

# Post-Soviet States

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Two Decades of Transition &  
Transformation



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## Two Decades of Transition & Transformation

*Editors*

Ajay Patnaik

Tulsiram



KW Publishers Pvt Ltd  
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# Contents

Contributors	ix
Introduction	xiii

## Section I

### Understanding Transition and Transformation in Post-Soviet States

1. Continuity and Change in Russia <i>James V. Wertsch</i>	3
2. Transition to Uncertainty: The Dynamics of Post-Communist Politics <i>R.R. Sharma</i>	15
3. Transforming the Post-Soviet Space: Customs Union and Eurasian Integration <i>Ajay Patnaik</i>	23
4. Models in Transition: The Turkish Model and Central Asia Twenty Years After <i>Anita Sengupta</i>	31
5. The Russian Perspective of Post-Soviet Transformation: Some Dimensions and Problems <i>A.K. Alikberov</i>	51

## Section II

### Economic and Political Transformation

1. Energy and Economy of Russia <i>R.G. Gidadhubli</i>	61
2. Republic of Belarus: Economic Transition and Transformation <i>Viachaslau Menkouski</i>	71
3. What are the effects of 2007-09 Global Economic Crises on Turkmenistan's Economy <i>Softiya Yuvshanova</i>	77

- |    |  |     |
|----|--|-----|
| 4. | Foreign Investments in The Economic Development of Tajikistan<br><i>Gafur Rasulov</i>                              | 87  |
| 5. | Globalisation and Labour Mobility in Uzbekistan:<br>A Study in Changes and Challenges<br><i>Tareq Ahmad Rather</i> | 97  |
| 6. | Uzbekistan: Impediments in Democratic Transition<br><i>Tabasum Firdous</i>   | 105 |

### **Section III Nation and State-Building**

- |    |  |     |
|----|--|-----|
| 1. | Unification of the Mongolian Historic and Cultural Community in the<br>Context of Post-Soviet Political Reality<br><i>M. Baldano and V. Mitpov</i> | 115 |
| 2. | Ethnicity and Culture in Contemporary Crimea<br><i>Preeti D. Das</i>   | 127 |
| 3. | Human Resource Management System in Oil and<br>Gas Industry of Kazakhstan<br><i>Senymgul Dossova</i>   | 135 |
| 4. | Historical Memory and State-Building in Ukraine<br><i>Lesia Parno</i>  | 151 |
| 5. | National Identity and Culture-Ideological Aspects of<br>Integration in Central Asian Region<br><i>Kamilla Sheryazdanova</i>                        | 161 |
| 6. | From ‘Militia’ to Police in Russia:<br>Overcome Crisis of Civil Distrust<br><i>Yacov Samodelkin</i>  | 169 |
| 7. | Newspeak of Post-Soviet Time:<br>Grammar and Politics<br><i>Lilia Katseva</i>  | 173 |

### **Section IV Society, Culture and Identity**

- |    |   |     |
|----|---|-----|
| 1. | Andrei Volos and Hurramabad:<br>The Dynamics of Russian-Tajik Relations<br><i>Rashmi Doraiswamy</i> | 181 |
|----|---|-----|

- 
2. Urban-Rural Relations in the Transition Period:  
The Case of an Animal Bazaar in Kyrgyzstan 189  
*İlhan Şahin*
  - 3 Two Decades of Transformation in Higher  
Education System of Kazakhstan 201  
*Bek-Ali Yerzhan*
  - 4 Siberia and Far East Facing Economic Migrants:  
The Outcomes of the First Decade of the 21st Century 207  
*Natalia Ablazhey*
  5. Roerich Movement in Post-Sovet Epoch:  
Problems and Dynamics of Development 213  
*Natalia R. Kravchenko and Vladimir Zaitsev 1*
  6. Literature and Problems of National Independence of Post-Soviet Era 219  
*Alexander Katsev*

### **Section V**

#### **Changing Geopolitics of Eurasia: Strategic Dimensions**

1. Kyrgyzstan Between Mistakes and Misfortune 225  
*P. L. Dash*
2. The Potential and Problems of Caucasia 237  
*Bariş Doster*
- 3 Oil and Gas Factor in the Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan 247  
*N. Aldabek and K. Gabdullin*
- 4 Energy and Democracy: What role for the EU in Central Asia? 257  
*Vanessa Boas*
- 5 Geopolitics of the Caspian Sea in the Civilisational Dimension:  
The Factor of Religion (Buddhism) 271  
*Baatr U. Kitinov*

### **Section VI**

#### **Neighbours and External Relations**

- 1 Turkey-Russian Relations in the Post-Soviet Era:  
Opportunities and Obstacles 285  
*Cüneyt Akalın*

- 2 Cross-Border Cooperation of Russia and Kazakhstan:  
Problem Area and/or Bridge to the Common Future? 299  
*Evgeny Vodichev*
- 3 Transformation of Central Asia and the European Union Relations 307  
*Mirzokhid Rakhimov*
- 4 The Main Directions of Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan 321  
*Saniya Nurdavletova*
- 5 Azerbaijan-India Relations: History and Modernity 333  
*Aliyev Bahman Fazil*



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## ■ Introduction

*Ajay Patnaik and Tulsiram*

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Since their independence in 1991, the former Soviet Republics have gone through difficult transition processes to achieve cultural, economical and political transformations. Diverse internal dynamics have produced diverse outcomes for the countries and peoples of the former Soviet space. While there are different results of transition, there are also similarities due to many common concerns and expectations.

The Eurasian region's geopolitical context has also changed dramatically with greater diversity. There are a number of factors and actors pulling these countries in different directions, making the geopolitical diversity even more complex. Nevertheless, as the former Soviet republics complete their second decade of independence, some important questions remain and many new ones emerge.

The most important question is, what have these new states transformed into where democracy, free market, and functioning civil society are concerned? Or, has the transformation led to greater polarisation in terms of rich and poor divide, authoritarianism and withdrawal of the state from providing social security, contested geopolitics and increasing external influence?

The questions that need to be asked are:

- Are Eurasian countries able to participate in globalisation adequately and if so do they benefit enough?
- What are challenges that the post-Soviet states face and what are their strategies?
- Do the former Soviet republics manage their energy needs and natural resources to their benefit?
- Is the infrastructure sufficient to enhance economic development of these countries?
- What are the Economic ties they have developed with the US, the EU, Russia, China, India and other regional powers?
- What are the effects of the 2008-09 global economic crises on the growth and development of the post-Soviet countries and what were the measures they took?

The book focuses on the two decades since 1991, which marked the demise of the Soviet Union. Most of the articles in the book were presented in an International Seminar on *Post-Soviet States: Two Decades of Transition & Transformation*

organised by the Centre for Russian & Central Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The Seminar was supported financially by the UGC's Russian and Central Asian Area Studies Programme, Jawaharlal Nehru University, and the Indian Council for Social Sciences Research (ICSSR), New Delhi.

The transformations that occurred since 1991 in politics and policies of the post-Soviet states, in their economies and societies, external relations, etc. would be covered under six sections: (1) *Understanding Transition and Transformation in Post-Soviet States*, (2) *Economic and Political Transformation*, (3) *Nation and State-building*, (4) *Society, Culture and Identity*, (5) *Changing Geopolitics of Eurasia: Strategic Dimensions*, and (6) *Neighbours and External Relations*.

In the First section on **Understanding Transition and Transformation in Post-Soviet States**, there are five articles that give a broad overview of the changes that have taken place in the countries that were part of the former USSR. Discussions of societal transition – or the lack thereof – often appear inconsistent or confused because evidence for stasis exists along with indications of change, argues James V. Wertsch in his article, 'Continuity and Change in Russia'.

Discussions of societal transition – or the lack thereof – often appear inconsistent or confused because evidence for stasis exists along with indications of change. In the wake of the collapse of the USSR, some observers saw massive social transformation while others thought what they were seeing was historical continuity. In trying to sort through this confusion, it is useful to distinguish between surface phenomena and the deeper codes that underlie them. Several contemporary analysts have come up with the term 'collective DNA' when referring to these underlying codes, and the author has suggested that this term can be productively explored in terms of how national narrative templates differentiate one mnemonic community from another. These narrative templates provide common, schematic plot lines, each of which can be instantiated in multiple specific narratives.

If schematisation and generalisability comprise one basic property of the Russian national narrative template, ethnocentric particularity is another opposing tendency. This is characterised by a narcissistic perspective, which is undoubtedly another source of the resistance to change, found in many national narratives. The seemingly contradictory set of properties of this narrative template means that it is a flexible, yet very powerful cultural tool behind some quite narcissistic and ethnocentric forms of thinking and speaking.

Taken together, the schematic organisation and the ethnocentric proclivities of the Expulsion of Alien Enemies narrative template provide a background for understanding how post-Soviet Russia understands itself, its role in the international arena, and the motives and actions of others. Given the resistance to change of this national narrative template (something that does not generally distinguish it from others), it is reasonable to expect that the world view it supports will continue to be part of the post-Soviet context. It may not be the world view that others would hope Russia to have, but it is a world view that we can expect to guide its interpretation of

the world for decades to come, concludes Wertsch.

The post-communist politics of the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has been obviously marked by a host of issues of democratic transition. In his article, 'Transition to Uncertainty: The Dynamics of Post-Communist Politics', R.R. Sharma, argues that though transitional regimes engaged in some form of political liberalisation they invariably fell short of liberal democracy. There is no clear break with the past.

The essential characteristic of domestic transition has been even more unruly and devoid of firm directionality with a long-term vision. Perhaps, there is some structural logic to this seemingly 'shapeless situation'. This implies that we can 'identify factors shaping developments and, as well, the short term consequences of these factors'. Thus, there have been ungainly short term consequences of the given structural logic. To be more precise, interaction between contradictory factors, that is, the residues of the state socialist past and the pressures of required social transformation, have produced a series of contradictions, an institutional vacuum, and finally a good deal of uncertainty. Since there was 'incomplete break' with the past, it left behind some of the state socialist past in place, underlines Sharma. Obviously, the transition period is 'rife with contradictions'. This has led to an absence of new institutions and stable interests. The sharp contradictions of the transition can lead up to massive uncertainty, if not the post-communist anarchy, he concludes.

Even if Russia remains the paramount power in the region today, this not due to the inability of the regional states to reject Russian authority, but due to their own vision of engaging Russia as a strong partner in the region. In that sense Russian leadership in the region is limited and can continue only with the collaboration of the Central Asian states underlines Ajay Patnaik in his article, 'Transforming the Post-Soviet space: Customs Union and Eurasian integration'.

It is now well-established that the post-Soviet states are not pawns in the geopolitical chessboard of Eurasia. Not just Ukraine and Georgia, even Uzbekistan has shown enough geopolitical autonomy vis-a-vis different major powers. Kazakhstan follows a multi-vector foreign policy. Turkmenistan zealously guards its neutrality. Even Russia refused to intervene during the April-May crisis of 2010 in Kyrgyzstan, which hosts a Russian air base. To talk about restoring the old Union is a misnomer. However, a union of sovereign states with common political and economic orientation is possible.

The developments since the beginning of this century clearly indicate that former Soviet republics are moving in different tracks and speed towards integration. On the security front, Collective Security Treaty was upgraded to Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO) in 2001. Economic integration has taken different forms, with a group of states forming the EURASEC and Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan have formed the Customs Union. Some members of this organisation like Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are considering the possibility of joining the Custom Union. Ukraine, which is member of neither of the above, is a likely candidate for the Customs Union.

The post-Soviet space is on the threshold of a major transformation. What looked like a disintegrated space pulling in different direction now looks poised for a second phase of integration, but in a qualitatively different way. Without creating a single political centre like in the Soviet times, the countries of this space are moving closer to a new synthesis that could augur well for the people of this space. In a globalised world, they are likely to succeed if they stand together. From the above perspective, the creation of the Customs Union was a defining moment in the reintegration process of the post-Soviet space. The custom union is going to be a resource multiplier for all the participating countries. Other initiatives like the Eurasian Economic Community, the Free Trade Agreement are going add force to this process, concludes Patnaik.

The fourth article in this section is by Anita Sengupta, 'Models in Transition: The Turkish Model and Central Asia Twenty Years After'. According to her in the early 1990s, the 'Turkish Model' was a frequently encountered term, and most western writings in the period following the dissolution of the Soviet Union indicated it as the most suitable path of development for the Central Asian region. The Turkish Model indicated a pre-Soviet linkage on civilisational and ethnic terms, and pointed away from a pan-Islamic future for a predominantly Muslim region. It also indicated a clear lack of preference for the Chinese path of rapid economic transition. The preference for the Turkish Model was based on the fact that Turkey, a predominantly Islamic state, was visualised as an exemplary model in terms of its achievements in democracy and economic prosperity. Turkey in the 1990s is, therefore, interesting since on the one hand it is presented as 'the' model for a vast region where there is apprehension of a turn towards Islam and on the other there is the emergence of a critique of this 'modern' model from within the state itself.

Turkey's failure to play a leadership role in post Soviet Eurasia is then explained in terms of its own economic and political problems during the 1990s, which influenced the perception of other states and eventually led to a shift in the way that Turkey's role was perceived. This linear understanding fails to take note of the fact that historically the Turkic connection has assumed relevance at certain junctures and has subsequently been relegated to the background with the recognition of the significant differences in the 'Turkic' world. However, Sengupta argues that it remains a useful alternative strategy that is put forward both by Turkey herself and by Western powers as a counterbalance to policy initiatives that are considered detrimental to the maintenance of status quo in the Eurasian region.

The post-Soviet transformation represents a kind of post-communist transition of society and polity. Yet, as A.K. Alikberov in his article, 'The Russian Perspective of Post-Soviet Transformation: Some Dimensions and Problems' points out, some Russian experts place it between two other types of post-communist transformation, that is, the Eastern European case(s) on one side, and the Chinese model, on the other side. The Eastern European type of this change claims a deep political democratisation of society, at least at the level of institutions and under the conditions that existed in these countries at the beginning of change, and setting the foundations of a free,



open market economy. The so called Chinese model (typical for the Far East) is characterised by a consistent economic reform (in Vietnam even more consistent than in China), while maintaining the old, non-upgraded political systems of local societies. Even geographically, two biggest post-Soviet countries – Russia and Kazakhstan – are not only in Europe or only in Asia, but on the territory of close historical interaction between them. This fact has led to specificity of transformation efforts, and post-Soviet experience only exacerbates these features.

Of course, all the post-Soviet countries resorted to the Eastern European, Chinese and even wider world experience, adopted to local conditions. It means on the one hand changing the balance of political and economic freedoms and considerations of pragmatism and expediency on the other hand. However, this experience has been used with some minor alterations, which each state has tried on the basis of the current needs of its own reality.

Social problems in the processes of transformation are the most painful in all post-Soviet countries. Economic disasters during and after the collapse of the USSR, ‘wild’ capitalism of the 1990s, criminalisation of societies and economic systems, and other destructive processes could not but affect the delicate balance of social harmony within newborn countries. The vacuum left at the site of the state ideology of interethnic and interfaith relations was filled by tribalism in public life, which automatically played a role in traditional local societies, predominantly rural, free from any kind of integrative thinking but abounding in old stereotypes and habits. This led to the exclusion of certain ethnic minorities, first clearly evident in the army and then in other institutions of society. Problems appeared in the areas of interethnic and interreligious relations, which for years were either not noticed or suppressed, or addressed through policies of simple solutions. Sometime contradictions, as well as inter-confessional and inter-ethnic alienation, distracted attention of young people from their real problems related to social disadvantages. But now they reinforce each other, concludes Alikberov.

The Second Section of the book deals with **Economic and Political Transformation**. This section has six articles.

An effort has also been made by R.G. Gidadhubli in his article on ‘Energy and Economy of Russia’ to discuss several questions: How important is energy sector for Russian economy? How energy policies have made positive and negative effects on Russian economic development? Was Russia over dependent on oil and did it affect the economy? What was the impact of decline of international oil prices since 2009 on economy? What are the policy measures adopted by the present Russian leadership for promoting economic development of the country? In that background, alternative scenarios are visualised with regard to prospects of energy for economic development in the medium term of about five years.

Considering the fact that Russia has been endowed with huge potentialities of hydrocarbon resources, their significance for the economy need hardly be undermined. At the same time, the importance of energy for the Russian economy has increased – the energy sector contributes about half of the export earnings for the

country. During the last two decades as the country has been struggling to overcome economic problems and try to achieve sustained economic development, petrodollars earned by energy exports were the major source of revenues for the country. It needs to be added that during the period of transition to market economy, several branches such as engineering, manufacturing, consumer goods, agriculture suffered significantly. Hence, energy and defense sectors assumed greater importance for the economy, according to Gidadhubli.

The next article is by Viachaslau Menkouski, 'Republic of Belarus: Economic transition and Transformation', which begins with the significance of Belarus which is crossed by one of the major Eurasian ways, including the shortest communication ways from the Central and Eastern regions of Russia to countries of Western Europe, as well as between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea.

For Belarus, dialogue with SCO is connection possibility to inter-regional projects of cooperation with the account of favourable transit position between the East and the West. For SCO Belarus is an exit on the European platform, strengthening of communications of the East and the West.

The decision to form the Customs Union of the three states – Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan – involves forming of the common territory with common trade controls applicable to other countries; establishing a new scheme of levying and distributing customs duties, taxes, fees; forming of the Customs union bodies which function in accordance with powers received from the Parties, etc.

The Customs Union would phase out into a more integrational form of cooperation – Unified Economic Space. In the new integration association, the three countries will pursue a coordinated macroeconomic policy, based on common principles and competition rules and natural monopoly regulations. The parties have agreed on common ways of industry and agriculture support and public purchases. Goods, services, capital and workforce will be free to move within the UES, highlights Menkouski.

According to Sofiya Yuvshanova in her article, 'What are the effects of 2007-09 global economic crises on Turkmenistan's economy', the CIS region was unique in the sense of the impact that the global financial and economic crisis. Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, due to specialisation in hydrocarbons and relatively closed economy, especially, low integration into global financial markets, have kept positive and relatively high growth rates (5 per cent) during the crisis in 2009. 'Afloat' (with positive growth rates, but significantly lower than in the first three countries) were also Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Most affected was Ukraine, where due to the high dependence on external financing, which caused the pre-crisis years of economic overheating and lack of coordination of monetary and fiscal authorities in the acute phase of the crisis, GDP fell by 15 per cent. In general, the impact of the crisis was determined by the foreign trade specialization and dependence on international capital markets, trade ties with Russia, the dimensions of labour migration, the quality of domestic economic policies and other factors.

Measures generally taken by the Government of Turkmenistan in the current global financial crisis have been effective, as confirmed by international experts. Contributing to economic growth in the country is growth of domestic demand of investments (including foreign). The Government of Turkmenistan in 2008 took a number of steps (financial sector reform, the introduction of customs privileges, etc.) to support domestic demand. This work will continue in the near future. One of the major means to maintain high economic growth of Turkmenistan in the future is the strengthening and further development of small and medium-sized businesses based mainly on domestic demand, underlines Yuvshanova.

From the date of collapse of the superpower Soviet Union, formations of national republics and global changes of system of the mutual relations have passed 20 years. These years, especially for Tajikistan, were very heavy and difficult. In territory of the above-named small country located in mountain coal of the Eurasian continent, civil war took place in 1992. As a result of that destructive war and infringements of trade and economic relations, economic recession has gone deep, have decreased: three times gross national product volume, and in 25 times volume of investments. Only in 1997 after signing of the peace agreement between the government and opposition slump in production has been suspended. The country continued to form democratic institutions and strengthened free market economy, expanded civil society and joined in the global processes, according to Gafur Rasulov whose article is on 'Foreign investment in the economic development of Tajikistan'.

Rasulov cites Tajik economist Professor Kh. Umarov who argues in favour of creating liberal conditions in comparison with the coastal island countries, and also with those states, which aren't located in periphery of the world market and large continents. It means that the investment environment in Tajikistan should not only be much better in comparison with France if country of origin of investments is France, but also means that climate of investment should be better than in the Baltic States, Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. This is important as Tajikistan is located in the heart of the Eurasian continent and investors consider it as a distant periphery, argues Rasulov.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and centralised employment system, the evolution of market economy and a reduction in the rural employment market in newly independent states in Central Asia have entailed considerable changes in labour markets and growth of internal and external labour migration. The regional migration has eventually affected all population strata, all age categories, both men and women, various occupations and social groups. This issue is discussed in the article 'Globalisation and Labour Mobility in Uzbekistan: A Study in Changes and Challenges' by Tareak Ahmad Rather.

Economic problems are the key reason for Uzbek migration and do not only rivet unemployment; it also embraces dissatisfaction with the income level and untimely wage payment. Majority of the families can't invest in a labour migrant as that would exhaust all the resources of most extended families. Also, there are problems related to residence in a host country: search for inexpensive housing

(which often means lack of basic living conditions), registration, employment and adaptation to new environment.

In the 'corporate-driven' globalisation, the challenge of contemporary migration is to find ways of dealing with it that are compatible with global equality, justice and liberal democracy. Rather concludes that while transnationalism has changed experiences of belonging, it has not necessarily created rootless identities. It is more, true in case of Uzbek immigrants where cultural awakening has remained the major focus since independence.

The final article in this section is, 'Uzbekistan: Impediments in Democratic Transition', by Tabasum Firdous. According to the author, the leadership in Uzbekistan does not deny the absence of democracy but explain that the country's domestic political strategy is a step-by-step development of democratic institutions and culture in a political system governed by the principles of *proto-democracy*, which simply means that it has no links or association to the democracy of Athens. For Uzbekistan, as for any other Central Asian Republic, swift shift to Westminster type democracy with which the westerners are familiar could not come about without going through the process at many stages.

The problem with Uzbekistan is almost the same as we find in other republics, that is, the pangs of transition from a command to democratic system. Since economy is still state controlled and market forces have not made any serious dent in the political economy of Uzbekistan, hopefully with the opening of economy new elite is expected to grow, who may forge regional and international relations and will give an outward push to Uzbek democracy. She concluded that a neo-liberal middle class expansion may yield space for civil society activism and help democratic transition.

The Third Section of the book is on **Nation and State-building** and has seven articles dealing with Russia, Siberia, Crimea, Ukraine and Central Asia.

The first article 'Unification of the Mongolian Historic and Cultural Community in the Context of Post-Soviet Political Reality' is by M. Baldano and V. Mitypov, who deal with identity issues in the Buryat republic in the Russian Federation.

The late 1980s in Buryatia, just like other ethnic regions in Russian Federation, witnessed an ethno-cultural Renaissance. Through multiple media, Buryats discussed the issues of the status of the Buryat language, revise the history of the Buryat people, and express the need to protect and to revitalise traditions and customs. These discussions often morphed into discussions of political standing of the republic. To borrow from the modern discourse, the 1980s witnessed the birth of a 'project of nation-building'.

What distinguished this trend in Buryatia from similar trends happening across the Russian Federation is the fact that in addition to the two competing models of development, 'citizen nation' and 'ethnic nation', there was a trend within the 'ethnic nation' approach that stressed the fact that the concept of Buryat nation cannot and should not be restricted by the current political borders. The supporters of this trend viewed the 'nation' as a result of a centuries-long historic process that

was happening within the fluid borders of Central Asia, the process of formation of a Mongolian cultural entity.

The hypothesis that we would like to formulate is that the idea of Pan-Mongolism is an important instrument, a means of mobilising ethnic consciousness. The project did not disappear, rather it simply gained different functionality, that is, the dream of unification in itself became an instrument of nation-building. The historic events of the past hundred and fifty years showed that ideas of national unification emerge in particular political and cultural situations as a result of logical and necessary processes of consolidation of the Buryat ethnos. The ideas of Pan-Mongolists became useful once again after an era of oblivion, and thus, they deserve full attention, conclude Baldano and Mitypov.

Preeti Das in her article, 'Ethnicity and Culture in Contemporary Crimea', tries to draw attention to some of the issues related to socio-cultural integration of Crimean Tatar community with other existing ethnic groups in Crimean Republic of Ukraine. An understanding of global and regional dimension of the relationship of various ethnic groups residing in contemporary Crimean peninsula will provide a clearer picture of the differences between them. Various nongovernmental organisations, supported by international organisations, have come up in the region which are constantly working to avoid the critical conditions that might appear and to bridge the gap between communities, however, so far the situation is far from stable.

The majority of researches and discourses with regard to situation in Crimea also specify the need to work out a more comprehensive and detailed understanding for carrying out the relationship between Ukrainian Government and Islamic community. The other major aspect is to work out a model with which it will be simpler to integrate the Crimean Tatars in the Ukrainian society.

Geographically the Crimean peninsula occupies a very significant place of geopolitical interests. Unfortunately, it is today third least developed region in Ukraine. However, Das concludes that in spite of deep rooted cultural differences, economic and political unrest there is a strong desire among all the communities residing in Crimea for peaceful coexistence.

Another interesting article, 'Human Resources Management System in Oil and Gas Industry of Kazakhstan' is contributed by Senymgul Dossova. According to her, the Oil and Gas industry of Kazakhstan has long been regarded as a symbol of national strength. Since the Oil and Gas industry is closely related to economic stability and national development, it can be considered as a national strategic industry of Kazakhstan. Furthermore, National Company 'KazMunayGas' (NC KMG) improved the financial performance of its production activities in 2010. The company remains one of the principle sources for recharging the state budget. The primary objective of this article is to analyse integrating Human Resource Management (HRM) practices in NC KMG and compare with the benchmark models proposed in the literature.

The HRM strategy of KMG supports innovation management, company's effectiveness and environmental management with the same degree of importance. HRM practices of KMG such as training and development, benefits,

career development and performance appraisal have significant effect on employee productivity. All HRM practices help improve firm performance. In order to increase personnel's role in implementation of strategic directions of the Company, KMG has determined integrated policy in HRM system. Dossova argues that HRM is an integrated strategy and planned development process for effective utilisation of human resources for the achievement of organisational objectives.

In recent years, public interest in historical memory phenomenon on the Post-Soviet space has considerably increased. Due to historical occasion, after the restoration of the national statehood and independence, former Soviet republics have begun the process of rethinking the historical narrative and the search for the national identity. The people were faced with the need to overcome colonial history and cultural heritage, construction of the new system of values, consolidations around the primary tasks of national and state building. This issue has been taken up in the context of Ukraine by Lesia Parno in her article, 'Historical memory and state-building in Ukraine'.

The problems of the historical memory have started to be articulated widely in the public discourse. While progressing with nation- and state-building, the conflict in the society has been deepening. History becomes an important political factor and articulates divergence of political moods – an equivalent of different interpretation of the history.

Though Parno argues that Ukraine needs further institutionalisation of the memory policy it also needs controlling bodies and clearly defined entities implementing the policy. Also it is extremely important to involve the academic circles to elaborate a systematic, science-based approach, as this will make the policy more effective.

Parno concludes that it is essential to construct a unified national historical narrative, which will determine Ukraine's place in the world not only in historical and civilisation terms, but will also help in designing future project.

The next article by Kamilla Sheryazdanova on 'National Identity and Cultural-Ideological Aspects of Integration in Central Asian Region' argues that the disintegration of the USSR led not only to rupture of economic relations between republics, but also liquidated links in the sphere of ideology.

Introduction of 'national independence' idea by the ruling elites in Central Asian Republics' included the revision of history, propaganda of negative appraisal of the Soviet period, deletion of positive experience of relations between the Soviet republics, etc. National mentality has decisive meaning in the historical process. Being deep part of the collective and individual consciousness mentality shows itself as totality of the nation's orientation and predispositions for world, as well as feelings, thoughts and definitive actions.

The next article, 'From Militia to Police in Russia: Overcome Crisis of Civil Distrust' is by Yacov Samodelkin. The author discusses the sociological research conducted in 2009 by an NGO for assessment of efficacy, effectiveness, efficiency and quality work of militia in 6 towns of Sverdlovsk region.

Although this study revealed little awareness of the term and concept of 'democratic policing' among the public, it revealed a good understanding by the majority of the public of the necessity and benefits of public-police cooperation within their communities. Cooperation with the police was seen by the public as its duty, and as contributing to a safer community. Police, according to Samodelkin, appears to be quite unaware of the concept of cooperation by the general public, even though they say they approve of 'democratic policing'.

The last article, 'Newspeak of Post-Soviet Time: Politics and Grammar', is by L. Katseva. She cites George Orwell, who introduced the concept of 'newspeak' into the active vocabulary. The expression by Orwell underlines changing use of language when speech consisting of words characteristic of the past epochs are no more used in the same way. After the break-up of the USSR and creation of independent states, these changes have appeared in the Russian language of one or other country (the Russian of Ukraine, Estonia, Kirghizia and so on). Therefore, today it is said 'tourists will go to Ukraine' (the Russian preposition 'на' replaced with 'в'), the capital of Estonia became Tallinn with double 'l' and 'n' whereas in Russia only double 'n' is recognised. Moreover, there is an attempt to introduce in the regional Russian language writing of various words, as per their use in the local languages in the republics. So, instead of Kirgizstan (with 'i') there is a requirement in the Russian as in Kirghiz to write and to pronounce it as Kyrgyz/ Kyrgyzstan (with 'y').

Today's Russian language is a lingual conglomeration arising out of some contradictions with the political and cultural life of the previous period. By this it forms the language of contemporary literature. The calls to counter with 'newspeak' are useless, Katseva concludes.

The Fourth section of the book is titled, **Society, Culture and Identity** with six articles.

Of the five Central Asian states, it was Tajikistan that faced the most turmoil in the post-1991 years. The country was gripped by Civil War and ethnic identity conflicts that had been dormant for decades. The conflicts unfolded with a ferocity that led to large-scale death, destruction and migration. Economic, political and social transition in the country was thus very different from other countries in the post-Soviet space. The peace accord of June 1997 and the elections of 1999 brought the country a stability of sorts.

