



**SELINUS UNIVERSITY**  
OF SCIENCES AND LITERATURE

**DIPLOMACY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN IN THE  
CONTEXT OF EURASIAN INTEGRATION  
(HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE)**

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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby confirm that I am the sole author of this Thesis and that its contents are only the results of my readings and research I have done.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

**EAEU** (EurAsEC) – Eurasian Economic Union

**EEC** - Eurasian Economic Commission

**KAZISS** - Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies

**CSTO** – Collective Security Treaty Organization

**CICA** - Conference on Interaction and Confidence-building Measures in Asia

**ECO** – Economic Cooperation Organization

**SCO** – Shanghai Organization for Cooperation

**UN** – United Nations

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## INTRODUCTION

Last year the Republic of Kazakhstan celebrated its 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of independence. Over this period Kazakhstan has strengthened its position in the international relations, has established itself as a peaceful and open state, a reliable partner in global and regional affairs. Kazakhstan implements a multi-vectoral, pragmatic and proactive foreign policy, makes a significant contribution to the formation and implementation of a global and regional agenda in the field of security, cooperation and development. For many years, Kazakhstan has managed to achieve success not only in building its own statehood, but also to develop an effective model of foreign policy based on pragmatism and constructivism. At the same time, the main attention is paid to the defense of national interests, constructive promotion of foreign policy and foreign economic priorities. European direction, along with Russian, Chinese and American, was initially defined as a key one. In the main foreign policy vectors, the positions of Kazakhstan in the global world are affirmed, it maintains smooth and stable relations with neighboring countries but also with European states as well. The concept of “soft power” is very relevant than ever. The foreign policy doctrine of Kazakhstan from the very beginning was aimed at creating a favorable environment for internal development, for the needs of the economy in terms of providing investment resources. In Kazakhstan, the foreign policy sphere has not only taken place as a separate sector of public life, but is also the main factor in strengthening Kazakhstan as a regional power.

Over the years of independent development, foreign policy has gained conceptual design and form in the process of evolution of Kazakhstan's society, state approaches to foreign policy issues and further expansion of international relations. The formation of the doctrine of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the field of international relations was due to the creation of institutional conditions and the solution of urgent problems in foreign policy. The multi-vector policy, which has become the conceptual basis of Kazakhstan's foreign policy doctrine, has contributed to the expansion of international relations, the solution of pressing problems facing the country, both at the dawn of independence and in the process of strengthening statehood. The evolution of a multi-vector policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century allowed Kazakhstan to turn from a subject of world politics into an actor of international relations on a regional scale. A balanced, realistically structured course of foreign and domestic policy pursued by the Head of State allows Kazakhstan to be a so-called “island of stability” in the Central Asian region.

Since the collapse of the USSR and the formation of new independent states, Kazakhstan has identified the most distant prospects for the development of the unification of the former Soviet republics on a fundamentally new basis and in new formats. The Republic consistently defends the idea of integration and is at the center of all integration processes in the post-Soviet space. It is the foreign policy activity of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Central Asia that allows it to play the role of a regional actor leading in the arena of interstate relations in the region.

**Key words:** Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan, public diplomacy, Eurasian integration, Central Asia

## SCIENTIFIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Despite the fact that the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan is a sufficiently studied problem, a comprehensive study, systematization of the vision and analysis of the entire process of formation of the foreign policy doctrine in the dynamics of socio-political processes in a considerable time span, covering a thirty-years period since the country gained independence, remain unrealized in full. Historical science has not yet attempted to analyze the factors influencing the formation of the foreign policy doctrine of the Republic. Many works on the problems of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan highlight certain aspects of the country's activities in the international arena on a horizontal, i.e. geographical, sectoral orientation. There is a shortage of works analyzing the foreign policy activity of Kazakhstan in theoretical terms and in a vertical cross-section, i.e. revealing the basic logic, trend and prospects for the formation and implementation of foreign policy. Moreover, the foreign policy of the state is a mobile area of socio-political life, where new events occur almost every day, which need to be analyzed and taken into account both theoretically and practically. All this speaks in favor of the scientific relevance of the topic under consideration, conducting a comprehensive study of the process of formation of the foreign policy doctrine of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The key trends in the development of international relations today are regionalization and integration. In conditions of permanent conflict and international tension, the issue of increasing mutual trust – both between states remains acute and is becoming increasingly relevant. At the same time, it

becomes obvious the need to develop public diplomacy, which can not only bring together the “official” positions of states, but also find common ground through the formation of a positive perception of neighboring countries. The main task of this approach is to create a value-based communicative space that will contribute to development of economic and good-neighborly relations [1].

Recently, the topic of public diplomacy has begun to rise again in the Kazakhstan discourse and attract the attention of scientists and various experts. It is characteristic that Kazakhstani specialists develop not only a reflex view of foreign experience public diplomacy, but also seek to establish their own understanding of new trends in international cooperation. As a virtue of public diplomacy, they point to its ability to "affect all spheres of life and be flexible depending on national interests and the interests of partners.

Together with the global crisis phenomena, the consistent and successful transformation of the Eurasian region based on market economic principles continues with the preservation of political independence and the established cultural identity of sovereign states. If we talk about the foreign policy of Kazakhstan, one of its key directions is the Eurasian integration.

Thus, according to the British researcher of Central Asia Sh. Akiner, flexibility in Kazakhstan’s foreign policy is a quality which together with other approaches, determines today’s multi-vectoral foreign policy direction. It lends itself to adjustment, change depending on external factors of influence and on the external environment. The effectiveness of foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan

correlates with the ability of the leadership to compromise - this is the “foundation on which the foreign policy of Kazakhstan is built” [2]. Prospects for the development and practical application of public diplomacy in Eurasian region depend on two fundamentally important circumstances: firstly, on expanding the substantive dialogue, including more specific issues of Eurasian integration convergence, and, secondly, on the creation of a system of a multilateral dialogue platforms with the participation of state and non-state actors not only of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) countries, but also of their regional environment. Kazakhstan serves as a “bridge” of communication between Asia and Europe, between the great cultures of the West and the East [64]. The geopolitical concept of building “bridges” is actively used in modern international politics of Kazakhstan. Thus, one of the directions of the EU Strategy for Central Asia was called “Building Bridges: Intercultural Dialogue”. In addition, Kazakhstan is defined as a dialogue platform for Central Asia, due its factor of the diversity of cultures, religions and centuries-old traditions of peace and tolerance in Central Asia [2].

**Object of this research** is evaluation of the role of the Republic of Kazakhstan taking into account multi-vectoral approach in its foreign policy and development of country’s initiatives in the frame of Eurasian integration.

**Subject of the research** is foreign policy mechanisms of the Republic of Kazakhstan and process of Eurasian integration.

**Chronological frames:** 1991 - present

**The main aim of the dissertation** is to evaluate the main trends in the development of foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan through the prism of its public diplomacy in the context of Eurasian integration.

**From this perspective the author determined the following purposes of the thesis:**

1. To analyze the process of formation and development of the foreign policy of Kazakhstan since independence and to determine the main results and priorities.
2. To evaluate a foreign policy concept of Kazakhstan and to identify characteristics, main directions of the foreign policy of Kazakhstan
3. To determine the role of Kazakhstan in the Eurasian integration
4. To analyze results of Eurasian integration in the context of foreign policy of Kazakhstan
5. To present a forecast on future development of foreign policy of Kazakhstan with the focus on public diplomacy in the region of Eurasia

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The theoretical and methodological basis of the research was the work in the field of theory and methodology of the foundations of public diplomacy in general. Theoretical developments of the basic concepts of “soft power”, the country's foreign policy was used. The author was guided by general methodological principles that allowed a scientific and objective approach to the study of the tasks, including methods of a systematic approach, comparative historical analysis,

synthesis and analysis of empirical research. Theoretical analysis and understanding of the country's foreign policy priorities were carried out in accordance with the rules of methodology and logic of scientific cognition of integrational and economic processes.

### **Literature review**

Despite the fact that there are lots of talks and writing about multi-vectoral nature of the foreign policy of Kazakhstan in official state documents, few scientific papers have been published which would include study on foreign policy in terms its role in public diplomacy as a phenomenon.

The exception is the articles of M.T. Laumulin, such as "The multi-vector nature of Kazakhstan's foreign policy - there are more advantages and disadvantages" and "The triumph of multi-vector: Kazakhstan has won the fight for reputation." The problem of multi-vector is touched upon in the works of J.U. Ibrashev, B.K., Sultanov and M.S. Gubaidullina. Based on the individual comments of politicians, experts and researchers on the problems of foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, on the analysis of the realities of foreign policy activities of other post-Soviet states that have chosen the principle of multi-vector, it can be assumed that multi-vector means an independent, independent, free foreign policy of a particular country, the distinctive feature of which is a balanced and even relationship at the same time with various important centers of power and major world and regional players. The multi-vector policy demonstrates the greatest influence of external factors on the process of forming the foreign policy of a single country. A one-time

and even relationship with important centers of power and the main world and regional players requires very subtle and flexible maneuvering, skillful play. The practice of recent years shows that not all states in the post-Soviet space have managed to defend and develop the principle of multi-vector foreign policy. The multi-vector foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan is based on taking into account the geopolitical realities around the young independent state, covering both the physical, geographical, spatial parameters of the location of the country and internal, external threats to the existence of the state, a complex, sometimes confusing combination of interests and actions of external forces. Kazakhstan and its foreign policy are dominated by the geopolitical characteristics of the region of its location, brought to romanticism in world geopolitical thought. Mackinder also put forward the idea of an axial region of world politics, the so-called "heartland", which he located in the inner space of Eurasia. Later, the founders of the idea of Eurasianism (N. Trubetskoy, L. Karsavin, L. Gumilev). They also noted the special position of the continental part of Eurasia as organically bound by the history, geography and culture of the unity of the peoples inhabiting this space.

In this regard, if we talk about **novelty** of this thesis, the author's contributions is that this research is a complex of analysis of multi-vectoral foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan through the prism of public diplomacy considering its role in the process of Eurasian integration.

## **Theoretical and practical significance of the research**

The theoretical and practical significance of the study is determined by the relevance and the possibility of using the generalizations and conclusions obtained for applied purposes. Theoretically grounded prognostic recommendations in the field of public diplomacy contribute to the optimization of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The research materials can be used in scientific papers, for reading general and special courses in the specialty international relations, as well as during the professional development of practitioners, when developing appropriate teaching aids.

## **CHAPTER I. DIPLOMACY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN.**

### **MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY SINCE INDEPENDENCE**

#### **1. The history of the formation of foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan**

Kazakhstan is located in the center of the Eurasian continent — in a region where the interests of the largest foreign states collide. Having become an equal member of the world community in 1991, Kazakhstan was faced with the need to form its foreign policy and establish relations with other states. The Republic of Kazakhstan had to build its foreign policy strategy in the light of such large-scale phenomena as globalization processes, a new stage in the division of spheres of influence (as a result of the collapse of the USSR), the redistribution of the emerging promising economic markets. These factors are directly related to the formation of Kazakhstan's foreign policy strategy, the distinctive feature of which is multi-vector. The multi-vector foreign policy course was designed to denote an independent, unbiased and free in its choice foreign policy of the young state. Behind the multi-vector nature lies the balancing between various geopolitical centers of power that influenced Kazakhstan and Central Asia as a whole. Currently, the correctness of the chosen course is confirmed.

As the President of the country Nursultan Nazarbayev noted at the time, "Kazakhstan, due to its geopolitical position and economic potential, has no right to focus on narrow regional problems. It would be incomprehensible not only in our country, but also abroad. The future of Kazakhstan is in Asia, Europe, the East and

the West. Mutual understanding between East and West is based on knowledge of each other's peculiarities and contains huge opportunities that will be turned to the benefit of our countries and peoples" [65]

One of the first and very significant steps of Kazakhstan, which is joining the international community as a new sovereign state, was the voluntary renunciation of the possession of strategic nuclear potential. After the signing of the Memorandum between Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus in Moscow in March 1992 and after the conclusion of the Lisbon Protocol in May 1992, which legally confirmed the provisions of the Memorandum, the Republic of Kazakhstan became a nuclear-free State [3].

The difficult decision to abandon the sonorous and somewhat promising status of a "nuclear power" demonstrated the desire of the Kazakh leadership to follow a mature and responsible foreign policy course, which later found expression in the concept of "multi-vector".

The fundamental principles of conducting the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan are equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual trust, rejection of actions that violate international norms and law. Among the main methods of conducting interstate relations are balance, pragmatism, balance and constructivism.

The leadership of Kazakhstan showed a balanced approach to the further development of events in the post-Soviet space, preventing the split of the former

USSR into Slavic and Turkic unions, when the Turkmen side proposed to create a confederation of Central Asian states in response to the decisions in Belovezhskaya Pushcha.

On December 12, 1991, at the consultative meeting of the heads of Central Asian States in Ashgabat, the Presidents of Kazakhstan N.Nazarbayev, Kyrgyzstan A.Akayev, Tajikistan R. Nabiyeu, Turkmenistan S.Niyazov, Uzbekistan I.Karimov stated the need to coordinate efforts to form the Commonwealth of Independent States. At the same time, attention was drawn to the following. The Commonwealth cannot be created on ethnic, confessional or any other basis that violates human and peoples' rights; the CIS recognizes and respects the territorial integrity and inviolability of existing borders; The Central Asian states are ready to become equal founders of the CIS.

On December 21, Almaty hosted a summit of the heads of eleven independent states, formerly part of the former USSR, who signed the Almaty Declaration on the Establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States. With the formation of the CIS, the USSR actually ceased to exist.

Kazakhstan, as an independent, full-fledged actor of international relations, has faced absolutely new problems for itself, first of all, the need to conduct its own foreign policy, create a foreign policy and defense concept, form a national security system, develop a strategy for foreign economic activity, etc. Nevertheless, the concept of foreign policy was developed in a fairly short time, and then other fundamental documents were developed [63].

Taking into account the geopolitical situation, the ethnological and composition of the population, the level of economic development, military construction, it was recognized that the dominant means in ensuring the security of Kazakhstan are not military means, but political, and, above all, reasonable, balanced diplomacy.

At the same time, it was necessary to keep in mind that the country does not have direct access to the open sea and is remote from the main trade routes, which negatively affects the development of foreign economic relations.

Taking into account the above, at the first stage of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the main directions were the following:

- Preservation of the common economic and cultural and humanitarian space within the CIS;
- Entering through the UN, OSCE and other international organizations into modern international relations and processes, familiarizing with the achievements of world civilization in political, economic, social, humanitarian, scientific, educational fields, on the other hand, connecting the world community to the problems of the transition stage of Kazakhstan's society from administrative-planned to free, market relations and providing the necessary assistance and support;
- in connection with the rejection of the nuclear status of acquisition of nuclear powers — the US, Russia, UK, China — guarantees the safety of Kazakhstan's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, inviolability of borders;

— accession to the main international organization, the international Monetary Fund, the world Bank, the European Bank for reconstruction and development, in order to attract funding for the reform of the domestic economy;

- cooperation on a bilateral basis. At the same time, priority was given to establishing and developing cooperation with neighboring countries - Russia, China, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan.

Cooperation with the UN, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) has become an important aspect of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO).

On May 26, 1995, the last nuclear charge was removed from the territory of Kazakhstan. But before that, in December 1994, a Memorandum on security guarantees was signed in Budapest in connection with the accession of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. In accordance with this document, the United Kingdom, Russia, and the United States reaffirmed “their commitment to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan and that none of their weapons will ever be used against the Republic of Kazakhstan, except in self-defense.”

From the very first days, our state has paid great attention to the development of bilateral relations with foreign countries. In 1992, Kazakh embassies were opened in Turkey, the USA, and China. On January 9, 1993, the Head of State signed decrees

on the opening of embassies in Germany, Iran, France, as well as in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

By 1995, the Republic of Kazakhstan was recognized by 111 countries of the world, with 92 of them diplomatic relations were established. 18 Kazakh embassies were opened abroad, in turn, 36 foreign embassies and missions, 9 representative offices of international and national organizations were established in the capital of Kazakhstan.

The development of bilateral relations with neighboring states — Russia, China, Central Asian states, as well as with CIS member countries — has occupied and continues to occupy a priority place in Kazakhstan's foreign policy [4].

