

PROSPECTS FOR A NEW LEVEL OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL RELATIONS OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN COUNTRIES

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ABSTRACT

The work examines the problems and prospects for the development of New Kazakhstan in the context of global challenges and risks of our time. In this regard, it is important to ensure the security and stabilization of the national economics of the Central Asian countries to enhance multilateral cooperation and interaction, especially in terms of cooperation and integration, the resumption of connections in the fields of trade, science, transport and logistics, education and culture. An expert assessment of the opportunities and development paths of our country is presented. The main directions of cooperation and interaction of the republic with the main partners in the Central Asian space and international groups and unions are presented.

Key words: Bilateral and Multilateral Relations, New Kazakhstan, Central Asia, National Economy, Development Prospects, Challenges and Risks.

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Орталық Азия кеңістігіндегі елдердің екі- және көп жақты қатынастарының жаңа деңгейіндегі болашағы

Аңдатпа. Жұмыста қазіргі заманның жаһандық сын-қатерлері мен қауіп-қатерлері жағдайында Жаңа Қазақстанның даму проблемалары мен перспективалары қарастырылған. Осы орайда, Орталық Азия елдерінің ұлттық экономикаларының қауіпсіздігі мен тұрақтандыруын қамтамасыз ету, атап айтқанда көпжақты ынтымақтастық пен өзара іс-қимылды нығайтуда әсіресе кооперация мен интеграция тұрғысынан, сауда, ғылым салаларындағы, көлік және логистика, білім және мәдениет байланыстарды қалпына келтіру маңызды. Еліміздің мүмкіндіктері мен даму жолдарына сараптамалық баға берілген. Республиканың Орталық Азия кеңістігіндегі негізгі серіктестерімен және халықаралық топтармен және одақтармен ынтымақтастығы мен өзара іс-қимылының негізгі бағыттары көрсетілген.

Түйін сөздер: екіжақты және көпжақты қатынастар, Жаңа Қазақстан, Орталық Азия, ұлттық экономика, даму перспективалары, сын-қатерлер мен тәуекелдер.

Перспективы нового уровня дву- и многосторонних отношений стран центрально-азиатского пространства

Аннотация. В работе рассмотрены проблемы и перспективы развития Нового Казахстана в условиях глобальных вызовов и рисков современности. В этом ключе важно обеспечение безопасности и стабилизации национальных экономик стран Центральной Азии для укрепления многостороннего сотрудничества и взаимодействия, особенно в части кооперации и интеграции, возобновления связей в сферах торговли, науки, транспорта и

логистики, образования и культуры. Представлена экспертная оценка возможностей и путей развития нашей страны. Представлены основные направления сотрудничества и взаимодействия республики с основными партнерами в центрально-азиатском пространстве и международными группировками и союзами.

Ключевые слова: дву- и многосторонние отношения, Новый Казахстан, Центральная Азия, национальная экономика, перспективы развития, вызовы и риски.

Introduction

In the context of modern challenges and risks, the world community is faced with the task of searching for international initiatives in the direction of global security, global development and global civilization. Taking this into account, the New Kazakhstan Program outlines principles that are an indispensable condition for the progressive development of international cooperation between Kazakhstan and other countries of the world on trusting terms, which are the basis for building a constructive intercountry dialogue in order to ensure collective security on a global and regional scale. A wide range of experts, specialists, government and public representatives from many countries showed interest in the new social policy of New Kazakhstan, praising the social initiatives of New Kazakhstan. The latter seem to be a necessary prerequisite for the development of new and fair models of the system of international relations, involving effective, strategic, mutually beneficial and comprehensive cooperation [1].