The first article in this section, 'Andrei Volos and Hurrabad: The Dynamics of Russian-Tajik Relations' by Rashmi Doraiswamy discusses a novel set in a fictional city called Hurrabad, whose name means 'the City of Happiness'. Winner of the 1998 Anti-Booker Award, Hurrabad is a novel by Andrei Volos, an ethnic Russian from Tajikistan, now living in Moscow, creates a fictional city to stand in for the capital city of Tajikistan – Dushanbe. Maria Remizova refers to the split in the meaning of the very name of the city: "Hurrabad, as Volos explains it in his notes, is a toponym, which you find in Iranian and Turkish fairy tales. In its literal translation it means 'the city of happiness and joy, full of greenery and

laughter'. It is impossible to miss the double meaning. On the one hand, this is the 'city of happiness' in the literal meaning, without doubt, beautiful like any other lost paradise. On the other hand, in contrast to this first meaning, filled with the strong irony of the oxymoron, it is the 'city of shadows, full of horror and death'.

Andrei Volos sketches life in this post-Soviet city and portrays the changing life of its citizens, where old relationships do not seem to function anymore. The writer uses realism and fantasy to portray the transformed nature of Russian-Tajik relationships. Hurrabad is a city that is caught in the vortex of chaos. The city is overrun by criminals and gangs and the ordinary citizen has to not only make ends meet with great difficulty, but go about the daily business of living and negotiate conflicts with all manner of thugs.

Volos novel does also show how Russians became foreigners in a land they had also tilled and worked on for decades, and also how they destined to remain foreigners in Russia, when they migrate there, although it is posited as a land ethnically and territorially 'their own', concludes Doraiswamy.

It is known that bazaars are primary locations where intensive social, economic and commercial exchanges take place. Bazaars emerging from eastern civilisation are at the same time places connecting rural and urban areas. 'Urban-Rural Relations in the Transition Period: The Case of an Animal Bazaar in Kyrgyzstan' by İlhan Şahin discusses the role of Bazaar in the transition period.

The transition period following the dissolution of the Soviet Union brought a lot of unexpected social, economic administrative and political problems. People faced with this situation are still trying to cope. In the author's opinion, traditional methods and values are seen as a way out, and the emerging market assumes greater importance. Therefore, bazaar culture has never lost its function. It is becoming even more common and diversified. As the case of the Mürök bazaar in Tokmok, the emergence of animal markets in Kyrgyzstan shows that Kyrgyz society has preserved their traditional lifestyles, partly during the Soviet period. Here it should be noted that in periods such as the transition period relations and connections between the towns and rural areas were weak. However, important structures, such as bazaars, play an intermediary role between the two areas. Bazaars refresh social and economic relations between the towns and rural areas, he concludes.

The urgent and complex task for Kazakhstan includes but not limited to evolutionary shift into new state, reform in education, meeting current and upcoming development and strategic goals, and creating a healthy, highly educated and mobile society. The next article in the book, 'Two decades of transformation in higher education system of Kazakhstan' by Bek-Ali Yerzhan, aims at finding out objectives of Higher Educational Institution (HEI) reforms and current process of its implementation. Is there any match between what happens in HEI and a state building in general? What are the expected outcomes of the current reform in HEI? How will state transform as result of education policy in Kazakhstan?

Despite significance of the higher education, it remains untapped. So far attention was on state-building process, focusing on military, politics, and economy. The



reform in education has touched upon different levels of education such as primary, secondary and higher. It covered Bologna process and subsequent reforms in higher education system. The impact of different scholarship programmes on education was researched in several scholarly works. So far the research in education has examined an impact of curricula, academic standards and accountability, testing procedures, school and class size, parental choice. However, the research on interlink of state-building and education has not been done. The influence of current reforms in HEI and change of Kazakh state are out of contemporary research. The author hopes that the research will help to build a foundation for future investigations of issues surrounding HEI and state building in Kazakhstan.

Natalia Ablazhey in her article on 'Siberia and Far East Facing Economic Migrants: The Outcomes of the First Decade of the 21st Century' discusses the demographic issues facing Russia, especially in Siberia and Far East regions.

The transformation of Soviet space into Post-Soviet space became one of the key consequences of the collapse of the USSR. On the one hand, inter-republic migration became interstate one, and disintegration of previously united labour market took place. On the other hand, migration contributed to the inclusion of the Post-Soviet countries into international labour market and became a catalyst of the integration processes on the Post-Soviet scene. Today Russia faces both mass economic migration and diminishing of the migration inflow. The country is trying to differentiate regulation of migration processes. Several national programmes addressing constant and temporary migration are accepted in the country. Cooperation with the CIS countries aimed at formation of the united labour market is going on with many difficulties. Russia now understands that the donor potential of the Post-Soviet space goes down, and in coming years the Russian Federation will have to re-orient to the wider geography of the sources of migration including such nations as China, India and other Asian countries, underlines Ablazhey.

The next article is by Natalia R. Kravchenko and Vladimir Zaitsev on 'Roerich Movement in Post-Soviet Epoch: Problems and Dynamics of Development'.

The ideological niche of 1990s provided fertile ground for growth of new nationalistic movements, activation of religious teachings and increasing influence of the Russian Orthodox Church, which used political and ideological instability as an opportunity to strengthen its own position and engage in uncompromising campaign against its opponents.

Around the same time, however, cultural and educational movement named after renowned Russian artist and humanist, Nicholas Roerich (1874-1947), developed in all major cities of post-Soviet states and created a kind of social and cultural phenomena. The universalism of ideas and ethical and aesthetical appeal of Roerich's legacy attracted people from a different social, ethnic and religious background, and by the mid of 1990s it took the shape of a popular mass movement.

According to the authors, the Roerich movement which began abroad and grew up in secluded environment of Soviet era, transformed into massive cultural wave in the period of democratisation of Russia and indeed one of the largest and unique

modern social manifestations united with the name and ideas of Renaissance-type artist.

Alexander Katsev in his article, 'National Independence of Post-Soviet Era and Literature' argues that literature as an important component of the culture figuratively demonstrates the processes in the society although events are only the background for it to discover the multiform aspects of human existence. Post-Soviet reality is characterised not only by the return of the authors and works of the different epochs, withdrawn because of the nonconformity to ideological and moral postulates, but also by the appearance of works comprehending the present in a new way (for instance, 'When the mountains fall' Ch. Aitmatov, the novels by I. Laylieva, and the works of expatriate Kirghiz authors.

After a certain time the Kirghiz reality – culture, the way of life, nature – all this became material for creating the original works; their translation became the unique key for the discovery of the contiguous Central-Asiatic reality, which appears both in modern specifics (concrete), and in the historical and cultural generality. Contemporary literature is only first stage in the comprehension of the political, historical and cultural processes, which will appear entirely with their special features in the specific boundaries somewhat later, concludes Katsev.

The Fifth section of the book is on **Changing Geopolitics of Eurasia: Strategic Dimensions** and has five articles.

The first article, 'Kyrgyzstan between mistakes and misfortune', is by P. L. Dash. According to the author, Kyrgyzstan has many firsts to its credit. It was the first country in post-Soviet Central Asia that was touted as the Switzerland of the region. It was the first country, where a non-communist had hailed power with heavy Soviet legacy. It was the democratic fore-post of political reforms in Central Asia in the 1990s. Then when popular discontent swept across the countryside, Kyrgyzstan became the first victim of a colour revolution – the Tulips that deposed Askar Akaev and saddled his successor Kurmanbek Bakiyev in power. With Otunbayeva reigning now it becomes first among the post-Soviet countries to have three presidents in Post-Soviet Central Asia – all through bloody dethronements.

Kyrgyzstan is also the first post-Soviet countries to have a woman president in the personae of Rosa Otunbayeva. The referendum she conducted on June 27, 2010 gave Kyrgyzstan the credo of being the first country in Central Asia to have ushered in a path to parliamentary democracy. Despite all these firsts, neither the interim president nor the recently held referendums can alter the grassroots realities of Kyrgyzstan in general and Osh and Ferghana valley in particular, concludes Dash.

The Caucasia is well known for its strategic and geopolitical location. The region is at the crossroads of the energy corridors that connect Central Asia to the West. The region is also known as the bastion of different ethnic conflicts. Because of these strategic reasons, big powers such as the US, the EU, Russia, China and the regional powers are interested in Caucasia in general, for political, economic reasons, military motivations and for its energy resources. Baris Doster in his article,

'The potential and Problems of the Caucasia' discusses why Eurasian countries need to cooperate in the region.

According to the author, the Caspian, Caucasian and Central Asian countries have common strategic interests, especially against the politics of the US and the Greater Middle East Project. However, each state has its own strategy and these strategies are diverging from each other. Each country tries to follow a multidimensional foreign policy. For the interests of the Caucasian countries, the Eurasian choice should be taken very seriously. It is obvious that the Eurasian countries which get together under the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation umbrella are against Western imperialism. And this alliance is the strongest organisation in the Eurasia and has a big political potential, Doster underlines.

The next article, "Oil and Gas Factor in the Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan" by N. Aldabek and K. Gabdullin, analyses the impact of oil and gas industries on the Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan, particularly due to intensification oil and gas exports to the different routes as much via Russia as routes bypassing Russia. The paper has two parts. Part one analyses the history of development of oil and gas industries in the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, the resources, dynamics of production of oil and gas in Kazakhstan which calls for diversification. Part two examines the role of oil and gas in the evolution of foreign policy of Kazakhstan, existing routes of oil exports and implication of the new routes.

According to Aladabek and Kenzhebek, the growth of energy in Kazakhstan will need more export routes. The Russian route will not be sufficient though it will remain as dominating dimension. However, the republic will definitely expand its energy transport capabilities to China, the EU and South Asia.

Another interesting article related to energy geopolitics is by Vanessa Boas, 'Energy and Democracy: What role for the EU in Central Asia?'

The EU's interest in Central Asia is rather recent. The region which was traditionally considered distant and strategically insignificant reappeared on Europe's radar following the terrorist attacks on September 11 and the subsequent war in Afghanistan. Moreover, numerous energy crises in Europe following disputes between Russia and its neighbours pushed the EU to rethink its energy policy and to contemplate deepening its involvement in the region. Recognising this change in circumstance, the Central Asia Strategy was drawn up in 2007, which built on the Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCA) by adding an ambitious agenda to the scope of EU-Central Asian relations. Both these documents cater for the region's democratic and economic development as well as identifying areas of the EU interest. Whilst this is legitimate, the EU has been accused of pursuing its interests at the expense of its values.

Boas argues that the EU can be both a subtle democracy promoter and an energy importer thus combining its values with its interests if it acts strategically. It must, however, not set the bar too high as it lacks the leverage to realise the agenda put forward in its documents. The concept of Normative Power Europe thus only loosely applies to Central Asia where a number of intervening variables undermine its normative vocation.

The last article in the section is by Baatr U. Kitinov on ‘Geopolitics of the Caspian Sea in the Civilisational Dimension: The Factor of Religion (Buddhism)’. The author argues that cross-civilisational processes will create a special socio-cultural space based on an understanding of common interests of peoples and countries of the region, where variations of civilisational, economic and other characteristics can be useful to construct a zone of security and prosperity. Historically, strengthening of the Buddhist civilisation in the Caspian Sea region has made the adjustments in the regional geopolitical order, and probably stimulated the creativity of the local ideological periphery of the Christian and Islamic civilisations. Further interaction of these civilisations in the region developed in harmony with Buddhist one.

The situation of Buddhism in Caspian Kalmykia clearly defines the emerging trend towards the integration of the Sangha (monastic community), and public policy, the impact of secular power on the activities of the Buddhist clergy. Processes are accompanied by increased activity in the country of various external Buddhist organisations. Under existing conditions it is important to use the new features and approaches that previously could not look so important, concludes Kitinov.

The Sixth and final section of the book is on **Neighbours and External Relations**.

In his article, ‘Turko-Russian Relations in the Post-Soviet Era: Opportunities and Obstacles’, Cüneyt Akalin points out that contemporary Turko-Russian relations are multi-sided relations pertaining to geopolitics, economics, politics and culture. Pan-Turkism which has always scared Russia can no longer be a serious threat to Russia due to the decline of the imperialist powers favouring it.

Turkey and Russia, being neighbouring countries shared common history. The formation of the Republic of Turkey and the Soviet Union right after the Second World War was a sign for a new international era: The Soviet Union as the bastion of a new ideology and system and Turkey as a new modern Republic formed out of the ashes of an old empire.

The article examines in detail the relationship between the Republic of Turkey and the Russian Federation; the perspectives of different Turkish governments and institutions towards a ‘non-communist’ or ‘capitalist Russia’; entry of Turkish businessmen into the Russian market; the relationship between Turkey and the newly founded Turkic Republics of Central Asia; problems produced by Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism within Russia and Turkey during the Post-Soviet era.

Pan-Islamism or radical Islam has become a threat to Russia. However, the Islamist world is not a homogenous entity; it is divided into different beliefs and political fractions. Russia has an important Muslim population and a big experience to put into use. Cooperative dynamics are gaining strength and Turko-Russian relations will be more important in the future and will contribute to the formation of a new Eurasia, concludes Akalin.

Despite the fact that CIS has reached just limited progress as a successor of the Soviet Union and in spite of some complications in the beginning of 1990s, Russia and Kazakhstan relationship is now seen as possibly the best on the Post-Soviet scene.

However, Evgeny Vodichev in his article, ‘Cross-Border Cooperation of Russia and Kazakhstan: Problem Area and/or Bridge to the Common Future?’, points out that there are still a lot of challenges in relations between the two countries, and a lot of possibilities exist for the years to come. Undoubtedly, Cross-Border Cooperation (CBC) belongs to the most important fields for mutual work in future.

Russia and Kazakhstan possess huge potential of CBC. At the moment, 70 per cent of Russia – Kazakhstan turnover is being done within the framework of CBC. But CBC is not limited with trade operation. There are a lot of other possibilities for CBC development. Through CBC in last two decades, and especially since the beginning of 2000s, a number of important interstate problems were tackled. They include the issue of updating of economic legislation in the two countries, setting up coordination institutions, elimination of obstacles for interregional trade, stimulating investments into economics of the neighbouring regions, setting up joint ventures, exchange of information, mutual actions in environment protection activity, stimulating contacts among educational and cultural institutions, accelerating of tourism, etc.

All these issues are at least mentioned in Russia – Kazakhstan treaties and agreements. However, not all of them are properly addressed there as the priorities since core principles of CBC were set up yet in 1990s and focused mostly on getting fast commercial income for participating regions. Conceptualisation of CBC is clearly lagging behind other priorities of Russian and Kazakhstan policy, and rapidly developing international experience in this field has not been duly taken into consideration, concludes Vodichev.

The next article is by Mirzokhid Rakhimov on ‘Transformation of Central Asia and European Union Relations’. The EU-Central Asia partnership was established in the beginning and middle of the 1990s. Since then, the EU-Central Asia relations have passed several stages. At present, the EU is guided more by pragmatic interest of mutually beneficiary economic cooperation with the states having good economic prospects and rich natural resources. In 2010 the Spanish EU Presidency announced to pay a great deal of attention to Central Asia. That attention is fully justified by a number of factors, such as the geo-strategic importance of the region, energy security, Afghanistan, etc.

Regional cooperation in Central Asia and Eurasia can become an important factor in the maintenance of peace and security in the region, which are necessary for a stable economic growth and development. Regional organisations need to concentrate first of all on further regional integration in Central Asia itself and it is important to study the experience of the EU, ASEAN and other experiences, and develops with them bilateral and multilateral relations, underlines Rakhimov.

Since obtaining independence Kazakhstan’s foreign policy has been based on a principle of multi-vector relations that was declared by President Nazarbayev as soon as he was elected the country’s president on December 01, 1991. In her article, ‘The main directions of foreign policy of Kazakhstan’, Saniya Nurdavletova points out that multi-vector policy means the development of friendly and predictable

relations with all states that play a significant role in global politics and represent practical interest for our country. Kazakhstan, because of its geopolitical position and economic potential, cannot limit itself to narrow-regional problems.

In order to solve the security system problem in Central Asia (international terrorism, religious extremism, drug trafficking and illegal migration) Kazakhstan is focusing on the following priority foreign policy aspects: strategic cooperation with Russia and China; constructive cooperation with the US, the EU countries, according to Nurdavletova.

The last article is 'Azerbaijan-India relations: history and modernity' by Aliyev Bahman Fazil, according to whom historically one can divide the relations between Azerbaijan and India into three periods. First period, it is beginning from ancient times till 1920; second period, the relations during soviet times, and third period, the relations after the collapse of Soviet Union and during the independence. These periods differ from each other not only in time but also in political and economic determinants which influence the essence of relations. Although the cultural relations between India and Azerbaijan were limited during certain periods in the history, but they were never absent.

On December 26, 1991 India officially recognised the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan and February 28, 1992 is a date of official start of diplomatic relations between two countries. Currently the trade turnover between two countries is not so big but some attempts have been already done in this field. The Indian Oil Companies are engaged in the energy sector. India exports to Azerbaijan pharmaceutical good, black tea and clothes. Recently, India has started to export information communication technologies as well. Azerbaijan and India have also started to build cooperation in science and education. There is a great potential to develop comprehensive and close cooperation on political, economic and social fields and to bring our historical and cultural relations to the new level, according to Fazil.

There are a range of issues that have been taken up in this collection of articles. This helps in getting a better understanding of the transition and transformation in the post-Soviet space. The Editors would like thank all the contributors for their valuable efforts. We express our profound thanks to the KW Publishers for agreeing to publish this book, which is fourth in the series of publications they have brought out on behalf of the Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies.

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Section I

Understanding Transition and Transformation in  
Post-Soviet States

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# 1 ■ Continuity and Change in Russia

*James V. Wertsch*

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As an American living in the Soviet Union in the mid-1970s, I found understanding the USSR both fascinating and frustrating. I never claimed to know how it worked, but one thing that I and just about every other observer at the time believed was that there was little chance of the Soviet Union's ever disintegrating. There seemed as little likelihood that Wisconsin would break away from the US as Ukraine would gain independence of the USSR. Like others, I assumed the USSR had a permanence about it that extended far into the future.

Then came Perestroika, Glasnost, and other harbingers of change that culminated in a rapid and unimaginable collapse. This transformation was so sudden and massive that people, both in and out of the Soviet Union, could not believe it was occurring, and often refused to believe for some time even after the fact! I well remember my Moscow friends in those years buying up every book, journal, and newspaper they could lay their hands on because they believed they were living in a fleeting window of opportunity that would close down as soon as the Soviet authorities decided to re-establish the old order. Every room of their apartments was stacked to the ceiling with publications they had never been able to obtain in the past, and now was their chance to collect things they could read in the years ahead, during what they feared would be a long cold period of state control. I would then tease them by comparing them to squirrels who gather nuts to last them through the winter, but in the context of the time, it was no laughing matter.

By the end of the 1990s, people in the former Soviet Union and elsewhere were becoming convinced that some very major change had indeed occurred. Some were optimistic while others were pessimistic; some felt liberated while others felt threatened, but the one thing they agreed on was that things really had changed. For a moment, many observers even celebrated or feared what was being called 'the end of history'. In short, there was a feeling that the Soviet Union had experienced a radical transformation, a feeling that like Humpty Dumpty, it could never be put back together again, and that a completely new era was dawning.

To be sure, there have been major transformations in Russia and other former Soviet republics, transformations that were unimaginable in the 1970s, the 1980s, or even the 1990s. But as things have sorted themselves out, we have seen that much has had an eerie quality of staying the same, resulting in a picture of change on the surface and stasis at a deeper level. When reading about some of the decisions and

command style of Vladimir Putin, one is struck by how similar things are to the way that leaders operated during Soviet, or even Tsarist times. Or when reading about tensions with newly independent countries in the ‘near abroad’, it is striking how familiar the rhetoric and actions are. How do we go about describing and analysing this continuity in the face of massive change for Russia in the post-Soviet period? Is there something about what happened in this case that bears similarity with other national projects in the former Soviet Union, or anywhere else for that matter? When it comes to post-Soviet Russia as an actor in the international arena, the question becomes one of how it understands its own and others’ motives and actions, and decides how to make strategic moves.

### **Realism and ‘Cultural DNA’**

The motives for nation-states’ action are invariably complex – involving domestic as well as international concerns, and emotional as well as rational forces. But in the academic discourse, we often treat decisions as if they can be understood in terms of a single discipline or even sub-discipline. In the social sciences, the best-known school of thought on international relations is ‘realism’ with its focus on rational action, and the tendency is to rely on general principles and abstractions about how actors pursue self-interest. The humanities, in contrast, tend to focus on in-depth information about unique cultures, with an associated tendency to eschew abstract rules that apply to a broad range of cases.

The intellectual antecedents of realism are often traced to Niccolò Machiavelli in the 16th century. His focus on calculated self-interest as a guiding motive led him to seeing it as overriding cultural, ideological, or moral considerations. From this perspective, the modern states operate in an anarchic international context (that is, one without any higher authority), and they recognise the advantages of forming alliances in a game of ‘realpolitik’. Their choices are viewed as those of abstract agents in the sense that any rational actor in their position would follow the same logic and pattern of action. Among other things, this logic accounts for alliances in one historical setting that appear to be counter-intuitive, if not bizarre in another. In Cold War America, for example, it was difficult for many to understand how the archenemy Soviet Union could have been an ally just a few decades earlier in the Second World War. From a realist perspective though, this is just another reminder that states have interests, not friends.

Realism in its various forms clearly has provided important insights into the logic of action in the international sphere. However, it remains limited in essential ways. The theoretical language it employs may account for rational calculation of self-interest, but more ‘subjective’ forces stemming from identity projects and historical memory are systematically excluded from consideration. This follows from the fact that the theoretical language employed is relatively closed, and has little means for taking these forces into account, even so devoted an advocate of realism as Henry Kissinger has recognised these other issues when analysing the concrete historical events. In writing about the motives that shaped Mao Zedong’s decision to enter

the Korean War for example, he notes, the Soviet Union was an ideological ally [of China] and was needed initially as a strategic partner to balance the US. But China's leaders had not forgotten the series of 'unequal treaties' extorted for a century to establish the Russian possession of its Far East maritime provinces, and a zone of special influence in Manchuria and Xinjiang.

The first part of this statement by Kissinger about how the USSR could be played off against the US reflects a classic realist's perspective, but comments about remembering 'extortion' and other historic transgressions of Russia against China, reflect something different. Instead of dealing with a rational calculation of self-interest based on general principles, it introduces a culturally specific perspective that was keenly felt by the Chinese leaders. Interpreting this perspective requires a different set of ideas, a different sort of logic. Indeed, some would say this is not logic at all; instead, it deals with the realm of subjective factors of collective memory and emotion. When confronted with such forces, realism often treats them as impediments or failures to live up to the standards of rational action, that is, it treats them in terms of what they are not rather than what they are.

This negative characterisation points to the need for scholarship from other disciplines, especially the humanities. This not to say that the humanities can subsume or replace realist accounts of rational action; instead, the point is that they can provide additional perspective when trying to account for complex action in the international sphere. As America has sadly learned on more than one occasion, the price of not taking knowledge about specific societies and cultures into account can be very high. Reflecting back on the reasons for the US debacle in Vietnam, for example, former CIA Director Richard Helms bemoaned: Our national ignorance of Vietnamese history, society, and language.<sup>1</sup> Helms may have been concerned with more of an instrumental role for the humanities than many scholars envision, but the larger message is that with better grounding in language, history, and literature, modern societies may be better able to avoid conflicts that grow out of profound misreading of others.

What sort of contribution can the humanities and social sciences make to this discussion? Should they limit themselves to providing detailed descriptions of each unique cultural setting, or can they provide more general insights as well? The methods employed in the humanities often encourage the former. Much of our understanding of societies such as Russia, for example, comes from the rich, textured pictures historians provide of past events or literary analysts provide of novels or poetry. At least, since the founding of philology, however, scholars have searched for insights that help us make sense of a culture in a broader sense, and this is a concern that may be more prevalent today than ever. One of the more interesting reflections of this impulse can be found in contemporary comments about 'cultural DNA'. In his tome on China, Kissinger wrote of 'Chinese DNA' when talking about old habits resurfacing after Mao's time, Robert Kagan has made claims about foreign policy predilections 'embedded in the American DNA',<sup>2</sup> and Fareed Zakaria has written about the 'cultural DNA'<sup>3</sup> of India in the 'post-American world'.

Such claims about collective DNA are subject to the usual limitations of metaphors drawn from one field and applied to another. Indeed, given the popular understanding of biochemical DNA that attributes to it a sort of immutability, if not predestination, invoking a cultural counterpart can be quite misleading, even dangerous. Among other things, it could be taken to underlie the ‘illusion of destiny’ outlined by Amartya Sen in his volume ‘Identity and Violence’, an illusion that has encouraged groups to carry out violence and brutality in the name of some bigger ideas. Nonetheless, some very insightful analysts have returned to this metaphor on several occasions, and it is worth asking what assumptions are at work.

The first such assumption is that an underlying code of some sort exists that needs to be unearthed and interpreted in order to account for surface phenomena. Just as biochemical DNA is viewed as a key to understanding biological organisms, the implication is that by unpacking the underlying collective DNA code, we can better understand the functioning of the human society. The second is an implicit corollary of this - rather than being some sort of universal collective unconscious, collective DNA does not tell us about common humanity; rather, it tells us about how groups differ from one another. Kissinger, Kagan and Zakaria mention Chinese, American and Indian DNA, implying that there may be as many collectives as there are codes, and third, there is a commitment to the idea that the underlying code is largely fixed and slow to change. Indeed, Robert Kagan brings up American DNA in the context of arguing that certain aspects of the country’s culture have undergone little transition since its founding some four centuries ago.

### **Narratives as Collective DNA**

Kissinger, Kagan, and Zakaria invoke the notion of cultural DNA, but in reality, no one has said much about the form it might take. A few possibilities might come to mind, but perhaps the most obvious are narratives, specifically national narratives at least since Aristotle’s narratives have been viewed as fundamental cultural resources for human thought and identity.<sup>4</sup> As their mastery does not require extended formal instruction,<sup>5</sup> they are widely and somehow naturally employed to make sense of the world. This applies nowhere more clearly than in the case of the narratives that modern nation-states use to make sense of our own and others’ actions. Jan Assmann argued that national narratives give rise to a particular way of relating to the past that is distinct from ‘cultural memory’. Specifically, a national narrative ‘is one particular ‘cultural text’, a coherent ordering of events along a strict narrative line serving as an intellectual and emotional backbone of national identity’.<sup>6</sup> From this perspective, the national narratives are important because they provide groups with core ideas about their past and their role in the world.

The approach I shall take to these issues emphasises the status of national narratives as ‘cultural tools’.<sup>7</sup> Such tools do not simply allow us to express ideas we might otherwise have; instead, they shape thinking and speaking in fundamental ways by introducing culturally specific perspectives into our discourse. When dealing with national narratives as words or ‘texts’,<sup>8</sup> it is crucial to understand where

they come from (that is, how they are produced) and what overtones of meaning they have picked up over their history of use, as well as how they are internalised and employed by members of a group to generate unique utterances. The issue of production has been intuitively recognised by the elites of modern states who have routinely harnessed national narratives as instruments to be used in the construction of ‘peoplehood’<sup>9</sup> and ‘imagined communities’.<sup>10</sup>

To argue that narrative tools are good candidates for cultural DNA, raises the issue of what the counterpart of an underlying code might be. The study of national narratives typically assumes that the objects to be analysed are written and spoken texts in their surface form. In contrast, talk about DNA suggests there is a deeper code of some sort. In fact, there are existing traditions in the social sciences and humanities that provide insight into what form this underlying code might take. For example, one of the fathers of modern memory studies Frederic Bartlett introduced the notion of ‘schema’ in an attempt to account for patterns that underlie psychological processes of the ‘effort after meaning’ in remembering,<sup>11</sup> and the Russian Formalist Vladimir Propp proposed a small set of textual ‘functions’ that underlie a wide range of folktales.<sup>12</sup> Propp’s analysis, first published in Russian in 1928, focuses on the narrative genres that are ‘recurrent constants’ of folktales, and in many respects, it could almost be a precursor to contemporary reflections on cultural DNA.<sup>13</sup>

Building on such scholarship, I propose that a distinction can be drawn between ‘specific narratives’ and ‘narrative templates’.<sup>14</sup> Specific narratives are surface texts that include concrete information about the particular times, places, and actors involved in events from the past. Examples are accounts of the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 and the American invasion of Iraq in 2003. In contrast, narrative templates are generalised schematic structures that provide the recurrent constants of a narrative tradition. They do not include such concrete information, but are instead cookie cutter plots or story lines that can be used to generate multiple specific narratives. As such, they function in the role of the underlying codes suggested by DNA metaphors. The notion of a template suggests that this sort of story line is used repeatedly by a ‘mnemonic community’<sup>15</sup> to interpret multiple specific events by interpreting them in accordance with a schematic plot line.

### **The ‘Expulsion of Alien Enemies’ Narrative Template**

Turning to the Russian mnemonic community, I propose that a story that shapes political thought and discourse in fundamental ways is the ‘Expulsion-of-Alien-Enemies’ narrative template. The workings of this narrative template are sometimes evidenced in the very appellation of events. For example, in Russia, the massive conflict of 1941–45 is known as the ‘Great Fatherland War’ (*Velikaya Otchestvennaya Voïna*), a term that echoes the ‘Fatherland War’ (*Otchestvennaya Voïna*), or what is known in the West as the ‘Napoleonic War of 1812’. The parallels between these two events in the Russian mnemonic community become all the more apparent when one considers that the expression ‘Hitler as the second Napoleon’ has long enjoyed widespread usage in this collective, but not in others. This expression suggests that

two events separated in time, place and participants, each with its unique specific narrative, are viewed as instantiations of the same underlying story line.

