жөн. Аймақтық ынтымақтастықтағы «ойын тәртібі де» аймақтың даму тәртібі секілді өзгеруде. Болашаққа көзқарастары әртүрлі және өзіндік «мінездері» бар Қытай мен Жапония ұлы державалар болып табылады. АСЕАН ынтымақтастығына қол жеткізе отырып, олар эртүрлі мақсаттарды көздейді. Өздерінің егемендігін күйттейтін дамушы елдерді аймақта біріктірген АСЕАН секілді баяу қарқында ілгерлеуге мәжбүрлік жағдайына олар бейім болмауы да мүмкін [8,13-б]. АСЕАН үшін тағы бір басты маңызды сыртқы ықпалдылық – Қытай және оның артынан қандай үн қату жариялауы, оған қалай бағдар алу керектігі маңызды (мысалы, Қытай мен АСЕАН арасындағы еркін сауда жөніндегі келісімге қол қою).

АСЕАН интеграциялық ынтымақтастығы әлемнің бұл бөлігіндегі экономикалық ынтымақтастық орташа және шағын елдердің тобы қозғалысымен өрбіп келеді. АСЕАН көшбасшылығымен тұтас шығысазиаттық аймақ интеграциясы құрылысы басталды.

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* * :

В данной статье рассматриваются проблемы интеграционного развития АСЕАН. Деятельность АСЕАН за прошедшие годы можно расценивать как специфический процесс саморазвития и эволюцию ее подходов к быстро меняющейся системе международных отношений в Юго-Восточной Азии и АТР в целом. Следствием этой эволюции становится рост веса АСЕАН в международной экономической конъюнктуре и усиление ее влияния на региональную и глобальную политику.

Ф.П. Уразаева

THE ROLE OF ASEAN IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN: RESULTS AND PROSPECTS FOR COOPERATION

One of the important area of the Kazakhstan's foreign policy is cooperation with the region of Southeast Asia, where there has been a steady growth and a powerful claim to be a global player. And of course it is very important for our country to cooperate with the one of the most prominent regional organizations in the region and the world – Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which consists of 10 states.. ASEAN favorably with other regional associations of its rapid development and bright prospects. Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Association of Southeast Asian Nations – ASEAN) was established on 8th of August 1967 in Bangkok by five countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines. In 1984, Brunei joined to the organization, in 1995 - Vietnam, in 1997 - Laos and Myanmar, in 1999 – Cambodia.

It should be noted that ASEAN has achieved impressive results over the period of its existence. First of all, it refers to the economic component of Southeast Asia. The region covers an area of 4.5 million square kilometers and a population is about 560 million people, at the present stage region is characterized by significant co-production potential, a fairly high level of competitiveness, investment attraction and export oriented. The GDP of the ASEAN states is about – 1.06 trillion dollars, foreign direct investment – 53.2 billion dollars, the foreign trade – 1.4 trillion U.S. dollars, including exports – 765 000 000 000.

Over the years, ASEAN has gained a solid legal base. The Parties shall endeavor to adhere strictly to the purposes and principles of interaction inherent in the basic document of association – the Treaty of

^{1.} *Ауган М.* Эволюция международных отношений в Восточной Азии. – Алматы: «Қазақ университеті», 2010. – 290 с.

^{2.} *Малетин П.П.* ACEAH: три десятилетия внешней политики (1969-1997 гг.): учебное пособие (часть II). – М., МГИМО, 1997.

Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia from 1976. Legally formalized the establishment of the South-East Asia two major zones – Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality Zone and free of nuclear weapons.

Today, ASEAN is an important contribution to the formation of a generally stable and adequate current challenges of foreign policy architecture of the region. Since its union members of the alliance managed to avoid direct internecine armed conflict, even though its creation took place in difficult conditions.

It is known that during the Cold War, Southeast Asian countries were divided on ideological grounds. However, after joining a group of Vietnam question of "bloc confrontation" with the agenda of the region was virtually unchecked.

