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АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ КАЗАХСТАНА

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THE PRIORITY DIRECTIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY OF RK

Kazakhstan's Multi-Vector Foreign Policy. Since obtaining independence Kazakhstan's foreign policy has been based on a principle of multi-vector relations that was declared by N.Nazarbayev as soon as he was elected the country's president on 1 December 1991.

President N.Nazarbayev believes that the multi-vector policy means «the development of friendly and predictable relations with all states that play a significant role in global politics and represent practical interest for our country. Kazakhstan, because of its geopolitical position and economic potential, cannot limit itself to narrow-regional problems. This would not be understandable to not only our multiethnic population but the entire international community. Kazakhstan's future is both in Asia and Europe, in East and West. By pursuing exactly this policy will we be able to avert any manifestations of threats to Kazakhstan's security. We will be able to strengthen favorable external conditions by economic and political transformations in our country» [1].

This position has been defined by the country's geopolitical position, its multiethnic and religiously diverse population and the level of economic development as a whole.

Taking into account the current international realities the main emphasis in Kazakhstan's foreign policy strategy has been placed on ensuring an efficient security system in Central Asia which is aimed at preventing unconventional threats and challenges (international terrorism, religious extremism, and drug trafficking and illegal migration) posed by Afghanistan and other countries bordering

the region. In order to solve this problem Kazakhstan found it expedient to focus on the following priority foreign policy aspects:

- strategic cooperation with Russia and China;
- constructive cooperation with the USA, European Union countries.

Kazakhstan and Russia. For numerous, economic, political, ethnic, language, demographic, religious and geographical reasons, Kazakhstan and Russia are extremely intertwined states. Their common border, which is the world's longest land border, plays an important role in this.

That over a million ethnic Kazakhs live in Russia and over 4 million ethnic Russian live in Kazakhstan is of particular significance to the development of good-neighborly relations. This is why Kazakhstan and Russian cannot help but be interested in political, trade and economic, cultural and humanitarian and military and technical cooperation.

The legislative basis for Kazakh-Russian relations is the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, signed by Kazakhstan and Russia on 25 May 1992. The treaty establishes that Kazakhstan and Russia, starting from the base of the historically developed close relations between the two states, will build their friendly relations on the principles of mutual respect for state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the inviolability of the existing borders. The treaty's provisions on the peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-application of force or the threat of force, including economic and other pressure, equality and noninterference in internal affairs, human rights and

fundamental liberties, and the voluntary observance of obligations is particularly important [2, pp. 300-311].

The logical element of the development of bilateral documents in the political, economic and cultural and humanitarian spheres became the Declaration on Eternal Friendship and Allied Relations, signed on 6 July 1998. This declaration is aimed at the 21st century context.

Kazakh-Russian relations were boosted by the election of V.Putin as president of Russia. A new blueprint for Russia's foreign policy, adopted at President Putin's initiative on 28 June 2000, paid particular attention to the development of good-neighborly relations and strategic partnerships with CIS countries.

The quick pace of Kazakh-Russian relations was continued by the current Russian president, D. Medvedev, who paid his first foreign visit to Kazakhstan on 22-23 May 2008. During the visit the heads of the two countries signed a joint statement and intergovernmental agreements on cooperation in the space sphere and on the GLONASS satellite navigation system. President Medvedev paid his second visit to Kazakhstan on 5-6 July 2008 and took part in the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the Kazakh capital, Astana.

On 22 September 2008, D. Medvedev paid another visit to Kazakhstan to take part in the fifth Forum of Heads of Border Regions of Kazakhstan and Russia entitled «The Development of Border Interregional Cooperation in the Sphere of High Technology». President Medvedev's fourth visit to Kazakhstan took place on 19-21 December 2008. An informal summit of the heads of state of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan was held in the settlement of Burabai. This meeting discussed breakthrough projects to boost the efficiency of cooperation between the regional organizations of the EAEC and the CSTO that were endorsed at these organizations' summit in Moscow on 4 February 2009.

Describing the state of bilateral relations at the Russian Federal Assembly's State Duma on 5 April 2005, Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev said: «Despite the well-known formula of eternal friends and eternal interests, Kazakhstan and Russia are countries that are destined to be eternal friends through their histories» [3, p. 204].