The narrative template at issue in the Russian case applies to a much larger set of events than these two colossal clashes. It is evidenced, for example, the 1938 film ‘Alexander Nevsky’, where Soviet director Sergei Eisenstein suggested that the looming threat from fascist Germany could be viewed through a lens from a much earlier time than the Fatherland War against Napoleon. In this film invading Teutonic knights in the thirteenth century were referred to as ‘the German’ (Nemets) and depicted in helmets that came straight from the uniform of the invaders in the impending conflagration in 1941. Again, the comparison points to an underlying code that connects specific narratives. The list of parallels goes on, with Russians sometimes speaking of the multiple conquests by foreigners, including Mongols, Germans, Swedes, Poles, Turks, and Germans again.

What the specific narratives of these events have in common for the Russian mnemonic community is an underlying code that can be termed the ‘Expulsion of Alien Enemies’, the elements of which are:

- An ‘initial situation’ in which Russia is peaceful and not interfering with others
- ‘Trouble’, in which an alien enemy viciously attacks Russia without provocation
- Russia nearly loses everything in total defeat as it suffers from the enemy’s attempts to destroy it as a civilisation
- Through heroism and exceptionalism, against all odds, and acting alone, Russia triumphs and succeeds in expelling the alien enemy

This narrative template is a cultural tool that is widely understood and employed by Russians when making sense of events, both past and present. It provides a schematic plot line for specific narratives such that they take the shape of the same story told over and over with different characters. To argue that this underlying code shapes Russian collective memory, is not to suggest that it is simply a fabrication or a figment of the imagination of this mnemonic community. Russia obviously has suffered at the hands of foreign enemies on numerous occasions. Instead, it suggests that the narrative template provides an interpretive framework that heavily shapes the thinking and speaking of the members of this community, sometimes in ways that are quite surprising to those coming from other collectives.

This comes into sharp focus in cases where mnemonic communities have strikingly different interpretations of the same event. For example, it is surprising for members of other mnemonic communities to hear Soviet communism described as a foreign enemy as Alexander Solzhenitsyn did when speaking of ‘Russia in communist captivity’.<sup>16</sup> In this case, the alien enemy took the form of Western ideas that the Russian people finally managed to defeat and expel, but in fact, this story line is by no means new. Indeed, a 19th century version of it can be found in the ‘Demons’ of Dostoevsky’s novel, where alien ideas had invaded the Russian

society and had to be cast out in order to avoid a descent into nihilism and atheistic inhumanity.

Going back to the assumptions that underlie claims about collective DNA, what evidence is there that national narrative templates are immutable—or at least very resistant to change? The comments I have made about the Russian case suggest that this narrative template has been in existence for some time, but other evidence from recent events is equally telling. Consider, for example, the fate of collective memory during the social and political transformation that accompanied the break-up of the Soviet Union. At the time, it was widely asserted that Russia was undergoing a deep political and cultural transformation, including in its collective memory. The transition years witnessed a massive outpouring of new films, memoirs, history textbooks, and other texts about the past, and much of it was devoted to refuting Soviet accounts that had held sway for decades. For example, instead of insisting that the Communist Party was the principal architect of the victory over fascism in the Great Fatherland War, post-Soviet history textbooks sometimes went out of their way to assert that it was despite the inept efforts of Party officials that the Soviet Union prevailed.<sup>17</sup>

Such assertions would have put their authors in prison during earlier decades of Soviet rule, but with the break-up of the USSR, these claims became commonplace. The fact that such discussions were part of everyday life in post-Soviet Russia led many to assume that the collective memory and national narrative were undergoing a fundamental transformation. However, a closer look suggests that the new specific narratives appearing in this context did not reflect a shift in the underlying narrative template.

One of the most telling episodes of transition – or lack thereof – can be found in accounts of the ‘secret protocol’ of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939. This protocol detailed the agreement between Stalin and Hitler to divide Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, Poland, and Romania between the USSR and Germany. Throughout the following decades, the Soviet authorities steadfastly denied the existence of this protocol even though rumors about its contents surfaced in the West within weeks of the pact’s signing. It was only in 1988, after the Soviet archivists had finally found the ‘missing’ document, that Mikhail Gorbachev acknowledged its existence.

Not surprisingly, people whose territory had been affected by this secret protocol resented the unwillingness of Soviet authorities to admit to its existence. In their view the refusal to deal with this episode was particularly telling because the debate was not only over lost territory, but over the very nature of the Russian national narrative as an intellectual and emotional backbone of national identity. For decades people in places like Estonia argued in private that if Soviet authorities acknowledged the existence of this protocol they no longer could cling to the view that theirs was a story of being victimised by foreign aggression; they would have to recognise that in some cases they were also perpetrators of expansionism and aggression. From this perspective, such an admission would challenge one of the

most cherished and deeply held self-images of Russia, outlined here as the Expulsion of Alien Enemies narrative template. This effort to turn the national narrative tables on Russia continues today in Estonia at sites such as the Museum of Occupation in Tallinn, devoted primarily to the decades of Soviet occupation that followed the Second World War.

During the immediate post-Soviet era, there were, to be sure, some significant, though temporary revisions and admissions. In the Russian history textbooks, for example, this was a period of ‘narrative rift’,<sup>18</sup> where what had been a confident official story became halting and uncertain in face of challenges such as the existence of the secret protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. However, this narrative rift was soon mended as the narrative template reasserted itself in state sponsored official accounts of the past. For example, initial post-Soviet acknowledgements in Russian history textbooks that Soviet occupation of Estonia was immoral and illegal disappeared in subsequent editions by organising the account around narratives like ‘Stalin’s Difficult Choice’. This amounted to revising the account such that it implicitly recognised the unfortunate consequences of annexing the sovereign territories of another country, and also asserting that this was part of a necessary larger strategy to save the world from fascism. This essentially mended the narrative rift that had arisen in the immediate post-Soviet period, making the specific narrative once more quite consistent with the Expulsion of Alien Enemies narrative template.

When considering such examples from the Russian mnemonic community, it is worth keeping in mind that the general processes I have outlined occur everywhere in the world, and in this regard there is nothing special about the Russian case. Instead it is an all too common reflection of what Jan Assmann terms the ‘mono-perspectival, ethnocentric, and narcissistic’ orientations of national narratives.<sup>19</sup> The narcissism involved is not so much a matter of selfishness; indeed, many national narratives are organised around themes of how selfless the collective is, how much it has sacrificed to save other groups, or even humankind from some dreadful fate. Instead, it is a kind of ethnocentrism that stands in the way of understanding the power and legitimacy of other national narratives. In extreme cases, the result may be intractable opposition between what Thomas de Waal has termed ‘sealed narratives’<sup>20</sup> such as those behind the frozen conflict between Azeris and Armenians in Nagorny Karabakh.

### **Opposing Properties of Narrative Templates**

Up to this point, I have emphasised the generalised the schematic nature of narrative templates, which is precisely what lies behind their capacity to be used to generate multiple specific narratives. Indeed, this pattern of wide application can sometimes even be extended to multiple mnemonic communities. For example, with references to ‘Russia’ taken out, the Expulsion of Alien Enemies narrative template might appear to be applicable to places like Georgia. But this is something that would strike both Russians and Georgians as ridiculous, if not offensive. There is obviously something



that limits the possibilities for generalisation, something that make it impossible for most Georgians and Russians to say that their two mnemonic communities are based on the same general story. This limitation comes from a tendency of narrative templates that operates in opposition to their penchant for wide applicability, a tendency toward ethnocentric particularity.

This ethnocentric particularity stems from forces that characterise most national narratives. Specifically, members of mnemonic communities tend to assume that (a) their national narrative template applies exclusively to themselves and not to anyone else, and (b) the template is the one true story of their group, with no competing narrative template imaginable. These assumptions obviously set off one mnemonic community from another, even when they seem to share the same generalised schema of a story line.

The upshot is that narrative templates are organised around a tension between two opposing poles: a proclivity for schematisation and generalisability, on the one hand, and a tendency toward ethnocentric particularity, on the other. The latter is what lies behind oft encountered claims about how ‘our nation’s history is unlike that of any other country’ and results in many nations’ assertions that they are not only unique, but somehow more unique than anyone else. It also lies behind claims about having a special, even messianic mission for humankind, claims that often are associated with a tendency to reject the legitimacy of others’ perspectives and national narratives.

The claim that a national narrative template belongs exclusively to one group is tied to the second assumption that no alternative or challenger is allowable, or even imaginable. Once a narrative template is embraced by a mnemonic community, the idea that there might be legitimate alternatives, especially alternatives suggested by someone outside the group, is likely to be dismissed as heresy. For example, suggestions that Russia’s actions in the Russo-Georgian war of 2008 are part of a campaign of occupation rather than a chapter in the Expulsion of Alien Enemies story are not only rejected by members of the Russian mnemonic community as false, but viewed as hostile.

## **Conclusion**

Discussions of societal transition – or the lack thereof – often appear inconsistent or confused because evidence for stasis exists along with indications of change. In the wake of the collapse of the USSR, some observers saw massive social transformation while others thought what they were seeing was historical continuity. In trying to sort through this confusion, it is useful to distinguish between surface phenomena and the deeper codes that underlie them. Several contemporary analysts have come up with the term ‘collective DNA’ when referring to these underlying codes, and I have suggested that this term can be productively explored in terms of how national narrative templates differentiate one mnemonic community from another. These narrative templates provide common, schematic plot lines, each of which can be instantiated in multiple specific narratives.

A review of several instantiations of the Russian Expulsion of Alien Enemies narrative template reveals its general outlines and also suggests that it is highly resistant to change. For example, even in the face of what appears to be disconfirming evidence and even in the context of massive political and cultural transformation, the Russian narrative template appears to have remained largely intact. Part of the reason for this is precisely its highly schematic, generic narrative form, something that makes any narrative template difficult to falsify. This property of non-falsifiability has been discussed by Smith,<sup>21</sup> and in the Russian case, was reflected in phenomena such as the capacity to ignore and then overcome evidence about the secret protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

If schematisation and generalisability comprise one basic property of the Russian national narrative template, ethnocentric particularity is another, opposing tendency. This is characterised by a narcissistic perspective, which is undoubtedly another source of the resistance to change, found in many national narratives. The seemingly contradictory set of properties of this narrative template means that it is a flexible, yet very powerful cultural tool behind some quite narcissistic and ethnocentric forms of thinking and speaking.

Taken together, the schematic organisation and the ethnocentric proclivities of the Expulsion of Alien Enemies narrative template provide a background for understanding how post-Soviet Russia understands itself, its role in the international arena, and the motives and actions of others. Given the resistance to change of this national narrative template (something that does not generally distinguish it from others), it is reasonable to expect that the world view it supports will continue to be part of the post-Soviet context. It may not be the world view that others would hope Russia to have, but it is a world view that we can expect to guide its interpretation of the world for decades to come.

The more general point is that national narrative templates such as the Expulsion of Alien Enemies story line can be used in positive and productive ways, on the one hand, but in some very deleterious and dangerous ways, on the other. It is the latter tendency that leads to the ‘mnemonic standoffs’<sup>22</sup> and sealed narratives that contribute to human conflict everywhere in the world, and one of our tasks to find better ways to recognise and escape the dangerous paths down which this tendency leads.

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## 2 ■ Transition to Uncertainty: The Dynamics of Post-Communist Politics

*R. R. Sharma*

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The post-communist politics of the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has been obviously marked by a host of issues of democratic transition. Apparently, the transition from an authoritarian rule to democracy is self evident, as also it has been the declared objective of post-communist regimes. Since there is no systematic and in-depth conceptualisation of ‘transition period’ in non-Marxist social science literature, it has been variously explained in the framework of ‘regime transition’ that is, an ‘interval between one political regime and another’. A major problem with these formulations of transition is their poor ‘predictive capacity’. While analysing transitions from authoritarian regimes, the focus is on the transition from the governing rules in the direction of enlarging the scope of socio-political and economic rights of individuals and groups viz-a-viz the state. Their extension and redefinition is invariably referred to as ‘liberalisation’. The transitions begin with liberalisation of authoritarian regimes. The new regime or the political elite in these countries are no longer communist, but they are also neither liberal democratic. They are transitional regimes engaged in some form of political liberalisation. They invariably fall short of liberal democracy. There is no clear break with the past. Some analysts argue that liberalisation regimes can also be understood as regimes attempting to create certain procedures and uncertain political results... theories of transition usually fail to draw clear distinction between political liberalisation and liberal democracy.<sup>1</sup>

In Marxist literature, the transition figures prominently, and is spelled out as a period between the dying or decaying political system and the emerging revolutionary or evolutionary social order. Lenin went on to describe it at length while introducing the ‘New Economic Policy’ in the erstwhile Soviet Union in the early 1920s. There was, however, some opposition to his conceptualisation of transition period within the ranks of leading Bolsheviks. NEP was designed as a specific policy for the transition period in the USSR.

In Karl Polanyi’s monumental work, ‘The Great Transformation’,<sup>2</sup> the transition period has been equated with flux and far-reaching great transformation. Many others, who followed him, have, directly or indirectly, touched on the same theme. Historically, the second half of the 1900s was also the period of fundamental change all over the world; indeed, the world system changed beyond recognition. The essential characteristic of the transition in this period has been an all-embracing fluidity and consolidation of democratic institutions in old as well as newer democracies.

Let us examine the specifics of transition in Russia and Central Asia ever since the collapse of communism, and more particularly, after the demise of the Soviet Union. East Europe is not within the scope of this paper.

## Russia

The demise of state socialism in the USSR signalled disappearance of the Cold War world-order in the bipolar international system, and the emergence of a Post-Cold War global order moving in the direction of globalised, multi-polar world system. Some new states emerged from the ashes of state socialism in the space occupied by the USSR, as well as Eastern Europe. This also indicated a significant movement in the direction of the so-called 'conjoined domestic and international transitions'. The new regimes, after the collapse, were searching for a desirable alternative, and they opted for democracy and free market. Apparently, they were convinced that democracy and free market 'mutually reinforce' one another. The new set of policies was designed accordingly.

The collapse of the Soviet Union was not inevitable. It was not foreseen and predicted by any analyst. Of course, the Soviet state had developed and accumulated a number of significant contradictions within its system. These were indeed so formidable that the system was slowing down, and appeared increasingly vulnerable. Putin, however, maintains that it was possible for the state to overcome these with a proper perspective and a set of adjustments. What emerged on the Soviet space was a unique non-entity called Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which was preceded by bewildering intrigues. There was a proposal by a number of former Soviet republics to sign a treaty on the creation of a 'union of sovereign states'. However, Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk worked at tandem to kill the idea at its very inception.

The most powerful successor state to emerge was the Russian Republic headed by Boris Yeltsin. It was under his tutelage that Russia sought to test the new waters of the emerging global order. There was a marked break with the past. The state was no longer to be guided by the benchmark of an ideology. The foremost perspective was to 'de-ideologise' its worldview of international order. A new set of far-reaching projections were made with regard to Russia's foreign policy. The official document, which was adopted in 1992, while underplaying its geo-strategic location on the Eurasian landscape, largely focused on its ties with Trans-Atlantic alliance and the West. Russia was projected as a 'part of western civilisation'. Obviously, the emphasis had shifted from 'Eurasianism' to west. In a way, it was a sort of an extension of Gorbachev's worldview which emphasised the 'civilisational affinity' with West Europe. He wrote: At the 27th Congress of CPSU, the European direction of our foreign was characterised as a most important one. He asserted: Russia shares 'common roots' with Europe, and is part of the essentially common European civilisation. ... The concept of 'Common European home'... combines necessity with opportunity.<sup>3</sup>

The new 58-page foreign policy document devoted a large space to relations with the US. It stated that Russia was looking for the US support in carrying out its 'complex strategic tasks'. It further clarified that Russia would strive to achieve stable relations with the US based on 'strategic partnership'. It also envisaged a long-term perspective of a 'Union'. From the outset, the new ruling elites affirmed their firm commitment to the laws of market economy, private property, and democracy.

Consequently, the foreign policy of Russia under Boris Yeltsin was a broad reflection of its domestic policy. At both levels, Russia was projected as part of the west.

After the chaotic 1990, there was apparently a shift towards 'nationalistic-patriotic paradigm'. However, it was a partial transition to a pragmatic understanding of global politics, and different power centres in the multi-polar world. In his state of the nation address in April 2002, Putin asserted the need to evolve a new system of security through a 'permanent dialogue with US as well as NATO'. This formulation was reaffirmed several times in the subsequent years. Following Gorbachev, he reasserted that Russia was a 'European power'. At the same time, he seldom hesitates in declaring that 'Russia is a European-Atlantic country'. It has led some analysts to argue that Russia is yet to formulate its clear strategic policy in relation to different global power centres. This could be due to its conflicting pragmatic interests. However, Putin is not disinclined to oppose the US geopolitical moves in the Caspian and Central Asian region. Recently, Putin is seeking to reintegrate the former Soviet states in a closely knit economic and political alliance, which he describes as 'Eurasian Union' to be established by 2015. Hence, there is little doubt that there has been some degree resurgence of Russia and its global clout in recent years. However, the transition to multi-polar world order is still in the making, and therefore, remains on the periphery of a fully globalised world system.

### **Democratic Transition**

The essential characteristic of domestic transition has been even more unruly and devoid of firm directionality with a long-term vision. Perhaps, there is some structural logic to this seemingly 'shapeless situation'. This implies that we can 'identify factors shaping developments and, as well, the short-term consequences of these factors'. Thus, there have been ungainly short-term consequences of the given structural logic. To be more precise, interaction between contradictory factors, namely, the residues of the state socialist past and the pressures of required social transformation have produced a series of contradictions, an institutional vacuum, and finally a good deal of uncertainty. Since there was 'incomplete break' with the past, it left behind some of the state socialist past in place. What are the residues from the socialist past? While the political monopoly of the communist party was terminated, the political party 'apparatchiki' continued to exist as an important political and economic force. In fact, there was not much of a disturbance of the old regime. This is evidenced by the role played by these apparatchiki in the post-communist dispensation. They managed to convert their political capital in the old system into economic capital after the demise of state socialism. They were reborn, as pointed out, by some perceptive analysts as the new class of 'entrepreneurchiki'.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the demise of the system did not destroy the political culture shaped during the old regime.

It was this class that led the assault on the state sector of the economy during the early transition period in the 1990s. While political culture of the old regime was not greatly disturbed, state sector of the economy was dismantled in a space of few years

in 1990s. The assault had no specific directionality. Stephen Cohen thus aptly asserts that this period was characterised by ‘greatest plunder’ of national assets ‘ever seen in the history of a nation’. The policy in question was declared as ‘shock therapy’, a misnomer for shock without therapy. The shock therapy ‘reforms’ carried out by Igor Gaidar, Anatoly Chubais, etc. were a huge disaster for the Russian economy. However, Gaidar while defending the ‘reforms’ argued that the aim of the reforms was to weaken the state structure so as to release the space for organic development of the Russian economy. The ‘nomenklatura’ conceived these reforms as the best ideological explanation and ‘theoretical foundation of privatisation’. In short, this period of transition was marked by great deal of economic, political and social instability.

After the chaotic 1990s, Putin made a serious effort to change the economic and political landscape of Russia. Putin emerged as a ‘national leader’ and became quite popular with the people, particularly with the middle class, which greatly valued the comparative social stability, and increased living standards. They also took pride in Russia’s resurgence in the global politics. The political system, which he put in place was that of what is called ‘Managed democracy’. Some political parties – communists, liberal democrats of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, and Just Russia were allowed some space within the system but were invariably ‘manipulated by Kremlin’. All efforts to set up new political parties were firmly put down.

In sum, there was no effort to open up the political system, which continues to remain fairly rigid. Some analysts argue that more things seem to change the more they remain the same. The economy remains heavily dependent on energy exports, which are 40 per cent of the budget. Obviously, there is insignificant economic modernisation. The corruption has grown to ‘staggering proportions’. Evidently, the system of ‘directed’ or ‘managed democracy’ is tending to a ‘closed system’. The transition seems to have reached a dead end. A closed system is invariably open to disorders and greater chaos. Russia, thus, seems to be moving towards greater turbulence and road-blocks in its current phase of transition. Russia’s relative current economic prosperity largely flows from its huge reservation of energy resources. Obviously, this has helped the country to achieve a level of economic growth. While the state is an active player in the process, non-state actors are quite weak. This specific weakness refers to the absence of social infrastructure which supports the liberal politics. The weakness is clearly expressed through social organizations, interest groups, political parties, Unions, and civil society, pluralised formations, etc. This invariably leads to the separation of people from politics, which is a kind of source of strategic tension in the transition period, the directionality of which is seldom spelled out by the ruling political elite.

### **Central Asia**

Unlike Russia, there are several critical questions about Central Asia. Central Asian, Caspian, and Caucasus regions occupy a significant place in the contemporary global politics and economy. For various reasons, the region ought to be clubbed together



and deemed as a 'common area'. Much of this is part of Eurasia, and is characterised by turbulence and destabilisation. Obviously, it implies that it is volatile region, which has a deficit of 'stable political equilibrium'. That explains why some analysts have asserted that the region is a 'strategic quicksand'. Additionally, it lives in the tough neighbourhood of Afghanistan, which is an epicentre of terrorism and instability. Because of political and security vacuum, the region is slowly emerging as a hotbed of factional and big power rivalries.

Soon after the collapse of the USSR, Russia withdrew from the region as a matter of policy, and the larger picture that unfolded was that if internal conflicts and disunity, and enhanced activity linked to international terrorism associated with religious fundamentalism. The US also categorically declared that it was least interested in Central Asia, as it was 'mission too far'. Some regional states looked to the west for economic assistance, and even integration within their regional political and economic system. These expectations were short lived. The west clearly demanded of them to show a clear evidence of (a) being politically stable, and (b) a clear commitment to transition to liberal political and economic institutions. This was sought as a price for legitimation, access to western capital and markets, membership of European economic and military institutions, and more generally 'release from East and a place in the West'. This was indeed a tall order, and an extremely tough and unacceptable agenda for the ruling political elite for transition to liberal democratic order.

However, towards the end of the 1990s, the US changed its policy, seeking to integrate the region within the Trans-Atlantic security framework. A clear indication of this transformation was reflected in the major policy address by Strobe Talbott, the then US Deputy Secretary of State, at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in 1997. This was more explicitly amplified in the US National Security Document in 2002. The obvious transformation in the US policy was, in a large measure, related to discovery of 'huge' oil and energy resources in the Caspian basin. The US estimated that the region 'sits on as much as 200 billion barrels of oil'. Obviously, securing the energy resources of the region was an attractive proposition. Some other stated objectives were the 'promotion of democracy' and the 'creation of free market economies', and the integration of the region into the larger Euro-Atlantic community.<sup>5</sup>

There is no doubt that the region sits over significant oil and energy wealth (30-40 billion barrels) but 200 billion barrels was a 'spectacular bluff' that was obviously invented for geo-political reasons and manoeuvres. The point being made is that the transition in the region has been characterised by shifting geopolitics of external major powers, such as the US, Russia, China, Iran, etc. competing for influence in the region, control over Caspian energy resources, as well as pipeline routes. The so-called 'New Great Game' has made the region a playground of external powers, leading to volatility, which impacts the security and stability of the region. Undoubtedly, the scenario has a fairly adverse impact on the larger internal process of transition to a post-Soviet (communist) system.

### **Domestic Politics**

From the very outset at the domestic level, the process of nation-building in the transition period to a liberal democratic order has been muddled. Throughout, it has been characterised by a great deal of democracy deficit. The ruling political regimes are devoid of long-term political strategic vision. The political systems are fragile because of the 'facade democracies' imposed from above. The political elite are addicted to monopolistic pursuit of power. By and large, the system is politically authoritarian, and therefore, dysfunctional. The region is overflowing with several political and economic problems. In fact, political reform is critical to ensuring economic growth and security of the region. Political problems embedded in the system make quite a few economic problems more difficult to solve. The political problems invariably come in the way of economic reform. The fault-lines have thus grown wider and more intense during the transition, and outcome remains widely uncertain. This is because the political system is largely fragile, and has created an environment which fosters social tensions and conflicts. This, obviously, brings wide-ranging instability and insecurity.

Democratic institutions are either non-existent or extremely weak. The democratic transition could run into a blind alley due to the reluctance of 'new-old' political elite to relinquish their monopolistic power. Obviously, the 'formalistic model' of democracy in the transition period cannot work in the long run. It seems to have already alienated people from the politics, which is indeed an acute danger. To avoid the separation of politics and people is more important in the newly created countries. Without their participation in the transition period, the alienated masses can sweep away the whole politics. 'Flying Blind' in such situations can easily lead to outbursts of anomic movements, and mass manifestation. The recent developments in West-Asia are a clear and unambiguous eye-opener. The only exception appears to Kyrgyzstan, which is struggling to emerge as an 'island of democracy' in the region. But that is a cold comfort; the heavy-handed exercise of political power is leading to a situation where the political leaders and institutions are discredited, and democratic values are under siege. This amounts to the re-establishment of authoritarian rule under a paper-thin veneer of democracy.

Let us return to our earlier discourse on transition. Post-communism in the erstwhile Soviet Union has been in a fluid situation, characterised by an unruly social reality. A number of observers seeking to analyse the transnational situation invariably fumble with usual assumptions of social scientists. The interaction between the residues from the past formation and the emerging pressures of change and transformation has 'identifiable consequences', such as a host of 'contradictions, an absence of institutions, and therefore, weakly articulated interests, and finally, massive uncertainty'.<sup>6</sup> Obviously, transitional period is 'quite unlike' other types of social situation. It has its 'own logic... and is quite resistant' to firm predictions.<sup>7</sup> It is, therefore, in order to fall back upon history to contextualise the period and the processes of historically known transitions. The relevant question to pose is: Are recent or ongoing transitions significantly different than the earlier ones?

It is quite clear from the relevant body of experience that in the last hundred

years the transition period invariably resulted in the creation and consolidation of major institutions of modern democracy. Robert Dahl aptly argues: A relatively peaceful transition to the inauguration of democratic institutions is the historic norm, to which recent transitions are not exceptions.<sup>8</sup> Contributing to this is the ‘historically unique’ factors of ‘disappearance of the alternatives to democracy... for the first time in recorded history... the main alternatives to democracy lack legitimacy. This includes the ‘main 20th century alternatives: Fascism, Communism, Maoism, traditional hegemony and even military rule, only Islamic fundamentalism and extreme nationalism appear at the moment to offer alternatives’.<sup>9</sup>

The collapse of alternatives to democracy elevates the political imperative of democracy. Older and mature democracies exist largely in western countries. These countries had to go through a lengthy period of pre-democratic development, which was followed by decades of consolidation of democratic institutions and culture. Consequently, these mature democratic countries achieved national unity and a sense of nationhood. This could happen because the transition to full set of democratic institutions was deep rooted. The foremost modern democratic institutions, according to Dahl, which were consolidated during the transition period, were (1) fully enfranchised system (popular elections), (2) free and fair elections, (3) freedom of expression, fully protected, (4) right to form political parties and organisations, and (5) right and access to all information. These institutions are the ‘basic requirement’ of a democratic political system.

The heterogeneous group of newer and ongoing democracies were inaugurated in the post-World War period. Transition to democracy has been an ongoing process in these countries. While transition to democracy has been very much in the air, democratic breakdowns have also been frequent. In several cases, the common cause of breakdown has been a military coup. It also clearly emerges from the experience of these countries that wherever (and whenever) the democratic institutions have had time for consolidation, they have invariably survived. Obviously, the transitions evolved over a long period of time, and took deep roots in the social soil. India is an obvious example of successful, peaceful and ongoing transition to a mature democracy. Likewise, democracy has survived in several other newer countries of ongoing transition. At the same time it is quite obvious that the circumstances in which some of the ongoing transitions are taking place are quite different from the transitions that occurred in the western mature democracies in the early twentieth century. The process had a fairly long span of life.

Looking back to the history of democratisation at the global level, we see not just one particular supreme model of democracy, but different democracies. A theory of democracy does not emerge, but there are a series of variegated discussions about democracies, and the transition to a democratic form of government. The foremost focus is on the creation of relevant institutions and structures which are germane to the inauguration of democracy of any variant. There is a broad convergence of perception among the political analysts of democracy that it would be ‘mistake’ for the countries of ongoing or more recent transitions to take older ‘democratic countries as their model’. They should not seek to emulate so far as possible the political and social system of older democratic countries (Robert Dahl).<sup>10</sup> He further

clarifies that the US cannot be a role model for countries of recent transitions, and more particularly, the former authoritarian socialist countries. The US fabricated notion of democracy designed for export to the Third World is closely connected to its goal of world hegemony, and unipolar world. The whole notion of export of democracy is designed to promote friendly regimes.

More significantly, a number of analysts (Dahl, Linz, Bunce, Agh, Mainwaring, etc) have argued at length that the American Presidential system of democracy is the least suitable model for emulation for transition to a democratic government. Presidential system outside the US has proved not only very fragile, but also conducive to the development of authoritarianism. These systems have 'inherent weakness that makes them less favourable to sustaining democracy'. In this context, it is not without significance that Russia and the Central Asian republics are all based on presidential form of government.

