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2010.
2. See: F. Facchini (a cura di), *Popoli della Yurta. Kazakhstan tra le origini e la modernità*, Jaca Book, Milan, 2008, 320 pp.
3. See: *Great Powers and Regional Integration in Central Asia: A Local Perspective*, ed. by M. Esteban, N. de Pedro, Exlibris Ediciones, Madrid, 2009, 140 pp.
4. See: *La situation de la gouvernance en Asie Central*, Coordinada por G.M. Tabener, E. Soms Bach, Casa Asia, Madrid, 2009, 101 pp.
5. See: S. Peyrouse, "Facing the Challenges of Separatism: The EU, Central Asia and the Uyghur Issue," *EUCAM Policy Brief*, No. 4, January 2009, EUCAM, Brussels, 2009, 16 pp.; idem, "Business and Trade Relationships between the EU and Central Asia," *EUCAM Working Paper*, No. 1, June 2009, EUCAM, Brussels, 2009.
6. See: S.F. Starr, S. Cornell, S.M. Oksajärvi, *Finland's Development Cooperation in Central Asia and South Caucasus (Evaluation Report 2009:1)*, The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Helsinki, 2009, VI+70 pp.
7. The EU strategies in its relations with Kazakhstan can be found in "Le Kazakhstan: Partenaire Stratégique de l'Europe," in: *Diplomatie. Affaires Stratégiques et Relations Internationales*, AREION, Paris, 2009, 16 pp.
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# Religion Role in the Modern World and Kazakhstan's Experience in Formation of Inter-Religious Relations

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A paradoxical enough situation emerged concerning religion in the modern world. On the one hand, the religion is confessed as a very important factor of the modernity, heads of the states and the international organizations show respect to it, religious leaders are invited to the most different forums. But on the other hand, and also it bursts upon the eye of the objective observer, religions don't play a real role neither in the world policy, nor at acceptance of crucial decisions for the world, nor in strategic plans for development of the concrete countries.

It comes to a secular character of the states (it is known that overwhelming majority of the modern states is secular) is perceived as not religious. Thus the religion is forced out on periphery of the state and public life, becomes a own business of believers. But if the religion turns into the own business of every person and loses public sounding, how can it improve a moral climate in the society and bring up the youth? But all these possibilities are constantly underlined by leaders of the secular states. Without allowing religion to play a weighty role in the public life of the states, we haven't the right to hope that the religion realizes its humanistic and moral possibilities. The same is on the international scene. How can the religion reduce the risks of challenges and threats of the modernity (about its ability is even more often told at all levels) if it doesn't possess real possibility to have considerably an influence on the world politics?

For justice' sake it is necessary to tell that large world religious leaders, such as Pope Benedict VI, some Orthodox Patriarchs, for example, Bartholomew I of *Constantinople* or Moscow and all Rus' Cyril I, in certain respects *Dalai Lama* and some more religious leaders do attempts to strengthen a religion role in the modern world. All of them put up an united front concerning an urgency for the world of religious values, necessity of religious dialogue, deduction of minimum level of morals at least, sine qua non, in their opinion, the world will be constantly shaken by crises – economic and political.

And large politicians, from their party, also call religions in negotiating processes on purpose to “pacify” the world a little, to lower potential of ethnic and religious opposition of the present. These appeals began to sound especially often when the majority of conflicts of the present have just the interethnic or inter-religious form.

But a queer go: the aspiration of religious leaders to the major processes of the modernity is available, the understanding of desirability of such participation from large world politicians is present, and the positive effect from this mutual understanding practically isn't present. Perhaps, it specifies that real world politics is formed at the perfect other level and by absolutely other means. It becomes clear why the religion, at all external respect for it, is perceived as a source of opposition of cultures and civilizations. Secular international structures are guided by a liberal world-system and concern religion as to a source of



problems and contradictions, reducing possibility to find the consent on those or other pressing issues of the modernity. These fears were distinctly expressed by the employee of World Bank Katrin Marshall. In her opinion, even a simple mention of religion can cause ambiguous reaction in such international establishments as the World Bank and the United Nations. She has underlined that many experts in the field of development feel that religions are a source of problems as they "create conflicts, are dangerous and have lost the vitality"<sup>1</sup>. What are we surprised in this case, when Islam is considered as ideology of extremism and terrorism, at all obvious absurdity of such statement, or Orthodoxy is considered religion of too dogmatic and lagged behind life?

Secularism, as frontal falling-away in all forms, dominates in the Western world today. The western civilization, which historically had Christianity as the spiritual basis, refuses the Christian bases today. The mention of Christian roots of Europe is excluded from the European constitution, the government of Greece conducts approach to orthodox bases of the Greek state, on the application of only one plaintiff the European court of human rights in 2009 makes the global decision on the consequences of necessity of crucifixion removal from all Italian schools (and, owing to generality of the decision of the European court, and from all schools of the European union - against it in Europe nevertheless it was developed protest movement), over the last 10 years more than 20 000 Christian churches in Europe are sold because of reduction of number of parishioners and financial difficulties etc.

Losing own religiousness, instead of at least partial returning to the Christian roots, Europe starts to resist actively and to Islam. Conducted sociological polls in 2007-2010 by a number of the famous agencies in Europe on purpose to find out the relation of Europeans to Islam deplorable results have been revealed: Islam is trusted by no more than 25-30 % of respondents. So results of the Swiss referendum held in 2009 concerning an interdiction of building of minarets are completely not surprising. As well as legislative initiatives of Belgium and France of 2010 are concerning an interdiction of niqab and hijab.

At the same time, the religion really has huge humanistic and peace-making potential. Why won't this potential be involved? The religion can't show

the peace-making potential because to it isn't given such opportunity. However, it is possible to object and specify to that circumstance that the religion doesn't have to wait for any special conditions in which its positive contribution to the world politics and the international relations can be realized. The religion has to show its worth in those conditions what exist. And it will be a reasonable objection. But it is not necessary to forget that forms of active influence of religion on the world are rather specific and different from activity of other agents of such influence. The religion changes the world to the best, changing the inner world of the person, his world-view, his behavior, system of his values. By the time how the changed person finds ability to change the world to the best by means of change of dominating type of life activity.

Many countries, having been tired of religious demands, from moral responsibility accept secular as the valuable bases, consequently, a little religious or not so religious installation, considering this process as a natural consequence of historical progress. An example to it almost all Europe in which the human rights which are based on the secular bases, have found dominating value. A reminder on sinful essence of same-sex marriages, contraception and abortions, about inadmissibility of euthanasia, cause an angry protest of defenders of human rights. We hardly expect from such countries of real initiatives in the sphere of display of humanistic and peace-making possibilities of religion. In such countries the religion is perceived as a rudiment, as a vestige of the past which basically is overcome now.