Balanced and responsible approach in relation to topical issues of regional and global foreign policy, demonstrated by in recent years has allowed the countries of South-East Asia to achieve significant success in the international arena. ASEAN has consistently expands the number of its dialogue partners, effectively uses the mechanism of the ASEAN Regional Forum on security, is actively developing cooperation in the ASEAN 3 (China, Japan, South Korea) and through the East Asia Summit (ASEAN 3 Australia, New Zealand and India), successfully participates in several international forums, especially Summit Asia – Europe.

In the Asia-Pacific region is in the process of regional economic integration, which can safely challenge Europe and the North American free trade zone. In terms of failures in the way of globalization, regional integration receives a new impetus. As we have noted one of the reasons why Kazakhstan is interested in developing relations with Asia Pacific countries, is his desire to join the integration processes in the region. If other kinds of relations with the countries of the region assumed in the main bilateral cooperation, it is part of the strategy of Kazakhstan requires treatment, as all countries of the region and to each separately, in order to obtain consent to participate in integration associations in the region. More successful integration organizations of the region are – ASEAN, APEC, APEC, ARF, ASEM, KTES. Each of them includes not only the nations of Southeast Asia, but at times, and European countries, as well as, Canada and the USA. (1) they arose at different times, their effectiveness varies, and the levels of economic and political development of their member states is very often different. In the Pacific, crossed the geopolitical and geo-economic interests of powerful political and economic terms, powers like the U.S., Russia, Japan and China. The remaining states are in the region have fewer territorial size

and political influence, for the time being, economic strength. Incurred integrational organizations in the region were initially politically motivated – as a reaction to external threat in the face as the imperialist powers - the U.S., Japan and Communist China, the USSR, Vietnam. As their evolution, they have gradually turned into a factor of economic integration, and from this point of view, it becomes attractive to other nations. While political issues are not overshadowed by the activities of organizations. In different periods of their existence in these various processes taking place, which was associated with features of both internal political and economic development of the states, and the overall international situation. In addition, certain countries in different periods, maintaining relationships with groups that pursued certain goals. Currently, the region is experiencing the interesting phenomena associated with the peculiarities of the global process of internationalization, globalization and the predominance of economic interests over the political. All of this can be useful for Kazakhstan as it passes the period of formation as an open democratic society and joining the world community in that capacity. Kazakhstan is also involved in varying degrees of integration processes as the CIS, the CAC, the Customs Union, along with former Soviet republics, is developing relations with the European Union is a member of the Organization of Islamic States and the experience of integration structures in the region could prove useful to him. Ability to attract investments from these countries have significantly improved the situation in our republic, which in economic terms, is almost independent of external inflows (investments, loans and other assistance). Therefore the government of Kazakhstan has set one of the objectives of foreign policy strategy in the Asia-Pacific introduction to the integration processes. Analyses of the integration groupings in the Asia-Pacific region shows that participation in them must meet the following criteria: geographic location in any part of the Pacific Ocean, a high level of economic development (in the absence of geographical feature), some political influence in the world, interest (political or economic-profitable investment, the market or source of raw material) of the region in developing relations with this or that state. Membership in a particular economic group is accompanied by the receipt of certain benefits in trade practices, and significant investment inflows into the economy. What are the prospects of our country in the Pacific region? Of course, the parameters of the involvement of Kazakhstan in the global economy cannot be compared with the Pacific states, especially with Japan, and focus on economic processes, the rate of economic de-

velopment, it is not any comparison with countries in Asia Pacific. However, taking into account that they once started, as well as Kazakhstan, even having a negative balance, it was a strategic decision to study the possibility of initiation of integration processes in the region. During the visit of President Nursultan Nazarbayev in the Asia-Pacific countries he included in the terms of the issues to discuss the prospect of accession of Kazakhstan to the integration processes in the region. In 1995, our President N. Nazarbayev paid an official visit to Indonesia. The outcome of the visit was the proclamation of Indonesia's priority partner in Southeast Asia, through which can result in direct cooperation with ASEAN and APEC. Kazakhstan expressed its desire to be involved in the trade and economic developments in South East Asia and the international podium. In particular, it was made in the speech of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of RK K. Tokaev at the UN. He identified a need to justify the presence of geo-economic trends in the global economy, which is part and Kazakhstan.