Methodology

By and large, today we are talking about the formation of a new level of intercountry relations on a bilateral and multilateral scale, which will give a certain necessary impetus to expand interstate cooperation and interaction in a global changing context. Representatives of expert communities note the readiness of their countries to develop cooperation with Kazakhstan in various fields: economics, foreign policy, culture, science and education, etc. Our country is interested in the advanced experience of foreign, especially European countries, primarily in the social sphere, including education and healthcare, as well as the development of social institutions. This is impossible without the stable positive dynamics of political dialogue between countries (the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan has placed emphasis on political reforms), the growth of economic cooperation for the future in the areas of rural development,

energy, transport and logistics, digitalization, civil aviation, production and use of critical resources and raw materials. All these together should be the basis for the development of comprehensive socio-economic reforms in Kazakhstan, important for the implementation of specific measures and projects to expand and strengthen cooperation with countries in the regional and global context and included in the international agenda, with regional security, interaction in Central Asia, the situation in Afghanistan, as well as developing a proper position on leveling out possible negative consequences, the sanctions confrontation between the Russian Federation and the EU for the national economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

When assessing the goals, objectives, main directions and, in general, the architecture of New Kazakhstan [2], it is necessary:

- further democratization and reform of the state apparatus; (strong president - influential parliament - accountable government);
- implementation of systematic solutions through real democratization and development of a market economy;
- based on the urgent situation in the world, the neutral position of the Republic of Kazakhstan acquires special value in the eastern direction;
- strengthening the main role of agriculture through the preservation of the environmental and socio-cultural values of the nation, the development of smart rural settlements using advanced technologies;
- formation of an effective model for the development of multifunctional agriculture similar to the EU countries;
- proper management and use of water resources, which are key to ensuring food security;
- improving education through innovative forms of education, establishing project-based learning, coaching, etc.;
- support for competitive small and medium-sized businesses;
- strengthening cooperation between the state and business;

- transformation of the Republic of Kazakhstan into a transport and transit hub of international scale, creation of a container hub in Aktau, development of the Trans-Caspian corridor, etc.;

- ensuring food security, we are talking about increasing production quantities, increasing the added value of domestic agricultural products, monitoring the allocation and implementation of subsidies, developing agricultural cooperation, etc.;

- priority to the welfare of society, it's social support.

Research results

In the modern period, economically, Kazakhstan appears as a special participant in the international market, having the longest land borders in the middle of the continent, this characterizes the country as a guarantor

of peace and security. Foreign policy has made a significant contribution to the positioning of Kazakhstan in the international arena. In the formation and development of the foreign policy strategy, the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan was determined and continues to be multi-vector [3]. This means developing balanced, pragmatic and constructive relations with regional and global powers and over the past 30 years has proven its effectiveness in the turbulence of geopolitical upheavals.

In other words, the country's foreign policy will not change; Kazakhstan follows its strategic initiatives to ensure collective security and sustainable development. In all areas of Kazakhstan's foreign policy, important steps are being taken to strengthen and deepen relations with the East (China and India, East Asia), neighboring countries (CA), the Islamic and Turkic world, the West and international organizations, as presented below in Table 1:

Subject (country/s, region, international organizations)	Characteristics/content of interaction and cooperation
Central Asia	<p>Independent Central Asian countries can pursue sovereign interests with partners with whom they are connected by the global market and international investments. K. Tokayev's participation in the Consultative Meeting of Leaders of Central Asian Countries in Turkmenistan on August 6, 2021 gave a new impetus to regional integration (strengthening the union, preventing competition with each other, a common position on important international issues, a common approach to world public opinion).</p> <p>November 18, 2021 The President noted that Central Asia is a priority region for the Republic of Kazakhstan. Strengthening the leadership of the Republic of Kazakhstan in Central Asia is an important task (the Republic of Kazakhstan is responsible for the fate of Central Asia and will continue the policy of regional solidarity).</p> <p>The Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan is taking measures to stabilize the situation with sanctions [4].</p>
<p><i>Conclusions: Thus, Kazakhstan continues its active and effective policy in the Central Asian region. According to experts, in Central Asia, Central Asian leaders are demonstrating their intentions to move away from disagreements and reach consensus. This is important for creating a unified Central Asian community with the goal of transforming Central Asia into a subject of international politics.</i></p>	
Turkic world	<p>Kazakhstan attaches special importance to the Turkic world. An important event in this direction is the 8th Summit of the Turkic Council, held in Istanbul on November 12, 2021. K. Tokayev's visit was of particular significance. The President's proposals at the summit are noteworthy in that they showed the continuity of Kazakhstan's policy in the Turkic world. Given the importance of Turkic integration, the organization should attach particular importance to economic, humanitarian and environmental cooperation. In February, M. Cavusoglu visited the Republic of Kazakhstan and held the 7th scheduled meeting of the Kazakh-Turkish joint strategic planning group. On March 3-4, 2022, Vice President of Turkey Fuat Oktay visited the Republic of Kazakhstan. K. Tokayev noted the high level of bilateral relations in the political, trade, economic, investment, cultural and humanitarian spheres and emphasized the need for further intensification of relations. During the visit, a Kazakh-Turkish business forum was held, and 11 agreements worth \$500 million were signed. K. Tokayev's visit to Turkey in May, and the participation of R.T. Erdogan at the VI CICA summit gave new impetus to bilateral relations and reflects the strategic nature of relations. Cooperation between the two countries has crossed the 30-year mark of establishing diplomatic relations.</p>

Asian tigers	<p>Thanks to the pragmatic foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, cooperation is deepening and strengthening the Turkic world.</p> <p><i>China.</i> On January 25, 2022, at the Central Asia-China Summit, dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Central Asian states and the PRC, special attention was paid to strengthening trade and economic ties. Deepening multilateral cooperation between the PRC and the Republic of Kazakhstan (direct connections between business structures, building new transport and logistics corridors, creating a pool of breakthrough innovative technological projects and continuous transport and logistics hubs, forming new points of economic growth, environmental problems, introducing the principles of a circular economy, reducing energy intensity, etc.) is important and relevant.</p> <p>The PRC and the RK have: a certain similarity of economies, industrial and infrastructure ties; Geography dictates the need for joint efforts in strategically important areas of economics and politics to develop effective tools and approaches for successful cooperation.</p> <p><i>India</i> is also a long-term partner of the Republic of Kazakhstan. After the "Central Asia – China" summit on January 27, K. Tokayev took part in the 1st summit of heads of state "Central Asia – India" on the initiative of the Prime Minister of India N. Modi.</p> <p>During the meetings, trade issues were also discussed (80% of the trade turnover between Central Asia and India falls on the Republic of Kazakhstan).</p> <p><i>East Asian countries</i> - effective cooperation continues. Thus, on January 26, 2022, a meeting was held between the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan Sh. Nuryshv and the Ambassador of Japan to the Republic of Kazakhstan D. Yamada, and on January 28 - with the Ambassador of the Republic of Korea Koo Hong Seok, dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Kazakhstan. It was about a strategic partnership."</p> <p><i>Japan.</i> On April 29, 2022, Minister of Foreign Affairs Y. Hayashi visited the Republic of Kazakhstan on an official visit, and the "Action Plan for 2022-2023" was signed.</p> <p><i>Iran and Pakistan</i> - Kazakhstan continues cooperation. On February 2, 2022, President K. Tokayev and President of the Islamic Republic of Iran I. Reisi discussed various aspects of bilateral cooperation. <i>Islamic Republic of Pakistan</i> - On January 26, 2022, representatives of the countries discussed cooperation in the political, trade, economic and humanitarian spheres and in the international arena. On March 22, 2022, the Republic of Kazakhstan took part in the 48th session (Islamabad) of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the OIC on the topic "Partnership for unity, justice and development."</p>
<p><i>Conclusions: Kazakhstan's Asian partners expressed support for Kazakhstan's overcoming the consequences of the January events and the continuation of its foreign policy. Instead of counter-sanctions, which are unlikely to be productive, an active and flexible trade policy should be pursued with wide coverage of the markets of Asia and the Middle East. The Republic of Kazakhstan can act as a buffer market here. In the perspective of the upcoming 10th anniversary, traditionally friendly countries: China, India, the states of the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, can become major investors in the economies of Central Asian countries.</i></p>	
USA	<p>Since 2001, the United States has been interested in the Central Asian region as a whole through the situation with Afghanistan [5]. After 2014, the United States is searching for a new model of presence in Central Asia. According to some estimates, Central Asia will cease to be a priority of US foreign policy [6], while at the same time, former Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs R. Blake noted that Central Asia is becoming increasingly important for the United States. In all likelihood, differences in determining the significance of the region are due to the lack of a Central Asian strategy. Today, the United States can shift the pole of interests from Central to Southeast Asia, the Asia-Pacific region and reduce the budgets of programs in Central Asia, as, for example, in 2011, when they sharply reduced funding for Central Asian projects from 436 to 126 million dollars with a gradual reduction to 118 million dollars [7]. in political, socio-economic and humanitarian projects. Within the framework of balancing cooperation in the military-political, interparliamentary, economic, cultural and humanitarian spheres, the Republic of Kazakhstan intends to strengthen the American vector of foreign policy.</p> <p>The United States has a positive experience of cooperation with the Republic of Kazakhstan. The main emphasis is on energy cooperation. In the future, the Republic of Kazakhstan will play a leading role in supplying energy resources to the countries of the Middle East, incl. Afghanistan and Pakistan. According to the United States, Kazakhstan can become a key actor in establishing a route for comprehensive cooperation along the so-called "New Silk Road" by involving not only the Central Asian countries, but also Afghanistan in the processes of regional integration. The United States uses a geopolitical approach and assigns the Republic of Kazakhstan the role of a leader in</p>