It appears also the theocratic countries in which the religion is dominating ideology and practice, also can't put forward the international peace-making initiatives - anyway, the world community won't apprehend similar initiatives if they proceed from theocratic modes "discrediting".

And in this situation the countries similar to Kazakhstan, have a real possibility to become leaders in attraction of positive potential of religion in forming of a new geopolitical configuration of the world. In a way, geo-strategic stereotypes of inevitable domination of one superpower or necessity of formation of the multi-polar world have become outdated, as the world is much richer than such concepts. Today, the further, the more it becomes obvious that for

1. Materials of "Conferences on Interconfessional Cooperation for peace" in the headquarters of the United Nations, 2005//the Governments and the religious non-governmental organizations convoke peace conference in the United Nations. 6/22/2005 //www.un.org/russian/av/radio/2005/jun/05062400.htm.



deduction of the world from global disintegration, from obviously or implicitly expected apocalypse by many, needed initiatives of absolutely other property, than those on which basis the world in the 19<sup>th</sup> or the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was under construction more. In these centuries there was a rupture of basic importance between private human life and a policy both internal for the states, and international. Any private participation of the person in such policy has been brought to nothing. It is possible to tell that the policy has lost a human face certainly, giving reason it for necessity of the person care and severe realities of the world. But such rupture has led to loss of any human sense of a policy both on intrastate, and on international levels. Alienation of the power and the society have reached such level when failures of politicians are perceived by the people even with some gloating – for “we, the people, we have no relation to such failures”. And so this position of the people isn’t productive, as an isolationism of the power and oligarchy.

It is strange, but the religion is capable to consolidate national communities today. And it’s not that many ideologies showed the incapacity in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and lost the right to pretend to a consolidating role though and it makes a certain symbolical sense too. The deep sense of religion for human community consists that any true progress is possible only at a purpose on something higher. Only being something ideal, it is possible to develop progressively. Religion, entering God into human relations, sets higher lath of these relations. Therefore the modern world simply has no other exit from almost desperate situation in which it has appeared, rather than returning to God. The person, ethnic communities, the states – all of them have settled the possibilities of construction of “the light future” on the natural, godless basis – modern global crisis of world relations is proof for it.

But not any countries and regions of the world as it has been already told, are capable to advance initiatives of religious revival as a basis updated world-structure today. Special conditions and special conditions are necessary for these countries and regions - it is necessary, that such countries are in a condition of religious revival and spiritual lifting. Something similar Kazakhstan shows now. That’s not the point, that against rigid contradictions between religions and ethnos in the modern world in Kazakhstan enough stable consent is in the given spheres. There are deeper bases of noted consent, and these bases are that: against religiousness falling in many and many countries of the world in Kazakhstan

religiousness of the population grows. And it grows not for the account the fundamentalist or extremist adjusted believers of various religious traditions, but at the expense of enough deep occurrences in belief – many believers accept true religious values. And these values are moral and humane in essence. Therefore the consent and tolerance in the religious sphere of Kazakhstan have essentially other content, rather than in a number of economically developed and traditionally democratic countries. In these countries tolerance is based on indifference to the religion, concerning indifferent it goes without saying – from here and a tolerance. In Kazakhstan the tolerance is the realized result of recognition of religious importance for the country and the society is absolutely other level of tolerance. It is tolerance of deeper and more productive property, it is informal, concerning its details it can be disputes, but on its basis development is possible, instead of deadlock indifference.

It is thought, this position is well realized by the country’s management and, first of all, its leader, the President of the RK N.A. Nazarbayev. Therefore Kazakhstan acts as the initiator of many international meetings and forums of different level. Three congresses of leaders of world and traditional religions held in Astana (in 2003, 2006 and 2009) didn’t get lost among similar actions, but differed not only wide represented participants, but also productivity. These congresses had accepted a number of the important total documents promoting profound understanding of religion’s role in the modern world. For example, the address of participants of III Congress of leaders of world and traditional religions (Astana, on 2 July, 2009) contains an appeal “constantly to support and promote efforts of religious leaders and organizations for an establishment of true inter-religious dialogue, and also to consider actual problems of mankind for the purpose of development of appropriate ways of their decision, thereby recognizing that the religion can and have to play a positive role in the society”. It is the justified vector of development of the international relations today. It is necessary to move further and to come nearer to vision of real possibilities of religion in business of decrease in level of threats of the present and realization of these possibilities.

Today for the present it is difficult to offer the world concrete forms in which the religion is capable to lower level of challenges and threats of the modernity. Nevertheless the internal purpose of religions is not world improvement, but improvement of the person, its moral and spiritual development without



it finding of the Kingdom of heaven is impossible (in all three Abrahamic religions – Judaism, Christianity and Islam such is an ultimate goal). But an appeal to a generality of human history and unity of human race, increase of moral potential of societies and the states, comprehension of human existence – as well the religion offers the considerable contribution to improvement of the general international situation now. The problem statement of attraction of religion is very valuable to decrease in level of aggression of modern world politics and construction of fairer world, and is principle important step, allowing deducing of the world from the heap of contradictions in which it is.

Holding of three congresses of leaders of world and traditional religions isn't simply a PR of Kazakhstan. That in the country the exclusive importance of religion in the modern world is realized, it is proved by a constancy of attention attraction of the world community to the given problematics. Besides congresses in Kazakhstan in the short time the following initiatives are realized: the International Meeting of *Foreign Ministers of Muslim and Western countries* "Common world: Progress through Diversity" which main objective is mending and strengthening of positive interaction between the Muslim world and the West; the international conferences "Tolerance and toleration as heritage of the Central Asia" and "Intercultural interaction in the countries of the Central Asia"; the OSCE conference devoted to problems of tolerance, etc. The International Center of cultures and religions is created and functions. Kazakhstan is an active member of the Alliance of Civilizations Group of Friends, heads the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in 2010 and will head the *Organization of the Islamic Conference* in 2011. At the initiative of Kazakhstan of the United Nations has proclaimed *2010 International Year of rapprochement of Cultures*, the large international meeting in Astana, devoted to Dialogue of Cultures, is planned for autumn of 2010.