To conclude, what is likely to be the outcome of transition in these countries? While it is difficult to give a hard answer, one may like to make some observations. This is so because this is indeed a case of unique transition, which is historically unprecedented. However, the political regimes both in Russia and Central Asia are transitional regimes who have allowed only some liberalisation, but there is no complete break with the past. There are many residues of the past. Some analysts describe these 'a hybrid of Stalinism and liberal democracy'. Obviously, the transition period is 'rife with contradictions'. This has led to an absence of new institutions and stable interests. The sharp contradictions of the transition can lead up to massive uncertainty, if not the post-communist anarchy.

## Notes

1. Valerie Bunce, "The Struggle for Liberal Democracy in Eastern Europe", *World Policy Journal*, Summer, 1990, pp. 395-430.
2. Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1944
3. M. Gorbachev, *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*, (Chapter six is devoted to 'Europe in Soviet Foreign Policy'), (London: Collins, 1987), pp. 190-200.
4. David Stark, "Privatization in Hungary: From Plan to Clan" in *East European Politics and Societies*, 4, 1999, pp. 351-92.
5. Strobe Talbott, "A Farewell to Flashman: American Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia", see <http://www.ststegov/wwwregions/nis/197073/Talbott>
6. V. Bunce and M. Csandi, "A Systematic Analysis of Post Communism in Eastern Europe" in *Flying Blind: Emerging Democracies in East Europe, Yearbook, 1992*, (Budapest: Hungarian Political Science Association, 1992).
7. Ibid.
8. Robert Dahl, "Transition to Democracy" available in *Democracy and Political Transformation* (Address at the University of Dayton, Centre for International Studies, March 16-17, 1990), (Budapest, Piremon Printing House, 1991), p. 13.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.

### 3 ■ Transforming the Post-Soviet Space: Customs Union and Eurasian Integration

*Ajay Patnaik*

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When CIS was formed in December 1991, it was felt by some that it is no more than an arrangement for a ‘civilised divorce’. However, a year later in January 1993 (Minsk Summit), seven member states agreed to recommend the draft CIS Charter to their respective parliaments and thus create a more integrated structure. The seven states included Russia, Belarus, Armenia and all Central Asian states except Turkmenistan. Even before that, in April 1992 in Tashkent, all the above states except Belarus had signed the Collective Security Treaty that took collective responsibility for the external borders of the member states and threats from non-member countries.

In 1995, writing on the subject, the present author had written: There seems the possibility of two-speed integration ..... The realities of economic hardship have replaced early nationalistic euphoria and the states see the need to have a common economic space.<sup>1</sup> It was further underlined: The creation of a common economic space or a more integrated CIS is still not a smooth process, given different political spectrums and differences in the nature of economic reforms in different successor states. Under these circumstances, the criss-cross of two, three and multi-sided agreements is a natural way to go about the construction of a single economic space. The CIS ‘is destined for a two-track and even multi-track integration’.<sup>2</sup>

The developments since the beginning of this century clearly indicate that former Soviet republics are moving in different tracks and speed towards integration. On the security front, Collective Security Treaty was upgraded to Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO) in 2001. Economic integration has taken different forms, with a group of states forming the Eurasean Economic Community (EURASEC) and Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan have formed the Customs Union. Some members of this organisation like Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are considering the possibility of joining the Custom Union. Ukraine, which is member of neither of the above, is a likely candidate for the Customs Union.

Since much of the initiative and leadership has been provided by Russia for creating a common economic space, it is natural that there would be questions raised about its intentions. Is it meant to revive the so-called ‘empire’ or the Soviet Union in some form or is it a convergence of mutual interests. Like this author argued in 1995 and subsequently, there are strong political and economic imperatives for many post-Soviet states to come together.

It is now well-established that the post-Soviet states are not pawns in the geopolitical chessboard of Eurasia. Not just Ukraine and Georgia, even Uzbekistan has shown enough geopolitical autonomy vis-a-vis different major powers. Kazakhstan follows a multi-vector foreign policy. Turkmenistan zealously guards

its neutrality. Even Russia refused to intervene during the April-May crisis of 2010 in Kyrgyzstan, which hosts a Russian air base. To talk about restoring the old Union is a misnomer. However, a union of sovereign states with common political and economic orientation is possible.

### **Political imperatives**

Even if Russia remains the paramount power in the region today, this not due to the inability of the regional states to reject Russian authority, but due to their own vision of engaging Russia as a strong partner in the region. In that sense, the Russian leadership in the region is limited and can continue only with the collaboration of the Central Asian states.

The Russian vision of Eurasian integration found expression through regional initiatives like the CSTO, EURASEC and Common Economic Space. The Central Asian states have been partners in all these regional organisations.

Russia provided a greater legitimacy to the strong-state and strong-executive centralised political system in Eurasia. It also provides a certain degree of insulation to the regional states from Western criticism and pressures for change to a more liberal-democratic system. Russia-led CIS helps deflect criticism and legitimise the elections, Presidential or Parliamentary, in the post-Soviet space. A parallel legitimization instrument to that of the OSCE has come up. CIS Election Monitoring Organisation (CIS-EMO) gives a clean chit while the OSCE monitors seriously question the free and fairness of the elections in almost every instance. The leadership provided by Russia on this count has endeared the leadership in many former Soviet states to the former. The same is the case with the so-called 'colour revolutions'.

Many scholars do not believe that the colour revolutions were about democracy and think that these were all related to geopolitics. A new democracy fault line has emerged between Russia and the West. While the West celebrated the colour revolutions as expressions of popular anger and 'democratic', Russia looks at the events as cynical manipulation of media and masses to install regimes that would serve West's geopolitical objectives in Eurasia. In response, Russia has tried to orchestrate charges of 'double standards', 'interference in national sovereignty', 'selective attention on problems in certain countries while ignoring others', etc. against Western-oriented multilateral organisations.<sup>3</sup>

The issues of democracy and corruption raised by the West from time to time have created differences with the post-Soviet leadership, and pushed the local leaders to seek Russian patronage. An example of this is the European parliament resolution on February 12, 2003 criticising Kazakhstan for rights abuses, especially actions against political activists and journalists (January conviction of journalist Sergei Duvanov whose 'immediate release' the European parliament called for). On the corruption front, there was a corruption scandal known as 'Kazakhgate', related to possible illicit payments made by oil companies into private bank accounts of top government officials, which was investigated by Switzerland and the US.

Annoyed by Western criticism over the democratisation process in Kazakhstan,

as well as by an ongoing investigation into possible top-level corruption, President Nursultan Nazarbayev moved to foster better ties with Russia. In this backdrop, Nazarbayev was happy over the silence of Russia on these issues and, according to RIA Novosti News Agency, said: There are no problems between the two nations and went on to add, We have neither mutual debts nor contradictions.<sup>4</sup>

The internal politics of many post-Soviet states is influenced to a large extent by the discourse on stability *viz-a-viz* democracy. The main security challenge faced by many post-Soviet states is terrorism and religious radicalism. On that count, both Russia and other states have accorded priority to stability rather than broaden the space for political participation of groups that appear remotely radical. The manner in which these states have clamped down on radical groups has been harshly criticised by the West. Russia's action against Chechen separatists and that of Uzbekistan against radicals in Andhijan drew strong criticism from the West. This was resented by the respective leaderships.

When there was a reported assassination attempt on the then Turkmen President, the West chose to remain silent. On the contrary, Russia acceded to the Turkmen desire to label the assassination attempt against Niyazov on November 25, 2002 as an act of international terrorism. This was despite the fact that Turkmenistan was to soon end the Dual Citizenship benefit provided to its Russian minority since 1992. The result was the 25-year gas deal within two months (January 2003) during Putin's visit to that country to sale Turkmen gas to Russia.<sup>5</sup>

Most of the states in the region followed the Russian lead in treating radicalism as cross-border fallout rather than a result of internal discontent due to socio-economic and political alienation. Consequently, use of disproportionate force was seen as the best option despite the collateral damages. While the West was critical of this strategy, Russia was willing to cooperate.

Between the first Russian base in Kyrgyzstan in 2001 and the current negotiations for a second one in the same country, Russia has re-established itself as the paramount power in Central Asia. There is a Russian base in Tajikistan. Yet, its presence in former Soviet republics cannot guarantee Russia that the geopolitical situation would not turn against it. NATO expansion eastward and the colour revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine followed by another in Kyrgyzstan had created a fear of encirclement in Russian security thinking. The need to reassert Russian leadership in the post-Soviet space was driven by its desire to break out of any potential neo-containment and to re-emerge as a major international player. Eurasian integration would help in maintaining the leading position of Russia in the former Soviet space. In that sense all the regional organisations that help the integration process in CIS is also helpful in creating a political and strategic consensus for Russia's leadership role in the Eurasian region.

### **Economic Factors**

One of the strong legacies of Soviet Union is the complementarities of post-Soviet economies and their mutual dependence. Though most states have strived to

diversify, they still cannot find demand for their products outside the former Soviet space except for their natural resources. In many cases diversification has resulted in trade deficit and huge indebtedness. The alternative is to restore to some extent the old Soviet division of labour to reach a level of competitiveness. Since many states still have Russia as a major trade partner, removal of barriers for movement of goods would help them access the Russian market.

This is especially so given the background of denial of WTO membership for many CIS states including Russia, which prevents their access to the rich global markets. This frustration of being denied membership has been one factor in Russia pursuing very strongly the option of creating a single economic space. In 2009, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin announced that Russia was abandoning its separate talks with the WTO in favour of a joint bid by a single Customs Union comprising Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus. Kazakhstan and Belarus too have made little progress in their drawn-out talks with the WTO.<sup>6</sup>

While West is a political challenge for Russia in the former Soviet space and beyond, the latter is aware of the growing economic influence of China in the region. Russia's political preeminence may not last long if its economic engagement with the region does not have a similar impact. Over last two decades its economic advantages have declined and European Union and China are strong contenders to Russian economic and energy leadership. The revival of the Silk Road ties would mean Central Asia becoming a bridge between China-Europe trades like in the olden times. Russia would not like to be a transit country for trade between these two economic powers. Thus, Eurasian integration would be instrumental in preventing Russia's marginalisation in growing Sino-Western engagement, in which Central Asian states would come under greater Chinese economic influence.<sup>7</sup>

Putin, quite recently, had published a manifesto on economically integrating the 'post-Soviet space'. Putin's integration project, according to [Vladimir Socor](#), takes the form of concentric circles of Russian dominance and influence, in Eurasia and beyond. As the driving force in the Single Economic Space from 2012 onward, Russia proposes to advance from that integration core to a Eurasian Economic Union, ultimately covering most of the post-Soviet space as an 'integrated region'. Such a bloc would operate from 'joint positions on the issues facing our region', with Russia 'coordinating' these joint positions, underlines Socor.<sup>8</sup>

In October 2000, three countries of Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan) along with Russia and Belarus, signed an agreement setting up the Eurasian Economic Community (EURASEC) in Astana. A major aim of the exercise seems to be creation of a stronger economic bloc. The members of the EURASEC pledged to form a common foreign-trade border, create a unified foreign economic policy and collectively regulate export-import tariffs and prices. The new organisation is also to work towards the establishment of common customs, fiscal, monetary, and employment policies. Another regional integration effort is through the Common Economic Space or the Custom Union that includes Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan.



The effort took a giant leap when as recently as two weeks ago, eight CIS prime ministers that included heads of government from Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, and Ukraine signed an agreement to create a free-trade zone. Three other countries – Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan – have asked for a few weeks to consider joining the free-trade agreement. Under the agreement, import and export duties on most categories of goods will be eliminated, although there will still be some exceptions. The agreement is expected to come into force in January 2012.

EURASEC was the first attempt to create a common economic space. Though it sought to create a free trade zone and help member countries during crisis situation (in 2009 an anti-crisis fund of US\$ 10 bn was created and in 2010 Tajikistan was given a US\$ 70 mn loan from the fund), the organisation was not the instrument to create trade barriers for non-member states through a common economic space. As a result, China's trade with Central Asia has been growing exponentially with all the member countries since 2001.<sup>9</sup>

On January 01, 2010, Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan launched the Custom Union, which will finally come into existence by 2012 after the three members fine-tune their respective national custom legislations in accordance with the agreed document. As a second stage of the process, the Customs Code was signed in July 2010. The Customs Union foresees a single trade procedure in relation to third countries and a harmonised economic policy between member countries. The objective is to create a Common Economic Space by 2012 with freedom of movement of services, goods, labour and capital.

The creation of the Customs Union is likely to change the situation, since Chinese goods will face tariff and non-tariff barriers. Since 92 per cent of the custom duties have been taken from Russian roster, which is the highest among the three members and the most extensive in nature. Even Chinese goods that passed through low tariff states of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to the member states of the Customs Union are going to be affected.<sup>10</sup>

The Customs Union has created a common market of 170 mn people with US\$ 2 trillion economy, US\$ 900 bn trade and 90 bn barrels of oil reserves.<sup>11</sup> It has created opportunities for all the participating countries. Easy access to technology and markets, potential for diversification to manufacturing and infrastructure development are some of the general gains. Specifically Kazakhstan's agricultural and automobile sectors and nascent airline industry in Belarus and Kazakhstan can gain from the Union.<sup>12</sup> In the short-term, Russian farmers could suffer due to competition from Belarus and Russian steel producers from Kazakhstan, but the single economic space will lead to better competitive sectors and diversification away from dependence on natural resources.

Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have also shown willingness to join the Customs Union despite the fear of losing out on its main advantage, that is, low import tariffs. Apart from the political and strategic attraction of joining the Union, both these countries also send a large number of labour migrants to Russian and Kazakhstan.

Being a part of the Union would facilitate labour movement, which will benefit Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan immensely.

### **Labour migration**

Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan would be more interested in accessing the labour markets of the three current members of the Customs Union. The hope that was generated while forming the EURASEC has not materialised yet. Free mobility of labour is still an issue, though Russia and Kazakhstan have introduced quotas. Considering the demand for labour in these two countries and the potentiality of labour migration from some post-Soviet states, there is need for a common economic space. Generally it is believed that Central Asian countries are dependent on remittances and their shrinking labour market need a safety valve, failing which these states could face severe social and economic problems.

The 3,00,000 or so migrant workers to Russia supported nearly 1.2 mn population at home (five dependants per migrant worker on average) out of a total population of 5 mn in Kyrgyzstan in 2003.<sup>13</sup> According to some estimates, between 6,00,000 to over 1 million Tajik migrants work in Russia, who in 2007 sent home over US\$ 1.8 bn through banks that made up to 30 per cent of the GDP. Other sources put the figure at 46 per cent of Tajikistan's GDP. Remittances same year constituted 27 per cent of Kyrgyzstan's GDP or US\$ 322 mn. Over 2 million migrant Uzbeks residing in Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, South Korea, Europe and the US send about US\$ 1.3 bn annually, which constitutes over 8 per cent of GDP. Though Russia is the largest recipient of Central Asian migrants, Kazakhstan has of late been a favoured destination where in 2007 over 2,00,000 Kyrgyz, 50,000 Tajiks and 2,50,000 Uzbeks migrants were in the labour market. The vast majority of these workers of course are illegal migrants.<sup>14</sup>

However, the benefits from labour migration are mutual for both the receiving and sending countries. With regard to Russia as a receiving country, labour migration offers economic profits that can enhance economic growth by providing relatively cheap labour in the situation of severe labour shortages in certain sectors of the economy, especially in construction, retail, public transport, municipal services. Given the big demand for unskilled labour in Russia, labour migration is likely to continue. Negative natural growth of population since 1992, aging population, and shortages of working-age population have created a demographic crisis. In the early 1990s net in-migration nearly compensated for the natural decline, and in the late 1990s, met about 45 per cent of the natural decrease.<sup>15</sup>

Many analysts have underlined that the economic imperatives of migrant labour in Russia is such that it would be difficult to meet Russia's labour demands without their participation. To avoid becoming a high-wage economy, when the country is still struggling to get out of the impact of Soviet disintegration and subsequent economic crises in 1998 and 2008, Russia has to meet the fall in internal sources of labour-supply by labour migration from the 'near abroad'.<sup>16</sup>

Eurasian integration requires not just capital flows but also movement across

borders of peoples, who have in the past lived as citizens of one political entity and shared many things in common. Like the Russians who can contribute to the economic regeneration of Central Asia, ethnic Central Asians can similarly meet the labour needs of Russia and contribute to its economic growth. Therefore, Russia and the Central Asian states need to look beyond flows to utilise the man-power potentiality of the Eurasian region. It is expected that the three processes – Economic Community, Customs Union and Free Trade Area – would create conditions for movement not just of capital, technology and services but also for free movement of peoples.

### Conclusion

The post-Soviet space is on the threshold of a major transformation. What looked like a disintegrated space pulling in different direction now looks poised for a second phase of integration, but in a qualitatively different way. Without creating a single political centre like in the Soviet times, the countries of this space are moving closer to a new synthesis that could augur well for the people of this space. In a globalised world, they are likely to succeed if they would stand together. The geopolitical interests of external powers are couched in the language of democracy, human rights and civil society. Even access to international institutions like the WTO is denied on non-economic grounds. In the last twenty years, the states in the region that are relatively rich have turned into natural resource exporters. The Soviet manufacturing potential has been lost.

From the above perspective, the creation of the Customs Union was a defining moment in the reintegration process of the post-Soviet space. The custom union is going to be a resource multiplier for all the participating countries. Other initiatives like the Eurasian Economic Community, the Free Trade Agreement are going add force to this process. The integrated Eurasian space, in Putin's words (October 4 manifesto) would be economically coordinated but politically 'polycentric'.

### Notes

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2. Ajay Patnaik, "Introduction", in Ajay Patnaik (ed.), *Commonwealth of Independent States. Problems and Prospects*, (New Delhi: Konark Publishers, 1995), p. 27.
3. Nine CIS states made a statement strongly criticising the OSCE on July 03, 2003.
4. Cited in Sergei Blagov, "Kazakhstan looks to Russia Amid Hail of Western Criticism", *Eurasia Insight, Eurasianet*, <http://eurasianet.org>, February 19, 2003.
5. Dilip Hiro, op.cit. Turkmenistan ended Dual Citizenship to Russians in April 2003.
6. Vladimir Radyuhin, "A Single Customs Union, says Russia", *The Hindu*, Chennai, India, June 2009.
7. According to Roman Muzalevsky, "While many foreign observers are fixated on Russia's related steps in the framework of its alleged stand-off against the West, many local ones increasingly interpret Russia's push in the Customs Union in the context of Sino-Russian

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  9. Prajakti Kalra and Svetoslav Veradzhakov, "The Custom Union between Russia, Kazakhstan and Belarus: First Steps Towards the Revival of the Silk Road", [http://cambridge.academia.edu/SvetoslavVeradzhakov/Papers/472097/The\\_Customs\\_Union\\_between\\_Russia\\_Kazakhstan\\_and\\_Belarus\\_First\\_Steps\\_towards\\_the\\_Revival\\_of\\_the\\_Silk\\_Road](http://cambridge.academia.edu/SvetoslavVeradzhakov/Papers/472097/The_Customs_Union_between_Russia_Kazakhstan_and_Belarus_First_Steps_towards_the_Revival_of_the_Silk_Road) (accessed on October 27, 2011)
  10. Kyrgyzstan is now a major regional transit point for Chinese products, with up to 75% of imports from China being re-exported. Two Kyrgyz large markets (Dordoi and Kara-Suu) generate about 33% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP). The head of the Markets Association, Sergei Ponomarev, stated that the trade turnover involving Dordoi alone has already declined almost twofold following the launch of the Customs Union. Roman Muzalevsky, "Customs Union doubts remain", *Asia Times Online*, August 03, 2011, [http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Central\\_Asia/MH03Ag01.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Central_Asia/MH03Ag01.html) (accessed on October 09, 2011).
  11. According to Kazakh President Nazarbaev, cited in Vladimir Radyuhin, "Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus Launch a Customs Union", *The Hindu*, July 06, 2010.
  12. Cost saving on one Boeing aircraft could be as much as US\$ 15 mn. Russia and Kazakhstan have agreed to have a joint venture in auto assembly in Karaganda in Kazakhstan. The project to create a grain terminal with a storage capacity of 200-300 mn tons of grain in the Far Eastern region of Kazakhstan could be of benefit to the three member countries who together produce 17 per cent of world's wheat exports. Prajakti Kalra and Svetoslav Veradzhakov, op. cit.
  13. Cited in "Kyrgyzstan: New Protocol with Russia Offers Protection for Labour Migrants", *IRIN*, Ankara, October 06, 2003. [http://tcc.iom.int/iom/artikel.php?menu\\_id=45&artikel\\_id=67&history\\_back=true](http://tcc.iom.int/iom/artikel.php?menu_id=45&artikel_id=67&history_back=true); Other estimates put the figure between US\$ 800 mn and US\$ 1.2 bn, "Labour migration and Tajik-Russia relations", *RFE/RL Central Asia Report*, Vol. 4, No. 23, 15 June 2004; "Labour migration: masses on the move" *RFE/RL Central Asia Report*, vol. 4, no. 38, October 13, 2004.
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## 4 ■ Models in Transition: The Turkish Model and Central Asia Twenty Years After

*Anita Sengupta*

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### **Introduction**

On August 04, 1996, the remains of Enver Pasha were brought from Tajikistan and laid to rest at Istanbul's Eternal Freedom Hill. The former Ottoman minister of war had died in 1922 while pursuing pan-Turkist ideals at the head of the Basmachi movement. Many prominent figures in Turkey's political and military establishment attended the funeral of Enver who was reburied with full military honours. Hundreds of members of the Turkish ultra right groups marched behind Enver's hearse, waving flags and chanting the slogan, 'Turkey will become the Great Turan'. It has been noted that the official reburial of Enver Pasha indicted a break with the historical dogma of Kemalism which had discarded Enver's pan Turkist activities as 'adventurism'. The departure became most evident in President Suleyman Demirel's ceremonial speech in which he stated: Enver Pasha was a 'nationalist, an idealist and an honest soldier who loved his country'.<sup>1</sup> Enver's reburial marked not just the rehabilitation of one of the most controversial figures in Turkish history but also indicated that there was now recognition of the Central Asian connections of Turkey. In fact since the opening up of the Soviet Union and of more than sixty million Turkic peoples living in eight former Soviet Republics of Central Eurasia, there was talk about how the 21st century would become a 'Turkic century'. During the 1990s, Turkish Presidents Turgut Ozal and Suleyman Demirel paid lip service to Turkey's ethnic ties with Turkic nations. During this decade there was also speculation that Turkey would offer a role model for nation-building throughout Central Asia.

In the early 1990s, the 'Turkish Model' was a frequently encountered term. Most western writings in the period following the dissolution of the Soviet Union indicated it as the most suitable path of development for the Central Asian region. The Turkish Model indicated a pre-Soviet linkage on civilisational and ethnic terms, and pointed away from a pan-Islamic future for a predominantly Muslim region. It also indicated a clear lack of preference for the Chinese path of rapid economic transition. The preference for the Turkish Model was based on the fact that Turkey, a predominantly Islamic state, was visualized as an exemplary model in terms of its achievements in democracy and economic prosperity. Turkey in the 1990s is, therefore, interesting since on the one hand it is presented as 'the' model for a vast region where there is apprehension of a turn towards Islam and on the other there is the emergence of a critique of this 'modern' model from within the state itself. As a concept the idea of the Turkish Model arose outside Turkey with the implication that Turkey is a model of a 'secular democratic' Muslim country aiming to achieve western standards, in

partnership with the West, by applying liberal free market policies. In reality this conceptual framework has been confronted with dissensions from numerous fronts and secularism and religion have become matters of constant public concern and controversy in contemporary Turkey. 'Laicism', one of the founding principles of the secular Turkish state has been questioned from the mid 1990s with the rise of the popularity of the 'Welfare Party'. A significant part of it was also based on the ambiguity that Turkey's membership in the EU was being faced with and the fact that over the years a number of issues which had been considered non negotiable by Turkey (Cyprus, for instance) had been subject to negotiation as part of Turkey's dialogue with the EU.

The inherent paradox in the situation is ignored in the plethora of writings on 'Turkish policy in Central Asia and the Caucasus' which follow a model where an initial euphoria both by the western powers as well as Turkey of the role that it could play in the region is followed by an analysis of why Turkey failed to meet this expectation and moved on to playing a restrained role by the end of the 1990s. Turkey's failure to play a leadership role in post Soviet Eurasia is then explained in terms of its own economic and political problems during the 1990s, which influenced the perception of other states and eventually led to a shift in the way that Turkey's role was perceived. This linear understanding fails to take note of the fact that historically the Turkic connection has assumed relevance at certain junctures and has subsequently been relegated to the background with the recognition of the significant differences in the 'Turkic' world. However, it remains a useful alternative strategy that is put forward both by Turkey herself and by western powers as a counterbalance to policy initiatives that are considered detrimental to the maintenance of status quo in the Eurasian region. So that while it is argued that the Turkic connection is no longer viable a 'Turkic Commonwealth' is proposed and Barak Obama's visit to Turkey in April 2009 is interpreted in terms of demonstrating the value of Turkey's 'identity' for Obama's foreign policy priorities. Similarly, events in the Middle East have encouraged a renewed attention on the model. In the present context, the 'new Turkish identity', that is seen to have emerged with the success of the AKP (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi), is perceived as a valuable 'strategic asset' to prevent a clash of civilisations in the region. With such attributes, it is argued Turkey will be capable of bridging the Islamic world and the West, and contributing to the global co-existence of different cultures and civilisations.<sup>2</sup> It is significant to note that the traditional emphasis of Turkey's geo-strategic location is not underlined here. In fact it is the 'cultural-historical' connection that is seen to play a significant part. What is often ignored in the course of this emphasis on the 'cultural-historical' connection between the two regions is the fact that Pan Turkism in the late 19th and early 20th century was closely connected to Pan Islamism in both the regions. This goes against the current thinking of the 'Turkish Model' as intensely secular in nature and therefore creates a contradiction that is either ignored or unknown.

### *The 'Model'*

Within Turkey, a 'Turkic' rhetoric became evident in its foreign policy during the 1990s. Despite the rhetoric it is generally agreed that there is no consensus about what the Turkish Model means.<sup>3</sup> Perception about this varies from inside and outside as do its connotations. Andrew Mango notes ...the Republic of Turkey is a model of a secular, democratic, Muslim country aiming to achieve western standards in partnership with the West by applying liberal free market policies.<sup>4</sup> Some definitions are based on Turkey's confinement of Islam to the private domain while others focus on a constitutional system that guarantees Turkey's secular character and an acknowledgement of the role of armed forces as guardians and protectors of the constitution.<sup>5</sup> The diverse understandings of the model American policy makers emphasised Turkey's secular and multi-party electoral system along with its market economy. From the American perspective the Turkish military is the balancer against radical groups both from Marxist and radical Islamic ideologies. Turkey also poses a better alternative compared to the Iranian model.

While the term 'Turkish Model' gained popularity in the early 1990s, when it was identified as the most suitable model of development for the ethnically Turkic and Muslim dominant former Republics of the Soviet Union, Idris Bal, traces its beginnings in Turkish cooperation with the West and the reforms conducted by the new leadership of the Turkish Republic.<sup>6</sup> He notes that its origins were in the 'Tanzimat' Reforms, and then follows its development through the early years of the Republic upto the end of The Second World War. Bal notes,

The process of westernisation, which began during the Ottoman Empire in the shape of legal and social reforms, formed the basis for Ataturk and his intelligentsia to develop what is known as the Turkish model. The Turkish model was initially designed by Ataturk between 1923 and 1928.<sup>7</sup>

During this period, the model was essentially restricted to Anatolia, unified around 'Turkishness' and emphasised the centrality of being a Turkish citizen. It was only in the 1990s that the model was put forward as one suitable for emulation in Central Asia and the Caucasus. A Turkish diplomat portrayed the Turkish model in these words:

The Turkish Model helps explain how a nation is built in a very central region of the World, how independence is won and maintained, how contemporary values and democracy are established and kept and how a liberal economy is achieved through gradual transformation of institutions.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, Turkish academic Oral Sandler regarded Turkey as a model and argued that 'Kemalism' is likely to be a better model for the Turkic Republics than fundamentalism in view of their manifest aspiration for organic ties with the West and for political and economic modernisation.<sup>9</sup>

The common desirable achievements of the model as defined by various advocates included a secular state (in a country where the majority of the people are Muslim), a multiparty system, cooperation and closeness to the West and a market economy. The fact that Turkey had arisen from the ashes of an Islamic Empire and had succeeded in achieving some form of democracy and had been able to set up a market economy and more importantly had done all this very recently was important. However, as Bal points out:

It did not scrutinise the ideological and cultural basis of this model of development and its cycle of maturation over the years and the problems that the model brought to its country of origin, it did indeed look like a quick answer to the problems that the new states faced after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The Turkish Model could be used as a 'transitional' model of development.<sup>10</sup>

The projection of the model as an ideal however opened up both opportunities and potential risks for Turkey. As Mustafa Aydin argues:

Turkey in the 1990s faced both tremendous opportunities and potential risks in Central Asia and the Caucasus, which collectively posed extraordinary and complex challenges. In addition these challenges presented themselves in a decade when Turkey itself was undergoing vast changes. The 1980s probably brought sharper change to Turkey than perhaps any decade since the 1920s.<sup>11</sup>

Any examination of the Turkic Model and the significance of this model in the post Soviet Turkic world would, therefore, need to take note not just of the western projection of the model as secular, democratic and liberal but would require critical analysis of how important secularism, liberalism and democracy remained within Turkey itself. Here, it has been argued that Turkish democracy has been interrupted at times, its economy while recovering still has inherent problems and more importantly it is still to resolve all ethnic problems and the problem of religious minorities. The story of Turkey's transformation from intense secularism (or laicism) is neither linear nor sudden. The re-entry of Islam into the political arena from about the end of the Second World War with the beginning of multi-party politics is well known as is Suleyman Demirel's criticisms of the Ataturk's policies. These internal contradictions were confronted with a transformed international scenario when with the disintegration of the Soviet Union Turkey was confronted with a number of independent 'Turkic' peoples in search of their own identities and paths of development. Political rhetoric identified Turkey as the 'culture centre and the historic magnet' for the Turkic republics at a time when Turkey herself was beginning to look towards building ties that had been backgrounded in an extended period of intense focus on Anatolia. Reflective of this new stance was the fact that in the initial years of independence of the Republics, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs involved itself with various measures for enhancing



relations with the Turkic states, helping coordinate the first Turkic Summit and ensuring that it would become a regular event. The inherent contradiction in this is equally evident from the fact that in Turkey these meetings were called 'Summits of the Turkish Speaking States' though in reality Russian was virtually the *lingua franca* at the meetings. Thus, the 'Turkic' was confronted with the reality of a 'post Soviet' from its initial encounter.