The leadership of Kazakhstan signed Friendship and Cooperation Agreements with Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, with which our country is connected not only by common borders, but also by established economic ties, historical and cultural-ethnic community.

The signing of the Collective Security Treaty on the initiative of Kazakhstan and Russia on January 15, 1992 in Tashkent by the heads of the five CIS countries was of great importance for the creation of a collective security system in the post-Soviet space. The States parties to this treaty reaffirmed the obligation to refrain from the use of force or the threat of force in interstate relations and pledged to resolve all differences among themselves and with other States by peaceful means. At the same

time, the provision that if “one of the participating States is subjected to aggression by any State or group of States, it will be considered as aggression against all States parties to this Treaty” was of fundamental importance.

In December 1993, the CIS heads of State signed a Memorandum of Cooperation on the protection of external borders in Ashgabat.

One of the priorities of Kazakhstan's foreign policy is relations with China. Diplomatic relations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China were established on January 3, 1992. In February 1992, the Chinese Embassy in Almaty was opened, and in December 1992 — the Kazakh Embassy in Beijing. In October 1993, a Joint Declaration on the foundations of friendly relations between Kazakhstan and China was signed in Beijing. The declaration stated that all disputes between the parties will be resolved by peaceful means [62].

In April 1994, an Agreement was signed in Almaty between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China on the Kazakh-Chinese state border, which determined the passage of the border line between the two states (with the exception of two small sections in Taldykorgan and Semipalatinsk regions).

Thus, Kazakh diplomats managed to solve the most important task in a short period of time — to ensure the security of our borders, the territorial integrity of the country, to create an atmosphere of trust and friendship along the perimeter of all borders of Kazakhstan.

From the first steps of foreign policy, it was clear that it was impossible to be confined only within the region. Therefore, from the very beginning, the country's leadership sought to develop relations with all countries of the world, first of all the USA, the countries of the European Union, Japan and other states of the Asia-Pacific region, the Middle East.

The USA officially recognized the Republic of Kazakhstan as a sovereign state on December 25, 1991. The increased attention of the United States to Kazakhstan was determined primarily by the desire to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction that were on the territory of our country at the time of the collapse of the USSR.

Diplomatic relations between Kazakhstan and the European Union were established in 1992. Earlier, diplomatic relations with Kazakhstan were established by the member states of the European Union, in particular, Great Britain — January 19, 1992, France - January 25, 1992, Italy - July 12, 1992, Austria - January 18, 1992, etc. [5]

In 1995, an Agreement on partnership and cooperation between Kazakhstan and the EU was signed. In accordance with this agreement, Kazakhstan and the European Union established a political dialogue and a system of consultations not only on European, but also on international issues. The experience of Eastern European countries is of great importance for Kazakhstan, which, being in similar socio-economic conditions of the transition period with us, entered the path of

transformation earlier, accumulated considerable experience in solving economic, political, national and other problems.

Kazakhstan established diplomatic relations with Bulgaria (March 5, 1992), Hungary (March 24, 1992), Poland (March 1992), Romania (July 15, 1992), Slovakia (January 1, 1993), Slovenia (September 1992), Croatia (October 1992), Czech Republic (May 22, 1992).

The establishment and development of relations with the states of the Islamic world was of great importance for Kazakhstan. At the same time, the leadership of Kazakhstan has constantly stressed that our country builds its relations with Muslim countries not on an ideological or religious basis, but based on its state interests and based on universally recognized norms of international law. Thus, in the first half of the 90s, on the basis of the foreign policy doctrine formed by the country's leadership, Kazakh diplomacy solved the main task — the worthy entry of the Republic of Kazakhstan into the world community as a new sovereign state.

## **2. Main characteristics and priorities of the foreign policy**

Kazakhstan, after gaining independence in 1991, managed to take a fairly strong position in the international arena in a historically short time, which was facilitated by a number of objective and subjective factors. Unlike other CIS States, the Republic of Kazakhstan has managed to avoid major interethnic and interfaith conflicts. Polyethnicity and polyconfessionality are perceived by the Kazakh society not as a disadvantage, but as an advantage.

It should be emphasized that Kazakhstan has been pursuing a fairly balanced and thoughtful foreign policy throughout the years of independence, the basis of which is multi-vector.

Multi-vector approach as a systematic conduct of foreign policy began to take shape in the first half of the 1990s. Kazakhstan has also received a lot of problems with gaining independence: more than a thousand Soviet nuclear warheads, a huge territory that had to be guarded, a heterogeneous multiethnic population. To this we must add the neighborhood with two giants - Russia and China, and, accordingly, the long and unprotected borders and unresolved border problems, the richest natural resources that close and distant neighbors had views on, remoteness from sea and world communications [1]. Under these conditions, it was necessary to conduct such a foreign policy course that would allow "correcting" natural geographical disadvantages and using certain advantages. Given this fact, it is necessary to pay tribute to the country's leadership, which in such an important period decided to pursue a multi-vector foreign policy.

President N.A. Nazarbayev defined the multi-vector nature as follows: "the development of friendly and predictable relations with all states that play a significant role in world affairs and are of practical interest to our country. Kazakhstan, due to its geopolitical position and economic potential, has no right to focus on narrow regional problems. This would be incomprehensible not only to our multinational population, but also to the entire world community." [2] Later, speaking at the expanded board of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic

of Kazakhstan on September 11, 1996, he confirmed that "the multi-vector nature of the country's international policy was correctly determined at the time."

Kasymzhomart Tokayev, the current President of Kazakhstan, speaking about the initial stages of the formation of the country's foreign policy, quite clearly emphasizes that it was at the first stage - December 1991-1993. "the principle of multi-vector diplomacy of Kazakhstan was formulated, which today is the core of the country's foreign policy activity" [3].

A number of experts, speaking about the time of the emergence of the multi-vector principle, point to a later date - the second half and the end of the 90s of the XX century, which does not correspond to reality. It is also very important to note that the multi-vector approach came later in the foreign policy of other post-Soviet states, and only in Kazakhstan it has been carried out since independence, quite consistently and without significant fluctuations.

### **What is multi-vectoral foreign policy?**

It is quite obvious that this definition cannot be found in the modern political science dictionary. But if we turn to the etymology of the word "vector", then we can translate it as "carrier" and means a segment of a certain length and direction. But this term is applicable not only in mathematics, but also when we talk about a multidirectional external state [61].

Based on individual comments of politicians, experts and researchers on the topic, first of all, on the analysis of the realities of the foreign policy activities of states, it

can be concluded that a multi-vector foreign policy is an independent independent foreign policy, the distinctive feature of which is a balanced and even relationship with various important centers of power and the main world and regional players.

It can also be said that this means conducting a subtle and balanced geopolitical course, a skillful game on contradictions between the most important centers of power of the modern world, aimed at ensuring the national interests of the country and maximally weakening dependence [4].

It is also possible to speak specifically about the multi-vector nature of Kazakhstan and refer to the definition of the head of state given above, which was articulated by him in the early 1990s, as well as in 2006, which in the framework of the address is defined as "further implementation of a balanced and responsible foreign policy course that takes into account the interests of Kazakhstan and the dynamics of regional and global development" [5]. That is, we can say that multi-vector approach continues to be the basis of Kazakhstan's foreign policy. The "segments and directions of vectors" have already been specifically defined here: allied relations with Russia, relations of cooperation and good neighborliness with China, strategic partnership with the United States of America, integration with Central Asian countries, mutually beneficial ties with the European Union and Asian states [5].

Speaking about the multi-vector approach in relation to the Central Asian states, it can be assumed that this is quite a normal state of the foreign policy of these countries in the conditions of the transition period in the era of globalization.

Today we can talk about the emergence of a qualitatively new geopolitical and geo-economic situation in the world, which forces Kazakhstan to reconsider its own position in the world. The factors determining the "new" situation include the following: the end of the transformational period in Kazakhstan; the increased regional influence of Kazakhstan; uncertainty and incompleteness of integration processes in Central Asia and the CIS; changes in the geopolitical situation in the world, the balance of international centers of power; the emergence of new challenges and threats; acute crisis phenomena in the world economy [6].

In a concrete form, the geopolitical changes that can directly affect the international situation and security of Kazakhstan are as follows: the weakening of the political West, which includes the geopolitical overstrain of the United States, the immanent problems of the American economic system, the decline in the role of the dollar, the institutional and structural problems of the European Union, largely caused by the expansion of the EU [7].

The prominence of new economic centers of power (most of which are located in the immediate vicinity of Kazakhstan), including Russia, China and India, forces Kazakhstan to think about new prospects and challenges. Also, in the geopolitical proximity to Central Asia, demographic expansion and economic growth of regional powers (Iran, Pakistan, etc.) are simultaneously taking place, which cannot but affect the situation of Central Asia and the Republic of Kazakhstan itself [6].

One of the main priorities of the policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan is to promote the development of the national economy in the context of globalization by

ensuring equal positions of the country and Kazakh business in the system of world economic relations.

The Republic of Kazakhstan does not position itself as a global player, the main interests of Kazakhstan are concentrated at the regional level, which, however, does not exclude Kazakhstan's active participation in solving global problems of our time. Based on its geographical location and taking into account strategic interests, the Republic of Kazakhstan intends to further strengthen economic and political cooperation in the previously chosen foreign policy areas, while creating a solid foundation for stability, open dialogue and interaction in the region.

Thus, it can be concluded that the multi-vector nature of foreign policy is an objective necessity, which during the existence of independent Kazakhstan has made a lot of positive things on the way to worthy entry into the world community. One of its results can be considered that Kazakhstan is a successful regional state, the initiator and locomotive of integration processes in the region, as well as an active participant in regional and global structures.

### **The geopolitical position of Kazakhstan**

With the acquisition of sovereignty, the republic faced the need to develop and conduct its own foreign policy. The concepts of Kazakhstan's foreign policy were defined by the President of the Republic N.A. Nazarbayev in his work "Strategy of formation and development of Kazakhstan as a sovereign state", published in May 1992. "The main goal of foreign policy," it states, "is the formation of a favorable

external environment and support for the stable development of the country on the basis of political and economic reforms."

Creating a system of national security, i.e. foreign policy, Kazakhstan had to proceed from the peculiarities of its geopolitical and economic situation. Kazakhstan is located in the very center of the Euro-Asian continent. The country ranks 9th in the world in terms of territory, has a land border with a length of 15 thousand km, 8 thousand of which run along the border with Russia, 5 thousand km with China. The length of the sea borders of Kazakhstan is 1,5 thousand km. The total length of the borders is 16,5 thousand km. Kazakhstan is located at the junction of Europe and Asia, where transport and communication lines connecting the West and the East intersect. The bulk of the country's exports are raw materials (metals, oil, bread, wool). Given its position, Kazakhstan is pursuing a multi-vector policy in the international arena. Its essence lies in the establishment and development of mutually beneficial cooperation with all countries of the near and far abroad [8].

The strategic objectives of foreign policy are to guide the fundamental provisions on the inviolability, principles of independence, territorial integrity and inviolability of the country's borders. The most important thing is the location of Kazakhstan in the area of the junction of the routes connecting Europe and Asia. Our country's closest neighbors are Russia, China and the Islamic States of Central Asia. The legendary Great Silk Road passed through the territory of Kazakhstan in ancient times. In this regard, many countries of the world are interested in establishing and developing diverse ties with Kazakhstan. The main interest is natural resources, huge

reserves of minerals. In general, Kazakhstan annually develops over 1.5 billion tons of minerals [60]. The world community looks at Kazakhstan as one of the main sources of energy in the 21 century. Kazakhstan occupies a leading place in the world in terms of reserves of oil, gas, coal and uranium ores. In addition, the agriculture of the republic produces a sufficient amount of grain for export. When determining the main directions of its foreign policy activities, the country's leadership first of all tries to benefit from all these geopolitical factors.

### **The most important principles of Kazakhstan's foreign policy:**

- close relationship of foreign policy with domestic;
- mutual respect for the sovereignty and independence of States;
- equality of states;
- balanced and multi-vector foreign policy, pragmatism in choosing allies and partners;
- indivisibility, security, that is, the close interrelation of its various levels (political, economic, military, economic, etc.);
- achieving a balance between global, regional, sub-regional and national approaches to solving problems of peace and security;
- Kazakhstan, as a member of the UN, conducts foreign policy based on the principles of international law;
- Kazakhstan, as an OSCE participant, relies on one of the principles of the declaration of the Helsinki Final Act in its foreign policy activities.

### **The main directions in foreign policy activities**

- strengthening the statehood and independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- policy modernization, creation of a market economy;
- ensuring social and political stability, without which there can be no development;
- civil peace, interethnic harmony;
- integration with the CIS countries and the world community [9].

Having become a full member of the UN, Kazakhstan actively joined the activities of its organizations, such as Unesco, Unicef, ECOSOC, UNHCR and others began to cooperate with a number of major international organizations: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), Organizations for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). From the very beginning of sovereignty, Kazakhstan has defined its foreign policy as multi-vector. He became actively involved in integration processes within the framework of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Central Asian Economic Union (CAEC), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). In this regard, our country's primary task is to implement a balanced and responsible foreign policy that takes into account the interests of Kazakhstan and the dynamics of real and global development.

Great attention is also paid to cooperation with CIS countries. Strategic importance is attached to relations with the United States of America. They are one of the “key conditions for Kazakhstan's effective participation in the world community, in international political, financial, economic and defense institutions, as well as access to advanced technologies, attracting foreign investment.” In the Asian direction, the

importance of cooperation with the states of Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region, capable of providing significant support to the processes taking place in Kazakhstan, was put on one of the first places.

The spiritual, cultural and historical ties that unite the Republic of Kazakhstan with the states of the Middle East, as well as the experience of their political and economic development, which is very useful for our country, are considered in the concept as the basis for further cooperation. Among the states of this region, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Egypt and so on are of particular interest to Kazakhstan.

Particular importance for the Republic of Kazakhstan are the European states, which are one of the main sources of investment in the country's economy. Such large and influential European states as Germany, France, Great Britain and others occupy an important place in Kazakhstan's foreign policy activities.

Special attention in the concept was paid to foreign economic activity, the creation of conditions for the country's entry into world markets, which made changing the foreign strategy a very timely step.

The tragic events in the United States on September 11, 2001 marked the beginning of a new stage in international relations. However, they have not changed the main priorities of Kazakhstan's development: entry into the world community, economic growth, development of mutually beneficial cooperation with world powers and neighbors in the region, creation of a stable state and elimination of existing and

potential threats, ensuring national security, protection of the rights and interests of citizens of the country abroad [10].

In general, it is quite difficult to assess the geopolitical effect of the events that took place after September 11, 2001 today. It can be said that in this light, the prospects for Central Asia remain very vague. A lot will depend on changes in the tactics of the world powers of the USA, China, on the behavior of Russia and the EU, as well as on the foreign policy course of Kazakhstan and its neighbors in the region.

In the difficult conditions of today, Kazakhstan's multi-vector policy has repeatedly confirmed its expediency, creating a good basis for the progress of the Kazakh state and society, stabilization of the overall situation in the region.

Thus, as a result of the changes that took place after the September 2001 events, Kazakhstan has become even more established in its foreign policy line and feels like an emerging new force aimed at maintaining stability in the Central Asian region. The main result of Kazakhstan's diplomacy is that a system of stable good-neighborly and friendly relations with all interested states, primarily with neighboring countries, has been built without any damage to national strategic interests. Kazakhstan, pursuing a balanced foreign policy, managed to enter the world community without any difficulties, strengthen its own position on the world stage as a state deserving recognition and respect for consistent work for the benefit of peace and security [58].

In his Address to the People of Kazakhstan in March 2004, the President of the country clarified the main priorities of Kazakhstan's foreign policy. According to these guidelines, the first priority for the Republic of Kazakhstan is such a partner in foreign relations as the Russian Federation. China, along with the United States, Central Asian countries, the EU, as well as Turkey, is another important area of our diplomacy. That is, the foreign policy priorities outlined in the Strategy “Kazakhstan-2030” remained unchanged. The structure of foreign policy relations presented in this way is an important indicator of the renewal of the nature of Kazakh diplomacy. Firstly, the evolution of Kazakhstan's foreign policy that took place over the years of sovereignty has thus found its manifestation. The multi-vector policy, initially declared as the main characteristic of the course pursued by the Kazakh leadership, has acquired clearer outlines.