This view is shared by Russian President Medvedev, who said at the presentation of credentials by the Kazakh ambassador to Russia on 27 February 2009, that «Russia highly values its friendship with our strategic ally, Kazakhstan, from year to year our

partnership is reaching a larger scale and is bolstered by major projects» [4].

Kazakhstan accounts for 15% of Russia's total trade with CIS countries, while Russia has 24.7% of Kazakhstan's foreign trade. There are over 1,600 enterprises with the involvement of Russian capital in Kazakhstan [5].

Cooperation between the border regions of the two countries has good prospects. The sixth forum of interregional cooperation was held in Orenburg in 2009 and it has given a new impetus to interaction between the border regions of the two countries. Kazakhstan and Russia have agreed to create a joint venture to process gas from Kazakhstan's Karachaganak gas condensate field at the Orenburg Gas Processing Plant. Both countries are working on the expansion of the Caspian Pipeline Consortium pipeline (which Kazakhstan owns a 19% stake in) and the Atyrau-Samara oil pipeline.

Cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia on the development of roads linking Western Europe and western China along the St Petersburg-Kazan-Orenburg-Aktobe-Almaty-Khorgos-China route is of strategic significance.

Illegal migration also presents a serious problem for Kazakhstan and Russia. After the break-up of the Soviet Union, migration processes sped up in Central Asia, like elsewhere in the former Soviet space, because of the sharp deterioration of the socioeconomic situation in all the newly independent states and a rise in interethnic and inter-religious tension, as well as porous borders.

Since obtaining independence in 1991, the economic and political development of former Soviet countries has been different. As a result of regional migration, Russia and Kazakhstan are recipient countries, while Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are source countries. Kazakhstan and Russia have now increased cooperation to develop Kazakhstan's navy in the Caspian Sea. In particular, Russia agreed to hand over battleships and train crews, as well as build navy infrastructure on the Caspian [6, p. 94].

One of the main priorities in bilateral relations is cooperation in tapping the natural resources in the Caspian Sea. Kazakhstan was the first Caspian-littoral country to manage to settle all conflicts with Russia, above all, on the issue of the status and division of the sea floor. The Kazakh-Russian statement, signed in January 1998, stipulated a provision that «a consensus should be achieved based on the fair division of the Caspian Sea floor while the common use of the water surface, including ensuring free navigation and coordinated rules for fishery and environmental protection, should be preserved».

Talks on defining the legal status of the Caspian Sea are still under way. Kazakhstan's position on this issue is clear and definitive. President Nazarbayev told a news conference in Baku on 24 May 2005 that there was the understanding between Kazakhstan, Russia and Azerbaijan regarding the median line of the sea and its delimitation. Kazakhstan is interested in turning the Caspian Sea into a sea of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation [7].

Russian-Kazakh relations are developing not just in the bilateral format, but also multilaterally within the CIS, the EAEC, the CSTO, the SCO and the CACO.

Kazakhstan and Russia are cooperating most closely within the Eurasian Economic Community. The community aims at economic integration with the creation of a free trade zone and a customs union. In the socio-humanitarian sphere the country plans to conduct joint research on the priority aspects of science and technology and harmonize the national systems of education, science and culture. At the summit of the heads of EAEC member states in Dushanbe on 6 October 2007, the leaders of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia signed documents to set up a single customs zone and a Customs Union.

Attention is mainly focused on solving problems of ensuring security, peace and stability in the SCO member states and increasing the organization's role in international efforts in nuclear non-proliferation, the fight against terrorism and cross border crime.

As a result, despite the global financial crisis, relations between Kazakhstan and Russia in all main aspects – the economic, political and cultural and humanitarian spheres – are developing well. The Plan of the Joint Actions of Kazakhstan and Russia for 2009-2010, signed by the two heads of state, has particular significance for this process.

Kazakhstan and China. Developing relations with China – both bilaterally and multilaterally – occupies an important place in Kazakhstan's foreign policy strategy. Ancient historical ties, geographical closeness and common interests in the spheres of security and economic cooperation political meant that interaction between Kazakhstan and China was defined by the Kazakh leadership as priority.