The role of religion is exclusive and because religious values lie in the basis of cultures and civilizations. And today when we quite reasonably speak about dialogue of cultures and civilizations as about unique alternative to chaos and instability of the modern world it is necessary to remember that dialogue is entered not by any abstract ideas, but these basic values of religions. Therefore inter-religious dialogue is a pivot of dialogue of cultures and civilizations. An active position of religions in the given dialogue

is one more considerable contribution of religion to decrease in intensity of the modern world. We will remind that at II Congress of leaders of world and traditional religions N.A.Nazarbayev said concerning the theme raised by us: "in the practical plan, a special role of this principle (recognition of the religious right of another – A.K.) consists in that, without breaking the main values of the religion, nevertheless to look at the world taking into account other spiritual prospects. I am deeply convinced that politicians only follow in their actions to some deep religious postulates irrespective of they understand it or not. Therefore readiness of religious leaders of the world to go to a principle of search of divine, instead of human in other religious systems, can become a basis of more humane political actions in the world".

Today in the world there are numerous attempts to realize such dialogue. It and the World public forum "Dialogue of civilizations", created in 2002 by representatives of Greece, Russia and India, and "the Alliance of civilizations", initiated by prime ministers of Spain and Turkey (the initiative was supported by the United Nations in 2005), and Bahrain Dialogue of Civilizations, the International organization "Mediterranean house", the International association "the Peace through Culture - Europe", the Platform Dialogue Eurasia, the United Nations, UNESCO. However, it is necessary to recognize that activity of these dialogue platforms hasn't given special practical results yet. But even if today inter-civilized and intercultural dialogue also won't show all completeness of the possibilities, its indisputable achievement are the following: dialogue weakens inter-civilized intensity when it is present; it helps to understand essence and specificity of other civilizations and other valuable systems; Dialogue destroys stereotypes of domination of one civilization over another; forms understanding of value of all-civilized models that in itself promotes growth of tolerance and consciousness of representatives of different civilizations. The basic subjects of a modern policy understand these possibilities of dialogue also. So, in the speech in Cairo in 2009 B.Obama underlined: "irrespective of race, religion or a social standing, the general aspirations – to the peace and security are peculiar to all of us; to education and worthy labour; to love to our family, our community and our God. It exactly unites us. And in it is hope of all mankind".

Along with attempts of the international structures to conduct intercultural, inter-civilized and inter-religious dialogue, approaches to such dia-



logue are developed also by the separate countries. Kazakhstan - one of indisputable leaders in this field. And in connection with Kazakhstan's chairmanship in OSCE in 2010, and in connection with a forthcoming management of the Organization of Islamic Conference in 2011, and in connection with internal problems of Europe in the sphere of the problem solution of interaction of Christianity and Islam, the world community attentively looks closely at the Kazakhstan experience of forming of inter-religious relations, to the Kazakhstan model of the inter-religious consent. Therefore it will not be superfluous if we briefly stop on its basic context. This model, in general, represents the difficult inter-religious configuration placed in a sociopolitical context of state-social development of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Despite absolute legal equality of all confessions of Kazakhstan, it is really in the center of this configuration there are the largest religions of Kazakhstan - Islam and Orthodoxy which provide inter-religious stability in the country in the interaction. And on the basis of this stability as on the pivot, relations between all confessions of Kazakhstan are already built. The diversity of confessions, specificity of their functioning, ethnic structure of their adherents, age and educational levels of believers, in aggregate all of them forms original, only to Kazakhstan inherent system of inter-religious relations. Each religion builds own relations with other religions and with the state. Religious associations, under the Law of the RK On a freedom of belief of

religion and religious associations (1992), are separated from the state which, being secular, doesn't interfere with internal affairs of religious associations, but considers the religious factor in internal and in foreign policy. In interaction of all above the listed elements of state-religious relations also there is a general religious space of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the inter-religious consent in Kazakhstan is created and supported. The described interaction of confessions isn't static, set once for all: it is more likely a dynamical system constantly reproducing and changing in changing conditions of progressive development of Kazakhstan.

In the conclusion we will underline that the inter-religious consent is impossible out of the consent of interethnic as behind religions there are the ethnic communities professing those or other religions. Therefore the inter-religious and interethnic consent act in unity, providing public and state stability. This principle it would be possible to base on tactics of real transformation of the modern world politics. If all basic conflicts of last time are closely connected with interethnic and inter-religious contradictions the stability of such relations understood as a problem of a world policy, can reorient the international community at the advancing constructive solution of problems in the given sphere to be tied to the chariot of logicians only for permissions of available conflicts. We will hope that the world community will have enough good will and forces to realize this possibility.



# The Constitution is as Expression of the Political Mode and the Factor of Modernized Changes

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**F**or Kazakhstan the importance of the Constitution operating already fifteen years is difficult for overestimating. Fundamental principles of the state existence are exactly put in it. The state, that successfully develops. And a basis of this development is strict following of the Constitution. Ability to support integrity of the power is embodied in the constitutional order that is one of aspects of the sovereignty. The Constitution is theoretical-methodical and practical guidance of a government and society management.

The Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan provides for a democratic political mode. First, the constitutional expression of the mode consists in an establishment of institutes of representative and direct democracy. It is important, that these institutes are not only legally fixed, but also can function for the purpose of maintenance of participation of citizens in formation of state structures, in definition of the state policy, in its realization.

Secondly, the democratic political mode is expressed in fastening of the wide civil rights and freedom and guaranteeing of their realization. The Constitution provides not only freedom of enterprise activity, but creates, on the one hand, a legal basis for it, and on the other – protects the businessman from illegal encroachments. It is possible to tell about other civil rights and freedom the same.

Thirdly, the Constitution creates bases for formation of the new media political mode, independent mass media. Independence guaranteeing of mass media allows highlighting lacks in work of the state structures, infringement of the law by officials and promotes legality strengthening in certain degree.

Fourthly, the pluralistic political mode recognized by the Constitution of the RK, allows forming of the various organizations, including oppositional ones. And it certainly is one of guarantees from possible deviation from the democratic methods of a society management.

Democracy represents a set of institutes for the achievement of “the social decision” which is understood as the mechanism aggregating preferences of individuals in the group decision. The minimum set of democratic institutes includes that provide realization of two main principles: 1) one person - one voice, 2) decision-making by the simple majority. The constitutional state strengthens stability of social decisions by means of several mechanisms.

First, declaring the certain civil and political rights is immutable; it promotes stability by an exception of some alternatives among potential social decisions.

Secondly, demanding division of the authorities, it makes more difficult some types of decisions, giving possibility in this or that point to various bodies or persons for suspending of process of their acceptance by means of the veto that strengthens stability again.

Owing to the Constitution Kazakhstan has kept and has provided the internal stability, has generated the reliable social base of development, has created the competitive economy. The state has been affirmed as the full and responsible participant of the international community, executing important functions on ensuring of geopolitical stability and international security in the region. The OSCE chairmanship is an acknowledgement for that.