Today, the sovereignty of the Republic of Kazakhstan is recognized by most countries of the world. Kazakhstan is a member of the UN, OSCE, Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), NATO Cooperation Council, World Bank, IMF, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Economic Cooperation Organization, SCO and other international organizations and unions. More than 50 foreign embassies and representative offices of international organizations are accredited and operate in the republic. Kazakh embassies and diplomatic missions have been established in 40 countries.

Thanks to its consistent policy, Kazakhstan, having renounced nuclear weapons, has created a belt of good-neighborliness and cooperation around itself. Its relations with

the States of all continents are developing; today there is not a single country with which we would have strained relations.

In general, the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan is of a diversified nature and is aimed at developing partnership and mutually beneficial relations with all countries of the world, integration economic groupings. Thus, one of the main tasks of Kazakhstan's diplomacy is to maximize participation in international multilateral institutions. This is the practical way of integration into the modern world [11].

For the years of independence, the Republic of Kazakhstan has managed to demonstrate its full right to be a worthy and equal member of the world community. Foreign policy has firmly established itself as an integral element of State policy. All the necessary external conditions have been created to strengthen the sovereignty of the country and its further development on the path to prosperity and well-being. Over the ten years of its existence, the Republic of Kazakhstan has managed to declare its own clear position in the foreign policy arena and occupy its niche in the system of international relations. Our republic has been recognized by more than 100 countries of the world, and diplomatic relations have been established with almost all of them. The infrastructure and real communication channels of the country with the outside world have been created.

### **3. The concept of foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan**

On March 6, 2020, the Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020-2030 was approved by the Decree of the President of the

Republic of Kazakhstan. This document is a system of fundamental views on the principles, goals, objectives, priorities and mechanisms for the implementation of the country's foreign policy activities during the specified period.

The importance of the adoption of the document under consideration, apparently, is due to the following main factors. First of all, the change of the leadership of Kazakhstan that took place in March 2019 caused a great resonance among the official and business circles of the near and far abroad. The leading foreign partners of the republic naturally took care of the preservation by the new head of state of the foundations of the foreign policy course of his predecessor and the fulfillment by Kazakhstan of its obligations to them, reflected in the relevant treaties and agreements[1].

Well understanding such expectations, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, from the very beginning of his political career as President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, clearly outlined the continuity in the implementation of the official political course of Kazakhstan, the foundations of which were laid by the first president of the country, Nursultan Nazarbayev. In this regard, among the measures to implement the main provisions of his election program, the adoption of a new Foreign Policy Concept of the Republic of Kazakhstan aimed at continuing the course of ensuring a multi-vector, balanced foreign policy was noted[2]. The subsequent implementation of this measure contributes to the preservation and further development of the positive dynamics of Kazakhstan's relations with leading foreign policy partners [57].

Besides, being a professional diplomat, Tokayev pays special attention to the sphere of foreign policy. It is significant that this concept was the first document of the appropriate level, which he approved from the beginning of his tenure as head of state. Moreover, the official term of the previous concept, designed for 2014-2020, was just coming to an end this year.

President of Kazakhstan Kassym-Jomart Tokayev has approved the concept of Kazakhstan's foreign policy until 2030, according to Akorda's website. It consists of seven chapters, Informburo.kz presents extracts from them:

#### Chapter 1. Analysis of the current situation

The concept notes that "the system of international relations is undergoing a complex transformation." Its negative consequences are named:

- \* crisis of trust and increased conflict;
- \* the collision on a global scale of two main trends - globalism and nationalism, which creates serious risks for medium and small states;
- \* aggravation of traditional security challenges and threats: terrorism, arms race, climate change;
- \* new factors - cyber wars, etc.

The concept notes that "Kazakhstan needs to consolidate the status of a leading state in the Central Asian region" and promote international initiatives of our country on the basis of pragmatism.

The strategic task remains the same – to enter the top thirty most developed countries in the world.

## Chapter 2. International experience

This chapter talks about the need to have a foreign policy concept, Kazakhstan is defined as an "average regional state" and it is noted that the analysis of the foreign policy concept of foreign countries of a comparable international category is of particular interest.

## Chapter 3. Basic principles of foreign policy

The Republic of Kazakhstan implements its foreign policy on the basis of the following basic principles:

1. Continuity of the foreign policy course of the First President at a new stage of the country's development.
2. Assistance in building a stable, fair and democratic world order; effective protection of the rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of Kazakhstanis and compatriots living abroad.
3. Promoting the external openness of the state, creating favorable external conditions for improving the well-being of Kazakhstanis.
4. Multi-vector, pragmatism and proactivity.
5. Formation of a collective vision and effective approaches of the international community to solving a wide range of problems.

6. The inextricable link between security and development at the national, regional and global levels.

#### Chapter 4. Goals and objectives of foreign policy

This chapter lists the strategic goals of Kazakhstan, among which one of the points is "putting the practical interests of the citizens of Kazakhstan and national business at the forefront of the state's foreign policy."

Among the tasks of Kazakhstan for the next decade are the activation of "humanitarian diplomacy", popularization of the positive image of the country in the world community; establishment of an effective communication system with the general Kazakh public on foreign policy issues; improvement of work to ensure the protection of personal and family rights of citizens, legitimate interests of individuals and legal entities of the Republic of Kazakhstan abroad.

#### Chapter 5. Trends and vision of foreign policy development

Kazakhstan will advocate the restoration and strengthening of an atmosphere of trust in international relations based on the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the promotion of multilateral cooperation on the basis of equality and compromise.

Kazakhstan will also continue to fight the threat of the use of nuclear weapons for any purpose; will support the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and participate in preventing the race of conventional and new types of weapons.

Among the priorities in the field of economic diplomacy are:

- \* transformation of the national economy, including within the framework of the implementation of industrialization programs and the development of the "economy of simple things";
- \* expansion of international cooperation to attract high-quality investments in the basic sectors of the economy;
- \* facilitating the transfer of advanced foreign technologies to Kazakhstan;
- \* ensuring favorable external conditions for Kazakhstan's transition to a "green" economy;
- \* Transformation of Kazakhstan into a transcontinental transit and logistics hub on the East–West and North–South trunk routes.

## Chapter 6. Implementation stages and expected results

In order to increase the predictability of the doctrinal foundations of Kazakhstan's foreign policy, the validity period of the concept has been extended to 10 years. Plans for the implementation of the concept are approved by the decree of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan and updated every two years.

## Chapter 7. List of regulatory legal acts through which it is supposed to implement the concept

1. The Constitutional Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated July 20, 2000 "On the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan – Elbasy".

2. The Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated March 7, 2002 "On the Diplomatic Service of the Republic of Kazakhstan".
3. The Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated May 30, 2005 "On international treaties of the Republic of Kazakhstan".
4. The Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated January 6, 2012 "On National Security of the Republic of Kazakhstan" [12].

First of all, the new concept differs from the previous one by analyzing the current situation in the system of international relations. At the same time, the emphasis is placed on identifying such challenges and threats to this system as a crisis of trust and an increase in conflict between various international actors. This includes the sanctions confrontation, the erosion of the fundamental principles of international law, the aggravation of terrorism, extremism and the arms race, the intensification of hybrid, cyber, trade and currency wars, etc.

In this case, Kazakhstan, on the one hand, makes it clear that it has its finger on the pulse, understands well and takes into account the ongoing processes at the global and regional levels of world politics. On the other hand, in the ambiguous conditions in the international arena, it is important and profitable for him to position himself as an "active and responsible participant in the international community, making a significant contribution to ensuring international and regional stability and security"[3], focused on maintaining friendly, predictable and mutually beneficial relations with foreign partners.

Kazakhstan makes it clear that it has its finger on the pulse, understands well and takes into account the ongoing processes at the global and regional levels of world politics.

Thus, the country, despite the change of leadership, is interested in maintaining its distance and maximum neutrality regarding the contradictions and conflicts of the world powers. Therefore, multi-vector approach and pragmatism, which allow it to build relations with other countries and international organizations in accordance with its interests and on an equal and constructive basis, remain the key principles of its foreign policy.

At the same time, the concept is complemented by new principles of the country's foreign policy, including the promotion of a stable, just and democratic world order, the promotion of external openness of the state and the inextricable link of security and development at all levels of international relations. Some of the former principles have received an expanded interpretation. In particular, the equality of all states of the world is presented as an equal integration into the global political, economic and humanitarian space. And the collective solution of international problems and conflicts is considered as multilateralism, "aimed at forming a collective vision and effective approaches of the international community to solving a wide range of global and regional problems on the basis of multilateral consultations and agreements"[4].

Attention is also drawn to the rather noticeable reflection in the new document of the human factor, emphasizing its orientation not only to the state, but also to society

and individual citizens. This approach is based on the concept of a "Hearing state"[5], voiced by Kassym-Jomart Tokayev in his first Message to the people of Kazakhstan. In this case, we are talking about creating a qualitatively new mechanism for ensuring a constant dialogue between the authorities and society, as well as the prompt and effective response of the first of them to all requests of citizens.

In the context of foreign policy activities, this was reflected in the elevation of the practical interests of the citizens of Kazakhstan and national business to the forefront of this policy direction. It is significant in this regard that the implementation of the protection of the rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of Kazakhstanis and compatriots living abroad from among ethnic Kazakhs has been reflected not only in the goals and objectives, but also in the basic principles of the country's foreign policy. Moreover, Kazakh children adopted by foreigners are included in this category. The concept also provides for the establishment of an effective communication system with the general Kazakh public on foreign policy issues, systematic explanation of relevant tasks and priorities to it and the use of "people's diplomacy" tools.

At the same time, the economic dimension of Kazakhstan's foreign policy has also increased. The number of its constituent priorities, in comparison with the previous concept, has increased from 9 to 14. First of all, Kazakhstan's investment cooperation with foreign partners has been specified by listing the basic sectors of the economy interested in receiving foreign investment. These are, in particular,

mechanical engineering, instrumentation, agro-industrial complex, light industry, healthcare, education, transport, tourism, etc. Thus, the activities of Kazakh diplomats are focused on promoting the development of non-resource sectors of the country's economy [56].

In addition, the concept is designed to promote the development of transit and logistics potential of Kazakhstan, including the introduction of the "open sky" regime, the expansion of the nomenclature, volume and geography of national exports, the elimination of various barriers to it in foreign markets, as well as the promotion of such structures as the Astana International Financial Center, the International Center for Cross-Border Cooperation Khorgos and the Center for Trade and Economic Cooperation Central Asia, created jointly with Uzbekistan.

At the same time, the final version of the document under consideration did not include such a concept as "soft power", which could bring a new meaning to the economic and humanitarian dimension of Kazakhstan's foreign policy. It was assumed that the domestic "soft power" would be based on such values as social stability, interethnic and interfaith harmony, ease of doing business, innovative education, etc.[6]

According to the head of the Analytical Center "Synergy" of the School of State and Public Policy and Law "Almaty Management University" Rustem Kurmanguzhin, it is necessary and possible for Kazakhstan to form and use its own "soft power". And not only in the interests of promoting a positive image of the country in the international arena, but also in opposition to active information

influence from the outside. Moreover, the expert suggests projecting Kazakhstan's "soft power" to other countries and even to the entire world community, using for this the achievements of independent development of the country, previously intended mainly for solving internal problems[7]. It seems that such recommendations to one degree or another will find their application in the process of international cooperation of Kazakhstan, primarily in the field of culture, education, science, tourism and sports.

## **CHAPTER II. The idea of Eurasian integration**

### **1. The role of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the Eurasian integration**

It is also impossible not to mention such an important initiative of the First President as the proposal to create a concept of Eurasian integration, which was announced in 1994 in Moscow, during a lecture at Lomonosov Moscow State University.

Now we have a formed model of Eurasianism in the form of the Eurasian Economic Union, which carries out fruitful economic activities and every year contributes to the expansion of interstate trade relations with the members of the organization.

The Republic of Kazakhstan is located in the very center of Eurasia – in a region where the interests of large, foreign actors intersect. It is this fact that explains the close attention of the country's leadership to foreign policy. The proximity with Russia and China significantly increases the strategic importance of Kazakhstan on a regional and global scale. In this regard, the concept of multi-vector is the most justified and integral feature in the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Its foundations were defined and laid by the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan – Elbasy Nursultan Nazarbayev, which also continue to be successfully implemented by the current Head of State K.K.Tokayev [13].

"The unique geographical location and economic potential of Kazakhstan contribute to its sustainable development within the framework of the integration association and allows us to confidently realize the main goal - the free movement of capital," she said. According to her, the EAEU creates favorable conditions for the member countries to achieve a synergistic effect, both from foreign economic activity and internal economic processes. Thus, according to the results of the first five years, there has been a significant increase in macroeconomic indicators. The gross domestic product of the EAEU by purchasing power parity (GDP by PPP) increased by 13%, GDP per capita - by 12%, the unemployment rate decreased by 12%, investments in fixed assets increased by 19%. In modern conditions, the development of stable economic ties with external partners is an important vector of economic development for Kazakhstan. In this context, the EAEU opens up wide opportunities and promising areas for the growth of export potential, which ultimately affects the level of well-being of Kazakhstanis. Each country has its own advantages based on integration. For Kazakhstan, it means facilitating exports on the basis of uniform customs regulations, duty-free trade, integration into global transport hubs with access to other economic macro-regions of the world [55]. The signed agreements within the framework of the EAEU contribute to the improvement of Kazakhstan's economic ties with countries in other regions. For example, in 2016, the EAEU countries concluded the first agreement on a free trade zone with Vietnam. Thus, the average annual growth rate of Kazakhstan's trade turnover with Vietnam from 2016 to 2018 amounted to almost 13%. According to

the results of 7 months of 2019, the trade turnover of the Republic of Kazakhstan with Vietnam is estimated at more than 246 million US dollars, which is 2% higher than in the same period of 2018. Agreements on a free trade zone with Singapore, the largest trade hub in Southeast Asia, allows expanding the presence of domestic manufacturing products. It should be noted that the trade turnover with Singapore in 2018 amounted to more than \$522 million and increased almost 6 times compared to 2016. The share of Kazakhstan's trade turnover with Singapore in 2018 amounted to 37.4% of the total volume of trade turnover with ASEAN member countries. Deputy Director of the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies (KAZISS) under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Sanat Kushkumbayev, in turn, spoke about the possibility of new members joining the Eurasian Economic Union. "It is not excluded in the foreseeable future. From the point of view of the development of the EAEU, the candidates of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are the most logical. Everyone knows the discussion on the possible accession of Uzbekistan to the association. At the moment, Tashkent is ready to be an observer in the EAEU and would like to analyze all possible advantages and costs of membership. Tajikistan faces the same question. Dushanbe is also carefully weighing all the pros and cons," S. Kushkumbayev said. In general, he believes that the accession of these countries to the EAEU will be beneficial, provided that the new members really join all the agreements reached. Accordingly, the question now is more whether the potential candidates themselves will consider membership profitable. Vyacheslav Dodonov, Chief Researcher at the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies (KAZISS) under

the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, spoke about how promising the development of trade and economic development of the EAEU member states is. According to him, the development of trade relations within the EAEU is certainly promising, especially given the fact that many enterprises of these countries previously united the ties of industrial cooperation within a single economic complex [55]. In a number of industries and regions, a mutually complementary production structure has still been preserved, which forms a significant part of the turnover. But even without taking into account these ties, trade between neighboring states has obvious advantages due to logistics and transport accessibility factors that make it more efficient. “Trade and economic cooperation directly affects the pace of development of the economy as a whole, acting as a driver for the development of many industries. Accordingly, the influence of foreign trade on the competitiveness of the economy is also great, since this competitiveness is manifested in foreign markets, in the form of the ability of the national economic system to offer a demanded product to world markets. So the impact is direct,” V. Dodonov noted. The expert also stressed that the benefits of mutual trade can be judged by the fact that it is growing, and quite dynamically. Over the four full years of the EAEU's existence (statistics for 2019 are not yet available), Kazakhstan's trade with the EAEU countries increased by 23.4%, exports – by 18.1%, imports - by 25.8%. At the same time, import growth rates were higher than average (for Kazakh imports as a whole), exports were lower, and trade turnover as a whole was on par with the volume of all foreign trade in Kazakhstan. Speaking about the common

financial market of the EAEU, V. Dodonov noted that the process of forming the common market of financial services of the EAEU is in line with the planned actions. Last year, at the Yerevan summit, the Concept of forming a common financial market of the Eurasian Economic Union was adopted, which gives reason to assume that the probability of creating both this market and an interstate financial body by 2025 is high. The creation of such a body is provided for by the Treaty on the Establishment of the EAEU, paragraph 2 of Article 103, which states: “After the completion of the harmonization of legislation in the field of financial markets, the Member states will decide on the powers and functions of a supranational body for regulating the financial market and create it with a location in Almaty in 2025.” Since the decision on this body was made at the time of signing the Agreement in 2014, the ongoing process of forming a common financial market is planned, laid down in the basic document of the EAEU [14]. Also, with regard to this body, it is appropriate to clarify that after its creation, its functions will not include direct supervision of participants in national financial markets. It is assumed that at the first stage of its existence, this body will analyze the financial legislation of the EAEU countries for compliance with international standards and make recommendations on their implementation, cooperate with international organizations and regulators and represent the interests of the union on international platforms. In the future, as financial integration deepens, the members of the Union will consider expanding its powers, but it can be assumed that this expansion will also take quite a long period. As for the interests of citizens, then, according to V. They consist in simplifying

access to services provided by financial companies of other EAEU countries, the possibility of gaining access to the financial markets of the Union countries, as well as improving the quality of financial services in the markets of their countries by increasing competition in them due to the arrival of companies from other union states. It is no secret that Kazakhstan is a country that imports more than it exports. What effect does the integration in the field of exports bring to the country? How has the export of goods changed? V. Dodonov gave exhaustive answers to these questions. He named two trends characteristic of Kazakhstan's exports. Firstly, in general, the share of raw materials in Kazakhstan's exports is significant, more than 85% of the total volume. Approximately 10% of Kazakhstan's exports are sent to the EAEU partner countries. At the same time, according to the structure of the goods that we export, most of them remain, unfortunately, raw materials. Thus, the largest volumes are mineral products, metals and products made from them (40.5% and 26.4%). At the same time, the main export flows are directed to Russia. But, at the same time, the share of processed materials is gradually increasing. So, for 9 months of 2019, the share of animal and vegetable products, ready-made food products in the commodity structure of exports to the EAEU countries amounted to 10%; machinery, equipment, vehicles, appliances and apparatuses – 7.6%. Compared to the indicators of 2018, the growth was 0.2 and 1.2%, respectively. Secondly, the EAEU market is very important for Kazakhstan in terms of increasing the share of non-primary exports. We have the potential to supply goods with high added value, goods of the manufacturing industry. Thus, for 11 months of 2019, the share of the