After Kazakhstan declared its independence both countries showed interest in building stable and good-neighborly relations at a new level. As early as on 3 January 1992 the countries established diplomatic relations. The subsequent official visit by Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev to China in October 1993 started regular meetings between the two countries at the highest level.

One of the first agreements that defined the principles of interaction between the two countries was the Joint Declaration on the Foundations of Friendly Relations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China which was signed during President Nazarbayev's meeting with President Jiang Zemin in Beijing in 1993.

Based on this document both sides immediately started solving the problems inherited from Soviet-Chinese relations. During the several years that followed one of delicate topics of bilateral relations regarding the delimitation of the state border had been discussed. As a result of signing several agreements (in Shanghai in 1996, Moscow in 1997 and Almaty in 1998) within the Shanghai-Five organization, border problems were mostly solved and the delimitation and demarcation of all sectors of the Kazakh-Chinese border have now been completed. Remarkably, Kazakhstan was one of the first in Central Asia to solve this type of important issue in bilateral relations.

Mutual interest in the two countries' adherence to the principle of mutually beneficial cooperation, non-interference in one another's internal affairs and the steady development of bilateral relations is proven by the fact that the positions of Kazakhstan and China on many bilateral and multilateral issues coincide. In particular, as a result of insistent actions by Kazakh diplomats on nuclear issues and our country's status as nuclear-free power, China offered assurances of the non-use of nuclear weapons to Kazakhstan in February 1995.

Beijing irreversibly regards the preservation of stability and order on the country's borders and its domestic stability as a very important aspect of the development of cooperation with Kazakhstan [7, p 89]. At talks the countries also agreed to jointly use and protect water resources of the cross border Ili and Irtysh Rivers. Following the adoption of a joint declaration by the country's leaders during Chinese President J. Zemin's visit to Kazakhstan in 1996, Kazakh-Chinese relations rose to a new level of strategic partnership. Jiang Zemin stressed that not only did friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between Kazakhstan and China correspond to the fundamental interests of the two countries' peoples, but also benefited peace, stability and development in Asia and the whole world [7, p 126].

One of the key moments in cooperation between the two countries was the adoption of the Joint Declaration between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China on the Further Development of All-Round Cooperation in the 21st

Century during President Nazarbayev's official visit to China in 1999.

Another important step was the common ground between both countries' positions on security problems which was reflected in their activities within the SCO. As political ties strengthens steadily, so does bilateral trade and economic cooperation. China has now become one of Kazakhstan's most promising trade and economic partners. Economic relations are developing extremely rapidly between the two countries. For example, bilateral trade between Kazakhstan and China was \$368m in 1992, whereas it reached \$500m in 1997, \$1bn in 1998 and about \$13.8bn in 2007. China is Kazakhstan's second largest trade partner behind Russia [8].

An important aspect of bilateral economic trade is the energy sphere. Cooperation in the oil and gas sector is developing rapidly between China and Kazakhstan. Chinese companies' active involvement in the Kazakh oil and gas sector started with China National Petroleum Corporation's (CNPC) purchase of a 60% stake in Kazakhstan's Aktobe unaigas oil and Gas Company in 1997. The first phase of the Atyrau-Kenkiyak oil pipeline has already been completed, and the Atasu-Alashankou oil pipeline was completed and commissioned in 2005, and it shipped about 6 million of oil to China in 2008 [9].

It is worth noting the new, fourth, generation of Chinese leaders, led by President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao who came to power in autumn 2002, demonstrated consistency in Chinese policy towards Kazakhstan [10, p. 221]. In turn, President Nazarbayev stressed in his 2004 state-of-the-nation address that Beijing was one of the chief political and economic partners of Astana and that the continuing strengthening of relations with China served as the clear and important course of Kazakhstan's foreign policy and that the development of good-neighborly and friendly relations between Beijing and Astana were Kazakhstan's foreign policy priorities [11].

As a result, the backbone of cooperation between Kazakhstan and China is the development of multilateral and long-term cooperation. At present, along with successful political and socioeconomic relations, cultural ties are also developing fruitfully. In the security sphere, Kazakhstan and China are maintaining a wide consensus and interaction, both countries making significant contributions to maintaining peace and stability.

Kazakhstan and the US relations. The United States is one of the global actors that can exert significant influence on the development of political and economic processes. This fact explains why one

of Kazakhstan's priority foreign policy directions is the development of relations with the US.