There was also the realisation that there were many other states that were considered as 'models' to be emulated by these states. The success of any model would, therefore, depend on how the people of the region who were engaged in a process of self-identification would view this alliance. It would also need to take note of the fact that the newly emerging republics continued to be ruled by the old political elites who attempted to avoid the highly controversial questions of Islam and ethnicity and resisted the pressure to choose between models. In fact in most cases indigenous models were put forward as 'the' model of development and the necessity of developing the basis of one's own model of development was emphasised. In the Uzbek case for instance it was argued that the Uzbek model would take note of the 'unique way of life', of the various cultures and civilisations in Uzbekistan and would consist of a variety of forms and methods.<sup>12</sup> The model would be based on market relations but it was emphasised that it would also take into account the national historical heritage, foundations of life, traditions and mentality of the people. This was a clear indication that no one model would emerge as 'the' model of development even within each state.

The Central Asian response to the 'Turkic' alternative has been complex. The initial Central Asian enthusiasm for the 'Turkic' connection underwent change as the Central Asian states themselves became more aware of the problems within Turkey as also various other models of development. An excessive emphasis on commonalities between the Turks and the Turkic peoples was regarded with caution in a situation where 'national' identities were being emphasised. Similarly projection of Turkey as the link that would connect the Republics to the rest of the world was questioned. Experiences of the Republics with some Turkish initiatives, both sponsored by the Turkish government and by private foundations and organisations was often mixed. Turkish business and educational ventures were only partly sponsored by the state. Private ventures occupied a large part of these initiatives, and where they were sponsored by orders like the 'Fethullahci', there was often discomfort with their efforts to introduce both Islam and Pan-Turkism.

It has, therefore, been argued that while Turkey was chosen to 'export' secularism in Central Asia, Ankara's policy led to the dissemination of a different kind of 'private Islam' to the Republics.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, it is also true that interest about Pan-Turkic connections in the pre-Soviet era has become evident with the revival of historiography in each of the republics particularly where the Jadidist traditions were traced to Ottoman connections. And with the completion of the initial stages of nation-building and self-identification in the region there is less suspicion about Turkey taking over the role of 'Agabey' or 'big brother' recently vacated by the

Russians. Over the years, therefore, perception about Turkey's role changed within the 'Turkic' regions as a result of a number of factors.

Analysing why despite these factors the Turkish Model was presented as the model for emulation in the early 1990s, Idris Bal points to three factors; first, the perception of a power vacuum where in the absence of a secular model it was assumed that the Iranian model of radical Islam would emerge as significant; second, the reflection of a common Turkic culture that would link the people through a common ancestry, language and ethnicity was assumed to be important; and third the challenge of transforming socialist economies into liberal capitalist ones was one that Turkey was already assumed to have followed in its own development.<sup>14</sup> After the initial euphoria, the model lost its supporters in the western world with the realisation that the so called power vacuum would not be filled in by Iran since it was itself placed with significant handicaps. In fact it was realised that the reemergence of Pan Turkism in the region could be a distinct possibility if support for Turkey was extended further. It was also realised that the lack of interest that Russia had shown in the region was temporary and once the policy of 'near abroad' was put in place Russia presented a much better option for maintaining stability in the region. Thus, perceptions about Moscow and Turkey as arch rivals in the former Soviet Union's southern periphery became obsolete. On the other hand, Turkey was increasingly getting involved in a conflict in south eastern Anatolia and it was realised both by the western powers as well as the Central Asian states that the economic support initially offered by Turkey would not be forthcoming.

It is important to underline that Turkish Model has itself never been a monolithic one. It has changed with changes in the structures of power within Turkey and has been influenced both by compulsions of the state as also private organisations and institutions who have been instrumental in interpreting the model in the rest of the Turkic world. It has been noted that a number of 'quasi-government' and non-government actors, pursuing different agendas and interests, were active in the region. In addition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs these divergent agents included the TİKA, the Directorate of Religious Affairs, the Ministry responsible for 'outside' Turks and a number of non governmental groups and educational foundations that sponsored and established mosques and schools throughout Central Asia.<sup>15</sup> Foundations and organisations like the 'Turkish World Research Foundation' or the Nurcu community have projected themselves as lobbyists for the 'Turkish Culture' in the post Soviet Turkic regions though often with mixed results. The Pan-Turkic leanings of some of these organisations are clear. In addition, small and medium scale Turkish entrepreneurs operated in the region and in the case of 'follower-entrepreneurs' as Mustafa Sen argues, religio-historical ideals and sentiments often became entangled with economic action.<sup>16</sup>

### **The Linkages**

In the post Second World War period, Pan-Turkism was rehabilitated in Turkey. Here, changes in international politics played an important role. First, the territorial claims

of the Soviets on Turkey fostered a public opinion favourable to both nationalism and Pan Turkism. Secondly, the Turkish policy of neutrality was replaced by the new aim of integrating into the Atlantic Alliance and subsequently the European Community. Consequently, in the new Cold War environment the Turkish government adopted harsher policies against all leftist tendencies and permitted several new organisations with Pan Turkic tendencies to flourish. With the advent of multi party politics in Turkey the Pan-Turkists became active by presenting themselves as the only force capable of fighting the communists by their ability to influence Turks in the communist states and their interest in the problem of outside Turks. They had close contact with several refugee groups in Turkey during the 1950s. The 1960s saw a proliferation of nationalist activity with pan Turkic leanings. This culminated in 1965 when Alparslan Turkes assumed control of the 'Republican National and Peasants Party' and changed its name in 1969 to the 'Nationalist Action Party'. During the 1970s, the Party was a part of coalition governments in Turkey and this increased the influence of Pan-Turkists.

Mustafa Sen argues that during this time there were gradual but important changes in the social composition, the political programme and the ideological discourse of the Pan Turkic movement.<sup>17</sup> During the 1930s and the 1940s, the Turkist current was generally organised by a small elitist group led by intellectuals and supported by students and some middle class townspeople. However, Sen argues that in the new era there were attempts to cater to the prejudices of the conservative and religious rural population by stressing anti-Communist anti-Russian sentiments. Secondly, the narrowly racist nationalist programme of Pan Turkism was integrated into a broader anti-communist one to inspire and lead right wing parties and groups against the left in domestic politics. Thirdly the relationship between Islam and nationalism became the major dividing line among the Pan Turkist groups. Some Pan Turkists began to display interest in Islam during the 1960s seeing Islam as an integral part of nationalism. Fourthly, the 'Nationalist Action Party' were successful in reintroducing Pan Turkism into mainstream Turkish politics making some of its elements a part of right wing politics.

After the military intervention of September 1980, the *Nationalist Action Party* and several organisations with Pan-Turkist leanings were banned along with all other political parties and associations. Turkes and other idealists were arrested and brought to military courts with charges of paramilitary and terrorist activities. Many idealists joined right wing parties such as the 'Motherland Party', the 'True Path Party' and the 'Nationalist Democracy Party'. They assimilated elements of the 'Nationalist Action Party' ideology into the discourses of the right wing parties. The Turkish Islamic Synthesis (TIS) that was formulated by the Hearth of Intellectuals (Aydinlar Ocagi), an association established in the 1970s by some right wing intellectuals including famous Pan-Turkists, became the semi-official ideology of the 1980s. The aim of TIS was to bring together the nationalist and religious wings of the right in order to foster the right wing of the political spectrum in the political and cultural arena and in the state. Historically, the TIS contained many elements of

cultural Pan Turkism. The main aim of the TIS was to provide a return to Turkish 'national culture'.

Pan Turkism had sporadic effects in the domestic and foreign policy of Turkey in the 1980s. The sudden emergence of the new Turkic states in 1991, led Pan Turkic sentiments and ideals to acquire a new legitimacy. This enhanced the position of the 'Nationalist Action Party' and of Turks. However, Pan Turkism abandoned its earlier aggressive stance and aimed at more moderate objectives such as greater solidarity and cooperation between Turkey and the new republics. Pan Turkism inspired many ordinary followers of the 'Nationalist Action Party' who tended to emphasise and even exploit the ethnic bonds between the Turks of Turkey and the Turkic peoples of Central Asia. Sen identifies a section of them as 'Pan Turkist entrepreneurs'.<sup>18</sup> Like a majority of Turkish entrepreneurs who were involved in wholesale and retail trade, they were involved in small and medium enterprises concentrating on marketing of consumer and imported goods from Turkey. However, they differed in one important aspect. These Pan Turkic entrepreneurs were convinced that the Turkic peoples of Central Asia and the Turks of Turkey came from the same race. They emphasised the Central Asian roots of the Turks of Turkey saw the region as an eternal land of the Turks where the Turkish nation entered world history. For them, the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, Turkmen and all other Turkic-speaking ethnic groups were members of one great Turkic nation. The Pan-Turkic entrepreneurs welcomed the emergence of the Turkic republics as a sign of the emergence of a gigantic Turkic world and at the same time a strong proof of the validity of the Pan-Turkic views that they had advocated for many years. Within Turkey, a wider public opinion began to regard the emergence of the republics with enthusiasm and regarded cooperation with them to be a realistic and positive option.

The factors that mobilised the entrepreneurs cannot be explained by purely economic motives. They emphasised the role of nationalist sentiments and ideals in the involvement with Central Asia. Through his analysis of interviews with Turkish entrepreneurs in Central Asia Sen argues that the language of Pan Turkism that perceives Central Asia as the land of the forefathers of the Turks is here mingled with the language of economy that perceives the region as a new, untouched, rich market.<sup>19</sup> While the economic and the non-economic motives were mixed in situations in some the Pan-Turkic rhetoric was more prominent with the motive being clearly in terms of 'visiting the land of the forefathers' and 'getting to see their Turkish brethren'. However, as Sen correctly notes, there was very soon disillusion with the meetings. The expectation was that the people of Central Asia would be untouched in their 'Turkishness' after seventy years of Soviet experience. Unfortunately, contemporary Central Asia displayed very different characteristics. The reasons for the disappointment of the Pan Turkic entrepreneurs were many.

Sen correctly argues that the pan-Turkic entrepreneurs had little appropriate and valid information about contemporary Central Asia. Their source of information was either through journals and publications with pan Turkic leanings or Turkestani refugees who had migrated to Turkey via Pakistan and Afghanistan during the

1950s. The Turkeistani refugees played an active role in Pan Turkist groups and organisations and have striven to keep Pan Turkic sentiments alive in Turkey and Europe. However, their own accounts of the region were mainly based on the revolts and social unrest that occurred during the 1920s and 1930s. Similarly, there was often misinterpretation of mass demonstrations in the region in the 1980s, in Pan-Turkic journals as reflective of Pan-Turkic sentiments. The reality was very different. The expectation of wide spread anti Russian feeling in the region was absent and there was substantial residual social, economic, cultural and political Russian and Soviet influence. Also there was a tendency, on the part of the Pan Turkists, to refer to the Central Asian Turkic groups as part of a greater Turkish community whereas in the early years of the emergence of the states the Republics were conscious of asserting their 'national' identities. Efforts to classify the Central Asian Turkic groups as a part of the 'great Turkish nation' therefore were not welcomed. Neither was the feeling of superiority that the Pan-Turkists displayed.<sup>20</sup> It is also important to keep in mind the fact that in Central Asia Pan Turkism, during the late 19th and early 20th century, had an appeal that was limited to a section of the elite. It is not surprising, therefore, that despite the emphasis on Jadidism in the historiography of the new states; Pan-Turksim had limited popular appeal in the region. Until supported by viable institutional support, to deal with the various problems confronting the region, Pan Turkism would have little appeal in the region.

Pan Turkism also failed to garner support as it lacked organisational capacity. Apart from the members of the Gulen community the number of Turkish students and officials in the region who supported pan Turkism did not belong to an organised group. While some aspects of Pan Turkism were incorporated within official Turkish discourse there was no effort to integrate the programmes and agendas of the various groups who supported Pan Turkic ideas. Apart from the Gulen community there were no other groups that brought together educational, cultural and commercial activities of the Pan Turkic sympathisers. While the idea of a great Turkish world extending from the Adriatic Sea to the Wall of China, an idea formulated by the Pan Turkists, was assimilated within the official political discourse, its importance was not highlighted even when the 'Nationalist Action Party' became a coalition partner in 1999 and took charge of the state ministry in charge of 'outside Turks and the Turkish Republics'.

### **The Response**

For the leaders of the Turkic Republics, Turkey seemed an obvious choice at first glance and the Turkic Model appeared as an attractive model for emulation. The Presidents of the Turkic states were quick to recognise the importance of Turkey and visited Ankara immediately after their independence. The level of importance that the four states accorded to Turkey differed. While 'Turkestan' finds appeal among the intelligentsia of the region, due to the renaissance that the Jadidist ideas have received in the region, it is also true that historically the Central Asian region as a whole has never been united, except for brief periods under Chengiz Khan and then under Timur. The rival Uzbek and Kazakh clans traditionally fought for power,

while even within the Khanates there were dissensions. Culturally also the languages of the region diversified and the Soviet policy of creation of separate nationalities has ensured that the language groups now recognise their distinctiveness. While the Turkic languages still share a large vocabulary in common and many basic grammatical features, it is also true that Turkish is no longer the lingua franca in the region. Russian is used as a link language today. The unity of the Turks had been rejected even by advocates of Pan-Turkism like Zia Gokalp, who in his 'The Principles of Turkism', showed more caution about the form of unity likely to be achieved and pointed out that the immediate goal was the cultural unity of the Oghuz or Turkmen people alone, whose language was closest to modern Turki, thus excluding other groups as the Uzbeks.<sup>21</sup>

In such a background, it was pointed out that a Central Asian Federation could only develop on the basis of common economic requirements of the states. Unfortunately, in most cases, the requirements of the states overlap. As a result there is very little enthusiasm for integration on an economic level. This is also the reason why the arguments put forward for the EU type integration is not viewed with enthusiasm. The idea of integration is thus most likely to remain a romantic dream with poets like Jamal Kamal, reiterating,

...our country is known as Turkestan, we are all Turkish peoples. What is Uzbek/ it is only one branch of the Turkish tree. Our real name is 'Turkish'. In Great Britain and the West this region is known as Central Asia. But in reality it is Turkestan. .... Turkestan consists of different countries. I hope in future there will be a federation between the republics, economic and cultural.<sup>22</sup>

While this romantic vision of a united 'Turkestan' may no longer be viable today, even the Uzbek President, Islam Karimov, on the occasion of the opening of Kazakh day in Tashkent, in 1995, reiterated similar visions of a common Uzbek and Kazakh homeland in 'Turan'. He went on to say that just as in the past the Kazakh/Uzbek boundaries were not divided, God willing in the future there would be no such divisions.<sup>23</sup> He then went on to say that if the Kazakhs and the Uzbeks stayed together then there could be no power on earth capable of breaking this harmony. He cited the poet Gafur Gulam in saying: ...we are two pages of the same book.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, Mohammad Salih, the leader of the Uzbek Opposition party Erk said, We are a Turkic people and Turks have never been fanatics. I think religion should not intervene in politics and the only possible model is Turkey. The Uzbek President added, I announce to the whole world that my country will go forward by the Turkish route.<sup>25</sup>

In the initial years after independence, both the rhetoric of a common home in Turkestan and the need for restructuring of economy to meet market requirements and maintenance of democracy was clearly evident. The line to be followed by the Uzbek state as indicated by President Karimov seemed close to the model offered by Turkey:

The final objective is the construction of a strong democratic law governed state and secular society with a stable socially oriented market economy.<sup>26</sup>

However, it was clearly indicated that the new social and economic policy would not only move towards integration in the world community, but would also ‘promote the social programme’ in the country. This policy would take note of the ‘unique way of life’ of the various cultures and civilisations in Uzbekistan and would consist of a variety of forms and methods.<sup>27</sup> The necessity of developing the basis of ones own model of development was emphasised; a model which would be based on market relations but would also take into account the national historical heritage, foundations of life, traditions and mentality of the people. President Karimov points to this when he says:

We have selected an approach of rejecting egalitarianism in the system of social protection of the population and *finding our own path* corresponding to moral values, way of life and frame of mind of the nation which took shape throughout millennia in the East.<sup>28</sup>

The success of the ‘model’ was underlined in President Karimov’s 2008 ‘Navroz’ speech when he noted:

One of the principles of the ‘Uzbek model’ recognized around the world, is the provision of a strong social policy. In 2007 53.8% of the government’s budget went to the social sphere and in 2008 the number will hit 54.6%.<sup>29</sup>

There is clear recognition of the fact that there can be no universal model of economic development, which can be followed.

In the early 1990s, a large number of joint ventures between Turkey and Uzbekistan were established and a number of them are businesses that are entirely funded with foreign capital. Also, the Turkish state sponsored various educational exchange programmes and a large number of schools were established. In fact a significant part of the cultural exchange between the Turkey and the Turkic republics of Central Asia was based on an educational exchange where the Turkish aim was to create a stratum of people who would be well versed in Turkish culture and language and would then act as a bridge between the states and Turkey. In terms of educational exchange, there were two main trends – the first was that students, especially at the University level, were invited to study in Turkey on scholarships distributed by the Turkish state, and second, there were educational institutions, mostly at the secondary level established in the Republics by the Turkish Ministry of Education and by various foundations specially ones known to have ties to the Nurcu community of Fetullah Gulen. Educational exchange, specially inviting students from the Turkic Republics, was one of the top priorities of Turkish officials and was labeled the ‘Great Student Exchange Project’.<sup>30</sup> However, the programme

suffered from a number of inherent problems regarding inadequate amounts given for scholarship and attention given to selection of students.

The programme received a setback when following the electoral victory of the Welfare Party in Turkey, the Uzbek government claimed that some members of the Welfare Party and Uzbek dissidents living in Turkey were trying to turn Uzbek students in Turkey into 'Islamic fundamentalists'. Consequently most students were withdrawn. The Uzbek government also blamed Turkey for harbouring Uzbek dissidents. Also the number of educational institutions established in the Republics by private organisations far outnumbered the ones established by the Turkish Ministry of National Education.<sup>31</sup> To begin with there was approval of this effort by members of the Nurcu community to establish Institutions where 'Turkish culture' and the idea of 'Turkishness' were disseminated. However, following the February 1999 failed assassination attempt on the Uzbek President the Uzbek government accused several businessmen in Uzbekistan who were claimed to be connected with the Nurcu community as having ties to the attempt. Subsequently, all schools related to the Nurcu community were shut down. This was followed by the closure of six schools and one Turkish Language Teaching Centre operated by the Turkish Ministry of Education. Apart from the institutions established by the Nurcu community there were other private institutions established and operated by foundations like the Turkish World Research Foundation, in Baku and Jalalabad, which was known to have pan Turkic leanings.

Similarly, a large part of the Turkish entrepreneurs who set up business ventures in the Republics were also followers of the 'Fethullahci' order. These entrepreneurs were called 'follower-entrepreneurs' as they defined their own activity not as purely 'economic' but as the duty of their religious community.<sup>32</sup> They also placed importance on the Islamic roots of Central Asia, a region they regarded as the cradle of Turkish Sufism. With the aim that Turkey should pursue an active policy in the region the community endeavoured to create a lobby in the region that would be loyal to Turkey. This would help Turkey overcome its international isolation and become the centre of world politics. However, the communities' attempt to create an alternative social, cultural and economic sphere met with resistance from the Central Asian Republics and in some cases, like in Uzbekistan, to closure of their activities. Turkey voted against Uzbekistan when the UN was adopting a resolution on the events in Andijan and in response Uzbekistan did not attend the kurultai of heads of the heads of Turkic speaking states in Antalya in 2006.<sup>33</sup>

However, despite the formal reduction of relations, informal organisations that connect Turkic peoples are active in Turkey. These are constituted by students who came on exchange and in a number of cases stayed on and second generation immigrants from Central Asia who are now keen to reconnect with their land of origin. Over the years there have also been cases of intermarriages that have deepened relations. These organisations often also operate as social networks that offer support when required.<sup>34</sup> More recently, the rhetoric of 'deep, centuries old, historical and cultural roots' between Uzbekistan and Turkey has once again become



evident from the Turkish side.<sup>35</sup> This has been partly prompted by a sharp rise in the volume of bilateral trade and partly by the fact that the focus of the international community on the human rights issues in Uzbekistan has diminished with the EU itself engaging with the state.

Mainly because of its large Russian minority relations with Russia was important for Kazakhstan. President Nazarbayev was faced with the attempting to stop Russian migration from Kazakhstan while at the same time dealing with the idea that contiguous Russian majority regions of Kazakhstan with Russia be integrated within Russia. As a possible counter to such demands Nazarbayev initiated a Kazakh-Tatar-Bashkir summit in August 1992 where a trilateral economic agreement was concluded and the leaders issued a joint statement which revealed their attachment to a common Muslim and Turkic identity with the implicit statement that the Muslim and Turkic world extended into the Russian Federation and there could be no easy separation of the two worlds.<sup>36</sup> Kazakhstan also shares a large common border with China and has to take note of the large Kazakh imports from China.

In comparison with the other states, Kazakhstan's initial reaction to Turkey was therefore restrained. Since Kazakhstan inherited nuclear weapons from the former Soviet Union, was the largest among the Turkic groups and had significant natural resources, it received greater attention from the West than the other Turkic republics and affected its dependence on Turkey. The large Slavic population on its territory meant that it behaved more cautiously towards Turkey. Also, they were unwilling to allow any other state to have significant influence. However, when the Kazakh President was asked in an interview by Washington Times, Do you see Kazakhstan looking more to the North, to Russia and the European traditions or to the South and the Islamic traditions that lie deep in your roots? Nazarbayev replied:

As you know the Kazakhs are Muslims. And historically Kazakhs belong to a Turkic group of people. The Soviet states have separated us from maintaining a relationship with those cultures and those peoples so naturally we are inclined towards Turkey and the Southern Muslim states.<sup>37</sup>

While the rhetorical significance of a common Turkic brotherhood was maintained, and President Nazarbayev attended the Ankara Summit of the Presidents of the Turkic Republics in October 1992 showing that Kazakhstan regarded itself as a Turkic republic, yet Nazarbayev did not show enthusiasm for a Common Turkic Market. He noted that restricting the market to the Turks would not be beneficial to anyone. And while he was positive about economic cooperation he did not wish to support groups based on religion and ethnicity. During one of his speeches the Kazakh President listed the foreign policy priorities of Kazakhstan as relations with Russia and the CIS, relations with China, Mongolia, India, Pakistan, and other neighbouring states of the region, relations with the West and finally relations with Turkey and Iran.<sup>38</sup> In general, while Kazakhstan wished to improve its relations with Turkey it did not wish to close its options. It was argued that Turkey was important

for Kazakhstan as they wished to connect with Europe via Turkey by recreating the Silk Road. To bring this idea into practice Kazakhstan organised a meeting in Alma Ata in April 1992 at which the opening of a Trans Asia railway was proposed, arguing that the Silk Road had become important again and that this road would belong to the Turks.<sup>39</sup> Nazarbayev was also emphatic that Kazakhstan is a multinational state where every religion is equal. As such he noted that Turkey's secular model was an appropriate one for Kazakshtan. However, Kazakhstan also did not consider Iran as a country that promoted Islamic fundamentalism and therefore posed a threat to Kazakh interests.

Kazakhstan did not welcome the immediate adoption of the Latin alphabet and cautiously indicated that a common study on alphabet change was being carried out with the Turkish Ministry of Culture. Kazakhstan however welcomed the opening of the Kazakh-Turkish University, Ahmed Yesevi Universitesi in Turkestan and of a number of Turkish schools. Nazarbayev was also in favour of a free market economy and supported the Turkish Model in economy. While Nazarbayev supported the basic aspects of the Turkish Model like separation of the state and religion, transformation to a market economy, there was also a claim on the part of Kazakhstan to being a bridge between Asia and Europe. It has been noted that the participation of the two countries in the ECO is of great historical significance. As a multi-leveled organisational structure Kazakhstan benefits from participation in the organisation.<sup>40</sup> The euphoria of the initial years was somewhat affected by allegations of discriminatory policies of Turkish construction company employers. However, despite this Kazakh political scientists like Maulen Ashimbayev note that the Turkish Model of economic development could serve as a model for the state.<sup>41</sup> More recently, the Kazakh President has been an advocate of the Turkic Commonwealth with Turkey as its leader. And in response President Abdullah Gul has made an effort to reconnect with the region, a process that had been stalled since the death of President Ozal. A strategic agreement was signed between Turkey and Kazakhstan in October 2009 and it was noted that this was the first strategic agreement signed by Turkey with a Turkic state.<sup>42</sup>

President Askar Akayev in the first years following Kyrgyz independence made similar statements regarding the role of Turkey in the Turkic world. In the initial years there was also emphasis on the fact that the new republic would be a democratic state. Akayev therefore laid emphasis on the importance of Turkey's role as a model of a secular democratic state which looked more to the West than to the Islamic world. Akayev explained the main features of the new state as based on secularism, respect for human rights and a state based on law. And he emphasised that here Kyrgyzstan would accept Turkey as a Model in terms of state institutions.<sup>43</sup> Kyrgyzstan also welcomed the secular character of the Turkish Model and requested Turkish help in building mosques. Kyrgyzstan reacted positively to the Turkish offer of adopting a Latin based alphabet and requested Turkish help in replacing the Cyrillic alphabet with the Latin. Also a number of students were sent to Turkey for higher education. Kyrgyzstan also demonstrated clear preference for transforming the centralised economy into market

economy. Here, there was clear emphasis on the fact that in this the Turkish model was a useful one. At the Third Economic Congress held at Izmir in June 1992, the Kyrgyz Deputy President Kulov noted: We are now studying Turkey's economic system in detail, in order to join forces. We will soon change to a free market economy and we want extensive cooperation with Turkish businessmen.<sup>44</sup> Kyrgyzstan welcomed all aspects of what was identified as the Turkish Model, secularism, a market economy, a democratic system and closeness and cooperation with the West. However, there was no commitment to following a particular Model.

Turkish involvement in Kyrgyzstan moved from an initial stage when there was exchange of ideas on links between the Central Asian and Turkish peoples, an intermediate stage lasting till the late 1990s when trade links strengthened and which began in the late 1990s with intellectual exchanges, economic ties and Turkish educational programmes in Kyrgyzstan. However, Ankara's policies have been criticised for having weak funding to promote transnational contacts and to popularize Turkish culture. Turkish presence in Kyrgyzstan is visible primarily through the education programmes and imported goods. Most of the early Turkish businesses in the country were opened by ethnic Kurds. For example Bishkek's largest supermarket, Beta Stores is owned by Kurdish businessmen from Turkey. Although this is not politicized it has raised tensions among the Turkish community in Kyrgyzstan. There have also been allegations that these Kurdish businessmen may have links with the Kurdish Worker's Party (PKK).<sup>45</sup> A significant part of Kyrgyz imports come from Turkey and a large number of shuttle traders are involved in the trade. There are two Turkish Universities functioning in Kyrgyzstan, the Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University and the International University of Ataturk Alatau. There are also a number of Turkish sponsored state colleges that function throughout the country. In July 2007, at a conference organised in Bishkek on the role of political actors in state building, the legacy of Kemal Ataturk was widely publicised.

Following the events of April 2010 in Kyrgyzstan, Turkey extended help to the interim government and President Gul noted, What is happening in a sister country concerns us all indeed as does anything in the whole Turkic world.<sup>46</sup> The Turkish Prime Minister paid an official visit to Kyrgyzstan in February 2011 and met President Roza Otunbayeva. He also addressed the newly elected national Parliament. The two sides signed a number of bilateral agreements on economic cooperation. Showing its commitment towards a new chapter in Kyrgyz Turkish relations the Turkish government promised immediate financial support to deal with its budget deficit. A significant part of the economic investment would be directed towards educational projects and reconstruction work in southern Kyrgyzstan. An interstate council has been established headed by the Prime Ministers of the two countries. The two leaders agreed to introduce a visa free regime between the two countries. The Turkish leadership has also promised to enlarge the quota of Kyrgyz students in Turkish Universities. However, Turkey has been sensitive to Russia interests in Kyrgyzstan and Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan has called for a three sided Kyrgyz-Turkish-Russian negotiation to discuss investments in the strategic sphere.<sup>47</sup>

From the initial years of the emergence of the independent Republic, Turkmenistan had been opposed to any union with other states and had a negative attitude towards regional integration. However, in the years following the independence of the Republic, the rhetorical significance of close ties with Turkey was as evident in Turkmenistan as in all the other Turkic states. On his visit to Turkey in 1991, the Turkmen Foreign Minister Avdi Kuliyeve reiterated the position that they were two nations originating from the same ancestors. There was not only expectation of recognition from Turkey but also the fact that Turkmenistan expected Turkey to be the gate to the West. While President Niyazov supported the idea of a Turkic Common market, he was clear about the fact that pan-Turkism would not prove beneficial. While he was clear that a political and economic union would be welcomed he was not in support of a political union. And he noted that he was happy that there was no expectation of such a union on the side of Turkey either. In Turkmenistan, while secularism and Market economy were welcomed there was reluctance to accept a multi-party democracy.