EAEU in the export of machinery and equipment amounted to 42.2%, chemical industry products - 30.5%, construction materials - 44.3%, footwear, head products and haberdashery goods - 70.5%, textiles and textile products - 26.9%, metals and products made of them - 20.5%, food and foodstuffs - 18.9%

However, the realization of the full potential is hindered by various barriers. Work is underway in this direction. According to the expert, industrial cooperation and, more broadly, investment cooperation is no less, and perhaps even more important area of cooperation between Kazakhstan and partners in the EAEU than trade, since this area makes a significant contribution to the extremely urgent problem of economic modernization for the country, its diversification and reduction of dependence on the raw materials sector. "The basis of industrial cooperation is the inflow of investments from the Union countries, the flow of which to Kazakhstan was very dynamic during the existence of the EAEU. The annual volume of gross FDI inflows increased 2.6 times in 2018 relative to the level of 2015 and reached \$1.6 billion, and the share of the EAEU countries in gross FDI inflows to Kazakhstan amounted to 6.4% against 3.9% in 2015. The dynamics of net FDI inflows from the EAEU countries is even more pronounced. The absolute volume of annual net FDI inflows from the Union countries increased 2.4 times from 2015 to 2018, and the share increased 2.6 times and reached 13%. In 2019, the share of the EAEU countries continued to grow and increased to 14.2%. Thus, investments from the EAEU have now become one of the main sources of net FDI inflows. Over the

years of the existence of the EAEU, the volume of investments operating in Kazakhstan from the countries of the association has increased by \$4.6 billion (by 66%)," V. Dodonov said. In his opinion, specific examples of industrial cooperation of Kazakhstani business with companies from the EAEU include, first of all, cooperation with Russian partners, which is multi-sectoral in nature - unlike other countries that occupy leading positions as investors in Kazakhstan and are present mainly in the raw materials sector, Russian investments are distributed fairly evenly across many types of activities, including the manufacturing industry. "The traditional areas of cooperation are the oil and gas sector, where LUKoil has been operating since 1995, Eurochem is a major investor in the chemical industry, Russian companies are present in metallurgy, pharmaceuticals, and mechanical engineering," the expert noted. In turn, the chief researcher of the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies (KAZISS) under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Irina Chernykh, believes that integration in the field of trade and the creation of a common market of goods are one of the first initiatives of the countries and originate from the moment of the creation of the Customs Union. Therefore, the question of Kazakhstan's readiness or unavailability is no longer worth it. At the same time, it should be recognized that it is this direction of integration that traditionally causes the greatest number of critical assessments [14]. One of the problem areas was the almost complete duplication of the commodity structure of mutual trade between Kazakhstan and the EAEU partners with the commodity structure of foreign

trade as a whole. "At the same time, starting from 2018, a significant diversification of commodity positions in exports to the EAEU countries is recorded, an important achievement of Kazakhstan's exports to the EAEU in 2019. there is an increase in the share of products with a high degree of processing. Thus, despite the predominance of raw materials in Kazakhstan's exports to the EAEU countries, it is possible to state the growth of non-primary exports. This circumstance creates the necessary conditions for the development of the competitive potential of the real sector of the national economy," I. Chernykh said. As for Kazakhstan's readiness for digital integration, the answer is only positive. According to the expert, in terms of the quality and pace of development of the digital economy, Kazakhstan, along with Russia, occupies a leading position in the entire CIS [54]. "We are not only ready to join the processes of digital integration in the EAEU, but we are also generators of ideas and developers of initiatives. Thus, the list of Kazakhstan's initiatives includes the introduction of digital technologies for the development of the agro-industrial complex and the creation of an electronic labor exchange. Kazakhstan presented an electronic licensing mechanism that allows not only automating licensing processes, issuing permits, but also ensuring transparency of the mechanism of information interaction between government agencies and the business community. Another initiative of Kazakhstan was the launch of an "Open digital platform for small and medium-sized businesses," I. Chernykh explained. In general, the Treaty fixes the readiness of the EAEU member states

to ensure the four fundamental freedoms in the EAEU space. We are talking about the freedom of movement of goods, services, capital and labor. In addition, the Agreement reflects the obligations of the participants in the sectoral areas of integration. Among such industries: a common trade policy and a policy in the field of technical regulation, a coordinated macroeconomic and monetary policy, a coordinated policy in the field of transport and energy, a coordinated policy in the agro-industrial sphere, industrial cooperation, as well as a coordinated policy in the field of consumer protection. By 2025, it is expected that any restrictions on transportation within the EAEU space will be lifted,” the expert said. The EAEU Treaty also approves the basic principles of cooperation within the framework of the development of the agro-industrial complex. It must be admitted that the question of the need for a coordinated agrarian policy arose much earlier, and some points are already reflected in the agreements on the CU and the CES. However, the contractual and legal framework that existed at that time did not allow for the implementation of a holistic policy on the regulation of the common agricultural market and food security. In order to eliminate the existing shortcomings, a Concept was developed that became the first comprehensive industry document on integration cooperation in the history of the Union. The main provisions of the Concept were included in the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union. And today, integration processes in related industries, for example, the provision of sanitary, phytosanitary and veterinary-sanitary measures for agricultural products, are carried out taking into account

the goals, objectives and directions of a coordinated agro-industrial policy. As the political scientist stressed, the first stage of the formation of a common electric power market was launched last year. There is still a lot of work ahead to coordinate the positions of the parties, determine the rules for the functioning of the market, etc. It is expected that the fully-fledged common electric power market will start functioning no later than 2025. "The important points that the EAEU Treaty focuses on are the creation of a single market for services, as well as ensuring a coordinated policy in terms of social security for citizens of the participating countries. In particular, we are talking about the possibility of applying the national social security regime for citizens of all countries participating in the Agreement, ensuring unhindered access to all medical services provided in the country, exporting pensions, offsetting work experience accumulated in other participating countries, etc.," I. Chernykh said. Zhanna Karimova, Head of the Socio-Economic Research Department of the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies (KAZISS) under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, noted that the past five years have proved the failure of concerns about the viability and effectiveness of the EAEU for the participating countries. According to the estimates of the Eurasian Economic Commission (EEC), the EAEU functions as the second most developed integration association in the world after the European Union. "Today we can say with confidence that the EAEU creates a positive synergistic effect for the economies of the participating countries. The formation of supranational legislation, the

removal of customs posts and the reduction of non-tariff barriers has become an important factor for the growth of mutual trade," the political scientist stressed. Thus, the volume of mutual trade of the EAEU in November 2019 amounted to \$5,628.8 million. By November 2018, its value increased by 11.3% or \$572.3 million, compared to the previous month - by 5.9% or \$315.6 million. For Kazakhstan, the increase in the indicator compared to 2018 amounted to 123.7% (\$598.2 million). Participation in the integration association also opened up prospects for the growth of investment attractiveness and the development of the business environment. So, in the ranking "Doing Business – 2019", the EAEU is located on the 31st place. In 2019, Kazakhstan improved its position in the Doing Business ranking and rose from 28th place to 25th. According to the expert, in the near future, integration processes within the EAEU will gain strength. Considerable attention of the participating countries will be paid to the elimination of obstacles in the internal market of the EAEU, the integration of national information systems, interaction in the field of customs regulation and the formation of common markets. In particular, we are talking about the completion of the formation of common markets for electricity, financial services, oil, petroleum products and gas. Issues of settlement of non-tariff barriers within the EAEU will require special attention from integration institutions, government agencies and business [14]. The formation of common markets will require the maintenance of an effective macroeconomic environment, including the resolution of monetary and financial issues. In order

to expand the positive effects of integration, the network of free trade zones and the number of agreements on trade and economic cooperation of the EAEU with third countries will increase. The Head of the Representative Office of the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies (KAZISS) under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Almaty, Assel Aben, said that in 2015-2016, the economy of Kazakhstan passed the "bottom" of the crisis and headed for a gradual recovery. The growth was due to a gradual increase in oil prices, an increase in domestic investment under various government programs and an improvement in the geopolitical situation. Manufacturing industries demonstrated positive growth dynamics. In turn, the EAEU market has a positive impact on the economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. It should be noted that the volume of Kazakhstan's foreign trade amounted to \$91,397.5 million in 2010 and \$93,489.7 million in 2018 (the growth rate compared to the base year 2010 was 102.6%). During the same period, the increase in mutual trade between Kazakhstan and the EAEU countries amounted to 1.1%. For us, it is a positive fact that trade with the EAEU countries during the period of its operation demonstrates growth in both trade turnover, exports, and imports. A special achievement of Kazakhstan's exports to the EAEU by 2019 is the increase in the share of products with a high degree of processing (finished products - machinery, equipment and vehicles), which significantly increases the competitiveness potential. In addition, solving the issue of free circulation of goods within the EAEU, the parties are actively working together to eliminate

obstacles in the domestic market. Kazakhstan takes an active part and strives to provide the necessary assistance in resolving these issues. It should be noted that the Eurasian Economic Commission has finalized definitions of terms that are necessary to assess obstacles in the internal market of the Union. Barriers are obstacles to the free movement of goods, services, capital, and labor within the framework of the functioning of the internal market of the Union that do not comply with the law of the Union. Since barriers are a violation of the law of the EAEU, measures are immediately taken against them to eliminate the Exemption - exceptions (derogations) provided for by the law of the Union on the non-application by the Member State of the general rules for the functioning of the internal market of the Union. Restrictions are obstacles to the free movement of goods, services, capital, labor within the framework of the functioning of the internal market of the Union, which arose due to the lack of legal regulation of economic relations, the development of which is provided for by the law of the Union. Exemptions and restrictions are not violations of the EAEU law and are eliminated in accordance with the action plans. In order to eliminate obstacles, a Roadmap for the elimination of exemptions and restrictions in the internal market of the EAEU for 2018-2019 has been approved. As of October 2019, the register of obstacles contained 18 barriers, 38 restrictions and 14 exemptions. The implementation of measures according to the Roadmap is one of our main tasks. According to the expert, the most problematic areas related to obstacles are technical regulation, customs

regulation, transport policy. "Coordinated and purposeful work on the part of all members of the union will make it possible to form a common market of goods with common requirements and, accordingly, create conditions for the unhindered movement of goods," the political scientist said. It is worth noting that the Customs Code of the EAEU entered into force on January 1, 2018, its validity period is still relatively short in order to evaluate the results. In general, we can say that it does not bring revolutionary changes in terms of mutual trade or other areas, since it acts as the successor to the Customs Code of the Customs Union. The new document contains a number of improvements aimed, in particular, at automating business processes at customs (priority of electronic declaration) and designed to facilitate the procedures of declaration, customs clearance and payment of duties. The improvement of the Code is designed not only to reduce obstacles to mutual trade, but also to improve conditions for the realization of transit potential. National interests and, in particular, national legislation are consistent with the norms of the EAEU. Thus, in Kazakhstan, the adoption of the new Customs Code of the EAEU led to the adoption of the updated Code "On Customs Regulation in the Republic of Kazakhstan", which implements the provisions of the Customs Code of the EAEU. The Union legal field influences the national legislation of the participating countries. At the same time, national norms and practices still maintain contradictions with the Union legislation. Such contradictions, in particular, in the sphere of mutual trade are fixed by the Eurasian Economic Commission (EEC), which maintains

a Register of obstacles in the internal market of the Eurasian Economic Union, which records all their types (barriers, exemptions, restrictions), and works to eliminate them. Currently, the Eurasian Economic Commission has recorded 67 obstacles in the internal market of the Eurasian Economic Union, including 16 barriers, 14 exemptions and 37 restrictions. The number of obstacles for individual EAEU countries is approximately the same – the maximum number of them falls on Russia (50), the minimum - on Kyrgyzstan (44). Kazakhstan ranks second after Russia in terms of the number of obstacles (48). At the same time, it can be noted that most of the obstacles (44 out of 68) are applied by all five EAEU states. Thus, all five countries are almost equally responsible for violating the regulatory framework of the EAEU and creating obstacles in the internal market of the union. "Our main task is to follow the chosen strategy and effectively implement previously adopted programs. At the same time, strict control over their implementation should be carried out. The most important task that we are trying to solve is the diversification of the economy. We already have some experience and some results; we have carried out two phases of industrialization, we are moving on to the third phase. However, growth based on high productivity and innovation is not an easy task. To do this, it is necessary to create a high-quality education system that encourages and stimulates creativity in science, creates conditions for innovation," A. Aben said. Summing up, the expert noted that successful multi-vector partnership with many countries allows Kazakhstan to reach a new level of economic development. It is only

necessary to implement international experience more effectively, taking into account the specifics of Kazakhstan.

## **2. Eurasian integration in the focus of public diplomacy of the Republic of Kazakhstan**

The process of integration of peoples and countries has become an integral part of the modern world. Various integration takes place almost everywhere, in many regions, therefore, regional integrations are being formed. And the Eurasian region is no exception. Since ancient times, this region has been a platform for fruitful cultural, social, economic and political cooperation, with deep traditions, as well as many years of historical experience. At the moment, the Republic of Kazakhstan plays an important role in the integration processes of the region, moreover, in many aspects it is the initiator [16].

Kazakhstan is steadily developing on the path of becoming a modern industrial state, having a predictable and balanced foreign policy, a competitive economy, actively uses numerous diverse integration associations to further promote, achieve and protect the national interests of the country. Since gaining independence, the Republic of Kazakhstan has periodically acted as the main initiator and active participant of projects on integration processes of the post-Soviet states. Kazakhstan's active position in the field of integration processes of the Eurasian region is expressed in such initiatives as the idea of creating a Customs Union, then the Eurasian Union, as well as a Single Economic Space. In addition, Kazakhstan is

an active participant in all regional organizations, such as, for example, the CSTO, ECO, SCO and others.

Even during the formation of the CIS as an organization, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, N.A. Nazarbayev, during a speech at Lomonosov Moscow State University in 1994, put forward an initiative on the creation of the Eurasian Union. The essence of this idea was "voluntary, equal integration, joint political and economic development of the post-Soviet states, the general promotion of the CIS countries to strong positions in the global world" [15].