	<p>cooperation and turning Central Asia into a predictable and profitable region for US business. The Republic of Kazakhstan is a strategic partner for the United States; Kazakhstan's multi-vector foreign policy meets the interests of the United States. A balanced, multi-vector policy with an emphasis on preserving sovereignty will allow Kazakhstan to deepen relations with the United States in the format of strategic partnership tracks between countries: global and regional security, economy and investment, science and technology, energy cooperation, political development.</p> <p>During the 1st high-level dialogue between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the United States, Washington highly appreciated and supported the political reforms of the Republic of Kazakhstan on March 16, 2022 and emphasized the importance of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the implementation of US strategic plans in Central Asia. The imposed sanctions are aimed at reducing the negative impact on allies and partners, including the Republic of Kazakhstan.</p> <p>The Republic of Kazakhstan is part of the EAEU, which includes the Russian Federation, Belarus and other countries, but the Republic of Kazakhstan is also part of the international community. The Republic of Kazakhstan respects the territorial integrity of Ukraine and will implement only those decisions that are adopted at the UN level [8]. It is important for the Republic of Kazakhstan: 1) preventing the negative impact of sanctions on the national economy and 2) that the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan is not used to circumvent these sanctions. The Republic of Kazakhstan is critically important for the United States in order to promote a stable and prosperous Central Asia, whose independent states are connected by a common market and international investment. Today the world is faced with a crisis caused by the "unauthorized and unfair invasion in Ukraine by the Russian Federation" and, as a result, the destabilization of the international situation in the world. The United States has taken measures to protect its partners and allies, including the Republic of Kazakhstan, from the effects of these sanctions [9].</p>
Western vector	<p><i>Western world.</i> The Republic of Kazakhstan pursues an active policy towards the EU. Western partners highly appreciated the political reforms of the Republic of Kazakhstan and efforts to respect human rights. The Republic of Kazakhstan maintains a diplomatic position and states that processes are developing continuously and successfully, and a balance is maintained between high international standards and national interests. On January 10, 2022, at the initiative of the European side, K. Tokayev held negotiations with EU President Charles Michel. In addition to the internal political situation, the development of a strategic partnership between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the EU, which to this day remains the main trading partner of the Republic of Kazakhstan, was discussed. On January 19, 2022, M. Tleuberdi paid a working visit to Belgium. The main topic of the negotiations is the development of mutually beneficial, multifaceted cooperation between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the EU in all areas of bilateral relations. In March 2020, the "Agreement on Perspective Partnership and Cooperation" was signed, which accelerated the development of relations between Kazakhstan and the EU.</p> <p>The EU fully supports the reform policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan and is interested in the development of the Republic of Kazakhstan - the main partner of the EU in Central Asia. <i>Germany.</i> On February 11, 2022, Secretary of State of the Republic of Kazakhstan E. Karin and Plenipotentiary Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Central Asia, Eastern Europe and the Caucasus M. Luttenberg discussed Kazakh-German cooperation and noted interest in the further development of multilateral partnership.</p> <p><i>EU and RK.</i> The total volume of the economies of all EAEU states today is more than 2 trillion dollars, i.e., this is a huge market for goods, capital, services, and labor. Despite the pandemic and geopolitical upheavals, cooperation within the EU is consistently strengthening. On February 14, 2022, cooperation plans were agreed upon at the UN and OSCE. The partnership between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the EU means strengthening the integration of strategic production chains (mining rare earth elements, producing batteries for electric vehicles and storing renewable energy and green hydrogen), deepening economic ties and long-term partnerships [10].</p> <p>The volume of mutual trade in 2021 reached the maximum for the entire history of the EU - about 73 billion dollars, this is 1/3 higher than in 2020. The Republic of Kazakhstan and the EU signed a memorandum of understanding in the format of the Global Climate Change Conference (COP 27, Egypt) and strategic partnerships, i.e. prerequisites were created for establishing financial and technological cooperation between the Republic of Kazakhstan and EU industrial alliances. Kazakhstan is attractive for European business from the standpoint of diversified energy sources and high transport and transit potential, investment and trade cooperation. The EU is one of the major investors in the economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The success of Eurasian integration largely</p>