Kazakhstan is actively developing cooperation with the US in practically all spheres at the moment. The US was one of the first countries to officially recognize our country's independence (on 25 October 1991) and establish diplomatic relations with Kazakhstan. Another important event in the development of bilateral relations was that Kazakhstan voluntarily gave up of nuclear weapons. This step has confirmed Kazakhstan's adherence to peaceful development and significantly increased the level of mutual trust between the two countries.

In particular, in May 1992, during President Nazarbayev's visit to the US, the Agreement on Trade Relations, the Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Kazakhstan Concerning the Reciprocal Encouragement and Protection of Investment and the joint declaration on the adoption of a treaty on the avoidance of double taxation were signed [12, p. 79].

In February 1994, Kazakhstan and the US signed the Charter on Democratic Partnership during another visit by the Kazakh president to the US.

The 11 September 2001 events triggered a new stage in Kazakh-US relations. Kazakhstan condemned the terrorist attacks in Washington and New York and backed the US anti-terrorist operation in Afghanistan [13]. Kazakhstan's support for the US counterterrorist operations in Afghanistan and Iraq was appreciated by the Americans. In December 2001, at a meeting in Washington President N.Nazarbayev and US President G. Bush adopted a joint statement on Kazakh-US relations which reiterated mutual adherence to strengthening the long-term strategic partnership between Kazakhstan and the US.

One of the most important events to have influenced the development of Kazakh-US relations was a visit by the former US secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice, to Astana in October 2005. At meetings with Kazakh officials, she supported the country's efforts in economic development and said that America considered Kazakhstan as a driver of economic growth in Central Asia.

In May 2006, during an official visit to Astana by the former US vice-president, Dick Cheney a memorandum on mutual understanding between the two governments was signed as part of the Kazakh-US economic development program. The program's budget now totals \$40m over four years and includes the following components: finance and investment, the development of human capital, boosting entrepreneurship and competitiveness, improving the investment climate and global integration.

In March 2007, the US House Committee on Foreign Affairs discussed the prospects for the development of Kazakh-US cooperation with the next Kazakh ambassador to the USA, K. Saudabayev. The meeting paid particular attention to one of President Nazarbayev's state-of-the-nation addresses and noted the significance of the further development of the strategic partnership between Kazakhstan and the US [14].

In October 2008, the former US secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice, paid her second visit to Astana and held meetings with President Nazarbayev, Prime Minister Karim Masimov, and the former minister of foreign affairs, M. Tazhin.

During these meetings she discussed the state and prospects for bilateral relations and a wide range of international and regional issues. The parties focused on the normalization of the situation in Afghanistan, the stabilization of the situation in Iraq and the solution of the Caucasian conflict.

Generally, Kazakh-US relations are now developing rapidly. There is a steady growth trend in bilateral trade: it stood at \$1.9bn in the first ten months of 2008 (exports totaled \$471.2m and imports \$1,445m) against \$1.3bn in the same period of 2006 and \$681.1m in the first ten months of 2004. This shows that bilateral trade has increased by over three times [15].

The United States is Kazakhstan's major investor. The share of US direct investment in the Kazakh economy accounts for about 23.5% of total foreign direct investment. US investment in Kazakhstan has exceeded \$15bn over the years of independence. About 400 US companies are operating in Kazakhstan [15].

The USA is now backing the diversification of routes to export energy resources from Kazakhstan. For example, the US supported the construction of the Western Kazakhstan-Western China oil pipeline and the connection of Kazakhstan to the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil pipeline.

In 2003, the two countries signed a five-year plan of military cooperation. This document covers spheres of bilateral cooperation such as countering international terrorism, developing peacekeeping forces, strengthening Kazakhstan's air defense forces, developing military infrastructure in the Caspian Sea and the Navy, establishing a military institute of foreign languages and so on.

Between 30 January and 1 February 2008 scheduled bilateral consultations were held in Astana between the defense structures of Kazakhstan and the US led by Kazakh Deputy Minister of Defense Lt-Gen B. Sembinov and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Mitchell Shivers. As a result, in February

2008, a memorandum of understanding was signed by the Kazakh Ministry of Defense and the US Department of Defense regarding a five-year plan of cooperation for 2008-2012.