President Niyazov was an admirer of the Atatürk and in imitation of the Atatürk (father of the nation) he began to refer to himself as Turkmenbashi (the leader of all Turkmen). The Turkish offer of a Latin alphabet was welcomed and Turkmenistan sent students to Turkey for higher education. While Turkmenistan welcomed the market driven model there was clear indication that the transformation would take place gradually. Like the Uzbek President, Niyazov also emphasised the reform of the economy would be based on the 'national traditions of the people' which was unique and would not resemble the reform undertaken by other states. In Turkmenistan it was accepted that the foundation of society should be based on the type of social relations that were historically traditional to the people and the backbone of all state entities of Turkmen through out their history. This is reflected in these lines:

We are positive: the overall progress of mankind is defined *not by dictation of one model*, not by unification of life norms and principles but by compatibility of ideas and conceptions.<sup>48</sup>

It was also echoed in the social policy which emphasises:

The strategic goal of Turkmenistan's social policy for the period upto 2010 continues to be ensuring high indicators of people's living standards. As it was earlier, significant budget funds will be allocated to the social sector and its development. Given the population growth, it is foreseen to construct new social facilities and to efficiently use the existing infrastructure. Protection will be provided to vulnerable groups of people along with free-of-cost provision of gas, water, electricity and salt.<sup>49</sup>

Though formally committed to the creation of a market economy, the emphasis has been on reform at a pace that suits the needs of the Republic. In February 1992, the former President Saparmurat Niyazov rejected the idea that market reform must

mean uncontrolled price rises, privatisation and a passive acceptance of poverty. He stressed the need for a gradual move towards new concepts and practice, the privatisation of small and medium sized enterprises and private ownership of in the agricultural sector. A 3-year plan for stabilising the economy was drawn up and the plan was later incorporated into a 10-year economic development equally acceptable to each country is thus significant. Niyazov notes:

While reforming the economy, we are moving consistently step by step avoiding possible negative implications.<sup>50</sup>

The cornerstone of Turkmen policy is its doctrine of ‘permanent neutrality’ a concept that was endorsed by the UN General Assembly in 1995 and subsequently enshrined in the Constitution. This declaration of neutrality has meant that Turkmenistan has declared its policy of non-interference and opposition to membership in any international organisations.

An independent state should not depend on other state.... We are self sufficient in Turkmenistan. We owe nobody. We do not take any credits from anyone.<sup>51</sup>

Given the geographic proximity of Turkmenistan to Iran, the two states established close economic and trade relations. Road and rail links were established to provide an outlet for Turkmen gas through Iran and a gas pipeline was agreed upon.

In the recent years, the Turkish President Abdullah Gul met with his Turkman counterpart President Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov a number of times to discuss gas transfer cooperation to the international market. President Gul emphasised that Turkish-Turkmen relations would develop on the basis of mutual respect and brotherhood. President Berdimuhamedov on his part defined Turkey as a strategic partner and backed a fruitful cooperation particularly in construction, industry, transportation, communication, oil and natural gas.<sup>52</sup> The State News Agency of Turkmenistan reported on the meeting between the two Presidents in great detail. The level of cordiality between the two leaders was stressed and the emphasis was on the increased level of mutual understanding and confidence between them. On his part the Turkish President emphasised that he viewed the relationship not just as a strategic partnership but also as the meeting of a true ‘friend and brother’ that made the cooperation ‘consistent transparent and frank’.<sup>53</sup> It was also stressed that all of this would be based on common historical roots and spiritual and cultural values of the two nations. The role that the two states played in regional and international agenda of mutual interest and the intensification of efforts to maintain stability in the region was also noted as significant. The report interestingly emphasises both the significance of ‘brotherly relations’ as well as ‘potentials in the context of modern realities’ which was seen principally in terms of trade and economic contacts.

## Conclusion

In May 2005, an international conference was organised on 'Interrelations of Turkey and Central Asia in the Context of Enlarging Europe' by the Institute of Oriental Studies, Kazakhstan and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Fund. The articles were published in a volume a year later.<sup>54</sup> The presentations dealt with the political and economic relations between Turkey and the countries of Central Asia, and in particular, with the development of transport and communication, a regional security system and historical-cultural relations in the context of an enlarging Europe. The Conference was addressed among others by the Minister of Science and Education and a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan. The Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies in the course of introducing the conference noted that the conference would provide 'a new impetus to the international relations between the countries of Central Asia, Turkey and Europe'. What was underlined, therefore, was not just an attempt at negotiating relations between Turkey and the Central Asian states but negotiating it in terms of expanding it with the EU in mind. In fact the year in which the conference was held is significant since this was the year in which accession negotiations were restarted by the AKP government with the EU. It is within this context of an inclusive neighbourhood that the significance of the Turkish model should be addressed.

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## 5 ■ The Russian Perspective of Post-Soviet Transformation: Some Dimensions and Problems

*A.K. Alikberov*

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The post-Soviet transformation represents a kind of post-communist transition of society and polity. The well-known Russian expert Andrey Ryabov places it between two other types of post-communist transformation, namely, the Eastern European case(s), on one side, and the Chinese model, on the other side. The Eastern European type of this change claims a deep political democratisation of society, at least at the level of institutions and under the conditions that existed in these countries at the beginning of change, and setting the foundations of a free, open market economy. The so-called Chinese model (typical for the Far East) is characterised by a consistent economic reform (in Vietnam even more consistent than in China), while maintaining the old, non-upgraded political systems of local societies.<sup>1</sup> Even geographically, two biggest post-Soviet countries – Russia and Kazakhstan – are not only in Europe or only in Asia, but on the territory of close historical interaction between them. This fact has led to specificity of transformation efforts, and post-Soviet experience only exacerbates these features. Of course all the post-Soviet countries resorted to the Eastern European, Chinese and even wider world experience, adopted to local conditions. It means on the one hand changing the balance of political and economic freedoms and considerations of pragmatism and expediency on the other hand. However, this experience has been used with some minor alterations, which each state has tried on the basis of the current needs of its own reality.

The first stage of post-Soviet transformation (1992–2000) was a period of political uncertainty, social instability and growing economic problems, caused by breakdown of economic ties and relations after the Soviet collapse. That is why the elites and people in Russia and other countries were interested in stabilising the socio-political situation, threatened also by bloody conflicts in Abkhazia, South Ossetia (Georgia), Chechnya (Russia), Transnistria (Moldova), civil war in Tajikistan, conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as the war between Azerbaijan and Armenia. There were five basic guidelines in the development of post-Soviet countries at this stage:

- Development based on inertia of Soviet period that led to revised Soviet patterns and search of joint stabilisation mechanisms within the CIS
- Attempts at democratisation on the basis of the European model (one such project was conducted by OSCE in Kyrgyzstan; but attempts by the Soros Foundation carried out in all post-Soviet countries have proved more successful as these relied on local intellectual forces)
- Growth of political Islam adapted to local conditions (Islamic parties in Russia, that is, in the Northern Caucasus, and Central Asia, mainly the Islamic Party of Uzbekistan)

- Merger of European democratic principles with Islamic values (such a project was proposed by Shirin Akiner for Central Asia)
- State-building mainly on the foundation of one's own historical and cultural traditions – with the mythologising of the past and the revision of history (Turkmenistan is the best example)

The second stage of post-Soviet transformation starts from the beginning of the new millennium and seems to be still continuing unless the creation of a Customs Union of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan ushers in a new phase of economic integration in Eurasia. The major signs of the second stage are economic growth in all post-Soviet countries, a clear fragmentation of political space, rising public aspirations and demands of the population, increasing the proportion of middle class and beginning of the formation of civil society institutions, etc. Instead of stabilisation and adaptation, the new agenda includes the targets and trajectories for further development. Steps to restore the broken economic ties between the former Soviet republics coincided with multi-vector policy and pure pragmatism.

The post-communist and post-Soviet transformations are usually considered a kind of transition to democracy'. In debates and discussions related to this point the focus is mainly on the problem of changes in political institutions. For these purposes a lot of research tools were elaborated including various sophisticated criteria and the scale- measuring of democracy, of the level of political pluralism, etc. Special terms and notions were proposed to describe the current situation such as 'illiberal democracy', 'post-Soviet capitalism', 'hybrid political regimes', etc. Some of them were invented by Kremlin itself. For example, Vladislav Surkov's 'sovereign democracy', is designed not only to show some Russian specificity of political system, which is continually changes and reforms, but also to cushion the state from outside criticisms as regards the processes of democratisation in the country. The Russian Constitution of 1993 uniquely defines the country as a democratic state, but the actual content of the criteria of democracy changes depending on the deepening of the processes of globalisation and cooperation with the West, as well as the integration of Russia into the world economic system.

The political processes in Russia are described by some Russian experts only in terms of democratic and undemocratic or liberal and authoritarian dichotomy. This dichotomy, as they admit, provides an ambivalence or duality to the modern political regime.<sup>2</sup> In the early years following 2000, there were many experts who believed in peoples' critique of autocracy as the means to defeat oligarchy, ethnic separatism and religious extremism, and there were those who believed in authoritarian critique of democracy in Russia.<sup>3</sup> Now not only the criteria of democracy differ from those which are generally accepted, but characteristics of leaders and regimes also differ in coverage – from 'Tsar Boris', which was popular informal name of President Boris Yeltsin, to 'Putinism', as V. Nikonov identifies the modern political system of Russia.<sup>4</sup>

Russian experts allow themselves the same freedom in characterising other post-Soviet countries. For example, they describe the political system of Kazakhstan as 'Democratic Tsarism of 'Father of the Nation' Nursultan Nazarbayev'. Uzbekistan is called a 'Secular Emirate' of Islam Karimov; Turkmenistan – as an ideal 'Bathist' model; Tajikistan – as Emomali Rahmon's 'Big family' state. The definition of Kyrgyzstan has changed from Askar Akayev's 'Island of Democracy' to 'Liberal Khanate' of Bakiev and then to a 'Parliamentary Compromise' of Rosa Otunbayeva. Definition for presidential term of Almazbek Atambayev in Kyrgyzstan is not yet ripe.

There is a considerable difference between expert and academic discourses. Expert language is considered to be more clear and uncompromising. It makes things more understandable; but in this case nuances and shades of reality often disappear. Of course, simplification of complex social processes is also necessary, but not in academic research. One would prefer academic discourse which comes from facts on all aspects and components of social transformation that are closely connected and definitely related to each other, with their own logic of interdependence.

That is why one would share the methodological approach that transition concept does not help to advance the understanding of nature and real reasons of changes since it relates only to the current situation, particularly some basic trends of change from the outside perspectives. It usually ignores current inner needs of local communities, including economic connections and relations, as well as mechanisms of interaction between different levels of social activities formed over centuries. Estimations are usually done from 'ideal Western model of democracy', which is rather theoretical than practical.

One is also convinced that the post-Soviet transformation is not yet complete, so we deal with the problems of intermediate stage of that complex process. Certain characteristics of the current situation in all post-Soviet states are not as important as the more fundamental changes which have their own stable dynamics.

The first steps of independent states in post-Soviet space were connected with the revision of history. This process began during Perestroika together with ethnic and religious revival of Soviet peoples, though it was then used to justify the political claims of the new states. Since that time historical problems of post-Soviet transformation are closely associated with psychological problems of national self-perception and identity, including the mythologising and glorification of the past, and constructing of new perceptions of each nation's own history.

In an effort to dissociate from Russia, some countries have tried to use the idea that the USSR was a colonial empire. They feel that the so called 'Genocide' in Ukraine and Kazakhstan in the 1930s had little to do with economic reasons and attribute this to the Russian Bolsheviks, who tried to artificially reduce the indigenous population of these areas. It 'was actually a punitive action by the occupying power for the Ukrainians'. The scale of the losses from the so called 'Genocide' in Russia itself is not mentioned. The Soviet period in the history of these countries were described as 'occupation' and 'colonisation'. In 2006, the Museum of Soviet occupation was

opened in Georgia by replacing the existing exposition on the Second World War. Next year, a museum with the same name appeared in Ukraine also.<sup>5</sup>

This question led to the need for the 'decolonisation' process, which involved the rejection of the recent past and also all kind of influence of ex-metropolis. However, such evaluations found large followers only in the Baltic States which were really added to the USSR much later. Large-scale de-Sovietisation policy, as a result, was based on the occupation factor in the consciousness of the people in the Baltic States. Attempts to repeat it in Viktor Yushchenko's Ukraine or Saakashvili's Georgia did not succeed because the majority of Ukrainians and Georgians, as opposed to the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, do not consider themselves to be post-colonial nations. It is widely known that for the most part of its 70-year history, the USSR was led by ethnic non-Russians. Joseph Stalin, leader from 1924 till 1953, was an ethnic Georgian.<sup>6</sup> In his memoirs Nikita Khrushchev (1954-64) wrote that he is Russian,<sup>7</sup> but many experts in Ukraine considered him to be an ethnic Ukrainian as they did in the case of Leonid Brezhnev (1966-82) and Leonid Chernenko (1983); at least we know that all of them were born there. Political machine of Soviet Union, represented by the Communist Party, was deeply international indeed. At the same time, Soviet Republics, each with one titular ethnos, were based on clear ethnic principles and as far as possible it was reflected even in their names.

Ethnic problems in better developing post-Soviet countries are giving way to ethno-national problems, and both are closely connected, partly related to important issues of state-building. The question is not only how to perceive these countries themselves, but also the path they choose for their further development. At a certain stage of development, dilemma arose regarding whether to build an ethnic or a multi-ethnic state, while ensuring the equality of all citizens irrespective of their ethnic or religious affiliations. The choice was actually important for the development of democratic institutions, much more than external institutional facade designed in the name of democracy. In some countries, for example in Georgia, awareness of the importance of multi-ethnic state-building came too late, after the ethnically oriented politics of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia led to conflicts with the Abkhazians and Ossetians, and finally to the exclusion of their territories from Georgia. Central to these conflicts is the problem of ethnic territories. It was believed that the Ossetians are strangers, newcomers, so they do not have any rights to their territory, nor to equal ethnic representation and opportunities for the development of ethnic culture and education. But the fact that the migration process occurred in the 10th century, much earlier than colonisation of America or even expansion of Russia, had no value.

There is no difference in English between the expressions 'Russian citizens' and 'Russian ethnos', but in Russian language the word 'Russkiy' (Russian as a noun and an adjective) means belonging to ethnic Russian group and 'Rossiyanin' (Russian as a noun) means Russian citizenship, or nationality, and 'Rossiyskiy' (Russian as an adjective) shows belonging to Russian Federation, as synonym to 'national'. These differences are very important in Russia, because they are concerned with

the problem of national priorities and identities. The word ‘nationality’ in Russian has another connotation, different from English. It is synonymous with ‘ethnic group’. One should mention three principal concepts on the issue – (1) Russia is a political nation, (2) Russia is a historical nation, and (3) the Russians are the state-based ethnos (‘Gossudarstvennoobrazuyushii narod’). The last one indicates that the Russian ethnos is the formative basis of the state, with the leading role of the Russian Orthodox Church. In Central Asia, such differences are more obvious, but only formally: the Kazakhs and Kazakhstanis, the Tajiks and Tajikistanis, the Uzbeks and Uzbekistanis, etc. These countries, especially Turkmenistan, are still ethnic-states, and only Kazakhstan has come a long way to the formation of a political multi-ethnic nation. The Caucasian countries also feel themselves to be ethnic states, although recently Azerbaijan announced a new course by underlining that all the Azerbaijanis represent one multi-ethnic nation.

Religious problems of the transformation process have tended to worsen. These problems have two main dimensions: official or non-official clericalisation of social life in all post-Soviet states, and radicalisation of Islam. Such trends are caused by one of the specific features of post-Soviet transformation, which is symbolised by the general revival of archaic traditions in society following the collapse of the USSR. Soviet period represented a great modernisation project for Central Asia, the Caucasus, and most parts of Russia. The current revivalism affects not only the political system (creating the phenomenon of ‘feudal archaic’ practices), but also the ideological orientation. This is also often accompanied by the rapid erosion of ethnicity.

Since the late 1980s, Islamic revival in Central Asia, Azerbaijan and Russia gradually returned these previously separated areas to the fold of a single Islamic spiritual space, but in a very peculiar way. Faced with great changes, traditional Islam in post-Soviet countries tried to build its own line of protection not only against local secular societies, but also against external religious influences. In certain conditions of a low level of religious education, political Islam started to spread in the post-Soviet space, calling for clarity of the original religion, purifying it from all later influences (unlawful innovations – *bid‘a*), offering to the younger generation a qualitatively new identity based on religious faith and higher spiritual values. The problem, however, is that these values do not always coincide with the values of local civil societies, and mostly represent the opposite. Islam in post-Soviet space is divided into two irreconcilable sides – traditional Sufi movements, so called ‘*tariqas*’ (Naqshbandiya, Qadiriya, Shaziliya in the Caucasus, Shaziliya in Volga-Urals region, Naqshbandiya and Yasaviya in Central Asia, etc.), on the one side, and political Islam, represented by Wahhabis and Salafists, on the other side. The struggle between these two movements actually defines the content of religious relations in the local Muslim communities.

During the crisis of ethno-nationalism ‘Islamic project’ remains a separate factor, with its own space. ‘Nationalist pragmatists’ initially relied on traditional Islam, while understandably fearing Wahhabism and Salafism. But Islamic radicalism also

had its own opportunities, offering simple and comprehensible answers to most important questions of faith facing the people.

Changes in Islam in post-Soviet countries should be viewed in the context of the overall trends in the Muslim world. In particular, some Islamic radicals from the Salafis began to call themselves 'Muslim Protestants'. This underlined the desire to proclaim the coming of Islam in the era of change and to establish a parallel with the European Reformation. It is obvious that the radicalisation of Islam was fitting into this ideological parallelism, though controversially – just as occurred during the struggle between nascent Protestantism (with its fervor to return to the original values of Christianity) and the Catholic traditionalism. There is another thorny issue: is it a temporary phenomenon or manifestation of a deeper process that may mark the beginning of a sufficiently long cycle in the evolution of Islam?

Today, Islam throughout the world is experiencing a new wave of evolution due to an objective need to adapt to the realities of modern times. Muslim societies are genuinely in need of modernisation, especially the public and the Muslim religion, pretending to universalism. This is an extremely complex and ambiguous process, whose end is still not understood.

Development of radical tendencies in Islam has become widespread. In this process, the internal factors play a significant role. High growth and high population density, its ethnic diversity, lead to increase of inter-ethnic rivalry when faced with the issues of economic power, access to resources, financial flows, etc. In addition to the well-known data on high unemployment, the poverty of much of the population, the gap in standards of living, etc., the role of a number of features of the socio-economic life of the Russian regions with predominantly Muslim population should be noted.

Among the factors of Islamic radicalisation in the post-Soviet space, the crisis of values and economic reasons that cause many social problems should be mentioned. When most part of local population does not see opportunities to improve their lives, it is easier to talk about the great social injustice of the state, and call for 'real Muslims' not to tolerate such injustice finds echo. Extremist ideas in such circumstances are easily accepted and assimilated. Adherents of Islam are being convinced that combating injustice, if required by arms, acquiring the nature of the Jihad, is a direct path to paradise.

Social problems in the processes of transformation are the most painful in all post-Soviet countries. Economic disasters during and after the collapse of the USSR, 'wild' capitalism of the 1990s, criminalisation of societies and economic systems, and other destructive processes could not but affect the delicate balance of social harmony within newborn countries. The vacuum left at the site of the state ideology of interethnic and interfaith relations was filled by tribalism in public life, which automatically played a role in traditional local societies, predominantly rural, free from any kind of integrative thinking but abounding in old stereotypes and habits. This led to the exclusion of certain ethnic minorities, first clearly evident in the army

and then in other institutions of society. Problems appeared in the areas of interethnic and interreligious relations, which for years were either not noticed or suppressed, or addressed through policies of simple solutions. Sometime contradictions, as well as inter-confessional and inter-ethnic alienation, distracted attention of young people from their real problems related to social disadvantages. But now they reinforce each other.

Clericalisation of social life creates problems in the sphere of law. The most important is the problem of the 'law-based state building' (Pravovoe Gosudarstvo), which is declared as the ultimate goal of nation-building in many countries. But in all post-Soviet states the judiciary has not yet become an influential and independent center of power. The absence of the 'rule of law' (or 'dictatorship of law', according to Vladimir Putin) means the dominance of informal institutions based on particularist norms and rules (such as clientelism and corruption). Opposition to the principle of 'rule of law' is the principle of 'arbitrary rule', in which formal institutions are a facade of the informal. Being a social issue, the problem of corruption in Russia is out of limits of public debate and has become a political issue. In Central Asia the situation with corruption is much worse.

There is a threat of fragmentation of the single legal space in Central Asia and in the Caucasus, where Shari'a rules *de facto* displace the secular law, civil and even criminal. In Russia also the risk of fragmentation of a single legal framework in regions with a predominantly Muslim population still exists.

The economic problems of the post-Soviet transformation are changing most rapidly. This topic is comprehensive, so we shall confine ourselves to the main priority of the post-Soviet economic integration. Instead of competition, the participants of integration are invited to cooperate in the promotion of common interests, increase in trade, elimination of tariff barriers, etc. However, even the current level of integration within the Free Trade Zone, signed by eight CIS countries in October 2011, is already creating problems for some of the participants – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia.

The need for solutions to common problems, which are the focus of many joint institutions and organizations, objectively combines post-Soviet countries. As to these problems, the promising areas of joint activity are:

- Threats and challenges to security in the region – the drug trade, crime, religious and political extremism
- Settlement of old conflicts and preventing new ones
- Promotion of economic and political reforms as a means of achieving stability
- Development of an extensive system of energy flows, including pipelines, projects, construction of which would not compete with each other, but rather complement each other
- Implementation of social and humanitarian programmes to keep the post-Soviet cultural space harmonious

## Notes

1. A. Ryabov, "Demokratizatsiya i Modernizatsiya v Kontekste Transformatsii Postsovetskikh stran", <http://www.intelros.ru/pdf/Reyting/ryabov.pdf>
2. B.A. Isaev and N.A. Baranov, *Politicheskie Otnosheniya i Politicheskii Protsess v Sovremennoi Rossii, Uchebnoe Pochobie*, Peter, St. Petersburg, 2008.
3. E.B. Shestopal, "Avtoritarnii Zaproc Ha Demokrtiyu, ili Pochemu v Poccii ne Pactut Apelcini", *Polis*, no. 1, 2004, pp. 26-28.
4. V. Nikonov, "Putinism", *Sovremennaya Rossiiskaya Politika: Kurs Lektsii*, Podred.
5. See: [http://www.analitik.org.ua/ukr/current/comment/int/46654b4753048/pagedoc1096\\_3/](http://www.analitik.org.ua/ukr/current/comment/int/46654b4753048/pagedoc1096_3/)
6. During a meeting with Mikhail Saakashvili in St. Petersburg in June 2006, condemning the existence of the Museum of Soviet occupation in Tbilisi, Vladimir Putin said the President of Georgia that many of the top Soviet leaders such as Joseph Stalin and Lavrentiy Beria were Georgians. According to the source, in response, Saakashvili suggested that Russia open Museum of Georgian occupation in Moscow (Shaun Walker, *Russia Profile* <http://www.iiss.org/whats-new/iiss-in-the-press/press-coverage-2006/july-2006/the-view-from-tbilisi/>). Later, according to official sources, Saakashvili explained: "Tbilisi museum is about Soviet, not Russian, occupation" (*BBC Monitoring Former Soviet Union*, Web-site of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia [http://www.mfa.gov.ge/index.php?lang\\_id=ENG&sec\\_id=85&info\\_id=3553](http://www.mfa.gov.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=85&info_id=3553)).
7. N.S. Khrushchev, *Bocpomumaniya*, Moscow, Informatsionno-izdatelskaya Kompaniya "Moskovskie Novosti, 1999; See <http://javot.net/arhiv/9a.htm>



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Section II

Economic and Political Transformation

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# 1 ■ Energy and Economy of Russia

*R.G. Gidadhubli*

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Russia is richly endowed with energy resource potentialities in the world. It has huge share in global hydrocarbon resources – about 10 per cent of oil and one-third of natural gas resources. Russia enjoys the eminent status so far as natural gas in the world. This is evident from the fact that Russia, with about 32 per cent of proven gas reserves, outranks Iran with 15 per cent of gas reserves, Qatar with 7 per cent, Saudi Arabia and the UAE each with 4 per cent and the US and Algeria each with 3 per cent. Russia's hydrocarbon resources are located in various parts of the country namely Volga-Urals, West Siberia, East Siberia, Sakhalin region, Caspian Sea region and the latest is the Arctic region. In terms of oil production status, Russia has been competing with Saudi Arabia during the last over a decade as one of the highest ranking countries at the global level. Equally significant is the fact that Russia has emerged as one of the major exporter of oil and gas in the world.

An effort has also been made in the paper to deal and discuss with several questions—how important is energy sector for Russian economy? How energy policies have made positive and negative effects on Russian economic development? Was Russia over dependent on oil and did it affect the economy? What was the impact of decline of international oil prices since 2009 on economy? What are the policy measures adopted by the present Russian leadership for promoting economic development of the country? In that background, alternative scenarios are visualised with regard to prospects of energy for economic development in the medium term of about five years.

## **Energy Sector Importance**

Even during the Soviet era, Russia was the main republic in terms of energy potentialities and production of hydrocarbon resources apart from Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, which were also large producers of oil and gas. The Soviet Union was also a major exporter of oil and natural gas to various countries, including India. Independent Russia under the presidency of Boris Yeltsin, who undertook the policy of privatisation for speedy transition to market economy, and the ownership of a large number of energy companies were transferred to private entrepreneurs giving rise to the emergence of oligarchs. Major among the oil barons were Khodorkovsky, Abramovich, etc. who became millionaires overnight. Russia was also more oriented to the western powers for capital and technology (apart from the intention of being accepted as a capitalist state), which enabled the energy giants, including TNK-BP, Exxon, etc. to invest in the privatisation process of Russia's energy sector. The US and West European countries were also keenly

interested in the energy resources of Central Asia, which had become sovereign and independent states, when Yeltsin's regime had somewhat neglected them and partly busy in its own domestic problems. The Russian Prime Minister, Yvgenii Primakov, brought about a major policy change with his 'Look East' policy, when countries in southern underbelly also gained importance. Subsequently, there was a qualitative shift in Russia's energy policy under the presidency of Vladimir Putin. Rising prices for oil and natural gas in the global market since 2002 was an additional factor. It needs to be added that Putin pursued the policy of 'Renationalisation' and 'Resource Nationalism' which were intended to bring national resources under state control and ownership. These policies had both positive and negative consequences on the Russian economy which deserve to be objectively analysed and examined.

Considering the fact that Russia has been endowed with huge potentialities of hydrocarbon resources, their significance for the economy hardly needs to be undermined. At the same time, the importance of energy for the Russian economy has increased for various reasons. Firstly, the energy sector contributes half of the export earnings for the country. During the last two decades, as the country has been struggling to overcome economic problems and tried to achieve sustained economic development, petrodollars earned by energy exports were the major source of revenues for the country. It needs to be added that during the period of transition to market economy, several branches such as engineering, manufacturing, consumer goods, agriculture suffered significantly. Hence, the energy and defence sectors assumed greater importance for the economy.

Secondly, the Russian policymakers realising the significance of resource potentialities gave due importance to the energy sector. This is evident from the fact that there has been both extensive and intensive effort made in exploration and production of hydrocarbon resources since the country became independent. Several state-owned and private sector energy firms are playing a crucial role in the energy sector. A mention must be made of Gazprom, Lukoil, Sibneft, Rosneft, Yukos Surgutgas, Tatneft, Slavneft, etc.

Thirdly, apart from the policy of enhanced domestic investment by Russian government itself, there is considerable investment by many western oil giants such as Exxon-Mobil, TNK-BP, etc. They also brought latest technology in exploration and production which was badly needed by Russia that has enabled to enhance the information about the quantum of potential resources. After the Soviet breakup, Russia has been an alternative source of energy for many of the West European Countries, particularly Germany, France, etc. Hence, they have evinced keen interest in the energy sector of Russia to meet their own energy needs. For instance, about one-third of natural gas consumption of Germany is met by Russia. Similarly, France and other West European states are linked by gas pipelines from Russia passing through Ukraine, Belarus, Poland, etc. To meet this growing demand, Russia has been able to increase the production of oil and gas from various oil fields both for domestic needs and also for exports.

Fourthly, increase in the global demand and consequent sharp price rise during the period 2002 to 2008 qualitatively increased the importance of the energy sector for Russian economy.

Holding about one-third of global natural gas resources – Russia's oil giant – Gazprom plays an important role. It holds a quarter of all the world gas reserves, and controls about 90 per cent of Russian output of natural gas. By virtue of this and exporting natural gas to a large number of countries in the world, Gazprom is the largest earner of hard currency for Russia. Russia seems to be interested in enhancing its position in the world energy sector. Russian leaders have succeeded to a great extent in increasing their influence in the energy sector – both oil fields and pipeline network – in the Central Asian states of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. There is proposal to invest about US\$ 75 mn in exploring natural gas in Kyrgyz Republic. This is part of a great game being played by Russia to contain growing role of the US and the western powers.