At the moment, the Eurasian idea of the President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev has been embodied in three dimensions of integration at the regional level – first of all, the economic dimension, then the military-political and humanitarian. It is safe to say that no leader of any state in the world shows such persistence in developing the idea of integration, and Eurasian integration in particular and in particular. First of all, it is necessary to mention Kazakhstan's further striving for the development of integration processes. For us, Eurasian integration is one of the important parts of Kazakhstan's overall integration into the world economy and global economic ties. Within the framework of this process, according to the Concept of Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy, "fundamental principles such as the inviolability of political sovereignty, the economic validity of decisions taken, step-by-step, pragmatism and mutual benefit, equal representation of the parties in all integration bodies and consensus at all levels of integration interaction will be observed" [2, 7].

The First President of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev noted that "Kazakhstan is a unique state in Asia, in which European and Asian roots are intertwined. Representatives of different peoples make up unity in diversity. The combination of different cultures and traditions allows us to absorb the best achievements of European and Asian cultures" [3].

At this stage, the priority in Eurasian integration belongs to the economic aspect rather than the political one. The creation of the Eurasian Economic Union has become the crown of many years of efforts and aspirations for integration, now it is an association of Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus, which will soon be joined by Armenia and Kyrgyzstan. That is, this union is purely economic in nature, which is quite logical, since at one time European integration had an exclusively economic purpose [17].

As the experience of the European Union, the most successful integration association in the modern world, shows, for the confident promotion of high-quality and profitable integration, a kind of "locomotive" is needed, which in the European case were Germany and France. Consequently, in the Eurasian integration, this role should go to the countries represented by Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus, it was with the union of these states that the embodiment of the idea of Eurasianism began, and their further promotion [4].

The experience that has been accumulated by leading European countries in creating a European integration system will be very useful in practical application in the future to our region.

The difficult practice of many years of integration has taught Europeans to be cautious and pragmatic. Evidence of this is not only the constant discussion among politicians and scientists. In the course of it, the tendency to identify those moments around which it is possible to unite efforts or wait for heated arguments confidently makes its way. Integration is a difficult way to reconcile national ambitions, genuine problems of co-development of economies of different levels, structures, convergence of social, legal, etc. historical spaces, requiring high supranational wisdom, understanding that a new stage of world development is based on regionalization. And understanding that integration is impossible without an initiative core [18].

The European Union proceeds from the equality of the member States united in it and is a union of States of a special kind. In its activities, it is guided by the principle of compliance with certain specific powers delegated to it by the participating States. In the theory of development, the integration process is accompanied by a partial transfer of a share of sovereignty to supranational bodies. The rejection of this principle makes integration almost impossible. In the process of creating the European Union, specific powers were transferred to it by its participants.

The basic provisions of the Union are of practical importance for the development of the CIS. The practice of building the European Union has also shown the possibilities that can be used in controversial situations. So, if national law comes into conflict with EU law, that is, the treaty on the Union, then the former has no effect. However, it does not become invalid, because the principle according to

which community law annuls national law does not apply. Rather, it is about the advantage of application: where EU law is the opposite in content, national law cannot be applied. The creation of the European Union, as we see it now, took more than 60 years, so the Eurasian Union needs time.

It is impossible to omit the fact that the period of the last century differs in many ways from modern times, therefore, it can be assumed that the Eurasian integration will take place faster than the European one. But here is a slightly different picture of the region. There are various disagreements between the states of the post-Soviet space, the problem of water resources, energy, the factor of the personalities of the leaders of the countries and much more. And in this case, Eurasian integration in the form of the Eurasian Union on a voluntary and equal basis will exclude any conflicts and disagreements [19].

The solution of common problems in the region depends on the interaction of politicians and their policies: either the neighbors will establish relations of cooperation and mutual understanding, or they will face a state of confrontation in the face of increasing pressure from the outside. In this sense, the idea of the Eurasian Union is objectively justified, theoretically possible, and in the conditions of mutual understanding and the manifestation of political will, it is implemented in practice.

A coordinated investment policy will contribute to the development of integration processes. It is necessary to create financial and industrial groups, which can include enterprises and banks of all Central Asian countries. It is difficult to create a common

economic space without a high-quality system of collective security. Economic cooperation cannot develop properly without proper provision of military and political security. Therefore, ensuring the security of one's state is a top priority both for Kazakhstan and for other countries in the region.

Thus, the ideas of Eurasianism of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev and their development in modern history are progressive and dynamic. Further prospects for the implementation of this initiative are large-scale and represent one of the priority directions of the country's development, moreover, a considerable part has already been translated into reality. Eurasian integration clearly demonstrates that the formation of the same type of national models does not abolish the political independence of the states of the region. At the same time, numerous prerequisites are being created for a modernized type of their relationship, which is based on trust, partnership and the application of the same principles and criteria to both economic and political interaction.

In the first half of the 2010s, Eurasian integration made a big leap. A common customs tariff has been introduced, internal customs borders have been removed, and Eurasian integration institutions have been created. In 2015, a full-fledged common labor market was created – in terms of benefits for specific people, perhaps the greatest achievement of Eurasian integration. There have also been successes in recent years – progress has been made on unified technical regulation, the Customs Code has been adopted, a common pension space has been formed, and the first free trade agreements have been signed. But in general, the pace of Eurasian integration

has significantly decreased [20]. Complex coordination processes on the formation of sectoral common markets are conducted at the level of relevant departments and at the sites of the EAEU bodies. There are problems with the real content in the packages of documents on common markets. The formation phase has passed, and further steps in the development of integration processes will require more time, effort, and political will.

Now the Eurasian integration is faced with the issues of intensifying mutual trade, promoting EAEU goods on foreign markets, promptly eliminating internal restrictions and obstacles in trade, carrying out digital changes, and completing common markets. These and other issues will be considered at the next meeting of the Eurasian Intergovernmental Council at the level of prime Ministers on August 19-20.

On the eve of the Intergovernmental Council, it is useful to ask whether Eurasian integration has reached the "ceiling" and how has it overcome the pandemic? How much does integration help citizens and businesses of the Union countries?

The difficulties of overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 have once again shown the importance of cooperation and coordination of the efforts of our five countries. It is in such situations that the effectiveness of the integration association should manifest itself. The Member States and supranational bodies of the Union have taken joint measures to prevent and overcome the negative consequences of the pandemic, including measures to supply the necessary medicines and equipment, replication and expansion of vaccine production on the territory of the EAEU.

However, not all attacks on people and businesses have been neutralized or mitigated. A few examples.

Migration growth to Russia in the pandemic year from the CIS countries decreased by about 2 times, from Kyrgyzstan - by 10 times. The reduction in the number of migrants due to their seasonal departure and the subsequent closure of borders has led to a shortage of labor in construction, housing, courier delivery and taxis. In turn, this led to an increase in costs and an increase in prices.

More than 100 thousand students from Central Asia experienced similar difficulties with returning to study at Russian universities. Many were never able to return. Even with all the progress of digitalization, distance learning is not always affordable. It is not yet a full-fledged replacement for offline education either. Social integration suffers, which is achieved only in live communication. The Union could think about introducing a full-fledged program of educational (academic) exchanges. In the near future, we will publish an analytical development on the creation of the Shokan Valikhanov Educational Exchange Program in the EAEU with the distribution of training costs between the university, family and the state and priority on the training of engineering personnel.

We should not lose sight of the systemic agenda of the Eurasian economic integration, on which there are significant achievements. In my opinion, it makes sense to focus on the following tasks, the implementation of which will bring the greatest benefit to business and citizens of the EAEU member states [21].

Firstly, the completion of common markets and ensuring the fullest possible application of the Single Customs Tariff. The ultimate goal may be to maximize the coverage of the common market for both goods and services, and this implies real common markets for electricity, hydrocarbons, pharmaceuticals, and financial services. The amount of work in these areas will be enormous, especially given the need to focus common markets on sustainable and advanced economic development of the Union countries.

Secondly, the elimination/unification of non-tariff barriers is a necessary and important process for the modernization and cooperation of the economies of the EAEU countries. According to the EEC, in the period 2016-2020, approximately 85% of the identified barriers were eliminated in the internal market of the EAEU. At the same time, a significant part of the barriers does not get into monitoring, as they remain unformalized, which creates difficulties for developing mechanisms to overcome them. In practice, non-tariff barriers hinder trade more than generally low import duties. Without a successful fight against non-tariff barriers, the effectiveness of the single customs space is sharply reduced. The elimination of cross-border barriers between the Union countries, along with attracting long-term investments in fixed assets, will provide additional incentives for the development of industrial cooperation, the release of jointly produced products, including export-oriented ones.

Thirdly, the implementation of end-to-end integration projects of a systemic nature - primarily in the transport and logistics complex, the electric power industry

(including renewable energy sources) and information and communication technologies. What do we mean by end-to-end integration projects? Firstly, these are projects with a cross-border dimension - implemented by two or more countries. Secondly, these are initiatives that form the framework of the Common Eurasian Market - projects that "stitch together" the fabric of the EAEU economies and change the appearance of industries and markets due to their infrastructural nature. Stimulating the creation of such projects, which are still in short supply, it is important to initially focus them on providing a beneficial long-term environmental and social impact on national economies [23].

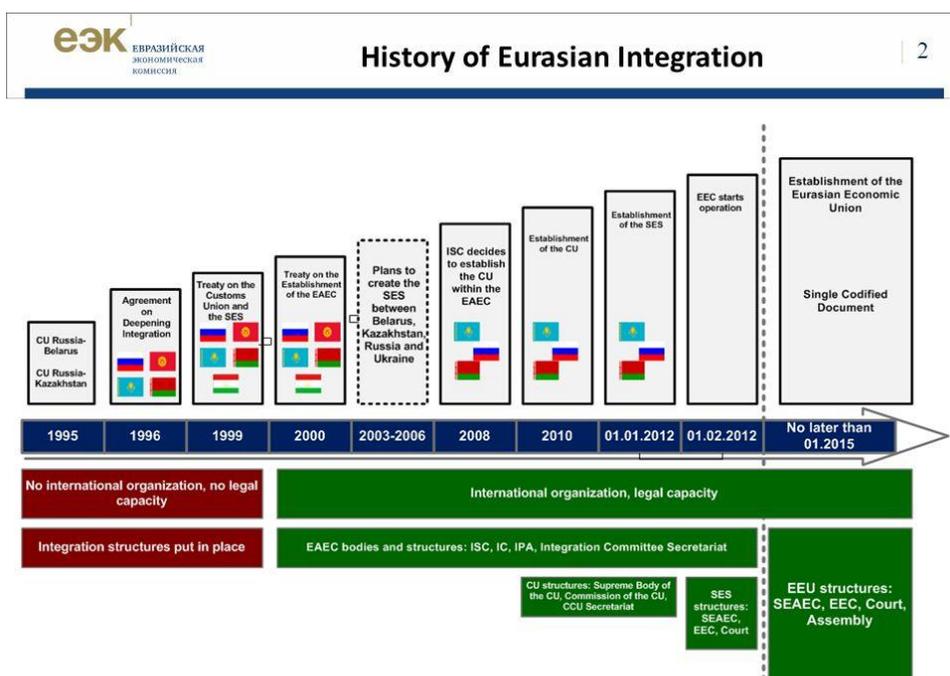
Fourth, integration into the global economy and value chains is a separate and important task. And here the EAEU can help a lot. It is worth noting that the achievement by the EAEU countries of more favorable conditions for access to foreign markets in the long term will also contribute to improving well-being throughout the Union. This is ensured through the channels of trade, investment, technological cooperation and other instruments "sewn" into free trade agreements. After the initial "training" on small trading partners, breakthroughs with larger and more significant partners for the economies of the EAEU countries – for example, with South Korea - could be put on the agenda.

### **3. The EAEU is a successful result of Eurasian integration**

The Republic of Kazakhstan is an initiator and active participant of many integration processes. The idea of Eurasian integration was outlined for the first time by

President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev in 1994. This initiative, which was considered audacious at that moment, had had an ambiguous perception at first. However, over the course of time it has been developed and received support.

As a result, the Customs Union and later the Common Economic Space were established, while on January 1, 2015, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia founded the Eurasian Economic Union. At that year the Republic of Armenia and Kyrgyz Republic became the full-fledged members of the EAEU [22].



Along with the European Union that started to develop in the middle of the 20th century, the EAEU became the second example of the sound economic union in the world [22].

The EAEU is not a political organization. During the work on the EAEU Treaty the member-states willfully refused to politicize the union and to include the issues affecting the national sovereignty in the competencies of the EAEU. Therefore, the EAEU solely deals with issues of economic cooperation, and ensures the principles of the sovereign equality, equality of rights and consideration of national interests of the member-states.

The EAEU is an international organization of regional economic integration based on the treaties reached by member-states within the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space.

The EAEU provides free movement of goods, services, capital and labor, pursues coordinated, harmonized and single policy in the economic sectors determined by the Treaty and international treaties within the EAEU.

The EAEU has been established to create the conditions for sustainable economic development of the member countries to improve the living standards of population; to form the common market of goods, services, capital and labor; to promote the comprehensive modernization, cooperation and increase the competitiveness of the states in the context of global economy.



On January 1, 2018, the new Customs Code of the EAEU came into force. In Kazakhstan, explanatory and organizational preparatory work was carried out in a timely manner with the participation of representatives of state bodies and the business community. In particular, Kazakhstan sent 552 amendments (38% of all amendments), of which 65% of the amendments were adopted. The new Customs Code was synchronized with a number of laws of Kazakhstan: amendments were made to the Tax, Environmental Codes, the Code of Administrative Offenses, etc.



Sources: National Statistical Agencies of Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus

The foreign trade turnover of the Republic of Kazakhstan in January-December 2017 amounted to \$77,646.8 million, an increase of 25.0% compared to the same period in 2016. Including exports – \$48,342.1 million (growth - 31.6%), imports – \$29,304.7 million (growth – 15.5%). At the same time, the mutual trade of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the EAEU countries amounted to \$17,359.6 million, i.e. 22.36% of the total foreign trade turnover of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The growth of Kazakhstan's trade with the EAEU countries in January- December 2017 compared to the same period in 2016 amounted to 25.9%. Including exports of \$5,118.3 million (+30.2%), imports — \$12,241.3 million (+24.1%). The level of trade turnover between Kazakhstan and other EAEU members is much lower. For example, the trade turnover of Kazakhstan with Kyrgyzstan in January – December 2017 amounted to \$758.4 million; with Belarus – \$604.1 million; with Armenia – \$9 million. For comparison, the trade turnover of Kazakhstan with all EU countries in 2017 amounted to about \$30 billion. Integration sentiments in Kazakhstan are supported not only by representatives of older generations, most of whose lives were spent in the USSR, but also by young people. The results of sociological studies conducted by the Institute of Eurasian Integration indicate support for the country's foreign policy priorities (87%), and Kazakhstan's participation in the EAEU (86%). Kazakhstan's society has a high level of support for the country's participation in the EAEU – 86.4% of the surveyed population and 98% of experts approve of Kazakhstan's

participation in the EAEU. This level has remained high for the past four years – for example, measurements in 2014 showed a level of approval among the population of 84.8% [22]

Thus, thanks to the EAEU, Kazakhstan will be able to use its transit potential with uniform transport tariffs in a single customs space. It is the developed transport infrastructure that will have a positive impact on the expansion of industrial production within the country, and therefore on improving the material well-being of the population.

For Kazakhstan, the perception of Eurasian integration and the assessment of its development at present and in the medium term will be determined by the following factors:

- 1) expansion of opportunities for the export of Kazakh products;
- 2) assistance of the EAEU to the realization of Kazakhstan's foreign trade potential in trade with non-EAEU member states;
- 3) the ability of the EAEU to promote the realization of Kazakhstan's transit potential;
- 4) the development of macroeconomic regulation in the EAEU;
- 5) creating conditions in the EAEU for the growth of business activity and increasing investment attractiveness;

6) the formation of the EAEU single financial market and the formation of the EAEU financial center in Kazakhstan.