Thereby the viability of the chosen strategy of development of the Republic Kazakhstan formu-



lated by the President of the country N.Nazarbaev is proved: "from stability – through modernization – to prosperity".

Modernization is a development, an updating, changes.

And the important factor of an institutionalization of changes in the states, especially in the states of transitive type, is presence of the Constitution that is certain system of the legal norms regulating public relations.

Let's allocate some aspects of modernized potential of the Fundamental law of the country.

First, modernization as the type of political reforming consists of functions of the state in considerable expansion. If in the traditional society the state used its influence, basically, for needs of military science, order maintenance, organization of public works and taxation, and in the modernized society the state functions apply as well to economic policy realization, redistribution of resources for the development purposes, creation of a network of social, information and other services.

In the Constitution of 1995 many articles are devoted a functional role of the state. In Article 1 of the Constitution it is told: "the Republic of Kazakhstan proclaims itself a democratic, secular, legal and social state whose highest values are an individual, his life, rights and freedom". And it is put huge modernized potential of the Fundamental law of the country in it.

The concept of the state is considered from various positions.

1. Under the Constitution the state represents the certain political form of the organization of the society;

2. The Constitution characterizes affirming state as democratic, that is basic on the government of the people;

3. The Constitution means the state as system of the higher and local organs of the state. Therefore the Constitution characterizes all basic links of the government, the form of government and the state system;

4. The Constitution allots the state with rule-making function. Though the people are also a government source, therefore, can accept important standard acts, the national system of the right is basically formed only by the state;

5. In the Constitution the position is fixed that only the state possesses monopoly of compulsion application, only compulsory character of the power is inherent in it. Any other political institute of the society doesn't possess compulsion function.

The fundamental principles of the activity of the Republic are the public concord and political stability, economic development for the benefit of all the nation, Kazakhstan patriotism and the resolution of the most important issues of the affairs of state by democratic methods including voting at an all-nation referendum or in the Parliament.

Secondly, political modernization means serious reforming of former power structures. The Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 1995 has established that the state authority in the Republic is carried out on the basis of the Constitution and laws according to a principle of its division into legislative, executive and judicial branches with use of system of controls and counterbalances. Gradually there is a democratic control system.

In the Republic of Kazakhstan under the Constitution of 1995 a presidential form of government is established. Having connected the legitimacy with the strategy of democratic modernization, the presidency institute successfully carries out functions of stabilization of political system. A key element of this structure development is non-constitutional reform, and reforming of institutes of public service – creation of the rational bureaucracy capable effectively to operate on a legal basis. The perspective purpose of these transformations is creation of a strong democratic state.

The basic and decisive advantage of the presidential mode in Kazakhstan, made it legitimate in the eyes of the population, is maintenance of political stability in the conditions of a transition period. In the conditions of a complete separation of legal continuity the presidential power became an embodiment of the state sovereignty.

The Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 1995 became a new goalpost in the development of the Kazakhstan parliamentarism. It created important constitutionally-legal preconditions for formation of new parliamentary institutes and forms.

First of all, for the first time in history Kazakhstan according to instructions of section IV of the Constitution the professional bicameral parliament has been affirmed which became the highest representative body of the republic, performing legislative functions and consisting of two chambers acting on a permanent basis: the Senate and the Majilis.

Thus, the political mode of the Constitution of 1995 quite answered a reality of the transition period and promoted stability of a modernization course of the country.



In our opinion, in this historical context it is necessary to solve an issue of prospects of the Kazakhstan constitutionalism.

The Constitution of the 1995 which proclaimed Kazakhstan by presidential republic, and also the constitutional laws "On the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the status of its deputies", "On the Government the Republic of Kazakhstan", "On the judicial system and the status of judges" were attempt to settle the status and functions of each branch of the power.

And it is not simply attempt; these are changes of the modernized character. It is absolutely obvious that in the conditions of a transformed society when the old, traditional system isn't so comprehensible, and new isn't created yet, the Constitution is a program of desirable changes, a program of modernization of the society.

And that is really so. The constitutional reforms allow developing according to time requirements.

So, changes and additions included in the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1998 were directed to the modernization of selective and party systems.

Let's remember, then for the first time in the Central-Asian region in Kazakhstan political parties were granted the right to participate in struggle for deputy mandates by rules of a proportional electoral system. And though places were only 10, parties got so experience of interparty rivalry necessary for them in the electoral field.

A question has been risen "Should the Constitutions be changed?"

The answer is obvious – the social and political development is impossible without the development and change of constitutions. Modern constitutional systems are not only a product of the conscious choice, but also long historical evolution of various political modes. It is this fact that explains an extreme variety of their basic variants. There is a way of interpretation of articles of the Constitution and a way of the constitutional reforms.

The world experience of the constitutionalism shows equal danger of its two extreme tendencies:

- the constitutional flexibility (possibility it is rather easy to change the Constitution) and
- the constitutional rigidity arising at the introduction of constitutions, almost not giving in to changes, but ceased to correspond to the changed social reality eventually, or imposed to the society by the power.

Presumably, the first tendency can conduct to the constitutional instability, and the second – to block

necessary social and political changes. However, if to abstract from a variant ideal-typical, at a finding of optimum balance between two tendencies, the Constitution can become the important factor of the modernization.

In this connection there is a following question "In what cases can the Constitution serve as the program of modernized changes"?

The experience of the sociopolitical development of the countries so-called "transitive type" shows that constitutions are heterogeneous from the beginning of their existence. With the social program put in them they differ in aspiration:

- to keep
- to change
- or to restore
- a certain political system.

All these "aspirations" can be carried out by means of amendments to the Constitution.

About a role of amendments.

In the history of constitutionalism (and it is possible to image the constitutionalism as set of principles, norms and institutes) amendments (changes and additions) in the Constitution are the basic way of conduct of the certain policy of the right. It is enough to testify to society split at the acceptance of amendments to extremely rigid Constitution of the USA, to numerous amendments of liberal character to monarchic constitutions of Europe of the 19<sup>th</sup> – the beginnings of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, tens amendments to the Constitution 3 of the republic in France. The question on amendments has appeared in the attention center in countries of Western Europe in connection with association of Europe and aspiration to integrate into the constitutional process the new phenomena of a social, scientific and technical character.

In Kazakhstan specificity of the constitutional situation consists that it is about the Constitution of the state enduring a stage of the nation formation. In these conditions the amendments to the Constitution play more essential political role, than, in the countries where they are put forward in the conditions of stable constitutional democracy and carry out more "technical" role.

In 2007 in Kazakhstan the constitutional reform was implemented called to promote the further political modernization of the country. Changes and additions were made to the Constitution of Kazakhstan which became a result of activity of the National commission on the democratization and the civil society under the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan.