	<p>depends on the effectiveness of the overall trade strategy.</p> <p>Expanding trade and economic cooperation with third countries. Kazakhstan, as an active participant in integration processes, advocates mutually beneficial cooperation and collective security with international organizations and unions.</p>
RF	<p><i>RF and RK.</i> The countries have a common land border of more than 7,000 km and maintain stable relations. On February 10, 2022, 11 agreements were signed on the principles of mutually beneficial partnership, 6 of them related to education, and 5 to cooperation in the field of economics and energy.</p> <p>The Republic of Kazakhstan remains neutral regarding the special military operation and stated that it does not recognize the independence of the Donetsk and Lugansk regions and other territories of Ukraine. The Republic of Kazakhstan maintains a neutral position on this issue and believes that an early resolution of the situation in Ukraine is necessary [8]. In these conditions, Kazakhstan is trying to find a model for a new balanced policy in order to minimize risks, including sanctions. The Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation are strategic partners and allies, interact on a bilateral basis and in the international formats of the EAEU, CSTO, SCO. The Russian Federation is a key trade and economic partner of the Republic of Kazakhstan within the EAEU. The Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan has put forward the idea of developing a new trade strategy within the EAEU, taking into account the new economic reality. The full implementation of the agricultural potential of the two states is of particular relevance. According to FAO data, the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan occupy leading positions in the world in terms of agricultural land supply, which is especially important when global food security is deteriorating and is important for maintaining internal stability in countries.</p>
International and regional organizations/ groupings	<p>Sanctions confrontation. Perhaps Belarus's proposal to SCO members to bring payment systems closer together, increase payments in national currencies and create their own financial mechanisms is legitimate. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, in order to avoid secondary sanctions [11], is holding consultations with the EU and the USA. During January-April 2022, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan: On January 21, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan visited Vienna on a working visit and met with the leadership of the OSCE. During the negotiations, issues of further development of cooperation in the course of reforms in the Republic of Kazakhstan were discussed; On January 31, 2022, at the initiative of the OIC, M. Tleuberdi had a telephone conversation with the Secretary General of the OIC, Hussein Ibrahim Taha. Expressing support for the people and leadership of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Islamic world shows interest in the Republic of Kazakhstan and closely follows events in the country; On February 7, the Minister of Foreign Affairs also met with the Regional Representative of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in Central Asia R. Komenda to discuss current issues;</p> <p>- On February 15, Prime Minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan A. Smailov received the Executive Director of the CICA, Ambassador K. Sarybay, who reported on the implementation of the priorities of the chairmanship of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the CICA, which will become a full-fledged organization. The CICA has increased its effectiveness recently and has become one of the important foreign policy instruments of the Republic of Kazakhstan.</p> <p>Turkic cooperation institutions, in particular the Secretariat of the UTC, TurkPA, the International Turkic Academy, the Turkic Culture and Heritage Foundation supported the Republic of Kazakhstan in January 2022. Thus, the relations of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the Turkic world remain relevant.</p> <p>FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations). Approaches to ensuring food security should be developed at national levels and within the framework of regional associations, including the EAEU, taking into account the needs and interests of member states with food shortages.</p>
Future alliances and factions	<p><i>Greater Eurasian Partnership.</i> The issue of forming a Greater Eurasian Partnership is on the agenda. This concept will be focused, among other things, on creating a common space for equal cooperation between regional organizations. The Republic of Kazakhstan has a positive attitude towards the creation of this institute. In 2022, the Republic of Kazakhstan chaired the CIS. The successful experience of many years of functioning of the CIS in difficult geopolitical conditions proves the effectiveness of the tools of constructive multilateral dialogue. According to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan K. Tokayev, the CIS can become a platform for the implementation of such a megaproject. Moreover, the SCO, ASEAN, and EAEU could become an integral part of the Greater Eurasian space.</p>