In light of Kazakhstan's increasing role as regional economic leader, the USA is increasingly interested in expanding cooperation with Kazakhstan in practically all spheres of relations. Key aspects of bilateral cooperation are joint projects in the spheres of energy, economic partnership and ensuring regional stability and fighting international terrorism.

At the same time, Kazakhstan, which remains the most politically and socioeconomically stable country in the region, is an important geostrategic partner in Central Asia for the US.

In January 2009, at a meeting with US Ambassador to Kazakhstan Richard Hoagland, Speaker of the Kazakh parliament's Mazhilis Ural Mukhamedzhanov expressed the hope to preserve the continuity of the US foreign policy towards Central Asian countries after the election of Barack Obama as America's president [15].

Kazakhstan and the EU. Cooperation with the European Union is one of the major aspects of Kazakhstan's foreign policy. Prospects for and the need to develop these relations for Kazakhstan are determined by the EU's international role in the modern world. In addition, the EU is an important trade and economic partner for Kazakhstan and a major investor in its economy. Western European countries' rich experience in legislative and scientific and technical development is also of particular interest to Kazakhstan.

The chronology of Kazakhstan's relations with the EU involves singling out several stages of bilateral cooperation. The initial phase (1992-1995) was characterized as the period of the establishment of official political contacts and the formation of the contractual and legislative and institutional basis for interstate relations between the sides. The significant milestones of bilateral interaction in that time were the signing of agreements and the exchange of plenipotentiary delegations between Kazakhstan and the EU.

The logical result of cooperation between Kazakhstan and the EU in this period was the signing of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement in Brussels on 23 January 1995 during a scheduled meeting of the EU Foreign Affairs Council. This agreement was signed by President N. Nazarbayev and the General Secretary of the EU Council, Alain Juppe [16].

It is worth noting that the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement became the primary bilateral

document, aimed at developing political, economic and cultural links between Kazakhstan and the EU. The agreement created the foundation for a constructive political dialogue and an open trade and investment regime between the parties and envisaged cooperation in 27 directions: from transport to education and from energy to fighting crime.

The years that followed (1996-2000) were marked by the expansion and revitalization of relations based on earlier achieved accords. The main stress in this period was put on cooperation in the oil and gas and energy spheres and the transport and telecommunications sector and mutual trade and investment were strengthened.

At the same time, initiatives to create bilateral cooperation structures were developed in practice. In particular, on 29 April 1996, the Kazakh government set up a joint Kazakhstan-European Union cooperation committee. It should be noted that this committee has become an important political link in developing and maintaining a constructive partnership between Kazakhstan and the EU in the years that followed. Other joint institutional bodies, for example, the Cooperation Council and the Parliamentary Cooperation Committee, were also set up at a high level.

In May 1997, an EU delegation on issues of justice and internal affairs paid a visit to Kazakhstan. With the aim of bringing closer, modifying and harmonizing EU and Kazakh legislation, EU politicians proposed the creation of an advisory centre for strategic and legal issues in Kazakhstan.

The same year the basic agreement on the European Energy Charter, signed three years earlier, came into force. For Kazakhstan this document was of extraordinary significance: it guaranteed the inadmissibility of discrimination in the energy market and assisted Kazakhstan's integration into the global energy community with the observation of national trade and economic interests.

On 17-18 June 1998, a European Commission delegation visited Astana to discuss the political and organizational aspects of the implementation of the TACIS program in Kazakhstan. In addition to the adoption of national indicative programs and assistance programs, the EU drafted interstate and regional programs for partner countries such as INOGATE (assistance to Caspian-littoral countries in attracting investment in new pipelines), TRACECA (investment projects and assistance in developing a transport corridor between Europe and Central Asia), Eurocustoms (cooperation in the customs sphere) and the Eurostat (cooperation in the statistics sphere) [17].

A landmark event in this period was the enforcement of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the European Union (1 July 1999), which completed the official political formation of relations [18].

Particular attention is being paid to programs of EU technical assistance in the environmental protection and healthcare spheres. For example, Kazakhstan received financial and technical assistance to solve problems in the Aral Sea region and clear up the consequences of nuclear tests in the Semipalatinsk testing ground.

Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev's official visits to EU bodies in Brussels in June 2000 and November 2002 gave a significant impetus to the development and creation of favorable conditions for strengthening bilateral cooperation between Kazakhstan and the EU.

Since 2002, relations between Kazakhstan and the EU have entered a new level of cooperation. This period is regarded as the period of the active implementation of the fundamental provisions of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, accompanied by the EU's increasing interest in cooperation with Central Asian countries. The latest global events have signified interaction in new spheres. Joint efforts are being put into drafting new projects to assist Kazakhstan in solving the problems facing the country's domestic development.

Cooperation in the investment sphere occupies a particular place in Kazakh-EU relations. The EU member states accounted for 40% of the total foreign direct investment in Kazakhstan in 2002. European investment was attracted mainly through the transfer of major industrial enterprises to foreign firms' management and the creation of joint and subsidiary enterprises.

According to statistics, there were 1,355 enterprises with the involvement of capital from EU countries in Kazakhstan as of January 2003, and leading countries were Belgium, the United Kingdom, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands and France. European capital was mainly invested in the country's extractive sector [20].

Cooperation is dynamically developing in the oil and gas and energy spheres. When considering the structure of Kazakh exports of mineral resources, it should be stressed that the EU accounts for the bulk of them. EU countries' energy policies are based on using the existing oil pipelines that ship hydrocarbons to European oil refineries and becoming actively involved in extraction in the Caspian Sea shelf. Shell (the Netherlands), Total Fina, Schlumberger (France), ENI and Agip (Italy), British Petroleum and Lasso (UK), Repsol (Spain), Wintershall (Germany)

and Statoil (Norway) are involved in oil and gas extraction in the Caspian and Central Asian region.

In addition, Kazakh-EU cooperation in the oil sector is under way as part of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan and Odessa-Brody-Plock oil pipeline projects.

Since 2006 Kazakh-EU energy cooperation has strengthened significantly. In order to revitalize energy projects the EU's former Commissioner for Energy Andris Piebalgs paid an official visit to Kazakhstan in May 2006. In December 2006 Kazakhstan and the EU signed a memorandum on cooperation in the energy sphere. This document envisages two roadmaps on cooperation in strengthening energy security and industry, the implementation of which includes the regular exchange of information on energy issues, mutually beneficial shipment of energy resources and the development of environmentally friendly technologies [20].

Taking into the account that the EU acquired ten new members on 1 May 2004 and another two – Bulgaria and Romania – on 1 January 2007, Kazakhstan and the EU signed a protocol to the Partnership and Cooperation Protocol, which adapted the agreement to the expanded EU.

In 2006 trade continued to grow and reached \$22.7bn, with exports of \$16.53bn and imports of \$6.26bn. EU countries accounted for 36.3% of Kazakhstan's total foreign trade. In 2007 trade increased to \$27.5bn (exports of \$19.5bn and imports \$8bn) and in 2008 reached \$34.1bn (exports of \$26.9bn and imports \$7.1bn). In the first quarter 2009, trade between Kazakhstan and the EU totaled \$4.7bn, including exports of \$3.3bn and imports \$1.4bn [20].

Since 2006 Kazakhstan and the EU have been intensifying the political component of cooperation. In October 2006 the former minister of foreign affairs of Kazakhstan, K. Tokayev, paid his first official visit to EU bodies in Brussels. During these meetings the parties discussed a wide range of issues surrounding interaction between Kazakhstan and the EU, including the issues of diversification of energy supplies to EU countries; the region's energy security; interaction within the Galileo space navigation program; and the expansion of political and trade and economic cooperation.

President Nazarbayev's visit to Brussels on 4-6 December 2006 became a significant step in cooperation between Kazakhstan and the EU. The president visited the European Commission's headquarters and met the president of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso [21]. The talks resulted in the signing of a memorandum on mutual understanding in the energy sphere.

Being aware that the Partnership and Cooperation

Agreement, signed by Kazakhstan and the EU, was expected to expire in 2009, the parties agreed to raise their bilateral relations to the level of strategic partnership.

An important point in political cooperation is the involvement of Kazakh and EU leaders in meetings in the format of the EU Troika-Central Asian countries. During a meeting in Astana in March 2007 they discussed a draft EU Strategy for Central Asia in 2007-2013, which was adopted at the EU summit on 22 June 2007 under the title The European Union and Central Asia: Strategy for a New Partnership.