President of the Indonesia Suharto expressed his readiness to hold consultations with the leaders of ASEAN countries to help us to get the status of observer. In ASEAN, too, reacted positively to our offer of the mission and mediation between ASEAN and the Organization for Economic Cooperation.

During the visit of President Nursultan Nazarbayev to Malaysia and Singapore in 1996, also stressed that our country would like to join the integration processes in the region. Namely, Kazakhstan would like to obtain observer status in ASEAN and APEC. As a result, Kazakhstan has enlisted support from Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, China, South Korea. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic pointed out that the preparatory phase for the development of this process must be on a legal basis, to revive trade and economic ties with countries in Southeast Asia, open air links with them. (2). This issue was announced and during a speech in front of the head of state for foreign diplomatic corps and representatives of international organizations accredited in Almaty (24/10/96). Nazarbayev said that it is very important for Kazakhstan to have relations with the countries of Asia, which is a priority of our foreign policy. Kazakhstan, as the Asian nation, expects to take its rightful place in the Asian market.

In July 1997, the Kazakh Foreign Minister Tokayev announced his intention to step up its policy of Kazakhstan in the Asia-Pacific region. In an interview with Interfax, he noted that recently the region demonstrates outstanding achievements in its development. Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev has sent the heads of member states of ASEAN and APEC Economic Forum official letters requesting assistance in this matter.(3)

Foreign Policy in the Asia-Pacific region RK was discussed at the board meeting of the MFA (06/30/97). It was noted that greater efforts should be directed to the connection of Kazakhstan "in the integration processes in the Asia-Pacific region, so the republic can get access to the rapidly developing markets of new technologies and industrial products." In this regard, it was necessary to develop a set of activities under the general concept of Kazakhstan's foreign policy to enhance political, economic and cultural cooperation with countries in Asia Pacific (4).

Prior to the crisis region, predicted a great future. Declared the twenty-first century the century of the Pacific Ocean. The crisis that engulfed the region had not only economic, political and social consequences, the question was posed by the efficiency of integration structures in the region. However, integration mechanisms, the turned-Pacific countries, have helped them raise the region's economy.

Despite the impact of the Asian financial crisis, Kazakhstan's leadership did not abandon the intent to connect to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (10).

ASEAN Secretary-General Ong Keng Yong at the meeting in Jakarta with the Ambassador of Kazakhstan, Muhtar Tleuberdi in August 2006, noted the increasing prestige of our country in the world and praised Kazakhstan's efforts to advance the process of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA). Ong Keng Yong said that ASEAN countries consider Kazakhstan as a potential strategic partner in Central Asia, and expressed support for the intent of the republic on the connection to the work of the ASEAN Regional Forum on Security (ARF). He welcomed the initiative of N. Nazarbayev to create a Union of Central Asian states and noted that the integration in the framework of the formation of open broad prospects for development of the region.

The parties agreed to make joint efforts to promote regional cooperation and establish the political dialogue, "ASEAN + Central Asia." To persuade Wilfrid Vilakorta, Deputy Secretary General of ASEAN, "we are interested in establishing a fruitful cooperation with Kazakhstan in political and economic spheres and are willing to consider and support coming from the country's foreign policy initiatives for inter-regional cooperation. "The Board ASEAN closely monitoring the situation in the CIS and Central Asia, in particular, and objectively observes regional leadership of Kazakhstan, showing remarkable results in reforming the economy, finan-

cial, social and other areas, said an international official. According to him, pleased that, along with stable economic growth in Kazakhstan generates very constructive foreign policy initiatives of regional and international scale. Therefore, said the Deputy Secretary General, ASEAN is ready to consider any proposal by Kazakhstan to establish cooperation and does not exclude the occurrence of the republic in the international organization.