It should be noted that Kazakhstan's industries focused on the domestic market are less attractive than exporting industries, both from the point of view of competitiveness (prospects for production growth, development of new markets, building competitive advantages) and from the point of view of credit reliability (profitability of production). According to the results of the macroeconomic analysis of the development of the main sectors of the economy of Kazakhstan within the framework of the CES and the EAEU, it was also revealed that the orientation of the country's economy is still raw materials. The results of the study showed that mainly export-oriented goods of Kazakh origin are raw materials and intermediate consumer goods, while finished goods in Kazakhstan are import-oriented [23].

It is important to deepen cooperation in key sectors of the economy, joint infrastructure and industrial projects. Eurasian integration covers exclusively issues of economic cooperation. The Eurasian Economic Union is represented by sovereign post-Soviet states with their politically dependent, semi-colonial past and incomplete market restructuring of the economy. These States are at the stage of formation with an emerging national economic system. The situation in the European Union (EU) is presented in a different way. It is an integration union of states in the core with a developed economy, defined as sovereign states and historically established trade and economic ties. EU theorists (Bela Balassa, etc.) substantiate the stages of its formation, the classical five-stage theory of regional

integration: - free trade zone; - customs union— - common market of investments and labor, which complement the common market of goods and services; - stage of economic and monetary union, unification of macroeconomic, monetary, tax, social policy; - and the last stage - the formation of a political union with a coordinated foreign and defense policy. In line with the stage theory of regional integration by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. A. Nazarbayev put forward the idea of priority socio-economic modernization of the Eurasian Union. The concept of ensuring, first of all, the economic independence of the EAEU member states should be the basis for their equal economic relations within the framework of a regional union with access to the world market. Without solving the problems of overcoming economic inequality and turning them into full-fledged members of the EAEU, it is impossible to expect a transition to higher stages of integration. The model of Eurasian integration cannot be historically correlated with the practice of the high stage of development of European integration. In the EAEU, national economies are incomparable in terms of technology, are not cooperative and are not yet complementary. They are at the stage of formation and structural transformation. There are no integrated production structures within the EAEU that ensure its internal needs and export opportunities. There is a need for a critical rethinking and step-by-step formation of the production and economic model of integration of the economies of the EAEU member states. The ultimate goal of integrated economies should be to increase their competitiveness as an integral system. For developing countries, the integration process should take place in stages. The formation of

independence of young states is only possible on the basis of the consistent formation and strengthening of the economy of each of them and the establishment of open liberalized relations with all member countries of the World Trade Organization (WTO). From these positions, the postulate of President N. A. Nazarbayev's statement on the primacy of economic ties in the formation of the EAEU appears to be a vital prerequisite for "protecting", first of all, the political sovereignty of young states and a condition for the formation and strengthening of integration unions. The importance of rational choice of the participants of the integration association and the symmetry of their economic potentials are also being investigated by Russian scientists, especially on the experience of the EU and Russia, CIS countries.

Economic integration in the modern sense, when advanced economies lay the blocks of the fifth and sixth technological structures, the links between low-industrial and agricultural raw materials economies are seriously complicated. Such systems do not complement each other and do not stimulate technical and technological progress, compete with each other in the raw materials market. They are oriented in consumer expectations to technologies and consumer goods of developed countries. The integration processes in the EU and the EAEU differ in priorities: the EU initially pursues the goals of efficiency and competitiveness of the emerging structures, which is dictated by the relatively high level of economic development of the member countries of the association. Modernization and economic development are first of all priorities in the EAEU. Technological and

investment exchanges are important here to increase the levels of economic development of the member countries of the integration union. The EAEU unites countries whose economic structure is relatively uncompetitive when integrated into the global economy and which face the task of radical modernization and overcoming raw material specialization. A generally recognized feature of Eurasian integration is Russia's leadership as the largest economy in the region. But its participation in the technological and investment exchange does not have a dominant influence, does not provide the task of modernizing the economies of the member countries of the association. Unlike the EU, the national economies of the EAEU are experiencing a constant shortage of investments and new technologies to solve the problems of structural transformations, the development of natural resources. The EAEU initially had different goals of integrants: Kazakhstan pursued economic interests without infringing on political prerogatives. In terms of formulation, this position can be formulated as: - export facilitation based on common customs regulations— - duty-free trade in the unified EAEU territory; - connecting Kazakhstan to global transport hubs with access to markets and sea routes of the Middle East, China, Russia and the EU. Geopolitical goals were important for Russia: strengthening the position of a regional power with the simultaneous formation of a single economic space. This is evidenced by the constant initiatives of the Russian Federation to accelerate the formation of a number of important blocks of the supranational superstructure affecting the political sovereignty of satellite countries. In particular, the proposals of the State Duma on a single

parliament, following the example of the EU, a single currency, a single defense union, etc.<sup>4</sup> Russia and Kazakhstan are comparable to the positions of countries that have been subjected to the consequences of the "raw materials curse". They are starting to solve the problems of innovative industrialization, complicated by overcoming the consequences of deindustrialization during the crisis years. At the same time, the EAEU members are countries with a definite raw material economy, which is clearly seen from the structure of their exports and foreign trade, where the share of hydrocarbons and metallurgical raw materials reaches 65-70%, not to mention the share of innovative products, which is 3-5% (according to official statistics), and in the exports of developed economies it reaches 30-35%. In the reproductive aspect, the significance of the EAEU countries for each other in terms of real cooperation with access to joint final products of multinational firms is still unattainable. Neoindustrialization programs are implemented at the level of national economies. The financial, budgetary, and monetary policy of each of the EAEU members is formed autonomously, based on programs and forecasts of socio-economic development at the level of medium- and long-term strategies and objectives determined by the level and sectoral structure of their economies. At the same time, the issues of financial and monetary policy, as key in the formation of economic sovereignty, appear to be the exclusive prerogative of each of the EAEU members. The mechanisms of their formation and strengthening cannot be delegated to supranational bodies of any integration entity [24]. The norms of the Maastricht Agreement as a model of an economically developed community of integrated States

should be achieved by each member of the community relatively independently. Of course, with economic cooperation within the framework of the integration union. On the basis of the institutional transformations of the economy at the high stage of the integration union, as it is implemented in practice by the EU, the conditions for a financial and monetary union at the level of supranational bodies may mature. But this is practically a long-term prospect. Otherwise, it will actually be the dominance of a stronger cartridge. We are talking about the imbalance of the capacities of the Russian and Kazakh economies and the unwillingness of the latter to open international competition in the absence of its diversification.

The concept of the exclusively economic nature of the content of the EAEU is maintained thanks to the efforts and consistency of the position of the President of Kazakhstan, which is reflected in the provisions of the Treaty on the Integration Union. In August 2014 Russia has announced anti-sanctions against manufacturers of products from the USA, the EU, Australia, Norway and Canada. Belarus and Kazakhstan have not accepted such sanctions, have not joined the Russian embargo. As a result, the first basic principle of the integration association was violated: the trade policy of the EAEU members becomes less coordinated. The basic principle of the organization of the EAEU as an economic union has come into conflict with the political motives of sanctions, which is incompatible with the declared priorities of economic, food and, finally, national security of the EAEU member states. In this regard, the problem arises of a clearer theoretical and legal justification of the problem of the institutional organization of the integration union - the EAEU as an

economic union and the introduction of definitely clear provisions in the Treaty on the EAEU. In the EAEU, the current international difficulties experienced by Russia in relations with the Western bloc are reflected in the situation of Kazakhstan. The Republic finds itself to a certain extent hostage to these contradictions. Kazakhstan's economy is 10 times inferior to Russia's, but more than twice as large as the economies of other EAEU members - Armenia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan combined. For Kazakhstan, taking into account the urgency of solving the tasks of the Industrial and Innovative Development Program, especially the II five-year plan (2015-2019), the problem of finding real and more effective partners in foreign trade arises. Economically, the sovereignty of the republic is realized outside the EAEU. In the conditions of isolation of Russia from the outside world, the President of Kazakhstan offers a new way to expand opportunities for access to new technology and modern consumer goods in the markets of the EU, ASEAN and the East. And it is quite natural that N. A. Nazarbayev's statement in his Address to the people of Kazakhstan "... It is important to make 2016 the year of deepening economic relations of the Union with third countries and key integration associations" [25]. In the current conditions, Kazakhstan, on the way out of the crisis, initiates access to the markets of technologically developed countries, which practically opens access to the achievements of the fourth industrial revolution. In 2015, the volume of Kazakhstan's foreign trade decreased by 37% from the level of 2014 and doubled from 2013, and with the EAEU countries – by 20%. In August 2015, the tenge exchange rate collapsed by half against the dollar. Trade turnover within the union

fell by 26%, and the bloc's states spent an average of 10-15% of state reserves to maintain their exchange rates. The volume of Kazakhstan's GDP, according to estimates, in 2016 could fall to the level of 123 billion dollars, which is 2 times less than in 2013. GDP per capita will be 6.9 thousand dollars compared to 12.3 thousand dollars in 2014. Moreover, the country's foreign trade turnover for 11 months of 2016 decreased by 21.5%, or up to 55.3 billion dollars. These negative trends were a direct consequence of the global economic crisis, the collapse of prices for hydrocarbons and metals, the instability of the exchange rates of tenge and the exchange rates of Kazakhstan's trading partners in the EAEU, the economic sanctions of the West against Russia. Under these conditions, Kazakhstan and Belarus were forced to protect strategic sectors of the economy, and they refused to impose retaliatory sanctions against the European Union. With increasing competition on the world market and the press of US and EU economic sanctions against the Russian Federation, the latter's opportunities for innovation and the release of the latest technological products are objectively narrowing. The hope for import substitution of Russia's own needs in new technologies is, of course, limited by the time lag of the organization of new productions in this area. In these conditions, Kazakhstan objectively needs a market of advanced equipment in the markets of developed countries outside the EAEU. The sovereign rights of the Republic in providing urgent needs at the new innovative stage of the II five-year plan of the PIIR of the Republic of Kazakhstan are objectively conditioned. As the practice of the functioning of the EAEU shows, the problems of economic growth

solved within the framework of the integration union, at the first stage, should primarily be the lot of the domestic policy of a sovereign state. This includes macroeconomic problems of rates, proportions, financial, credit, monetary policy, international economic relations agreed at the level of customs policy within the framework of the integration union. This is the only correct approach from the standpoint of mobilizing internal reserves and taking advantage of integration ties, including duty-free movement of goods, free movement of labor, free application of investments and other forms of capital. Such functioning of integrated economies from the perspective of using the advantages of the integration union and mutual cooperation will lead to a consistent alignment of the levels of economies, optimization of finances, currency relations of national economies. Approximate standards for the functioning of the economies of the EAEU member states will be consistently achieved. This is the level of the Maastricht Agreements that the EU reached in the 90s. This is the level that is being forced by the Russian Federation within the EAEU through the accelerated creation of supranational bodies, the politicization of the union by administrative measures. In our opinion, such a formalized approach does not solve the problem of overcoming the actual economic and social inequality of the EAEU member states, which should be achieved consistently through the interconnected development of integrated economies based on the use of internal resources and the benefits of cooperation. The EU has been coming to this level of problem solving for 65 years of its operation. There are still plenty of unresolved issues of alignment in the union of 27 EU states. First of all,

the problem of leveling the levels of economic and social development of the integrated states at the expense of the internal resources of each of the economies and the effectiveness of their interaction in the field of economics and finance is primary. The emerging form of economic integration of the EAEU member states is characteristic of developing countries that have not reached the post-industrial stage structurally and technologically. And the implementation of the strategic goals of the EAEU will objectively go through certain stages of integration from trade and economic to actually federalist projects with a supranational association. At the same time, the main and decisive thing is the consistent improvement of the economic positions of the members of the union. It should be borne in mind that the experience of integration of EU countries, moreover, most of which have passed the stage of post-industrialism, cannot be universal. The concept of "minimal" or "flexible integration" is becoming popular. We are referring to the Brexit initiative and the experience of the Scandinavian countries with their traditional commitment to national state institutions and mechanisms and a rather pessimistic attitude towards so-called federalist projects. The practice of international relations justifies the combination of an integration policy with specific strategically key partners and a policy of interaction with all others, differentiating approaches to bilateral relations as much as possible. Closer inter-country trade, economic and industry ties within the framework of the EAEU are facilitated by favorable relations for doing business. Kazakhstan on the terms of attracting foreign direct investment, tax rates, etc. Kazakhstan occupies a privileged position among developing countries. According

to the terms of taxation, the republic ranked 17th among 189 countries. Kazakhstan provides investors with a 10-year exemption from corporate tax. New investors in the processing industry, according to the new provisions, 30 percent of investments are returned after the facility is put into operation. According to Cyril Muller, Vice-President of the World Bank, Kazakhstan occupies an honorable 35th place in the "DoingBusiness" indicator, having risen by 16 positions compared to 2016 [26].

Access to global markets for both exports and imports is critically important for us. We must understand that if we do not have the Common Economic Space, then there will be problems both in the sale and in the transit of our goods. At the end of the 90s, the quota for oil exports through the Russian pipeline system (KTP) was 3.5 million tons, today we export more than 70 million tons. T.7 The advantages and benefits of Kazakhstan as a part of the EEC (Eurasian Economic Union) are obvious:

- a more simplified option for transit and sale of our main goods (oil, raw materials, grain, etc.) to the main consumers – the EU (European Union), Russia, the countries of the East; – under the conditions of creating and doing business, Kazakhstan is more attractive to foreign and allied investors. A number of Russian and Belarusian enterprises have opened their branches in Kazakhstan. Russian businessmen are interested in Kazakhstan as a consumer of industrial goods (machinery, equipment) and as a major supplier of raw materials. In macroeconomic terms, large industrial enterprises in the oil and gas, mining, metallurgical, chemical and other strategic sectors of the country, which form the basis of our budgetary well-being, benefit from the EEC. Russian business needs us as consumers of industrial goods. This is

evident from the structure of our trade turnover. Almost 40% of all Russian machine-building exports (2015) goes to Kazakhstan.\* In conditions of increasing competition on the world market, objectively mutual integration should strengthen, especially when the pressure of economic sanctions from the United States and the West puts pressure on the Russian economy. As world practice shows, even self-sufficient economies of the USA and the EU need mutual support and expansion of their markets. These countries are actively discussing the creation of a free trade zone within the framework of regular meetings of the G-20, G-7, as well as closer cooperation at the level of international integration associations NAFTA, Mercosur, ASEAN, etc. The EU (European Union), despite half a century of operational experience, is still busy searching for the best solutions and improvements to existing norms, especially in the field of improving the Maastricht Agreements (1992) and creating a single financial center (pool) to regulate the economies of EU member states, especially in the context of the global crisis. It should be recognized that the EAEU countries, individually and together, are not yet competitive enough in terms of technological level and economic efficiency [28]. The purpose of the creation of the EAEU initially: preferential protection of the domestic market from external competition. Eurasian integration therefore covers exclusively issues of economic cooperation between states. This is the most important principle of integration. Within the framework of economic integration, provisions that go beyond these problems are not considered, including issues of security, defense, the general parliament, passport and visa regime, and social policy. This is the position

of Kazakhstan, which has been repeatedly clearly expressed by the Presidents of the Republic of Kazakhstan at meetings of the Supreme Council of the EEC (Eurasian Economic Union) [27].