In turn, the EU also positively assessed President Nazarbayev's initiative to draft the special Path to Europe program in the context of Kazakh-European relations.

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Данная статья посвящена основным направлениям внешней политики РК с момента обретения независимости. В статье рассматривается как европейский, так и американский вектор внешней политики РК, эволюция сотрудничества РК с КНР и Российской Федерацией.

Бұл мақала ҚР тәуелсіздік алғаннан бергі сыртқы саясатының негізгі бағыттарына арналған. Мақалада ҚР сыртқы саясатының еуропалық және америкалық векторлары, ҚР ҚХР-мен және Ресей Федерациясымен ынтымақтастығының дамуы қарастырылады.

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ПРИОРИТЕТЫ И ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВА ЕВРОПЕЙСКОГО СОЮЗА И КАЗАХСТАНА: КРИТИЧЕСКИЙ АСПЕКТ

Межрегиональный опыт сближения Европейского Союза и Центральной Азии заслуживает внимания и критического подхода, особенно в ходе развития стратегического партнерства. Перспективы партнерства ЕС – РК рассматриваются на основе анализа основных тенденций в двусторонних отношениях, прежде всего, реализуемых программ и в торгово-экономической сфере.

1. Меняющийся контекст отношений между ЕС и ЦА.

Развитие двусторонних отношений характеризует общее направление, выраженное в понятии «новое партнерство», которое приобретает стратегическую целеустремленность ЕС и Казахстана. Несколько лет назад образное выражение бывшего Комиссара ЕС по внешним сношениям и Европейской политике соседства Б. Ферреро-Вальднер, прозвучавшее как «страны Центральной Азии – соседи [восточных] соседей» [1], быстро вошло в политическую и дипломатическую лексику. «Казахстан является важнейшим партнером для ЕС в ЦА. Мы поддерживаем демократические и экономические реформы, укрепляем сотрудничество в области энергетики, опираясь на наши хорошо развитые торговые отношения, и ищем новые пути, чтобы совместно способствовать региональной стабильности в Центральной Азии» [2].

Центральная Азия с ее богатыми природными ресурсами – нефть и газ Казахстана, Туркмении и Узбекистана, а также водные ресурсы Таджикистана – рассматривается в качестве места приложения различных международных проектов, включая европейские. Это крупные проекты по созданию сети транспортных и энергетических магистралей, например, трансконтинентальный проект «Западный Китай – Западная Европа», проекты «Север – Юг», «Северный поток», «Южный поток» и др.

Страны ЦА стремятся позиционировать собственную субъектность, вести собственную энергетическую политику по отношению к тем внешним игрокам, которые проявляют интерес к ресурсам ЦА. А ресурсы выступают провоцирующим фактором, который стимулирует внутренние и внешние процессы в регионе.

Европа формирует собственную стратегическую линию в ЦА с некоторым опасением относительно рисков в странах ЦА и в тоже время с оглядкой на крупных акторов – США, Россию и Китай. Несмотря на дефицит энергетических ресурсов, в ЕС затягивают решение о путях их транспортировки (проект «Набукко»).

Итак, «реальная политика» в регионе такова, что на фоне развития регионально значимых связей между ЕС и ЦА доминируют преимущественно прагматичные интересы. Политику ЕС по отношению к Центральной Азии я бы определила как либеральный прагматизм, а стран Центральной Азии к ЕС как «сопутствующий» прагматизм, сопровождающий утверждение их интересов. По словам Н. Назарбаева, «Казахстан готов стать «воротами» для ЕС в Центральную Азию» [3].

Со своей стороны ЕС традиционно артикулирует задачу европейцев в регионе, которая «состоит в развитии и консолидации стабильных, справедливых и открытых обществ» центрально-азиатских государств путем сотрудничества и партнерства с ними» [4].

2. Место Казахстана в центральноазиатской Стратегии ЕС: проекты и программы.

В многовекторной внешней политике Казахстана Европейский Союз наряду с Россией, Китаем и США остается важнейшим приоритетом. Интересы Казахстана определены ведущей ролью ЕС в мировой экономике и торговле, его успешной интеграционной политикой. Казахстану важ-