Prospects for cooperation: Kazakhstan has repeatedly advocated the intensification of cooperation with ASEAN until the full membership. This is quite a natural phenomenon. Kazakhstan's membership in ASEAN will contribute to further growth of the Republic and its geographical expansion of economic ties, as a consequence of the rise and trade with ASEAN countries, so – will replenish the state budget. Taking into account the successful experience of receiving dividends from Beijing's cooperation with ASEAN, as in the period from 1999 to 2002. China's trade with ASEAN countries grew on average by 15% per year, and after signing the 2002 Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between China and ASEAN trade between the two sides increased with an annual growth rate of 42.8%. Astana realized that can though with less success trying to repeat the project ASEAN +1 (ASEAN + China). The Forum, which took place in Astana, the ASEAN leaders came to a unanimous decision to establish a free trade zone with China. As a result, 4 November 2002, China and ASEAN leaders signed a framework agreement on comprehensive regional cooperation, which serves as the legal basis for the creation called trade zone between China and ASE-AN. However, according to examinations conducted under a free trade only China's exports to the countries of ASEAN will increase by 55%, while exports of ASEAN countries to China increase by 45%. The zone will cover an estimated 1.7 billion consumers and trade in it will be about 3 trillion U.S. dollars. And it will be the world's largest regional bloc of developing countries. At the same time, the results exceeded all expectations. Today we can say that China has made virtually the entire South-East Asia in his studio and at the same time market.

Over the last decade of XX century China's trade volume with countries in Southeast Asia increased by 5 times and continues to grow. Last year alone it rised by 40%. A GDP itself the Middle Kingdom for the past 10 years has doubled, to nearly \$ 1.3 billion. At the same time China takes precedence over their neighbors in terms of investment. For example, Singapore has lost, according to experts, more than 42 thousand jobs. According to a joint program be-

tween China and ASEAN "Early Harvest" for the period from January 2005 to 2006, tariffs on 600 kinds of agricultural products in trade between China and ASEAN was reduced to zero percent. Thus, the creation super economic area is already underway and sounded Kazakhstan's intention, as a neighbor of China in Central Asia to strengthen cooperation with ASEAN sounds quite plausible. Joining the ranks of ASEAN, Kazakhstan gets an opportunity to become an equal player in the trade and economic field in Southeast Asia. Confirmation of a trade zone with preferential agreements are to create ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), ASEAN Investment Area (AIA) and the Industrial Cooperation Scheme (AIKO).In the framework of a free trade zone, the following work packages:

- measures to accelerate the processes of harmonization of tariff nomenclature, customs valuation;
- Establishment of the green passage, system of simplified customs procedures;
 - harmonization of product standards.

In this regard, Kazakhstan has enough opportunities to realize their potential, and able not only to bring the republic to "New Horizons", but also to strengthen its position in Southeast Asia. Ready to support Kazakhstan in the decision to become a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is Thailand. However, this support is by no means gratuitous. To date, there is a tendency to rivalry of China and Southeast Asia among themselves and for market penetration in Kazakhstan. And in this aspect of ASEAN could serve as a useful tool, based on which would be more active participation in the economy of our country. For example, the total foreign trade turnover of Kazakhstan is more than \$ 15 billion, of which the share of Thailand accounts for only \$ 20 million, less than 1%. Meanwhile, mutual cooperation potential is huge, with a wide range of industries - from agriculture to electronics market. Thailand is interested in opening new markets for manufactures in developing countries. In Kazakhstan, Thailand attracted to oil and gas and mining industries, food and consumer goods, agro-processing and construction – the widest range of investments. The big obstacle to cooperation is the range of distance between us, so now there is talk of establishing regular flights between the capitals of two states. During the state visit of President Nursultan Nazarbayev to the Philippines in November 2003 was also touched upon the cooperation of Kazakhstan and ASEAN. Referring to the President of the Philippines, he expressed gratitude for the fact that the Philippines supports the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) and will be meeting in an ob-