It is important how clearly the political dividends of such an association or the benefits of transportation (transit) of important resources outside and inside the EAEU are combined with the interests of the integrated development of the republic's economy, the construction of vertically integrated holdings with the receipt of final products as the basic spheres of the national economic system. Kazakhstan does not yet occupy a leading position in the Eurasian Union. The country is largely dependent on imports of industrial and consumer goods. The hope and target setting of the republic is a bet on the mobilization of internal reserves, the use of a liberalized foreign market, a lower level of taxation. This is important in the competition and adaptation to the new WTO conditions. Today Kazakhstan is deeply integrated into the world economy, trading with 184 countries of the world. The Republic is one of the largest exporters of raw materials - oil and gas, metals, uranium. The export quota (more than 76 percent), the correlation of the tenge exchange rate (20%) – all these measures are actual support for export-oriented sectors of the national economy. At the same time, exporters receive the main prize.<sup>8</sup> The experience of the EU (European Union) confirms that the members of the association are consistently connected to economic integration, bringing their industries and spheres to the level of international competitiveness. In this regard, only extractive industries are ready. Kazakhstan's economy is at the initial stage of

diversification. The Republic is not yet ready for real processes of international economic integration in the European sense. Undiversified extractive industries are still competitive, which already have free access to the world markets of hydrocarbons and metals. Solving the problem of diversification for Kazakhstan is still very difficult, because each of the countries has its own strategy, for example, "Russia-2030", "Kazakhstan-2050", aimed at diversification with a similar ultimate goal. Therefore, the industries and spheres of each of the member countries of the Union pursue their own goals, from the very beginning they are in an acute competitive struggle. The spheres of cooperation, combination in interregional, sectoral aspects solve their tasks, choose restrictive measures against other states (high tariffs) and lower tariffs for the sale of their products on the domestic market. In reality, such a policy objectively reflects the directions of intra-block competition for the promotion of Russian and Belarusian goods and the inhibition of identical products of Kazakhstan. There is a problem of competition in the foreign market of similar products. For Russia's finished products, the Kazakhstan market is profitable in terms of demand and price and has no alternative, which ultimately constrains the expansion of finished product production and, accordingly, the consumption of goods in Kazakhstan. The scale of national economies, their structure, differences in logistics and infrastructure are crucial and decisive for equal economic relations. The political aspects of integration, institutional, customs, and technical regulation are ahead of business processes, and the demand for industrial goods, machinery, and equipment is largely solved by supplies from Russia and China. There are no radical

changes in the structure, technological level of the economy of Kazakhstan yet. The process of integration into the EAEU, gaining momentum, is in the initial stage. The formation of the integration process is still characterized by inconsistencies in a number of important positions that require an evolutionary solution. So, objectively, the issues of creating a common market for oil and petroleum products, electric power industry have been postponed until 2025. The same applies to rail transport tariffs. High tariffs are beneficial to Russia, and the transportation of goods over long distances is not subsidized. The problem of equal access to pipelines and equal tariffs for pumping energy resources, including from Kazakhstan, has not yet been solved. These important infrastructure issues that have direct access to the functioning of these spheres in the economy of the EAEU members should directly determine the effectiveness and equal benefit of the new integration association. The current unequal institutional distribution of customs duties requires serious attention: 88 percent – the Russian Federation, 7.5 percent - the Republic of Kazakhstan and 3.5 percent - the Republic of Belarus. To the same extent, the distribution of the integration union's votes is unfair: 75 percent – the Russian Federation, 21.5 percent each - the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Belarus. In this scenario, consensus on any issue is not achievable. The absolute preponderance a priori remains with the Russian Federation, which already dominates in terms of economic, infrastructural, and personnel potential. As is customary in interstate associations, for example in the EU, each side should have a voice with absolute consensus (equality) in solving all cardinal issues of the organization, improving the activities

of the EAEU. The situation is radically changing with Russia's accession to the WTO. The liberalization of foreign trade and the removal of excessive import duties are inevitable. The current barriers to imports from outside the EAEU have already been removed. But at the same time, the customs tariffs of the Russian Federation determine the standards of Kazakhstan. There is an obvious mechanical transfer of Kazakhstan's dependent position in the Customs Union, when it is 92 percent determined by the standards of the Russian Federation. The obligations of the Russian Federation under the WTO a priori mechanically become part of the obligations of Kazakhstan, now regulated by the provisions of the WTO. This situation limits Kazakhstan's maneuverability within the WTO. Forcing Kazakhstan to follow in the wake of the Russian Federation infringes on its state sovereignty within the WTO. Customs tariffs in Kazakhstan, depending on the significance and specialization of certain areas, should be decided in the interests of our country. At the stage of changing the previous technical basis, the world economy is actively solving the issues of transition to a new technological order, experiencing the so-called "storm of innovations" [29].

Public-private partnership, especially at the stage of commercialization of advanced technologies, will stimulate the knowledge-intensive type of related industries. The issue of the expediency of transferring state-owned natural resources to the management of a special state-owned company operating in a commercial mode requires special attention and decisions of scientific and executive bodies. The natural rent accompanying the ownership of the subsoil is one of the factor incomes,

the formation of which is normally carried out by the market. Moving away from the universal tax form of income accounting into the form of a selective, rental mechanism would allow, based on the application of competitive procedures, to more accurately take into account the specific characteristics of individual subsurface resources. A special company would operate assets that the state is ready to provide to the private sector on a lease basis. Where the state is a major shareholder, the executive power has the right to exercise the functions of the owner. For enterprises of strategic importance to the country's economy, government management is justified. Here, the regulator simultaneously performs the functions of the owner. The current technological level of the EAEU countries does not allow us to consider cooperation with them as a basis for innovative modernization of the economies of the member countries, including Kazakhstan. The time lag of reaching the level of developed countries is really long. Therefore, an increase in the share of technological products, the transfer of new equipment is possible to a decisive extent at the expense of third countries [31]. Therefore, the state initiative and access to the technological markets of developed countries are of great strategic importance for the medium term. This is the key not only to meet the urgent needs of the domestic market, but also the leading link in improving the competitiveness of the economy of Kazakhstan. In this aspect, trade and economic cooperation with the high-tech market of the European Union in the context of WTO accession is of decisive importance in terms of structural adjustment of the economy, consistent deepening of industrial and technological integration with industrially developed countries. A

number of aspects of increasing Kazakhstan's economic position in the new integration union, proposed to the public, are primarily aimed at overcoming the emerging imbalances in customs tariff and tax regulation, unjustified protectionist measures and attempts to force supranational functions in the EAEU [30]. The subject of special attention should be the problem of overcoming the technological lag of the EAEU countries in general, Kazakhstan in particular. The development of theoretical and methodological foundations of a new scientific and technological concept and the activation of innovative ties with third, industrially developed countries is relevant. The scientific community is interested in a positive solution to the noted imbalances in the economic cooperation of the EurAsEC member states.

In the 21st century, it is impossible to imagine that the Eurasian Union would take place as a successful center of global power outside of the clearly discernible trends of global development. Integration is determined by the level of development of productive forces, the course of economic reforms, the territorial and sectoral structure of the state and other objective factors. It took quite a long period of time for the prerequisites to mature for the promotion of real cooperation. Now, in the light of the global political and economic shifts that have marked the new millennium, there is an understanding that in the interests of nations and states, it is necessary not only to create an economy of a separate, own state, but also to purposefully build relationships with other countries.

The position of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan plays a significant role in promoting integration. His initiative ideas and thoughtful tactics have had and

have an effective effect and in many ways serve as a catalyst for integration processes. Therefore, Kazakhstan has always been a supporter of integration processes in the formats of the CIS, EurAsEC, SCO and other associations.

All this determines the special place of Kazakhstan in the Commonwealth. Kazakhstan has developed good, trusting relations with all the EurAsEC states, and thanks to its initiatives, the Republic of Kazakhstan has also emerged as a regional leader among other Central Asian republics [31].

A number of significant changes have recently taken place in the trade and economic relations of the EurAsEC states, which generally bring it closer to the current norms and rules of international practice. Firstly, the scale of state foreign trade operations has sharply decreased; secondly, the role of indirect state regulation of foreign trade through the mechanisms of tax, currency and customs control has increased; Thirdly, the creation of a foreign trade mechanism based on the limited use of non-tariff methods of regulating the export of raw materials and protectionism has been largely completed. Thus, it can be stated that by now the economic prerequisites for the final transition of the EurAsEC countries to a free trade regime have matured.

Continental integration is the way to global integration. Only awareness of the global interdependence of these processes will help humanity solve many global and regional problems. Therefore, the new stages of integration processes that have emerged within the CIS - the Eurasian Union, then the Eurasian Economic Community, are projected into the global integration stream.

#### **4. Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)**

Humanitarian cooperation remains the main area of application of CIS public diplomacy, especially since the involvement of integration structures in conflict resolution in the literal sense

of the term is not laid down in the statutory documents of the Commonwealth.

The security sphere is regulated in the post-Soviet space by other bilateral and multilateral mechanisms, a special role among which is played by the CSTO. And although public diplomacy of the CIS in the line of humanitarian cooperation in many ways "works" not only on the actual

cultural, educational, informational interaction of the partner countries, but also on the preventive settlement of contradictions, the softening of differences — in other words, on conflict prevention,

the direct projection of public diplomacy of the CIS on the conflict sphere is becoming increasingly important. In modern conditions, great importance is attached to the issues of ensuring international security and stability. This is an urgent task not only for the Central Asian region, but also for the entire world community. One of the important instruments of interaction and coordination of work to ensure collective security in our region is the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). The main objectives of the Organization are to strengthen peace, international and regional security and stability, and to protect the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Member States on a collective basis [32].

The organization was established in 2002 on the basis of the Collective Security Treaty of May 15, 1992. The main activity of the Organization is military cooperation. At the same time, during the formation of the CSTO, issues of combating new challenges and threats, as well as foreign policy coordination were also included in its functionality.

The CSTO documents allow the purchase of weapons, military and special equipment at so-called preferential prices. This contributes to the rearmament of our Armed Forces, law enforcement agencies and special services with modern models of weapons and equipment, significantly saving financial resources [33].

In recent years, cooperation in the field of military-economic cooperation has become relevant. In 2016, the heads of state approved the Program of military-economic cooperation until 2018 and beyond. As part of the implementation of this document, it is planned to create a network of service centers for the maintenance of weapons and military equipment. This will increase the potential of the domestic military industry.

In addition, Kazakhstan trains its military personnel at military universities in Russia and Belarus on free and preferential terms. Kazakhstan, in turn, provides such an opportunity to colleagues from Armenia, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

The CSTO has created sufficiently effective cooperation mechanisms to ensure regional security and stability. At the same time, Kazakhstan is one of the most active member States of this organization. At the initiative of the President of the

Republic of Kazakhstan, Collective Rapid Response Forces have been created and are being systematically developed [32,33].

An effective system of collective security has been formed within the Organization, which includes coalition and regional groupings of forces, peacekeeping forces, special purpose units of law enforcement agencies and special services, as well as emergency situations agencies. In order to improve and develop the combat training of these units, as well as to work out the mechanisms of combat coherence, various joint exercises are conducted on a planned basis.

One of the priorities of Kazakhstan is cooperation in the field of information security. Thus, on December 23, 2014, at the session of the Collective Security Council (CSTO), the Protocol on Cooperation of the member states of the Collective Security Treaty Organization on Countering Criminal Activity in the Information Sphere was adopted.

In accordance with the initiative of the Head of State announced at the session of the CSTO Security Council in December 2015, special attention was paid to the fight against international terrorism and extremism. Following the results of the active work of the Kazakh side during the session of the CSTO Security Council in October 2016, a list of additional measures of the CSTO member states in the field of countering international terrorism was adopted and the Regulation on the formation of a Single list of organizations recognized as terrorist in the CSTO format was approved.

Also, one of the key issues of the session of the CSTO Security Council was the approval of the CSTO Collective Security Strategy for the period up to 2025. The document defines the goals and objectives in the field of ensuring military security and countering transnational challenges and threats, as well as directions for further development of the collective security system.

A practical step to ensure security was the creation of a Crisis Response Center, which is designed for informational, analytical, organizational and technical support of joint actions of the Organization's Member States to prevent crisis situations.

Since 2017, a new mechanism for the rotation of officials of the permanent working bodies of the CSTO begins to operate. Thus, in accordance with the Decision of the CSTO of December 21, 2015, the appointment of the CSTO Secretary General is carried out from among the citizens of the Organization's member states on a rotational basis in the order of their names according to the Russian alphabet. Due to the expiration of the term of office of the CSTO Secretary General N. Bordyuzha on December 31, 2016, following the meeting of the heads of the CSTO member states held on December 26, 2016 in St. Petersburg, the powers of the Secretary General of the CSTO are assigned to the Deputy Secretary General of the CSTO V.A.Semerikov for a period until the decision of the CSTO on the Secretary General of the CSTO is made.

In 2018, during Kazakhstan's chairmanship in the CSTO, the reform of the Organization's joint headquarters was completed, the CSTO Crisis Response Center

began functioning, and the coordinating council for standardization of weapons and military equipment was established.

In general, the Republic of Kazakhstan consistently advocates the creation of conditions that allow countering new challenges and threats on the basis of international law and solving the tasks of early warning and prevention of emerging threats, eliminating the fundamental causes underlying them. The complex of activities and mechanisms created within the Organization allows us to make a significant contribution to ensuring the national security of Kazakhstan and the region as a whole [34].

The key article 4 of the Treaty states: “If one of the participating States is subjected to aggression by any State or group of States, it will be considered as aggression against all States parties to this Treaty. In the event of an act of aggression against any of the Participating States, all other Participating States will provide him with the necessary assistance, including military assistance, as well as support with the means at their disposal in the exercise of the right to collective defense in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter.”

## CHAPTER III. PROSPECTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTI-VECTOR DIPLOMACY OF KAZAKHSTAN IN THE FIELD OF EURASIAN INTEGRATION

### 1. The main results of public diplomacy of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Last year our country celebrated the 30th anniversary of its independence. For many years, Kazakhstan has managed to achieve success not only in building its own statehood, but also to develop an effective model of foreign policy based on pragmatism and national interests.

In the early 90s, Kazakhstan was forced to face natural difficulties associated with the lack of a diplomatic service as such, professional personnel, a designated strategy and priorities in foreign policy, etc. According to the memoirs of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A.Nazarbayev, foreign policy activity was actually written from scratch. "We had no traditions of foreign policy activity. The Foreign Ministry performed far from diplomatic functions. Imagine a country facing difficult problems, but there is not a single diplomatic representation abroad, there are no the most elementary developments on foreign policy issues," Nursultan Nazarbayev noted. In addition, it should be emphasized that the period of formation coincided with the complex geopolitical processes taking place in the international arena at that time. These include reformatting the system of international relations, especially against the background of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of the Berlin Wall, the creation of new economic markets, the processes of democratization in a number of countries, etc [55].

In the process of building the main foreign policy contours, the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A.Nazarbayev played an important role, who initially set the task of decent positioning of the country in the international arena. In fact, all initial efforts were aimed at demonstrating Kazakhstan as a predictable, open and peace-loving country aimed at democratic development. The first practical solution was the refusal of the Republic to possess the second largest nuclear potential inherited from the USSR. The document that secured the legally nuclear-free status was the decree of the President, back then of the Kazakh SSR N.A.Nazarbayev, on the closure of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site on August 29, 1991. Last year marked the 30th anniversary of the signing of this decree. It is worth recalling that thanks to that pragmatic decision, Kazakhstan managed not only to receive security guarantees, but also territorial integrity from the world powers. The renunciation of nuclear weapons eventually became the "calling card" of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the world stage. This is evidenced by the numerous initiatives of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan on denuclearization. Kazakhstan's path in the field of disarmament, in turn, finds positive assessments among the leaders of a number of foreign countries [35]. So, according to the former US President B. President Nazarbayev is one of the exemplary leaders in the world in matters of nonproliferation and nuclear security. "Kazakhstan is an excellent example of how a country can give up nuclear weapons and achieve greater security and economic prosperity," he noted. The subsequent successful delimitation and demarcation of the State border is also an inseparable link in this issue. It is thanks

to the timeliness of this task that Kazakhstan currently has no problems with neighboring states in this matter.

## **2. Expansion and deepening of Kazakhstan's foreign policy in modern conditions**

In the second half of the 90s, the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan was significantly influenced by international transformations associated with the deepening of globalization processes. The most important factor was that at the turn of the second and third millennia, humanity faced new challenges and problems related to the global restructuring of the existing world order. The Asian financial crisis that broke out in July - December 1997. and it caused socio-economic upheavals not only in the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, but also far beyond its borders, including in the Central Asian region, clearly demonstrated the interdependence of economic and political processes in the context of globalization. The characteristic features of globalization are not only the deepening of interstate relations; the rapid growth of global trade and financial flows, transnational enterprises; the strengthening of contacts between different cultures; the universality of world science, but also environmental pollution, changes in the climate of the planet; the growth of the world's population, interethnic conflicts; genocide and ethnic cleansing; terrorism; the growth of international crime, drug trafficking. The leadership of our country, considering globalization as "a dictate of the times that cannot be slowed down or canceled" constantly draws the attention of the international community to the fact that the global problems that have arisen can be solved only by the efforts of the entire world community [36].

Speaking at the Millennium Summit held in September 2000 within the framework of the 55th session of the UN General Assembly - the largest forum of heads of 188 states and governments of the world in modern history, President N.A. Nazarbayev drew attention to the fact that globalization, dictating the contours of a new world order, can have many negative consequences, largely due to the obvious inequality of the countries of the world community. Therefore, the Kazakh leader called on the UN to develop "a model of globalization that takes into account the interests of all, relatively speaking, deprived countries as much as possible."