Let's remember a chronology of those events. On 16 May, 2007 the President N. Nazarbaev at the joint Session of the Chambers of the Parliament submitted for consideration of parliamentarian the project of the constitutional amendments to the acting Constitution of the RK. On 18 May the Parliament accepted and on 21 May, 2007 the Law "On modification and additions to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan" came into force. After adoption of amendments in the Constitution the Parliament accepted a package of the constitutional laws – "On the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan", "On the Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the status of its deputies", "On the Government the Republic of Kazakhstan", "On elections in the Republic of Kazakhstan", being the legislative base of social-political system of the country.

The constitutional reform touched upon a number of legal regulations of the legislative and normative legal acts, concerning the constitutional legality, including issues of functioning of political parties and the non-governmental organizations, protection of the rights and freedom of the citizens.

Why did the constitutional reform carry a modernized character?

In the generalized kind the meaning of adoption of these amendments was that to continue political liberalization, to create new system of balance of public and state interests. The amendments were providing for: redistribution of powers of authority and responsibility to increase of a role of the Parliament; strengthening of a role of political parties; local government development; perfection of judicial system; maintenance of the international consent and strengthening of Assembly of the people of Kazakhstan; the further development of institutes of a civil society; strengthening of protection systems of the rights and freedom of citizens.

The constitutional changes occurred both in functional, and in organizational sphere.

Within the limits of the first direction the part of authorities of the President has been delegated to the Parliament, the government liability before the Parliament has raised, are essentially strengthened control functions of the representative branch of the power, the role of the legislative power has increased in formation of some state structures, the authorities of the Senate are expanded and terms of office of elective authorities are equaled.

In the organizational sphere — the number of deputies of both chambers of the Parliament is increased,

principles of formation of Majilis have cardinally been changed at the expense of transition from proportional-majoritarian to proportional principle of elections and the Senate, at the expense of inclusion in the electoral mechanism of a quota from the Assembly of the people of Kazakhstan. Measures have been taken for strengthening of fractional discipline.

The accepted changes are urged to give a serious impulse for development of party-and-political system. Transition to the proportional election system in Majilis has strengthened possibilities of parties in formation of the legislative field.

The norm on the confirmation of the Prime Minister by the parliamentary majority and the procedure of consultations of the President with party fractions on the appointment of the Head of the government is responsible for increase of a role of parties, and through them and for strengthening of the civil society control over the power. Owing to this norm mutual responsibility of the Parliament and the Government has been raised.

Modernized character of the constitutional reform consists that:

- interaction efficiency of the representative and executive powers has been raised including on regional and local level;
- degree of their equilibrium and effective mutual control has been increased;
- legal capacity and stability of the system of the government have become stronger;
- transparency of activity of state structures has got other quality.

Thus, the constitutional changes accepted within the limits of the presidential course on carrying out of system political modernization, have positive influence on efficiency of all system of the government, promoting its democratization, stability and transparency. They set new parameters and a vector of political system transformation, so and political development of the country. At the same time, as the qualitative characteristic of political system is the mode, it is necessary to expect and changes in its functioning, first of all, in the sphere of interaction with the civil society.

Also it happens because the Constitution the Republic of Kazakhstan itself is the important factor of modernized changes.

The main conclusion: presence of the Constitution which are the program of modernization, - the earnest of success of the social and economic and political reforms.



# Strategy and Tactics of Clerics on Attraction of the Kazakh Women in the Bosom of Orthodox Religion (the 19<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries)

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**A**t the present stage of development of our country rather stable situation is maintained. It is connected with the measures undertaken by our government, on the preservation of peace and tranquillity. It is hard to achieve such situation in the multinational and multi-confessional state.

It is necessary to consider that circumstance after disintegration of Soviet Union in the independent republics there was a process of revival of spiritual life of the people. And religion takes one of the first places in it. Therefore, in the independence initial stage to Kazakhstan the huge quantity of missionaries rushed to fill the formed ideological vacuum, after leaving of “leading and directing forces of the Soviet society” from historical arena - Communist party. Among neo-missionaries along with representatives of traditional religions, it is possible to meet members of the various sects representing of certain threat of the country’s stability.

Today’s missionaries, making use of past experience, search for new ways of attraction of people to the bosom of the religion at the same time. Danger of activity of modern preachers is covered in a huge arsenal of their possibilities. If efforts of orthodox preachers were found vain in Kazakhstan in the 19<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries there are examples of more successful sermon. So, the people of

South Korea with the five-thousand-year history and worshipping to the Buddha, after occupation of territory by Americans had undergone also to religious expansion. Result of it was that within last 40 years more than 35 percent of Koreans passed in various sects of Christian religion [1, p. 25]. Such facts should serve as caution of the present youth.

Real danger of the spiritual expansion exists and today, one of which components is religion. It would seem, open threat isn’t present and consequently there is nothing to resist. People unconsciously and “voluntary” absorb, inculcate in consciousness stereotypes and the beliefs, profitable for those who extend them.

“Brainwashing” through the mass media, undertaken on the eve of capture, paves the way for the put goal achievement. As acknowledgement the massed information attack serves spent by the USA on the eve of intrusion into Iraq. Preparing public opinion for inevitability of punishment of Saddam Hussein, the US administration counted on support from the leading states or their non-interference. If before propaganda machine inclusion almost all world community opposed wars from the beginning of its action the quantity of supporters of Iraq was reduced, than and short duration of the anti-American performances is explained.

The manipulation by people through mass-media is effective modern means of intrusion into their



spiritual life. Therefore studying of experience of the past becomes topical to protect rising generation from influence pervasive mass-media, to help young men to be guided with the today's difficult world, to understand occurring modern processes more deeply. This knowledge can serve development of immunity to information attacks to public consciousness, whence they proceed. It is possible to turn the population into a zombie only, having transformed people into mankurts, beating their historical memory out, depriving of their ideals.

The reference to religious subjects in modern conditions, in particular conditions of Muslim religion and the relation to it of the imperial government and its officials, follows from insufficiency of slightly simplified approach which has affirmed in Soviet period to the confessional problematics. As any religion was considered as the irreconcilable competitor of Marxist ideology, militant atheism propagation became means of struggle against religious doctrines.