server status. Also, "we are grateful for the fact that the Philippines will contribute to our observer status in ASEAN and in the negotiations on Kazakhstan's accession to the WTO," said President Nazarbayev. In discussing international problems Nazarbayev, according to a press release, praised the contribution of Malaysia to the fight against terrorism at the regional and international level. During the talks the President of Kazakhstan also expressed confidence that the first state visit of King of Malaysia to make a significant contribution to deepening the bilateral dialogue. Nazarbayev according to a press release the general trends in the development of Kazakhstan and Malaysia. He particularly stressed that Kazakhstan and Malaysia is a multi-states. The head of Kazakhstan informed the King of Malaysia about congress of world and traditional religions which hold in September in Astana. Kazakhstan's President also noted that the history of Astana is comparable to the process of creating a new administrative center of Malaysia – Putrajaya. Hand, according to a press release, also discussed the prospects of trade and economic cooperation, and noted that "the potential in this area has not been fully realized." Turnover of Kazakhstan and Malaysia, according to the Kazakh Ministry of Foreign Affairs, January-July 2003 amounted to \$9.6 million, of which exports of Kazakhstan – \$ 1.3 million, imports – \$ 8.3 million in 2002 these figures were \$12, 8 million, \$2.6 million and \$10.2 million. Another positive aspect in the way of Kazakhstan in the ASEAN meeting was former Secretary of State Kanat Imangali Tasmagambetov and the Philippines Ambassador to the Russian Federation Ernesto Llamas Vilyarika in November 2004. Ambassador of the Philippines gave the Secretary of State on behalf of President of the Philippines Gloria Macapagal Arroyo's credentials. This visit was a continuation of the Ambassador of the Philippines Co-operation Dialogue, founded by a meeting of two presidents, first held on November 10-12, 2003. Ernesto Llamas Vilyarika noted that the Republic of the Philippines supports the efforts of Kazakhstan to become a member of the Regional Forum, ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) Security (XRD) and will process the entry as required. In addition, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo reiterated its support for Kazakhstan in the Philippines RFA, and in the process of joining the World Trade Organization. In turn, President of Kazakhstan welcomed the desire of the Philippines to connect to the work of the Organization of Islamic Conference as an observer. "We regard Kazakhstan as a window to the Central region," - he said. Currently being considered is the Kazakh draft agreement on cooperation in culture, education, sports, media and

information technology. Taking into account the fact that many former Soviet republics are mostly focused on the countries of the West, this "progress" of Kazakhstan in the direction of ASEAN is timely. At sufficiently pragmatic to continue, it may not only contribute to the replenishment of foreign baggage, but also significantly strengthen the economic growth of the country.

It is also important for Kazakhstan that Vietnam being a member of the CICA Conference and ASE-AN, is ready to act as a bridge, which will promote establishment and strengthening of cooperation between ASEAN and RK for the sake of peace, stability and development both in the Asian region and in the world. Priority spheres of cooperation between RK and ASEAN, which should be strengthened in the nearest time, are: economic cooperation, environmental protection, countering new political and military threats, nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, struggle against terrorism and drug trafficking.

Vietnam welcomes and supports Kazakhstan in further strengthening of cooperation with ASEAN and with each country of the region. First of all, the two countries can establish cooperation relations in priority spheres for Kazakhstan – such as energy, food safety, struggle against terrorism.(6)

Kazakhstan also hope that Japan, as an authoritative member state, will support our accession to the structures of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (7).

Summering up over 20 years, it's safe to say that the foreign policy, led by President Nursultan Nazarbayev, was extremely fruitful and successful. But foreign policy is not static, it is oriented to the future. In the framework of further implementation of the emphasis on the transition to a multi-layered and multi-dimensional foreign policy. That is the perspective direction of development of Kazakhstan's diplomacy for the benefit of state properties ¬ and every citizen.

^{1.} Жукеев Т.Т. Система Азиатско-Тихоокеанского экономического сотрудничества и перспективы участия в ее деятельности Казахстана. В кн. Актуальные вопросы внешней политики... – С. 146; Абдрахманов К.К. Ассоциация стран Юго-Восточной Азии (АСЕАН): опыт регионального сотрудничества. В кн. Актуальные проблемы... – С. 321.