It is important to note that apart from its known and explored energy fields during the last decade, Russia has been focusing on intensive exploration of oil and natural gas in the Arctic Sea and also enhancing the Northern Sea Route to reach out to the West European markets, and especially, Germany, which is Russia's major trading partner. Russia's leadership seems to have partly succeeded in their objective by entering into partnership with Exxon-Mobil to develop Russia's Arctic Shelf resources which might bring billions of dollars of investment. This has become evident when a meeting was held in the summer of 2011, in which Russian governors of these regions, including Roman Kopin, governor of Chukhota, high level Central ministers dealing with energy, environment and transportation from Moscow, and business executives both from Russia and the West participated. It is important to note that according to some analysts, Russia wanted to make the importance of the Northern route Suez Canal felt; there is considerable progress in this regard since major tanker loads of oil products, gas condensate, and mineral ores had already been passing through this route.

Some of the policy measures adopted by Russia with regard to energy sector have adverse consequences. For instance, Gazprom is keen to maximise its economic gain, taking full advantage of unprecedented rise in the international price for oil and gas. But the aggressive manner in which Gazprom has taken several policy measures has created conflict of interest between Russia and some of post-Soviet sovereign and independent states. Having realised the disadvantage of over-dependence on Russia for gas supply, Ukraine and Georgia have proposed to diversify their energy supply sources to strengthen their energy security. Efforts are also made to explore oil and gas in their own territory jointly with other European countries. According to some analysts, the gas issue has pushed the Ukrainian and Georgian leaders close to Western Europe and away from Russia.

This will be a challenge to the Russian leadership to overcome the conflicts as Gazprom's actions seem to have caused some political loss for the country. Moreover, it needs to be pointed out that during the last few years, there is growing

competition from other countries, which are also exporting natural gas. A mention must be made of Australia, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Malaysia.

### **Russia's Energy Ties with Belarus and Ukraine**

The Russian policymakers have been criticised for using energy as a weapon to achieve certain political goals. In the opinion of some analysts in the past, countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq have burned their fingers in using energy as a political weapon, when policy of oil embargo was used which forced the western countries to look to other sources for oil. Hence, this could be a dangerous card to play, which needs to be noted by energy exporting countries. This issue needs to be examined with reference to Russia's relations with Ukraine and Belarus. Ukraine and Belarus are not endowed with hydrocarbon resources, and, hence have been dependent upon Russia for meeting their energy needs. Apart from being importers of oil and natural gas, pipelines are also laid connecting Russia with these countries even during the Soviet era to meet their domestic energy needs. Moreover, these pipelines are also used for Russia's exports to West Europe.

While during the Soviet era, there was no conflict among these countries since all these countries were part of one country namely the Soviet Union. Problems have arisen because several issues are involved such as the ownership of pipelines, charges to be paid for the use of pipelines which carry oil and gas, security of pipelines to prevent pilferage, leakage, etc. Equally important is the question of price charged for oil and gas by Russia to these countries, which are now independent and sovereign. Hence, problems have arisen from time to time between Russia and these countries on these issues, which have both political and economic ramifications. At the same time, solutions are found to overcome the problems by the leaders of these countries.

It is not possible to examine all the problems which are known to those who are dealing with these countries. However, it may be worthwhile to understand some of the latest issues. As far as Russia-Belarus relations are concerned, in September 2011, there were reports that Belarus and Gazprom were preparing a package of deals, including a new gas deal and the purchase contract for the remaining 50 per cent of Belarusian pipeline company – Beltransgaz – as stated by Gazprom head Alexei Miller. Belarusian gas pipeline operator Beltransgaz is owned on a parity basis by Gazprom and the Belarus government.

### **Price Issue**

Price charged by Russia to nearby countries, including Belarus and Ukraine, has been a contentious issue from time to time during the last decade.<sup>3</sup> The issue of price on natural gas supplied by Russia to Ukraine and Belarus has poisoned relations since the mid-2000s, when Russia had to cut off gas supplies to its official strategic allies and near abroad countries from time to time. As opined by some analysts, the aim of Russia was to compel these countries to accept the rising high prices on oil and natural gas in the international market during 2004-07. It appears that Russia

had legitimate claim, since prices were regularly increased at the start of a new year after a relevant warning. According to some Russian analysts, the warning was always made several months before the gas price was changed.

This issue cropped again in 2011, and Belarus and Ukraine insisted that Russia should reduce price charged for oil and gas, possibly considering the fact that global oil prices have declined since 2009. The gas pricing formula has been a major concern for Belarus, which currently buys Russian gas for US\$ 286 per 1,000 cubic metres. The Belarusian government pins hope on a reduction in gas prices. On the part of Belarus, President Alexander Lukashenko had his indignation that was especially strong in 2010, when the Customs Union of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan came into effect. He said that the existence of different energy prices within the union was a violation of the Customs Union's Charter and of the rules of fair competition. Lukashenko pointed out that Belarus which was exporting Minsk tractors to Russia would follow similar tactics. Hence, after such exchange of views, it appears that there was subsequently some compromise, when Putin proposed that among the Customs Union, all members must create conditions of equal competition in the integration groupings.

To find a solution to this issue, Putin stated that Russia would introduce an integrative decrease adjustment into the gas pricing formula for Belarus in 2012. At the same time, he puts a condition that Gazprom should be allowed to acquire 50 per cent of Belarusian government's stake in Beltransgas. This was confirmed by the Gazprom chief Alexei Miller at his meeting with Belarusian president Lukashenko in October 2011. This was a shrewd move by Russia to safeguard its own interest. At the same time, facing acute economic and political problems, the Belarusian president had no alternative. In fact to attract Russia, the Belarusian leader invited Gazprom to take part in the privatisation of other Belarusian enterprises.

Russia and Ukraine also have often landed up on differences on price issue. The Russian leaders have reason to be concerned about the latest development in Ukraine where in a historic judgment in October 2011, the Ukrainian court has given punishment of seven year to the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Yulia Timoshenko accusing her of favouring Russia on gas price issue. This might worsen relations between Russia and Ukraine if misunderstanding is not removed.

### **Russia-West Europe –Pipeline Issues**

One problem faced by Russia is its gas export to West Europe, which is the major market for Russia. But Russian gas has to pass through pipelines of few countries such as Ukraine, Belarus, Poland, etc. Pipeline issue is closely linked to Russia's relations with Belarus, Ukraine, Poland, etc.<sup>4</sup> For instance, the beleaguered Yamal-Europe gas pipeline, which carries about 30 bcm of gas per year through Belarus and Poland, has become the victim of political intrigue more than once. When Polish-Russian relations deteriorated in the early 2000s, Polish farmers suddenly started complaining about the pipeline passing through their agricultural land. There are problems arising for Russia in ensuring that its gas reaches Germany, France, etc. During the last few years

at the peak of winter, many citizens in West European countries had to shiver since there was no supply of Russian natural gas in their homes because of problems of pipelines between Russia and Ukraine. Thus, some of the West European countries have often experienced lack of reliability of Russian natural gas which was transported by pipelines passing through Ukraine, Poland, etc. The issues involved were not only price being charged, but also security of delivery schedules. Hence, the EU adopted a policy known as the 'Third Package' for electricity and gas markets in September 2007, which is likely to be effective shortly and deals with problems relating to cross-border trade in energy, greater market transparency on network operation and supply. The Russian leaders, and also Russian companies, including Gazprom, which is state-controlled and have monopoly in gas exports seem to be concerned about consequences of the Third Package.

The US and West European countries, with the objective of meeting their energy needs, have been actively pursuing their policies in Russia as well as Central Asian States. As a part of this policy, they have invested in laying pipelines known as Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) linking the Caspian region with Turkey via Georgia.<sup>5</sup> This is intended to promote energy exports of Azerbaijan bypassing Russia. Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan have also been taking interest in this pipeline. Central Asia and the Caspian Sea being the southern underbelly of Russia, the political leaders of Russia and energy companies, including Gazprom, have renewed their involvement in the energy sector of Central Asian states.<sup>6</sup> Thus, Russia has been aggressively pursuing Southern Stream pipeline to reach out to West European countries. All this is a part of great game being played concerning energy. Nabucco is regarded as a rival to Russia's South Stream project, intended to deliver 63 bcm of Central Asian and Russian natural gas to Europe under the Black Sea. Russia has also focused on NORD stream pipeline via the Baltic Sea to export natural gas to Germany.

Apart from that, Russia as a part of 'Look East Policy', has been involved in meeting growing energy needs of China. For that, in addition to developing energy fields of eastern regions of Siberia and Sakhalin, network of pipelines are developed linking Russian and Central Asian oil and gas fields with China. It needs to be stated that India's ONGC has also participated in the exploration and exploitation of oil and natural gas in the Sakhalin region.

### **Impact of Energy on Economy**

Impoverishment of a large section of society; modest recovery from 2000-03 with positive GDP growth; declining trend in inflation; economic boom from 2003-08; GDP growth rising to 6-8 per cent per annum; huge inflow of petrodollars; sharp increase in per capita income and consumption; declining trend during 2009-10 caused by global financial crisis; decline in GDP growth rates, and high rate of inflation followed by recovery since 2011 with modest increase in GDP of about 4 per cent – needless to state, the Russian economy continues to face several problems.<sup>7</sup>

On the contemporary economic scenario of the Russian economy, it is contended by the analysts in the World Economic Forums Global Competitiveness



Report of 2011 that Russia's largely resource-based economy continued to fare poorly compared to the economies of other emerging markets. This seems to be evident from the fact that in 2011, Russia dropped three places from previous year's ranking to 66th. There was candid observation that this drop reflected the fact that an improvement in macro-economic stability was outweighed by deterioration in other areas, notably the quality of institutions, labour market efficiency, business sophistication and innovation.

Making a comparative analysis, it is opined that the state of Russia's economy is much worse than in some of the other countries as well as among the so-called BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). Among the BRICS, India ranked 56th – at par with South Africa at 50th and Brazil at 53rd. However, China, which ranked 26th, continued to lead the way among large developing economies and its BRICS peers, improving by one more place and solidifying its position among the top 30, the report said. Russia is much lower than India and China.<sup>8</sup>

Examining as to what are the causes for this state of affairs of Russian economy, and what was the impact of energy on economy, the following observations might be relevant. Firstly, Russia has not utilised huge petrodollars of over US\$ 550 bn earned during the last decade for diversifying and modernising the base of domestic economy. Secondly, hard currency resources were used for investment in increasing the control and ownership of energy fields and related activities both in Russia and abroad to emerge as energy superpower. Thirdly, Putin's policy of Resource Nationalism has discouraging effect on foreign investment. As opined by some western analysts, there are several constraints and problems facing Russian economy, and fourthly, there is a growing concern among global institutions that Russia was losing its competitive advantage, in view of the fact, that the Russian government continued to exert its stranglehold over the economy, including the energy sector, which could be counter-productive for its efforts to attract foreign capital and technology<sup>9</sup>.

Among other factors affecting the investment climate are weak financial institutions, poor financial infrastructure, limited size of financial market which seem to have forced even Russian companies to raise resources for long-term capital on international exchanges. This is the assessment of Peter Necarsulmer, founder of PBN Holdings LLC., who advises investors on initial public offerings (IPOs). A relatively weak institutional framework and the low efficiency of its goods market were also cited among the challenges facing Russian economic growth. Equally important is that among the challenges facing Russia, there has been the loss in confidence and trust in the judicial system. A relatively weak institutional framework and the low efficiency of its goods market were also cited as the constraints attracting foreign capital. There is objectivity in the opinion that strengthening the rule of law and the protection of property rights, improving the functioning of the judiciary, and raising security levels across the country would greatly benefit the economy and would provide for spillover effects into other areas.

### **Economic Challenges**

From what is stated above, it is evident that the Russian economy faces several challenges in its development. Firstly, the Russian economy is over-dependent upon two sectors – energy and defence. They account for over two-third of hard currency earning of the country. Hence, fluctuations in international prices for oil and natural gas together with global financial crisis have adversely affected the Russian economy. Therefore, reducing this over dependence on only two sectors is a necessity and a major challenge for the Russian policymakers.

Secondly, the Russian economic expert and the former minister, Peter Aven, who now leads Alfa Bank, is of the opinion that even there was huge inflow of petrodollars, the country's economic growth during the last decade had been driven by consumption rather than judicious investment to develop a broad based competitive economy. He was candid in his observation at an international forum that in non-energy sectors, the international competitiveness of Russian manufacturing industries has 'stayed more or less on the same level as in the Soviet Union'. In his opinion, the growth paradigm should shift from consumption to investment.

Thirdly, there has been a felt need in the country that administrators of the government and enterprises must change their bureaucratic approach and adapt their ideas to market economy. Ensuring efficiency and transparency of state institutions is a major challenge to the present leadership of Russia. In fact, reducing state interference in the management of the economy is essential to make Russia economically efficient, competitive and dynamic. There was frank admission of this fact at the St. Petersburg Economic Forum held in June 2008, which was attended by a large number of Russian and foreign businessmen when the deputy Prime Minister Igor Shuvalov stated that there was need for reducing state interference in the economy and protect the property rights of the citizens. Considering the fact that he occupied an important position as a coordinator between the prime minister and the president, the Russian government might initiate policies to promote market reforms in the economy. Putin has also been very critical of the dominant role of bureaucracy in the country.

Fourthly, it is a major challenge to the leadership to deal with the problems of corruption and high level of inflation. For instance, the former minister of Economic Development and Trade, German O. Gref, frankly admitted a few years back the prevalence of this problem, when he said that everyone knew the Russian taxation service is corrupt. While it was reported that tax evasion was rampant in Russia, raids on business companies by men carrying machine guns which was shown on televisions indicated heavy-handed approach to collect taxes as it was not conducive to build trust among the business community. However, as opined by some Russian analysts, how soon and how far the policies of the Russian government will get implemented into reality, will be an important factor since there are vested interests in the state apparatus.

Lastly, Russian leaders are aware of the fact that there is urgent need for the diversification of the economy, with due focus on engineering industry, production

of a wide range of consumer goods, agro-processing and so on. The Russian President, Medvedev, has also urged the need for adopting policy of privatisation for rapid economic development. Similarly, during the last two-three years, he has highlighted the need for diversification and modernization of the economy, while Putin has focused on innovation for reducing dependence on energy and defence exports. Medvedev's proposal to develop 'Skolovo' near Moscow as IT hub similar to that in California in the US attracting western technology and investment seems to be attractive and promising, if materialises. Moreover, there is need for anti-inflation drive in the financial policy for 2011-13. Both Medvedev and Putin have stated that it was imperative that Russia should slow down inflation, reduce bureaucratic control and reduce corruption, which are major challenges for social and economic development. Putin, however, has indicated that changes should be evolutionary.

### **Alternative Scenarios**

In view of what is discussed above, it is worthwhile to consider as to what are the likely alternative scenarios of the energy sector on Russian economy during the next five years. Three alternative scenarios can be:

- **Status Quo Scenario:** Under this scenario, prices on oil and natural gas in the international market might vary in narrow range. Uncertain prevailing international financial and political situations will persist. This makes little impact for the need for changes on policies being pursued by the Russian leadership on the economy which also suits vested interests in Russia linked to energy.
- **Radical Change:** Role of energy on economy might change, if policy pronouncements made by the Russian leaders on economic diversification, modernisation, innovation are implemented in reality. Under this scenario, the role of hi-tech branches of industries, including information technology, engineering sector enterprises, high quality consumer goods producing enterprises will increase significantly contributing to sustained and rapid economic growth. It is also visualised that shortcomings facing the economy are overcome, making it highly efficient and competitive at global level. Moreover, the Russian economy will shift from consumption-led growth to investment-and-production-led growth. But, considering the institutional and structural constraints prevailing during the last two decades, and gap between policy pronouncements and their implementation in reality, this scenario has serious limitations.
- **Moderate Change:** Under this alternative scenario, moderate changes in the role of energy on economy are visualised. This is because there is strong realisation of the shortcomings of over dependence of energy on economy during the last over a decade. Moreover, there is domestic pressure to improve other branches of economy which are somewhat neglected, and thus, create more employment opportunities, reduce economic disparities and improve competitiveness of economy. Apart from that Putin-Medvedev Tandem, which has been in power

during the last four years, it would be interested in bringing about some qualitative changes in the management of economy in its own interest in order to continue to be in power for the next few years. Under these conditions the 'moderate change' scenario seems to be more pragmatic and realistic.

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## 2 ■ Republic of Belarus: Economic Transition and Transformation

*Viachaslau Menkouski*

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The Republic of Belarus is situated in the centre of Europe. Within its territory, passes the shortest transport communications connecting the CIS countries with the states of West Europe. Belarus shares common frontier with Poland, the Baltic States, Russia and Ukraine. The distance between the capital of the country, the City of Minsk, and capitals of other states is 184 km to Vilnius, 468 km to Riga, 558 km to Warsaw, 545 km to Kiev, and 706 km to Moscow. Belarus occupies an advantageous economic, geographic and geopolitical position in Eastern Europe at the crossroads of major railways and motor roads, oil, gas and product pipelines and systems of communication between Western Europe, regions of Russia and Asian countries. The territory of Belarus is crossed by one of the major Eurasian ways, including the shortest communication ways from the Central and Eastern regions of Russia to countries of Western Europe, as well as between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea. The area of the country is 2,07,600 sq. km. The longest distance from west to east is 650 km, from north to south 560 km.

### **State System of Belarus**

The Republic of Belarus is a unitary, democratic, social, law-governed state. State power in the Republic of Belarus is exercised by its division into legislative, executive and judicial branches. President of the Republic of Belarus is the Head of State. Executive power in the Republic of Belarus is exercised by the Government, that is, the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister. The supreme representative and legislative body is the National Assembly composed of two houses – the House of Representatives and the Council of the Republic. All citizens exercise local government and self-government through local Councils of Deputies, executive and administrative authorities, bodies of territorial and civil self-government, local referendums, meetings and other forms of direct participation in state and public affairs. The official languages are Belarusian and Russian.

The Republic of Belarus is divided territorially into six ‘Oblasts’ (provinces) with their administrative centres in Minsk, Brest, Vitebsk, Gomel, Grodno and Mogilev. The country includes 118 administrative districts (rayons). The Republic of Belarus includes 110 towns, of which 15 towns have population over 100,000, and 103 urbanised populated localities.

The population of Belarus is 9.799 million.<sup>1</sup> Over 70 per cent are urban population. Beside Belarusians (81.2 per cent), the population includes Russians (11.4 per cent), Poles (3.9 per cent), Ukrainians (2.4 per cent), and other nationalities

(1.1 per cent). The population density is 47 persons per sq km. The largest city in the country is its capital, the City of Minsk, with a population 1.726 million.

### **Main Industries of Belarus and Economic Cooperation**

The distribution of employed population across key economic sectors in 2009 was industry – 26.2 per cent; retail, catering, logistics – 14.7 per cent; education – 9.7 per cent; agriculture – 9.3 per cent; transportation and communication – 7.6 per cent; public health services, physical training and social security – 7.2 per cent, and others – 16.3 per cent. The currency of Belarus is Belarusian ruble (Br).

The main Industries of Belarus are metallurgical; mechanical engineering, including tractors and agricultural machinery; cars, machine-tool construction and machine-tool industry; instrument making; radio engineering; electro-technical, electronic; optics-mechanical industry; metal-working; and chemical and petrochemical and, food industry.

### **Mineral and Labor Resources**

In Belarus, about 30 types of mineral resources have been found (over 4,000 mineral fields and deposits). Of special significance among them are potassium salts: by their industrial reserves, the country is among the leading countries in Europe. The Republic is rich in non-ore minerals like granite, dolomite, marl and chalk, low-melting and high-melting clay, loams, sand and gravel materials, raw material for manufacture of natural paints (boggy iron ore, ochre, glauconite, etc.) and possesses a rather powerful raw material base for manufacture of construction materials. Peat reserves are widely spread in Belarus. The total geological reserves are estimated at 4.4 billion tons. At present, the extracted natural reserves constitute 600 mn tons. Another important natural resource is sapropel whose reserves are estimated at 3 billion cu. m. Oil reserves are not big – its production covers only 12-13 per cent of the country needs, and this ratio will not change in the future.<sup>2</sup>

The number of employees at the enterprises and organisations is 4.34 million; of them, 1.14 million are employed in industries, and 0.51 million in agriculture. The country has a modern system of professional training, which guarantees a high educational level of population and highly skilled employees, including such in sectors as automotive, tractor and agricultural machinery building, optical sector, radio and electronics, precision instruments, etc.

### **Belarusian Foreign Policy**

The member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) are the economic policy priority of the Republic of Belarus. Belarus is one of the economically developed countries of the CIS. In its economy, the share of industry is nearly one third of total production of the country.<sup>3</sup>

Belarus is planning to strengthen and expand the far edge of the foreign policy allies and partners in Asia, Latin America, Middle East and Africa and to bring cooperation with them up to the level of strategic partnership. Trade diversification

and expansion of economic cooperation with the states of the above-mentioned regions is a significant premise for the growth of Belarusian export-oriented economy.

The key priorities in Belarusian foreign policy are Russia, other post-Soviet states – the CIS partners, the EU, countries of the South, the US, and multilateral diplomacy.<sup>4</sup>

As a perspective direction of foreign policy of Belarus, the Asian vector acts. At the heart of cooperation, there is an affinity of positions of the countries on actual international subjects. The turned out political contacts along with economic growth of the countries of Asia create preconditions for escalating of trade and economic cooperation, and successful realisation of national foreign policy aims.

The diplomatic relations between the Republic of Belarus and the Republic of India were established on April 17, 1992. In May of that year, the Embassy of India started its activity in Minsk. The Embassy of the Republic of Belarus in New Delhi began its functioning in June 1998. The Belarusian and Indian trade and economic cooperation is developing intensively. The amount of bilateral trade has increased more than five times for 2004-09.<sup>5</sup>

### **Belarus as a Partner of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)**

In December 2005, Belarus applied for an observer status in the SCO. As its member-states decided not to accept new members in the near future the Belarusian application was not considered. In 2009, the Belarusian application for a dialogue partner status was approved. The practice of cooperation with the SCO member-states has not been developed yet but the majority of the member-states are inclined not to make big difference between the Observer and Dialogue Partner statuses.<sup>6</sup>

Cooperation with SCO has important economic components. Among the main working bodies of the SCO are the Business Council and the Interbank Association. The Business Council of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation was established in 2006 in Shanghai. The Business Council is a non-governmental structure. It unites the most authoritative representatives of the business community of the member-states. The basic aim of the Business Council is to expand economic cooperation within the framework of the organisation, and to establish direct contacts and dialogue between business and financial communities of the SCO member-states.<sup>7</sup>

The Interbank Association was formed in 2005. It includes the Development Bank of Kazakhstan, the State Development Bank of China, the Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs of Russia, the National Bank of Tajikistan, the National Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs of Uzbekistan. On June 14, 2006, in Shanghai, in the course of the second conference of the Council of the SCO Interbank Association, the Settlement and Savings Company of Kyrgyzstan became a member.

For Belarus, dialogue with SCO is in connection with the possibility to develop inter-regional projects of cooperation on account of the favorable transit position that Belarus has between the East and the West. For SCO, Belarus is an exit to the European platform and a means to strengthening of communications between

the East and the West. In the Memorandum providing for granting of the status of the dialogue partner to Belarus, a number of mutually advantageous directions for cooperation were underlined. Among them was the creation of favorable conditions for trade and investments, active interaction in customs affairs, partnership on questions of regional and global safety, dialogue on foreign policy issues.

In December 2005, Belarus submitted an application for joining the SCO as the country-observer. But because of the decision by member states not to increase the number of observers in the near future, the demand of Belarus was not considered. In 2009, Belarus demand for granting of the status of dialogue partner was approved. Practice of interaction with the member countries in SCO is not turned down, but the majority of the members of SCO tend to agree that there will be no big distinction in statuses of the observer and the dialogue partner.

### **Eurasian Economic Community**

The Treaty on the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC) was signed in Astana (Kazakhstan) on October 10, 2000 by the Presidents of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Moldova and Ukraine obtained an observer status in May 2002, and Armenia obtained this status in 2003. In December 2003, the EURASEC was granted an observer status at the UN General Assembly.<sup>8</sup>

The major issues of the Community include ensuring dynamic development of the member states through coordination of social and economic reforms with efficient use of their economic potential to increase standards of living.

The Presidents of states approved activities for the implementation of the Priority directions of EURASEC development for 2011-13 and onwards. The issues made part thereof are to form the Customs Union and the Unified Economic Space; to conduct coordinated economic policy; to form a common financial market and develop currency integration; to encourage cooperation in the productive sectors of the economy; to form and develop an energy market; to form a EURASEC Transport Union; to cooperate in the agro-industrial sector; to cooperate in the social and humanitarian spheres and in the sphere of migration policy; to conduct coordinated environmental policy, and to improve the system of Community management.<sup>9</sup>

The most significant achievement of cooperation within the Eurasian Economic Community was the formation of the Customs Union of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia. Nowadays the Community continues its work to complete the formation of the Unified Economic Space of the three states.

### **Customs Union**

The decision to form the Customs Union was taken by the Presidents of the Republic of Belarus, Republic of Kazakhstan and Russian Federation more than 15 years ago, in 1995. Such a union of the three states involves forming of the common territory with common trade controls applicable to other countries; establishing a new scheme of levying and distributing customs duties, taxes, fees; forming of the



Customs union bodies which function in accordance with powers received from the parties, etc.

The Customs Union Committee started functioning on January 01, 2009. Since the beginning of 2010, the Customs Union Committee was vested with powers in the sphere of customs tariff and non-tariff regulation. The Customs Union Committee is authorised to decide on customs management, technical regulation and application of sanitary, veterinary, phyto-sanitary regulations and customs statistics administration.

Since March 2010, the Committee on foreign trade regulations considers and drafts decisions of the Customs Union Committee on foreign trade regulation. The Treaty on the Customs code of the Customs Union came into effect, the mechanism of transfer and distribution of import customs duties was implemented. The implementation of common tariff and non-tariff regulations in trade with other countries guarantees the protection of national producers in other countries' markets and ensures growing trade with each other.

### **Unified Economic Space (UES)**

The Customs Union represents a more integrated form of cooperation – the Unified Economic Space. On December 09, 2010, a package of 17 treaties, which form the legal basis of the UES was finally signed. The treaties were scheduled to enter into effect on January 01, 2012. All required internal procedures were conducted in the Republic of Belarus in the late 2010. In the new integration association, the three countries will pursue a coordinated macroeconomic policy, based on common principles and competition rules and natural monopoly regulations. The parties have agreed on common ways of support to industry and agriculture and public purchases. Goods, services, capital and workforce will be free to move within the UES.

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### 3 ■ What are the Effects of 2007-09 Global Economic Crises on Turkmenistan's Economy

*Sofiya Yuvshanova*

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#### **Introduction**

Turkmenistan is an independent neutral state in Central Asia. The capital of Turkmenistan is Ashgabat. Turkmenistan gained its independence October 27, 1991, and recently celebrated 20 years of Neutrality and Independence. Turkmenistan is a democratic state with a presidential form of government. Now Turkmenistan is in transition to a market economy, but the Government still plays a leading role in all sectors. As the President of Turkmenistan, Gurbanguly Berdimuzhammedov said that the state for a gradual transition from a market economy country” many more years will maintain a decisive role. “This support to a developing country will ensure its steady growth.

In 2009, Turkmenistan had a denomination of national currency, dollar exchange rate was unified, passed a law ‘on foreign investments’, which spelled out the customs privileges granted to foreign investors, as well as other preferences. During the years of independence, Turkmenistan established the legal framework for the transition to a market economy, and during the formation of new relationships, it is constantly improving its existing regulations.

Foreign capital investments have state guarantee. In the event of changes in law on foreign investment, foreign investors who are operating for over 10 years at their own request would be subject to the law in force at the time of registration of investment. In addition, the state guarantees the right to transfer ownership of its return in the event of termination of investment activity; it also ensures the protection of intellectual property, compensation for material damages and compensation for damages from unlawful actions of state bodies or their officials.

One of the major directions of development of foreign economic activity in Turkmenistan is the development of free economic zones. Now in Turkmenistan, there are eight open economic zones for private enterprises and two free economic zones (SEZs). Business and investment activities in these areas have additional benefits, stimulating economic activity in sectors such as agro-processing of raw materials, instrumentation, etc.

In Turkmenistan, 831 companies are registered with the participation of foreign investors, including 278 joint ventures, 355 branches, 117 representative offices of foreign firms. With the participation of more than 70 foreign companies about 150 facilities are being built, with the cost of contracts being over US\$ 4 bn. In next 10 years there is plan to build 170 facilities.<sup>1</sup>

Turkmenistan actively cooperates with the CIS countries. In cooperation within the CIS, we rely on establishing ties at the government and humanitarian levels said the President Berdymuzhammedov. The leader said that the potential of the CIS, at this stage, can be successfully implemented in several ways:

- To maintain peace and stability
- Ensuring conditions for increasing trade and economic partnership
- Strengthening cooperation in energy, transport and communications
- Support for broad cultural and humanitarian contacts

Despite the fact that the CIS countries gained independence in relatively the same time, the socio-economic development of these countries varies considerably and is quite specific. The main issues that need attention are:

- Analysis of the impact of the crisis in different CIS countries in comparison with Turkmenistan
- Recent economic developments and economic reforms in Turkmenistan
- Challenges ahead
- Analysis of the impact of the crisis on Turkmenistan's growth and development
- Measures that Turkmenistan took to prevent any serious impact of the global crisis

### **Impact of the Crisis in Different CIS Countries in Comparison with Turkmenistan**

The global financial crisis, which began as a result of problems in the mortgage market in the US in 2007, gradually spread all around the world. Sale of assets and withdrawal of funds from other countries by the largest US corporations led first to a lack of liquidity and credit in the financial markets, and then to the problems in the real economy. The CIS countries are no exceptions to this process, which in recent years followed an active policy of integration into the global economy.