Thus, a close connection of national customs and traditions with religious rites, world-view and perception of the world was simply not on. In particular, such approach affects and estimation of Christianization process of local population in Kazakhstan by the Kazakhstan historians. Some of them are inclined to consider small number converted Kazakhs as the certificate of artificiality and groundlessness of the problem statement. But discrepancy of Christianization process scales and its results causes an interesting problem to life: and why does it so happen? It is picturesquely said, why has the mountain brought forth a mouse? In what is the main reason of such discrepancy: in an inefficiency of activity of missionaries or "indifference", immunity of Kazakhs to religious ideas and propagation? And why have Kazakhs, such right-believing Moslems, after the lapse of more than 270th years when Islam in Kazakhstan was forced out by means of Orthodoxy by the Russian government, then by means of scientific atheism of the Soviet mode, nevertheless, remained Moslems?

The purpose of the given article consists in opening actions of priests of Russian Orthodox Church, in business of attraction of indigenous population, including the Kazakh women in the bosom of the religion in the 19<sup>th</sup> - the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> of centuries.

The role of Russian Orthodox Church in the colonizer policy of tsarism hasn't received due illumination in the Soviet historical science. And the principal

cause of it consists in methodological installations. On the one hand, process of entry of Kazakhstan to the structure of Russia was characterized as progressive, thus was invariably underlined educational, civilizing role of Russian culture. On the other hand, the negative relation to any religion considered as an antithesis to militant atheism of communistic ideology occurred. Therefore a problem definition about a role of Russian Orthodox Church in the course of joining of Kazakhstan to Russia was impossible. Orthodoxy and Islam from class positions were considered as allies, as accomplices of rule classes in operation of workers of weights. Thus, resistance of Kazakhs to Christianization could be interpreted, and not as reactionary, only within the limits of class struggle, in a separation from the general policy of colonization of Kazakhstan. Owing to an obvious paradoxicality and ambiguity, these questions were simply ignored in the Soviet historical literature.

In the colonial policy of tsarism to change of religion of indigenous population the predominating role was taken away. To extend Christianity it was supposed in the huge territory where entered not only Kazakhstan, but also other regions of the Russian empire. In the missionary anti-Muslim collection the route of preachers of Orthodoxy is specified: "... from Orenburg to Tashkent, and from here via Verniy to Omsk and further - the way to Christianity is already planned, - the Christian cross through huge distance is shone in the deserts of Central Asia". Fidelity of the chosen way, according to missionaries, is confirmed by the history - ancient conquerors went along it: the *Genghis Khan*, Arabs, Timur and Babur. "But we go under the other banner" [2, p.142.]

That is, the task was put to bring under holy banners of Orthodoxy the population professing other belief, worshipping to other gods. It is clear that in this case all levers of influence on consciousness of indigenous population were in hands of Russian Orthodox Church and its priests. Preachers of Orthodoxy asserted that the modern civilization lived and kept thanks to Christian ideas, connecting with it all highest principles of the modern culture. Calling Kazakhs for Orthodoxy, they underlined: "... the Christian religion will revive the nomad to the best life more likely, rather than one scientific formation» [3, p.15].

The Orthodox Church was one of independent streams of colonization, had the purposes and tasks. Together with the state it participated in the cultural



and administrative-territorial development of the land and transferred a state-church superstructure to Kazakhstan.

To the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century many nationalities of Russia lost the originality because of influence on them of "the senior" orthodox Russian brothers. It was proudly written: "Mordvins, mishars, mari, votyaks – remained almost one ethnographic term. Actually all these Ural-Finnish tribes both on customs, and on religion, and on language became quite Russian". It is mentioned here and Kazakhs in whom saw in the prompt future, Russian: "the Kazan Tatars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz – also have considerably become Russified and if they haven't merged in one body with Russian people yet, it is only a matter of time" [4, p.33]. Becoming Russified was necessary to support by Christianization.

In reforms of the imperial government on management of the Kazakh lands some privileges were given to christened Kazakhs. In the fourth section "On the rights of Kirghiz" Regulations on management in the Ural, Tourgay, Akmolinsk and Semipalatinsk oblasts from 1868 it is specified:

"247. To the Kirghiz who have accepted Christianity, it is permitted or to remain in the societies, or to move to Russian settlements in the steppe, with preservation of the rights given to Kirghiz.

248. The Kirghiz who have accepted Christianity if he will wish, can be attributed to city and rural communities of all names, without asking for that the preliminary consent of the designated societies" [5, p.88].

Analyzing these two points of Regulations, it is possible to draw following conclusions. Christened Kazakhs got of advantage in movement. It had been caused by that the introduction under Orthodoxy banners did almost impossible the further residing at one aul (village) with yesterday's coreligionists. More often christened Kazakhs either lived separately, or tried to come nearer to Russian communities. Given advantages had been urged to compensate aversion of religious turncoats from the fellow tribesmen. Simultaneously stay new turned into Orthodoxy among Russian settlers should quickly promote their Russified. Thus, Christianization is accompanied and supported with russification in this case.

The Kazakhs wandering near the strengthened lines were especially subject to influence of Russian Orthodox Church and missionaries. Unlike the inhabitants living far from Russian strengthening and

fortresses, they were more often submitted to influence of missionaries. It was expressed that some of Kazakhs put a candle to the prelate and miracle man Nikolay. The big good luck for the missionary was to appear near to the Kazakh a heavy minute of his life. Then it was easier to convince that enough to turn to the Christ and a hardship would avoid the nomad. More often such brainwashing was almost safe.

After such educational conversations some Kazakhs took holy water from Russian and sprayed it the cattle, especially during a loss of cattle. To lose cattle for the Kazakh it was equivalent to death, therefore for the sake of its rescue, the nomad and had to renounce the belief. Use of attributes of Russian Orthodox Church also was on arms of missionaries.

There were cases that "on the woman in pregnant position when she wasn't brought to bed a long time, imposed a sacred cross" [6, p.787]. To show force of Orthodox Church, omnipotence of the Russian god, all it entered into aims of clerics. Among christened Kazakhs were met also the most devoted to orthodox belief who not only had accepted the Office of Baptism, but also became church priests. Such people were pride of clerics and missionaries and installed in them confidence that their business would have even more supporters from local population. Preparation of the future missionaries from among local population also was included into plans of Russian Orthodox Church.

Christened "natives", unlike Russian missionaries, represented valuable cadres for preachers of Orthodoxy. They knew language, traditions, customs and psychology of the people. It was easier to them to choose an opportunity for Orthodoxy propagation.

In the history of activity of priests the important place was occupied bought non-Russian children by Russian Cossacks, merchants and other estates. Remained without parents and having got to the unfamiliar environment, they absorbed in themselves concepts alien to them and habits. The highest Decree of the imperial government from 23 May, 1808 had been legalized sale of children of Kazakhs-poor men [7, p.146]. The price fluctuated depending on a solvency and mood of the buyer, need of the seller. One merchant had bought "khirgizboy" for 25 roubles, and another had to give 150 roubles [8, 1.3].