^{2.} Дипломатический курьер. – 1996. – №3. – С. 40.

^{3.} Панорама, № 27, 11 июля. – 1997.

^{4.} Дипломатический курьер. – 1997. – №3. – С.74.

^{5.} Токаев К. Практические аспекты внешней политики Казахстана на современном этапе / Современный Казахстан. Экономика, политика, общество. — Алматы, 1997. — С. 1. — С. 337.

- 6. «Вьетнам рассматривает Казахстан как важного партнера в Центральной Азии Президент СРВ Чыонг Тан Шанг», http://www.quorum.kz/ab/news/vlast/17102011141916
- 7. «Казахстан рассчитывает на поддержку Японии в вопросе вступления в структуры ACEAH», http://www.zakon.kz/180880-kazakhstan-rasschityvaet-na-podderzhku.html

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Данная статья рассматривает роль ACEAH (Ассоциация Стран Юго-Восточной Азии) во внешнеполитических интересах Республики Казахстан, итоги за 20 лет и перспективы сотрудничества.

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Бұл мақалада Батыс-Шығыс Азия мемлекеттері бірлестігінің (АСЕАН) Қазақстанның сыртқы саясатындағы рөлі мен маңызы және 20 жыл көлеміндегі қатынастардың нәтижесі қарастырылған.

Cho Eun-Jeong

"NEW ASIA" INITIATIVE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND ASIAN VECTOR OF DIPLOMACY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

Increasing the role of Asia in international community and new initiative of the president Lee Myung-bak 's "New Asia".

Many countries in the world, which participate in international market in any ways, including the U.S., which was one of the main reasons of the world financial crisis, have been taught two tasks from this situation. Firstly, the economic structure of modern world can not be moved by the power of only one country or one regional alliance. As mentioned above, in the world, where globalization takes a part, all countries are strongly connected to each other either by political or economic reasons, and from this point of view, we can assume that without broad international cooperation it is impossible to solve modern international problems. Moreover, the opening of the summit of "G20" in Pittsburgh, USA, where leaders of 20 countries assembled and agreed to cooperate efficiently in order to overcome international financial crisis, is counted as a proper event and a brave step as well. The importance of this event can be seen as the fact that, before this event the system of solving global issues relied on the highly-developed countries, which were the members of "G7", whereas now this situation has been changed. Consequently, more and more countries in the world are taking a part in solving international issues now. Furthermore, non G20 member countries also support this system, because due to G20, the balance of the power in international arena is more provided by increasing authority and the impact of the main developing countries of "G20", which are not included in "G7". Many experts assume, that the problem of abnormal currency turnover because of the lack of the balance between exorbitant deficit of USA and profit of China in mercantile balance, affected the present financial crisis. Countries-participants on summit in Pittsburgh also agreed, that in order to solve the problem with "global imbalance"[1], the country that has a deficit of current balance must decrease its deficit by fortifying the financial health and increasing the private savings, and the country that has a profit must increase both the usage of its in-country market and investment.

Moreover, it has been said, that it is necessary to establish new economical alliance in North-East Asia, which has been stopped lately, because of the diverse internal and external problems. From this point of view, establishing a huge basis of regional cooperation might become the reply to the second or third global financial crisis, which can occur in a severe competition of the world. However, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that former president of Japan, Hatoyama Yukio, when he has come to the power in 2009, also made a big accent on strengthening the relations between countries of East Asia. Moreover, not only Japanese experts, but also foreign experts assume this policy of new administration as unexpectable. Definitely, we should not expect that Japan, which has an extraordinary important historical relations with USA, can wholly become an independent from the alliance of USA and Japan. But we can say that, promoting such policy, Japan wants to supply its national interests in the war for hegemony in the field between the U.S. which is a traditional hegemonic power in this region and China, which desires to get back to former glory in Northeast Asia. Furthermore, Japan with long-term and balanced regional cooperation partially wants to broad its political and economic power throughout the North-East Asia and the globe wholly. On East-Asian economic summit, that was held in Seoul under the name of the World Economic Forum in June last year, par-