Therefore, according to the head of the Kazakh state, the strategic task of Kazakhstan's diplomacy at present is to "maximize the positive aspects of globalization and neutralize or negate its negative consequences." At the same time, special attention is paid to the preservation of multi-vector nature in the country's foreign policy. According to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A.Nazarbayev, "only by steadily implementing it and basing the world order on the principle of interdependence and sovereign equality of members of the international community, it is possible to unite the potential of all countries for a worthy response to the challenges of our time and create effective mechanisms for combining national interests and international efforts."

At the meeting of the Security Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan on March 15, 2001, at which issues of military, economic, information security, as well as strengthening of borders were considered, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan E.A.Idrissov outlined the Concept of Kazakhstan's foreign

Policy, which took into account emerging global and regional trends. The priority areas of the concept, which is based on multi-vector diplomacy, are:

- the development of integration processes in the first place, in the framework of the EurAsEC, the “Shanghai five” (14 June 2001, the Shanghai cooperation organization), CICA, CST, Central Asian economic Union;
- bilateral cooperation, in which the main partners of Kazakhstan are Russia, China, CIS countries, USA, EU, Japan, India, Turkey, Iran;
- issues of the Caspian Sea;
- work on the delimitation and demarcation of the state border—
- development of transit and transport potential—
- the problem of transboundary rivers;
- the economic component of foreign policy, the essence of which is to facilitate access of Kazakh products to the world market, on the one hand, attracting foreign investment in such sectors of the Kazakh economy as new technologies, mechanical engineering, infrastructure, agriculture, small business - on the other.

Unfortunately, today the hopes for ending the wars that arose after the end of the cold war have finally evaporated. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, more than 40 so-called small wars broke out, in which almost 5 million people died. According to the London Institute for Strategic Studies, 100,000 people, mostly civilians, died in 2000 alone. Millions of people have become refugees [54].

These human sufferings are largely the result of the exorbitant ambitions of politicians and simply unscrupulous people, rushing to power on the wave of populism, nationalism and social demagoguery, and then trying to stay on the power Olympus by any means and methods. Only in the post-Soviet space there are enough examples where oceans of blood, not tears, were shed: Nagorno-Karabakh, Transnistria, Abkhazia, Chechnya, Tajikistan [37].

Therefore, the foreign policy efforts of Kazakhstan's diplomacy are aimed at creating effective institutions in the UN, in such influential international regional organizations as the EU, OSCE, that not only warn about emerging conflicts, but also are able to eliminate the social and economic causes of conflicts at the embryonic stage. At the turn of the century, new disturbing phenomena of our time, such as international terrorism and organized crime, militant separatism, religious extremism, contradictions between and within confessions, interethnic conflicts, illegal trafficking of weapons and drugs, rapidly burst into our lives.

### **3. New horizons of diplomacy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Prospects for the development of foreign diplomacy of Kazakhstan in the focus of Eurasian integration**

Kazakhstan needs to expand the horizons of its foreign policy. This was stated by President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev at an expanded meeting of the Board of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recently. "In general, we need to expand the horizons of our foreign policy. Our sky-blue banner should be represented in all major regions of the planet. This fully meets the strategic interests of our country. Kazakhstan will continue to focus on maintaining its key status in the geopolitical and geo-economic

system of Eurasia,” the President said. At the same time, according to Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, since the beginning of the pandemic, “tectonic shifts” have been taking place in world politics and the economy, and global tensions are growing. “As a result, today our country has come to a turning point. We face the long-term task of preserving and strengthening the role of Kazakhstan on the world stage. In this regard, we must conduct a broad revision of the methods of foreign policy work and prepare appropriate systemic measures. The successful solution of this task depends on whether domestic diplomacy will be able to meet the requirements of the time and the aspirations of our citizens” [38].

The President noted that in the face of the growing geopolitical confrontation, “Kazakhstan does not oppose itself to anyone and will not allow itself to be drawn into international disputes.”

“We have clearly defined our path. We are implementing a balanced and balanced foreign policy based on pragmatism. At the same time, Kazakhstan remains committed to compliance with its bilateral and multilateral obligations. When controversial issues arise, we strive to find reasonable solutions based on full consideration of our national interests. We will never allow any agreements that would damage such sacred values for us as independence, sovereignty, inviolability of borders and territorial integrity. First of all, we must resolutely defend the interests of Kazakhstan,” Kassym-Jomart Tokayev said. According to the President, Kazakhstan has become an authoritative state, actively participating in regional and

global processes. The foundations of the country's foreign policy were laid by Nursultan Nazarbayev, Kassym-Jomart Tokayev recalled.

The significant milestone of the 30th anniversary of Independence obliges us to comprehend the path traversed by the state, to realize the problems and achievements, to outline the prospects for further development. Among the unconditional achievements, the Eurasian initiative of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan – Elbasy N. A. Nazarbayev, implemented in the creation of the Eurasian Union, strengthening friendship between Kazakhstan and Russia, occupies an important place [53].

Kazakhstan has come a long way in almost 30 years of its sovereignty. The country's leadership can note the impressive economic development, stability, strengthened sovereignty and respect for the brand "Kazakhstan" in the international arena. Looking far beyond 2025 and beyond, the Kazakh authorities have formed an ambitious concept to transform the country into one of the most developed countries in the world. Occupying a strategically important position between Russia, China and Central Asia, Kazakhstan was forced by geography and geopolitics to develop far-reaching strategies for its development. In the end, Kazakhstan, like other states, has the only goal – to leave a safe, nuclear-free world to the next generations [39].

Kazakhstan adheres to the principle of multi-vector both in foreign policy and in the sphere of foreign economic relations. Cooperation with Russia, the EU, China and other partners is of great importance for Kazakhstan. The issue of national sovereignty is particularly sensitive for Nur-Sultan. Kazakhstan has been

consistently implementing its own socio-economic development program throughout the post-Soviet period, and considers foreign economic cooperation, as well as its participation in integration projects, exclusively in relation to its own national priorities and tasks.

The idea of the Eurasian Union, voiced by the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev in 1994 at Moscow State University, was perceived ambiguously by many politicians, sometimes openly skeptical, although it found positive responses from the common population. Now, no one doubts that there is no alternative to integration, especially between our countries, which have deep historical roots and close economic ties, which will only strengthen with the launch of the Eurasian Economic Union.

The creation of the EAEU became possible due to the increased interest of a number of post-Soviet countries in deepening cooperation on a multilateral basis, which was preceded by a number of integration projects. At the same time, the creation of the Customs Union (and earlier – the EurAsEC) and then the EAEU faced a number of problems. Unfortunately, the start of the EAEU fell during a difficult period of the global financial and economic crisis, which could not but affect the work of this association. The Eurasian Union is now only at the beginning of its journey.

Kazakhstan's contribution to the search for solutions to global crises should be particularly noted. So, back in 1992, Kazakhstan launched the process of convening the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-building Measures in Asia (CICA), a structure for promoting security on the largest continent of the planet, where such a

platform had not existed before. By 2015, the conference had become a very influential forum bringing together 26 countries.

In 2010, Kazakhstan was the chairman of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), becoming the first CIS country to achieve this. Within the framework of its chairmanship, Kazakhstan managed to give a new impetus to the organization and convene the first OSCE summit in 11 years in Astana, which confirmed the principles on which it is based, paying special attention to the strategy of a single and indivisible community of Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security [40].

In 2011-2012, Kazakhstan headed the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (formerly the OIC) and took significant measures to create a better understanding between predominantly Muslim peoples and the rest of the world, and also, among other things, assisted in the formation of the OIC Commission on Human Rights. It was at the initiative of Astana and during its chairmanship that the Organization of the Islamic Conference changed its name to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation to reflect the larger goals of promoting cooperation between its 57 member States. In addition, on the initiative of Kazakhstan and during the Kazakh chairmanship, the OIC decided to create an Islamic Organization for Food Security.

Kazakhstan has contributed to international efforts to resolve the Syrian crisis by providing a platform for a series of negotiations with the Syrian opposition.

In addition, in 2014 and early 2015, President Nursultan Nazarbayev held a number of talks with international participants in the Ukrainian crisis, and provided

significant assistance in convening and achieving the final success of two Minsk summits on this issue, held in August 2014 and February 2015.

Finally, Kazakhstan has sent its observers to UN peacekeeping missions to maintain peace in Western Sahara and Ivory Coast. In 2015, Kazakhstan supported global efforts to combat terrorism and extremism by holding a Regional Conference on Combating Violent Extremism (BOE) for Central and South Asia in Astana, and also participated in the BOE summits in Washington and New York. At the UN General Assembly in 2015, Nazarbayev called on world leaders to step up their efforts to counter terrorism and proposed the creation of a Global Coalition (network) to combat terrorism under the leadership of the UN [41].

Since 2003, every three years Kazakhstan has hosted a Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions, initiated by the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Since January 1, 2017, Kazakhstan has been a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. Speaking about the agenda of the Republic of Kazakhstan as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, we can say that, in general, Kazakhstan's activities in this area can be divided into two main areas:

Kazakhstan, in its status as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, tried to strengthen cooperation and intensify contacts between various military-political and geo-economic organizations operating in the Euro-Asian security zone, which is also relevant for Belarus: the CSTO and NATO, the SCO and CICA, the

EU and the EAEU. Ideally, Kazakhstan calls on all UN member states, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, to rid the world of nuclear weapons by the 100th anniversary of the UN in 2045 [52].

Director of the Center of the Institute of Central Asia and the Caucasus S.Cornell and founder and honorary chairman of this Institute Prof.Starr prepared a new work "The role of Kazakhstan in international mediation under the First President Nursultan Nazarbayev" at the end of 2020 [41].

The study consists of four sections. The first one is devoted directly to the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan; the second one is devoted to the participation, place and activity of Kazakhstan in international organizations (CICA, UN, OSCE) and international diplomacy with the participation of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The third section covers the international initiatives of the Republic of Kazakhstan, including the peaceful settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the crisis of 2010 in Kyrgyzstan, negotiations on the Iranian nuclear program in Almaty, the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, the initiative to establish harmony in the Islamic world, the Turkish-Russian conflict of 2016 and the Astana negotiation process on Syria.

The authors note that over the past decade Kazakhstan has become an important player in the process of world mediation negotiations in the framework of international disputes and conflicts. Here, researchers pay attention to two aspects of the mediation role of the Republic of Kazakhstan: the first was the consistent implementation of a multi-vector policy; the second was the personal role and

activity of President N. Nazarbayev, who initiated the convening of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA). In the future, this initiative was supplemented by the OSCE Chairmanship in 2010. and the status of a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 2017-2019.

Two factors contributed to the success of Kazakhstan as an international mediator: the first was the goodwill of other participants who saw an "honest broker" in Astana; the second - and this is the main thing - a clear neutral position of Kazakhstan. And finally, all the efforts and, accordingly, the country's successes in the international arena were closely connected with the personality of the First President N. Nazarbayev. The authors ask the question: and in the future, in the long term, will Kazakhstan retain its unique role as an intermediary between great and regional powers?

The authors draw attention to the fact that Kazakhstan's previous successes in the international arena were tied to the personality of the first head of state and his authority. When answering a question, they tend to answer it in the affirmative [42]. Firstly, the successor of N. Nazarbayev is K.Tokayev is himself an experienced diplomat and once an international official from the top layer of the UN leadership. He was actually the co-author and direct conductor of the multi-vector policy of Kazakhstan. Secondly, Kazakhstan's mediation role will be in demand due to the ongoing rivalry of various external and regional forces in central Eurasia along the lines of Russia-Turkey, West-Russia, West-Iran, China-West, Turkey-China (in the

XUAR) and all together in Afghanistan. In this situation, the role of the RK as an experienced and trustworthy mediator is growing dramatically.

The promising foreign policy of modern states can no longer wander in the history of everyday life. And the main guideline today is the idea of multi-vector, integration and balanced cooperation - the idea of the mind of the heart and the heart of the mind of the people of Kazakhstan, which was first formulated by the President of our country.

Kazakhstan's foreign policy has withstood the test of time, and at the present stage is designed to carry a universal charge, which in the future will provide the people of Kazakhstan with a worthy place in the world community. It was historical time that proved the insight of integration ideas. After all, as Thales said, "time is wisest of all, because it unites everything."

## CONCLUSIONS

Last year Kazakhstan celebrated its 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of independence. Over this period of time it has strengthened position in the international relations, has established itself as a peaceful and open state, a reliable partner in global and regional affairs. Kazakhstan implements a multi-vectoral, pragmatic and proactive foreign policy, makes a significant contribution to the formation and implementation of a global and regional agenda in the field of security, cooperation, and development. At the same time, the main attention is paid to the defense of national interests, constructive promotion of foreign policy and foreign economic priorities. European direction, along with Russian, Chinese and American, was initially defined as a key one.

The Kazakh direction of public diplomacy is developing very dynamically. At the beginning of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the idea of Eurasian integration plays a significant role in the Eurasian economic region. It has proven its historical significance as a path to the prosperity and well-being of countries and peoples. On this basis key political decisions have been made. The effectiveness of foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan correlates with the ability of the leadership to compromise - this is the foundation on which the foreign policy of Kazakhstan is built. Prospects for the development and practical application of public diplomacy in Eurasian region depend on two fundamentally important circumstances: firstly, on expanding the substantive dialogue, including more specific issues of Eurasian integration convergence, and, secondly, on the creation

of a system of a multilateral dialogue platforms with the participation of state and non-state actors not only of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) countries, but also of their regional environment. Kazakhstan serves as a “bridge” of communication between Asia and Europe, between the great cultures of the West and the East.

One of the main priorities of the policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan is to promote the development of the national economy in the context of globalization by ensuring equal positions of the country and Kazakh business in the system of world economic relations.

The Republic of Kazakhstan does not position itself as a global player, the main interests of Kazakhstan are concentrated at the regional level, which, however, does not exclude Kazakhstan's active participation in solving global problems of our time. Based on its geographical location and taking into account strategic interests, the Republic of Kazakhstan intends to further strengthen economic and political cooperation in the previously chosen foreign policy areas, while creating a solid foundation for stability, open dialogue and interaction in the Eurasian region.

Thus, it can be concluded that the multi-vector nature of foreign policy is an objective necessity, which during the existence of independent Kazakhstan has made a lot of positive things on the way to worthy entry into the world community. One of its results can be considered that Kazakhstan is a successful regional state, the initiator and locomotive of integration processes in the region, as well as an active participant in regional and global structures.

Now we have a formed model of Eurasianism in the form of the Eurasian Economic Union, which carries out fruitful economic activities and every year contributes to the expansion of interstate trade relations with the members of the organization. The EAEU member states recognize the positive significance of public diplomacy as an element of international interaction. The prospects for the development and practical application of public diplomacy in the EAEU depend on two fundamentally important circumstances: firstly, on the expansion of the substantive dialogue, the inclusion of more and more specific and even sensitive issues in it the Eurasian integration rapprochement, and, secondly, from the creation of a system of multi-party dialogue platforms with the participation of state and non-state actors, not only the EAEU countries, but also their regional environment. Intensive understanding of the phenomenon of public diplomacy and its realities, which is noted in the expert discourse of most countries. The EAEU suggests that this resource will be increasingly actively used in the interests of Eurasian integration development. The peoples united by a common historical memory and the civilizational community that has developed, despite cultural and confessional differences, are interested in increasing the authority of the EAEU on the basis of the most modern forms of information support and humanitarian interaction.

The full development of the ideological heritage of Eurasianism is embodied in real steps towards the establishment of the EAEU and the formation of real contours of the Greater Eurasian Partnership. This task is designed for many decades, and its solution will require joint efforts of scientists, government and

political figures, entrepreneurs to develop appropriate forecasts and projects. Solving these tasks will make it possible to achieve short-, medium- and long-term security and development goals in the context of Kazakhstan's self-preservation and the formation of an effective partnership in Eurasia. Life confirms the need to develop a new paradigm of socio-economic, technological and financial development of Kazakhstan, receptive to the lessons of the past, adaptive to the challenges of the present and future-oriented. It should have an interdisciplinary character and include a wide range of problems and solutions - historical, civilizational, geopolitical, cultural, philosophical, ideological and many others.

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