In 1825 the aforementioned law on purchase of the Kirghiz, Kalmyks and other Asiatics was abrogated, but with the proviso. For replenishment of a lack of women, in Western Siberia it was authorized



to exchange children of a female at adjacent with it nomads [9, p.87]. Girls naturally passed a ceremony of a christening and, being brought up in the Russian environment, adopted language, customs and traditions of Russian people. After time, the matured girl, it was difficult to remember the roots. Having married for orthodox, she had definitively been lost for the Kazakh society. And the Kazakh faces were possible to see in church among praying people. Already before arrival of Russian peasants Russian Orthodox Church broke ground on an establishment of the influence on local residents.

Priests carried out the work in various places. They didn't neglect also sick people. Circumstances of one affair on fulfillment of the baptism show that separate neophytes were got hold in the intensification of illnesses. So, one of christened Kazakh girl had been involved in a bosom of Orthodox Church during illness, suffered the hysteric-epilepsy which caused attacks of delirium and perfect unconsciousness [10, 1.4]. Thereby one of the secret orders, given to priests of Russian Orthodox Church was carried out: "Where you meet people, you will find out sufferings and if there are sufferings, that need in the doctor and if there is a need in the doctor, that is a suitable case for the sermon" [11].

That is significant, a case about transition of the Kazakh woman from Moslem in Orthodoxy who for short term (from April 2 till April 5, 1896) had been prepared for a baptism. But, in October of the same year inquiry about deviation in Mahometanism, sacred by holy christening Kirghiz Aisha Kuldjebekova it was heard by the Public Prosecutor of Semerechensk Regional Court,. She was baptized by "a deceit, becoming a drunkard with vodka within several days" [12, 1.18].

Really, the legal investigation showed immoral behavior of the priest who within three days in such a way adherent of a different faith had transformed into the orthodox. Meanwhile, an existing statute by the Decree of the Sacred Synod "it is caused by preliminary manual wishing to be christened, truths of orthodox belief within 40 days" [12, 1.18]. And it is no wonder that through short time baptized wished to return to the former belief. In our opinion, circumstances of the case show that clerics, being guided by the slogan "the end justifies the means", aspired to report on the higher spiritual heads on results of activity on the christening of Kazakhs, neglecting moral principles.

Clerics, missionaries, officials of colonial administration and various levels of population took part in Orthodoxy distribution to Kazakhstan. Any receptions if only they yielded desirable result were used. Preachers of Orthodoxy carried out huge work among all categories of local residents.

The big role was taken away to the missionaries, trying to increase number of supporters not only at the expense of representatives of Russian nationality, but also by attraction in the numbers of aboriginals. Recruitment of missionaries from persons of a local nationality was highly appreciated by the spiritual authorities. The special attention addressed to the Kazakh women. By the way, the Kazakh woman, in far-reaching plans of missionaries should become their supporter as they had noticed that woman was the most freedom, "she doesn't close her face from the man and is freely admitted in the society where she is highly influential and of great importance. if to bring up her in the Russian Orthodox spirit she can be a good ally" [13, p.376].

The Kirghiz woman, after the christening in 1877 received a name - Maria Kabanova became one of such allies in the city of Uralsk. About a name received by her at a birth, it is necessary to guess only as it doesn't appear in available documents. Probably, influence on her of the persons who were engaged in missionary activity, was so great that she went to Moscow and asked Council of the Orthodox Missionary society to grant to her the certification in the certificate of that she with the permission of the spiritual heads was engaged in the conversion of the Kirghiz from Mahometanism in orthodox belief. Having received, this document, Kabanova turned into new belief of the fellow tribesmen, increasing number of christened Kazakhs, for what she got allowance from the Orthodox Missionary society and, certainly consists under its protection [14, 1.21, 21 ob.] . The Kazakh women turned into Christian belief should play a role of "Trojan horse" in case of destruction of century traditions, moral principles, the family relations serving by a barrier to missionaries in their "civilizing" of activity.

As convincing illustration prepared by Kazakh women of strategic mission are served by Article 80 of Part 1 Civil Law: "the Marriage, the wife who has accepted a sacred christening of the Mohammedan is dissolved, and the former husband the Mohammedan gives the obligation that he won't be having to be born from this marriage of children which should



be baptized in orthodox belief, bring to his law ...» [14, 1.23 ob.]

Full ignoring of traditions and customs of Kazakhs is obvious. As it is known, at Kazakhs, the man is head of a family, and hence it appears lines of genealogical roots. Mutual relations in the Kazakh family were built on the basis of mutual respect, at the rigorous recognition of the man's priority. Humiliating of advantage of the man by this article, it is impossible to think that these traditions were unknown to drafters of Laws.

Especially that fact aggravates the situation that in the Russia the relation to females was scornful and consequently at all they didn't consider the woman for "soul" - the person. And in this case is full ignoring even the traditions, for the sake of achievement of the purposes in Christianization of foreigners.

But also such positions, unnatural for the Kazakh people, have appeared insufficient for Orthodoxy propagation. Other ways for attraction of men - Kazakhs in Orthodoxy were composed. In a part of "Mission is anti-Muslim" the short sketch of missionary work of the Tobolsk diocese is said that it is necessary to use vodka in this mission. To increase quantity of christened people, it was offered to teach to take alcoholic drinks Kazakhs. As Kazakhs didn't use it and for this reason they couldn't make it, it was necessary to search for an exit in creation of the Russian-Kazakh families. It was offered to marry the Kazakh Dzhigits (boys) to Russian girls. They should teach to prepare alcohol and to drink it. Children born from such marriage without effort would accept Orthodoxy. Therefore, to missionaries there was a task in view: to support both parties and generously to present them [15, p.11].

Not in the best way the relation got on neophytes - inhabitants of such village from former and new coreligionists. There were cases when christened Kirghizes were missing. Their searches remained ineffectual more often. At visiting by autumn of 1888 by the governor general of Steppes land Kolpakovsky on the Kirghiz spiritual mission he was reported that "recently Buconsk Cossacks have pulled out two Kirghiz from hands - one newly baptized which Kirghiz in the midday in the settlement Bukonsk have seized and on the prepared horses, they were intended to take away» [16, 1.12].

Many of christened admitted that, despite Orthodoxy acceptance, in their heart they remained Moslems. They addressed with requests for the permission

to return to Islam, as they couldn't to refuse belief of the fathers and grandfathers. They considered that coming to the priest for "admonition" was unnecessary and useless [17, 1.140].