Conclusion

In conclusion, we note that recent events require a reassessment of a wide range of external (geostrategic) and internal (national) factors. The main problems in the development of the national economy of Kazakhstan can be reduced to the following: the resource-based nature of economic development, low competitiveness of manufacturing industries, lack of investment, lack of long-term lending opportunities, inequality of socio-economic development of regions, etc. The Republic of Kazakhstan interacts with many countries of the world in solving various pressing problems, namely: ensuring energy security, solving socio-economic issues, fighting terrorism, separatism, bio- and epidemic threats, cybercrime (creating an infrastructure for protecting the information and digital field), protecting the environment, creation of an architecture for sustainable development of the country, etc.

In the medium and long term, maintaining the multi-vector nature of the country's foreign policy is necessary to strengthen the position and place of the Republic of Kazakhstan in world politics, as well as an economic breakthrough based on national competitive advantages in accordance with the concept of New Kazakhstan. The balance in relations with the great powers and the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan will be maintained, but the main attention will continue to be focused on the markets of the People's Republic of China, Central Asia, and the Russian Federation.

Since the economy of Kazakhstan is small by world standards, therefore, in the opinion of the country's leadership, it is legal and possible to organize its functioning in the format of a single national corporation, using similar structural and systemic management approaches in line with the effectiveness of state regulation of the development of the national economy. Socio-economic programs of strategic and long-term action of the Republic of Kazakhstan will help strengthen the country's position in regional and global geopolitics. For New Kazakhstan, economic integration in the context of the CIS, EAEU, SCO remains the main guideline for the development and deepening of foreign economic relations of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the context of further strengthening the state's position in the regional and global economic space.

This testifies to the commitment and consistency of the policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in accordance with existing international and regional agreements and treaties on interaction and cooperation in the context of modern geostrategic shifts and challenges to international security, as well as the need to develop scientific and methodological approaches to the formation of a balanced foreign policy of the country. The economic dimension of strategic partnership and mutually beneficial cooperation between countries at the present stage of development of their relations, as well as in the long term, depends on this.

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