Some of christened Kirghiz came back in former belief, in an old age of years. In Mahometanism Syumende Alpysova, after the christening she became Pelageya Petrovna and, having reached 70-year-old age, asked to return to Moslem again. Christening acceptance was explained when she was the girl, her father had violently married to the old man. Running with darling, and getting rid of persecutors, both had accepted a sacred christening. Admonitions of the priest had no success, and she had accepted her decision on personal views [17, 1.71]. In 1914 such applications addressed to the Semipalatinsk governor were 30 sent by christened men, from different volosts of regions. In most cases, many of christened men admitted what to go to approaching with orthodox they were pushed different circumstances. But, becoming Christians, they had been compelled to conduct a double life that it strongly oppressed them. Belief in two different religions didn't finally bring them spiritual calming, and pressed on their emotional state even more. They were unable more to bear such cargo, they applied to return them in former belief.

Belief in two different religions of adherent of a different faith didn't pass secretly and for preachers of Orthodoxy, compelled to admit that in conversations with new christened men it was found out their full misunderstanding of Christ's words. When new christened men were addressed with a question to whom they pray, they received in the answer some gods: "Kudai - one, Isus - another, Nikolay - the third, the Christ - the fourth" [18, p.486]. it seems like that and to the missionary they would appropriate the next number, but painfully he was ordinary.

Quality of a christening was so low that christened men couldn't understand bases of Christian dogma. Sometimes there were such cases that new christened person didn't know or forgot the name received at a christening. In his everyday life he used an old Kazakh name [338 19, 1.14].

However, among christened women were much and such which remained true the accepted religion and the children subjected to a christening ceremony. This is the reason for that among Kazakh women, it is possible to meet names: Maria, Stepanida, Varya etc.



But, Kazakhs might be indifferent about what missionaries persistently repeated, mass conversion in the bosom of Christian religion hadn't happened. And hopes of the imperial government, clerics of Russian Orthodox Church and missionaries in successes of Christianization of the Kazakh population hadn't been lived up. Unsuccessfulness of taken measures were confirmed by L.N. Tolstoy's thought: "the unity is reached not by violent and impossible deduction of all people in the acquired external confession of one religious doctrine to which is infallibility accredited, but only by free movement of all mankind in approach to one true ...» [20, p.431].

When churchmen tried to increase quantity of christened persons from among a female half of Kazakh population, the facts cutting across the plans of missionaries were on record. And if the methods were used in the relation to Kazakh women, voluntary was not their scene, the Russian women, accepted Islam, explained the refusal of former religion, by own desire, instead of influence of Muslim theologian on them.

The case of conversion from Orthodoxy to Moslem of the Russian woman was remarkable. Cossack woman Agrafena Ivanovna Borodihina addressed to the governor general with the request to allow her converting from Orthodoxy to Moslem. Her desire, connect intimacy with the Mohammedan. It was on the one hand. But the interesting fact was that she evaded from Orthodoxy from 13-year-old age. Having matured, she entered "criminal cohabitation" to the Moslem. She had dressed the son in the Tatar dress, made ablution and other ceremonies of Mohammedan religion.

In the official report of the priest addressed to the mister of the Semipalatinsk governor followed that "I don't suppose thought that Agrafena wishes consciously conversing to Moslem: all is made against her will, I am sure. By virtue of the pastor I gave a vicarial admonition and the Christian pardon to parents of the maiden, of the guilty daughter and about use of the parental power" [21, 1.5-6]. The priest surprised behavior of the father who, didn't hasten to agree, with a position of the religious priest that it suggested about indifference of the majority of Cossacks to religious issues. The priest even noticed that "the father got profitable the apostasy of the daughter" [21, 1. 9 ob.]. The revealed circumstances during the investigation of the case allow to come to a conclusion, what it was possible to consider not all Cossacks as diligent adherents of Christian belief.

Wishing to converse from Orthodoxy to Moslem and other religions in the petitions referred to the Decree of the tsar from 17 April, 1905 granting the right of "freedom of religion". On it, the volunteer to converse to other belief, in the beginning was admonition of the spiritual heads, up to its repeated reunion with Orthodoxy. However, in the law there was no answer about that, "what consequences is it necessary to expect for receded from Orthodoxy in case admonitions haven't an effect" [22, p.98]. That is, the open question gave the chance of a rough administrative arbitrariness, than and officials had used on places. In the law retaliatory measures for falling away from Orthodoxy also weren't established. Taking of children from mother, in our opinion, was a cruel retaliatory measure as in the case with Borodihina. The police had deprived of her children: one is two, other is two months and in 20 decrees below zero they were sent in Chernoretsk for 53 versts [21, 1.1].

After the Decree of 1905 quantity of volunteers to converse from Orthodoxy to Moslem increased. Under the official report of the Bishop of Turkestan and Tashkent by 1907 in Turkestan was "about 500 Russian girls had conversed to Islam" [23, 1.16].

There were also unusual cases of Muslimism, occurring owing to the developed circumstances. The more interesting reaction of Russian officials to such facts. In one of articles the story of the Russian captive Varvara Cherepanova was told. Causes vigilance the beginning of this narration: "the Sad story of the Russian girl is worthy of telling". In 1863, Cossack woman Cherepanova when she was 13 or 14 years old had been captured. In 1866, in Tashkent, asking the Russian living in Kokand, the story-teller, learnt that the captive lived in a palace of the khan, at his mother "for the native daughter" that she had already conversed to Muslim and even had learned the local reading and writing". Later he recognized that she married and lived in the house the Kush-begi (the first minister) [24, p.46].

To tell the true, we don't see something terribly sad, in this story, comparing position of the Russian captive to the bought Kazakh women. Having appeared in a captivity, not by reason of sale, the girl got to a mansion of the khan and was accepted as a daughter. She was not used as a maid, as it was with the Kazakh girls, they didn't live till 25-year-old age. Terrible case, for the Russian person that she was Muslim, she didn't make orthodox an environment of the khan. The Kazakh girls under the Decree of the



tsar, tens became orthodox that wasn't presented as a sad story, and opposite, testified to "noble mission" of Russian person. And nobody was interested what happened with yesterday's christened girls how their destiny was going. Only dry figures and the facts: "iwas sold" for such sum of money or "was presented". A fine illustration is to the characteristic of the relation to all dherent of a different faith and alien.

Thus, activity of Russian Orthodox Church in the 19<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries closely

intertwined with the purposes of the imperial government in the colonized land. Without neglecting various receptions, church clerics gave a close attention to a christening of the Kazakh women, counting on success of mission. To increase quantity of neophytes among Kazakh woman which should bring up and impart subsequently to the children faithful feelings to "to a throne and fatherland" to serve the tsar, hadn't brought desirable results.

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