The CIS region was unique in terms of the impact of the global financial and economic crisis. Turkmenistan was minimally affected by the crisis, but some countries suffered more than others. Due to specialisation in hydrocarbons and relatively closed economy, especially, low integration into global financial markets, during the crisis in 2009 positive and relatively high growth rates (5 per cent) were maintained in Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. 'Afloat' with positive growth rates, but significantly lower than in the first three countries, were also the economies of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Group most affected was headed by Ukraine, where due to the high dependence on external financing, which caused the pre-crisis years of economic overheating and lack of coordination of monetary and fiscal authorities in the acute phase of the crisis, GDP fell by 15 per cent. In general, the impact of the crisis was determined by the foreign trade specialisation and dependence on international capital markets, trade ties with Russia, the dimensions of labor migration, the quality of domestic economic policies, and other factors.

Economic recovery in the region began in the second half of 2009 due to a number of factors influencing the recovery of many CIS countries, which had a rapid growth in demand for commodities from Asia-Pacific region, primarily China. In 2010, growth was observed in all CIS countries; it had a broader basis. However, the recovery has been uneven. Despite the base effect, countries less affected by the crisis, grew faster. The slowest growth in 2010 Q1 was registered in Russia.<sup>2</sup>

The nature of recovery is partly due to location in a particular geographic region. Obviously, the rapid recovery in the Asian CIS is related to the Asian economic growth. But in the European part of CIS, the situation is more heterogeneous and depends on a whole combination of both external and internal factors.

The global crisis has exposed the economic problems of post-Soviet space, which were the internal causes of the crisis in these countries. Among the main problems of the CIS countries, which increased the impact of the global financial and economic crisis in these countries, the ones highlighted are:

- Lack of development of a number of market institutions, including the national monetary and financial systems, and heavy dependence on foreign debt
- Low degree of diversification of the economy, which is mainly dependent on fuel and raw material trade (the problem of ‘monoexport’), and a strong dependence on the global demand of resources (oil and oil products, metals, fertilisers)
- Weak competitiveness of non-oil sectors of the economy and high dependence on imported goods (technology, machinery, equipment, and food)

The development of crisis in the CIS countries went through several channels, both global and regional, but their relative impact and effects were different depending on the level of development and economic growth model, the presence of an internal crisis potential, and degree of integration into the global economy.

The extent and impact of the global crisis in the region varied in different groups of CIS countries.

- Very strong influence mainly of global factors – Ukraine and Russia. Deteriorating terms of trade in the world markets, large-scale capital flights, restrictions on access to external financing, and, consequently, a reduction in capital investments, contributed significantly to such a massive economic downturn.
- The strong influence as a result of the combined effect of global and regional factors – Armenia and Moldova. In addition to global factors of contagion, of great importance for the economies of these countries was a decline in remittances from Russia.
- A significant influence mainly of global factors – Kazakhstan.
- A moderate impact as a result of the strong decline of trade with the CIS countries (mainly Russia and other countries – Belarus).
- Moderate impact from reduced inflows of remittances – Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

- Low impact as a result of decline of foreign trade and reducing remittances from Russia – Uzbekistan.
- Low impact resulting from the reduction in foreign demand for oil and gas – Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan.

### **Recent Economic Developments and Economic Reforms**

Since 1991, Turkmenistan has adopted a cautious approach to economic reforms and it has recently made some progress. At the beginning of 2007, a programme of reforms was initiated in the social, hydrocarbon, financial and industrial sectors with the aim to achieve strong and sustainable economic growth by integrating Turkmenistan into the international economy, and to improve job creation and the living standards of the population. Important steps include the unification and redenomination of the exchange rate, improved business environment for foreign investment and small and medium enterprises, and reforms of the agriculture and social sectors.

The exchange rate system reform through the introduction of market-based pricing mechanisms was successfully carried out and it has contributed to improvements in business environment and financial sector development. On January 01, 2008, the government started to gradually unify the dual exchange rates with the appreciation of the parallel rate and the devaluation of the official rate. The Central Bank of Turkmenistan permitted all banks to open foreign exchange windows and issued foreign exchange regulations indicating commitment to provide unrestricted access to foreign exchange for payments and transfers for international transactions. The unification process was completed on May 01, 2008 and the official and parallel exchange rates were unified at the rate of 14,250 ‘manat’ (Turkmen national currency) per US dollar. The unified exchange rate has been stable, with no gap between the official and the informal rates. Subsequently on January 01, 2009, the manat was redenominated at 5,000 old manat per one new manat, and the old banknotes were withdrawn from circulation starting January 2010.<sup>3</sup>

Steps have been initiated to improve business environments conducive to foreign investors as well as small and medium enterprises. To attract foreign direct investment, the authorities have adopted and implemented the new Foreign Investment Law that brings Turkmenistan’s investment regime closer to the best international practices. As a result, a number of international oil and gas companies have started exploring opportunities in the country. To facilitate international trade, the authorities have modestly liberalised international trade by reducing import duty and excise taxes. However, the reform needs to be deepened as the trade system appears to be still restrictive; as of now almost all trade transactions (domestic and foreign) must be registered with the Turkmen State Commodity Exchange. The development of small and medium enterprises was also supported by various measures. The new legislation on small and medium enterprises adopted in August 2009 simplifies the cumbersome procedures for registering a business, provides for a range of tax breaks, and eases import restrictions for certain goods. The tax code was amended to simplify the tax system, and lower tax rates for small and medium enterprises.

In the agriculture sector, virtually all cotton and wheat crops are still grown under the state-order system and procured by the state. However, a number of initiatives have been recently taken by the Turkmen Government to introduce new incentives for farmers to boost productivity in the form of increased prices for crops procured under the state-order system and unrestricted access to lines of soft credit. According to the amended tax code in 2008, agricultural enterprises are either exempted from taxes or pay a uniform tax rate of 2 per cent.

In the social sectors, the authorities have announced a new direction for an overhaul of the health and education systems. They stressed the need for the Turkmen education system to be on par with international standards in teaching and learning. The education system has undergone several important developments in 2007, including extension of the mandatory number of years of schooling from 9 to 10, reduction of the teaching workload for school teachers, an increase in teachers' salaries, and reintegration of Russian and English into education and official spheres. The government plans to increase investments in modern infrastructure and equipment in both the education and health sectors. In the social protection area, the government reinstated pension rights for women over 57 and men over 62.

To improve social and living standards in rural areas, the Turkmen President approved the National Rural Development Programme (2008-20) in December 2007 by committing to invest part of the country's considerable natural resource wealth in rural infrastructure projects. The programme has been geared heavily towards massive improvement of the rural infrastructure such as communal services (water, electricity, gas), rural health facilities, schools, kindergartens, and rural access roads.

### **Challenges Ahead**

Turkmenistan faces challenges in deepening the economic and social reforms that started in 2007 to improve prospects for a fundamental shift towards a market economy, an increase in employment and to improve living standards of the population by efficiently utilising Turkmenistan's considerable natural resource wealth. A prerequisite for sustaining economic growth is prudent management of fiscal and monetary policies to achieve macroeconomic stability that is conducive to private investment and growth. The government needs to further liberalise foreign trade regime to maximise welfare gains from international trade; it also needs to strengthen public financial management, streamline the role of the state, and modernise the state institutional capacity. Turkmenistan's top development priority is to ensure that a sound and transparent system of public resource management is in place to ensure that its considerable natural resource wealth will be efficiently used to improve basic living standards of population and reverse the deterioration in the provision of social services in recent years. At the same time, the government needs to develop a robust mechanism and capacity for the appraisal of the massive public investment plan envisaged in the rural development strategy. Further, the role of the state needs to be streamlined to provide an enabling environment for private

sector development. Finally, institutional capacity in the core public agencies needs to be modernised and strengthened in line with the international practices. This will contribute to improved efficiency of spending and the effectiveness of service delivery to the population.

### **Agricultural Reform**

Agriculture accounts for about 22 per cent of GDP and is the source of livelihood for more than half of the population. The sector is comprised mainly of outputs of cotton and wheat produced according to the state targets and it enjoys significant subsidies from the state. However, the government has recently introduced some market features such as increased prices for crops grown under the state-order system and unrestricted access to lines of soft credit that will enable farmers to increase productivity. Deepening of the reforms to liberalise agriculture inputs and output markets would be critical to improving living standards of the rural population.

### **Private Sector Development**

Turkmenistan needs to dramatically improve its business environment, particularly for Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) to increase the share of private sector in the economy from the current 40 per cent (outside the oil and gas sector) to 70 per cent by 2020 (the government's target). This could be achieved by simplifying business regulations and improving access to financial resources, both credit lines and foreign exchange that are critical to ensure a more decisive role for the private sector and especially for foreign direct investments in the overall economy.

### **Environment and Social Sector Reforms**

Turkmenistan needs to substantially improve the living standards by addressing environmental, water, and lifestyle problems. It remains vulnerable to environmental conditions due to frequent droughts and extreme weather conditions and limited capacity to forecast weather and to manage and adapt to the climatic changes. The quality of education and basic health services needs to be further enhanced significantly to improve productivity and growth. The Turkmen Government launched its national rural development programme in 2007 to develop infrastructure in the regions and rural areas by investing heavily in health and educational facilities. In this regard, the issues of effective use of the improved facilities and equipment, curriculum renewal, and teachers' training are of importance for all levels of education in the country.

### **Analysis of Crisis Influence on Turkmenistan's Growth and Development**

Turkmenistan is at an early stage of integration into the global economy. But, excluding the oil and gas industry, the economy was vulnerable to economic crisis with inflation at 12 per cent in 2009, and the projected level of 10 per cent in 2010. The main engines of the recent sustained growth (more than 10 per cent in 2008) were the production and export of hydrocarbon products and public investment. Hydrocarbon constitutes about 90 per cent of total exports, while public investment



is associated with the construction of public buildings and structures, as well as roads and railways.

Turkmenistan has developed a 'strategy of economic, political and cultural development of Turkmenistan until 2020', approved by the 'Majlis' (Parliament) in 2003, which outlined a development plan, including a significant increase in GDP (increase by 28.4 times in 2020 compared with 2000).<sup>4</sup>

Turkmenistan because of its flexible policy has sustainable economic development and a stable national currency, despite the global financial crisis. Impact of the global financial crisis on the Turkmen economy was relatively limited in the first place because the country's market is still only at an early stage of integration with world markets. Turkmenistan's GDP growth in 2009 was 6.1 per cent, mainly due to construction activities, agriculture and services sectors. The main source of funding for this was the state investment, amounting to about US\$ 8.8 bn, which was 1.6 times higher than that of 2008. The other factors included a state programme to support small and medium businesses, as well as infrastructure projects funded from abroad.<sup>5</sup>

According to the official statistics, the increase in consumer prices fell sharply, reaching 0.1 per cent in 2009, from 14.5 per cent in 2008. In many ways, fall in world prices, however, played an important role and so did the strong financial policy of the state. In early 2009, the national currency – Turkmen manat – was denominated. The exchange rate of manat was set at 2.85 per US\$ 1, which was maintained throughout 2009. According to the IMF estimates, money supply decreased by 4.4 per cent at the same time, which also illustrates the active regulation of the financial sphere by the state.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the disruptions to the ongoing gas pipeline to Russia during the most of 2009, the hydrocarbon sector (80 per cent of total exports) also saw some growth. Revenues from the export of Turkmen energy grew in 2009 by 8 per cent, despite a decline in the overall export volume by 27 per cent over the previous year. At the same time, due to a significant increase in the number of invested projects, especially in construction, the volume of imports rose by 19.2 per cent. As a result, trade surplus declined from 23.4 per cent of GDP in 2008 to 21 per cent in 2009.

In December 2010, the opening of a gas pipeline linking Turkmenistan to China via Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan helped to partially offset the loss of exports due to reduced gas supplies to Russia. In January 2010, a gas pipeline running from Iran was opened. Projects of construction of gas pipelines to India and Pakistan via Afghanistan, and to Europe via the Caspian Sea and Azerbaijan within the framework of 'Nabucco' project are in the pipeline.

According to experts, in the next few years, the economy of Turkmenistan will continue to grow strongly due to the export of energy resources and investments. It was expected that in 2010 and 2011 GDP would grow by 6.5 per cent and 11 per cent respectively. By 2011, hydrocarbon exports were expected to return to the level at which they were prior to the disruption of supplies.

It is assumed that the Government will continue to adhere to a flexible fiscal policy. Given the projected increase of world energy prices, Turkmenistan's trade

surplus are expected to rise, and the central bank will have to take measures to prevent the influx of foreign currencies that could result in an increase in money supply and increase in domestic prices.

### **Measures to Prevent the Impact of Global Crisis**

The current financial crisis originated in the US due to the role of specific, complex financial institutions operating in that country – the structures that do not normally exist in developing countries. However, reduced access to credit, declining remittances and lower export demand affected the emerging markets. The main factors of influence on economic growth in these countries will be increased demand for goods and services by households and enterprises, and the growth of investment (including foreign). Downward GDP growth will impact the global financial and economic crises. Due to the negative impact of the global economic crisis and instability in global financial markets, growth in transition economies in 2009 was to be affected significantly – the forecast was contained in the annual report of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) in 2008, dedicated to the countries with economies in transition (Transition Report 2008: Growth in transition; EBRD). Much better situation in 2009 was forecast for Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, where the EBRD estimated growth to be around 15 per cent and 12 per cent respectively. The EBRD analysis is an additional reason for optimism, since most countries with economies in transition have continued economic progress and largely maintained the momentum in reforms needed to ensure future economic growth. At the same time, it was the urgent need in these countries to increase investment in education, develop the workforce and develop modern technologies, while continuing to move away from the dominance of the raw material component in the economies of several countries of the CIS. As noted in the report, the savings in these countries sustained economic growth in 2008 and 2009. Despite the global crisis, the impact of economic reforms was felt in these CIS countries. The global economic slowdown weakened inflationary pressure in these countries; but they should give priority to stabilise their national banking systems. According to State Statistics Committee of Turkmenistan, the growth rate of real GDP in Turkmenistan in 2008 was 110.5 per cent.

The world is experiencing rapidly declining and fluctuating oil prices. However, Turkmenistan accounts for more than half of exports of natural gas. Supply and demand of regular deliveries of Turkmen gas exports are based on agreements with importing countries. Gas prices, unlike commodities, are less prone to vibration, although they are tied to oil prices and petroleum products. Balance of payments is positive for Turkmenistan; import-export ratio in 2008 was more than twice. Turkmenistan's foreign trade in 2009 was export oriented and its economic growth contributes to an active investment policy. Launched in 2008, the National Programme on the social and living conditions in villages, towns, cities, 'etrap' (districts) and etrap centres for the period up to 2020, the construction project of the National Tourist Zone 'Avaza' Caspian gas pipeline, and other projects will support Turkmenistan in the coming years.

The share of foreign investment increased from 15.6 per cent in 2007 to 32.1 per cent in 2008. It shows the confidence of foreign investors in the economic rating of Turkmenistan, as compared to many countries which witnessed an outflow of foreign capital and the fall in investment activity. In 2008, Turkmenistan put into effect the objective of building 178 projects, which was 1.7 times more than in 2007. Investment growth is largely due to the increase of investments aimed at the acquisition of equipment and facilities. In the structure of investments in 2008, more than 45 per cent is occupied by industrial facilities, 10 per cent - agriculture, about 17 per cent – transport, and 8 per cent – education and others. The share of private sector (including mixed-ownership) investment in the GDP is more than 40 per cent. About 70 per cent of budget expenditures go to public and social services, including more than 40 per cent to education. In the GDP, the share of expenditure on education in recent years has averaged at 4 per cent. It should be noted that the share of expenditure in the GDP on education in Turkmenistan is higher than in many CIS countries, but it is still lower than in developed countries with high human development index, where the rate is 7-8 per cent.<sup>7</sup>

Turkmenistan's further reforms of the financial sector, as well as the private sector will be developed taking into consideration all measures to reduce the negative impact of the global financial crisis on the socio-economic situation of Turkmenistan, and providing the conditions necessary for long-term sustainable economic development (President of Turkmenistan Resolution – May 2009). Based on Presidential Resolution commission would be formed to analyze the negative impact of the global financial crisis on economy and the adoption of appropriate measures.

### **Conclusion**

Global crisis of 2007-09 in CIS countries was different from the crisis of 1998. The main source of stress for CIS countries in 1998 was Russia. The main reason of the spread of the 1998 crisis was external trade and CIS countries was accepted by international investors as one entity, which led to the flow out of funds not only from Russia but also other countries of the CIS.<sup>8</sup> The current crises for all CIS countries were externally induced. Global factors of crises spreading into CIS countries were more important than inter-regional issues. It shows that now CIS countries are diversified, while it also underlines that CIS countries require joint efforts to overcome crises. Measures taken by CIS countries to meet the global crisis were specific for each country with its national effects. But we can say that CIS countries mostly overcame successfully the crisis, and the region could be a strong unique place for joint activities and cooperation in order to overcome further negative global economic effects.

The regional states require strategic vision and systematic policy to solve a variety of tasks. Major source of global uncertainty in the short term is the global financial and economic crisis (recession in many countries). According to the report of the National Intelligence Council (NDS) of the US published in 2008, despite the

current drop in hydrocarbon prices in the long run, they will still go up.<sup>9</sup> This, in turn, will raise the food prices because industrial agriculture to some extent depends on fuel for farm machinery and fertilisers. In Turkmenistan, the situation is more favourable, because the country is rich in hydrocarbons. Favourable situation is due the fact that Turkmenistan, in contrast to many other countries during the global financial crisis, made huge investments in production sector and in the social and cultural spheres.

Another global factor in the socio-economic development of a country is ecology. Shrinking levels of rains and snows, melting glaciers have resulted in water shortages and new restrictions to increase the volume of agricultural production. This is more of a concern for Turkmenistan, where surface water sources originate mainly outside the country. In this connection, it will be important to introduce water-saving technology and intensive development of agriculture. This work should be done in two ways – (1) improving the structure and location of acreage according to the required moisture content of crops, and (2) economic incentives for implementing water-saving technologies in short-term and the need for a national programme of agricultural development in Turkmenistan until 2030, which should be comprehensive and include the environmental aspects.

Measures generally taken by the Government of Turkmenistan during the recent global financial crisis have been effective, as confirmed by international experts. Economic growth in the country can contribute to overcome global recession and growth in domestic demand of investments (including foreign). The Government of Turkmenistan in 2008 took steps (financial sector reform, the introduction of customs privileges, etc.) to support domestic demand, this policy will continue in the near future. One of the major ways to maintain high economic growth of Turkmenistan in the future is the strengthening and further development of small and medium-sized businesses based mainly on domestic demand.

## Notes

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2. M.Y. Golovin, *The Effect of External Shocks on the Economy of the CIS Countries During the Crisis Period 2007-2009* (Global and Regional Spects), 2008.
3. L.D. Amanniyazova, “Human Capital in Turkmenistan: State and Outlook”, *The Eurasia Heritage*, Ashgabat, May 2009.
4. Ibid.
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## 4 ■ Foreign Investments in the Economic Development of Tajikistan

*Gafur Rasulov*

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Twenty years have elapsed from the time of collapse of the super power Soviet Union, formations of national republics and changes in the global system of international relations. These years, especially for Tajikistan, were very heavy and difficult. In the territory of this small mountainous country, a bloody civil war began in 1992. As a result of the given destructive war and break down of trade and economic relations, economic recession has gone deep. The volume of Gross National Product (GNP) declined three times, and investment by 25 times.

Only in 1997 after signing of the peace agreement between the government and opposition slump in production was arrested. The country continued to create the basis for democracy and strengthening free economy, forming and expanding civil society and join the global processes.

With assistance of the international organisations foreign investments have been attracted. Some EU countries have started to invest in the economy of the northern part of Tajikistan. Works on gold mining in Penjikent (Tajik-British joint venture 'Zeravshan'), on manufacture of textile products in Khojand (Tajik-Italian joint venture 'Javoni') developed. The EU within the framework of some programmes (TACIS, TRACECA, etc.) has supported Tajikistan and rendered financial and technical help.

Though the EU countries have started to invest in economy of Tajikistan in the later 1990s before other former Soviet republics, however, in 2010, their investments into republic's economy was only one third of the investment by the CIS countries.

**Table 1: Share of the Regional Organisations in Investment into Tajikistan's Economy (January 2010)**

No.	Regional organisations	Share in the total foreign investment (in %)	Total amount of investments (US\$ mn)	Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (US\$ mn)
1	CIS	40.7	1013	831.2
2	EU	14.7	366.9	145.7
	Total amount foreign investments in the Republic of Tajikistan	100	2,488.3	1,394.7

(The table is created by the author; Reference: *Tajikistan statistical Agency. Annoyer, Foreign Economic Activity*, Dushanbe, 2010, pp. 229-240)

As shown in the table above, the total amount of investment of the CIS countries in Tajikistan on January 2010 was US\$ 1,013 mn, of which US\$ 831.2 mn constituted Foreign Direct Investment. In the later 1990s, some CIS countries gradually overcame difficulties of the transition period, developing their economy, and invested in various sectors of Tajikistan. Here, it is necessary to note that the Russian Federation especially is the leading investor of capital, compared to other countries. More than half of all FDI in Tajikistan comes from Russia.

Since 2006, Russia began direct investments in the priority branch of republic - water-power stations. For 2006-08, more than US\$ 600 mn were invested by Russia in the hydroelectric power project 'Sangtuda-1' with a capacity of 670 MW and has been put into operation. Annually, it produces 3.9 bn in KWh electric power. Now, Russia invests in communication branches, construction of hotel complexes and oil and gas exploration and banking sector.

Among the CIS countries, Kazakhstan developed fast rates of growth after independence; US\$ 115 mn of direct investment by Kazakhstan has been directed to Tajikistan's economy. Investments of Azerbaijan in Tajikistan are to the tune of US\$ 40 mn.

In recent years, the investment activity of the eastern neighbour of Tajikistan – Peoples Republic of China – has been especially high; it has taken shares of Tajik-Britain joint venture 'Zeravshan' in gold mining. China also allocated US\$ 645 mn of credit which was used for building of highway Dushanbe-Chenak, electric transmission lines – 'Lolazor-Khatlon', and 'South-north'. These investments are connected with major fields in which of the Peoples Republic of China invested US\$ 250 mn in 2008-11.

Presently, China's National Heavy Machinery Corporation is building two factories for manufacture of fluoric aluminum and cryolite in Yavan area, which will provide the Tajik aluminum factory with domestic raw materials. China has signed an agreement with the Tajik side for constructing a metallurgy plant in Hissar, cement plant in Javan, prospecting of gold deposits, gland and other deposits in various regions of Tajikistan.

The US, basically, allocated humanitarian assistance, and has gratuitously constructed the big bridge on the river Panj between Afghanistan and Tajikistan, and invested in separate projects for industrial and non-manufacturing sectors. The Tajik-American-British joint venture 'Obi Zulol' on manufacture of mineral water has been formed, cooperation in sphere of communication and banking system is advancing. Total amount of investments of the US amounts to US\$ 145.7 mn, of which FDI comprises US\$ 40.4 mn.

Japan pays more attention to allocation of grants for development of agriculture and highway reconstruction in the southern part of Tajikistan, which connects the republic with Sherkhan Bandar of Afghanistan. Simultaneously, it participates in preparatory vaccination shots and quality improvement of pharmaceutical products. In 2011, Japan participated in a joint venture for distribution of medicines.

In a deposit in Kuhi Lal Pamir, there is a large supply of thin ceramics which is used for the production of the best Russian tank ‘Leopard-2’, impenetrable by a modern anti-tank cumulative shell. In Soviet period, ‘Kuhi Lal’ deposit was 10th in terms of state importance.

The Republic of Tajikistan has ancient historical links with India. About 1,100 years ago, great Tajik poet Abuabduullo Rudaki in his verses wrote about the high quality and great popularity of the Indian steel for which there was a great demand everywhere. The fame of ruby also has Indian connections. To the whole world, it is known as ‘Badakhshan’s red ruby’. From the 7th century, there is information on a deposit of the given grade of a ruby in the 10th century scientific books of Beruni who also discussed ways of manufacturing ruby. The ruby was praised also by the great Tajik poet Mirzo Abdulkodir Bedil whose tomb is in the city of Delhi. A red ruby decorated the turban of Amir Timur; also, it was a favourite of Tsars of Russia and Kings of England, who used to carry it on their dresses.

Analysis shows that investment relations between India and Tajikistan are operating on a low level. In 2006-09, investment of India in the economy of Tajikistan was about US\$ 3 mn; the general cumulative volume equals US\$ 6.8 mn, which in comparison with other countries, are insignificant. A multi-star hotel in the city of Dushanbe, construction of which is continuing, is the only one worth mentioning.

We are assured that India, with its big economic potential, can find a worthy place among large investors in Tajikistan. In our opinion, India can invest in the following spheres in the economy of Tajikistan: creation of textile enterprises, small hydroelectric power stations, small scale factories for manufacturing fruit juice, vegetable, mashed potatoes, tanning of raw hide, packaging and packing of the Indian tea, to cooperate in jewellery work, extraction and processing of marble, thin ceramics, processing black and nonferrous metals, in the chemical industry, etc.

**Table 2: The Countries Investing in Tajikistan Economy (January 2011)**

No.	Countries	Total amount of investments (US\$ mn)	From them FDI (US\$ mn)
1	Russia	846.9	771.5
2	China	502.6	85.2
3	Philippines	204.8	-
4	Cyprus	204	200
5	USA	145.7	40.4
6	Kazakhstan	115.3	52.7
7	Italy	61	60.9
8	South Korea	60.2	60.2
9	Azerbaijan	40.7	-

10	Iran	36.3	15.2.
11	United Kingdom	32.2	31.4
11	Netherlands	30.3	19.7
12	Saudi Arabia	29.5	-
13	Austria	23.7	12.7
14	Kuwait	15.2	
15	India	6.8	4.6

(The table is created by the author; Reference: *Tajikistan statistical Agency, Annoyer, Foreign Economic Activity*, Dushanbe, 2010, pp. 229-240)

Priority directions of cooperation in terms of foreign investment in Tajikistan are building of large hydropower stations, development of deposits of poly-metallic ores of Big Konimansur, creation of additional capacities on clap-fiber processing in finished goods, processing and refining of jewels and metals.

The formation of the free economic zones in Tajikistan is directed to creation of conditions for promoting development of international trade in goods, services and manufacturing. The EU supports some projects in the given zones.

Tajikistan was the first among the countries of the Central Asia to sign a cooperation agreement with the Investment Bank of Europe. Shortly, the Agreement would be ratified by 'Oli Majlisi' (Parliament) of the republic. In February 2009, the President of the Republic of Tajikistan and the President of the European Investment Bank, Phillip Majshtadt, signed the framework cooperation agreement which created a basis for the bank to work in Tajikistan in Bruxelles. The European investment bank will finance power projects in Tajikistan.<sup>1</sup> The recognition of Tajikistan by the EU as a country with market economy became a positive signal for foreign investors. It drew them to assist Tajikistan in manufacturing and export-oriented competitive production.

Since the second half of 2008, the world economic crisis began to affect the economy of Tajikistan negatively because of the open character of the economy, and its strong dependence on external integration processes. This has considerably exposed the country to the negative influences of the crisis, and Tajikistan started to experience recession.

Branch monitoring and the analysis of inflows of direct foreign investments for 9 years (2001-09) show that in industries and construction, annual foreign investments flowing from various countries of the world were involved. However, the volume of annual inflow of investments into the industries was insignificant; it varied from US\$ 6.9 mn (2001) to US\$ 33 mn (2005). However, the fact of their annual injection speaks about constant interest of foreign investors in the industrial sector.

Statistical data shows that in the communication sector considerable sums of investment (the highest being in 2007 – US\$ 47.1 mn) were involved. Though, during the days of world financial crisis volumes of the external investments in



general declined, the communication sphere, however, did not lose appeal among foreign investors. Great demand for telecommunication services and use of new information-communication technology promoted foreign investment.

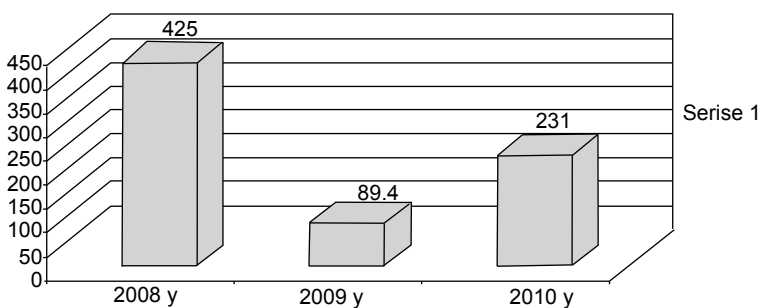
Inflow of the capital to trade system occupies an insignificant part from total amount FDI and fluctuations are visible from time to time. The lowest indicator was in 2008 (US\$ 21.2 thousand). In 2009 in this sphere, in general, there were no direct foreign investments. This results from the fact that financial crisis strongly affected trade turnover of most countries in general and as a result foreign investors refrained from investment in trade sector.

The agricultural sphere which has faced great difficulties because of shortage of material and money resources also has essentially suffered from the crisis. For 2007-09, the volume of foreign investment in agriculture decreased by 5 times and totaled about US\$ 296 thousand in 2009.

Big difference in volumes of foreign capital investment is observed during various periods. The increase in investments from the lowest indicator – US\$ 2 thousand in 2001 and the biggest - US\$ 140 mn in 2007 – testifies to the increasing appeal of Tajikistan's economy.

The volume of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) also has decreased due to world financial crisis, affecting direct investment in the country in projects such as 'Sangtuda -1' power station and hotel 'Hayat Regency of Dushanbe'. If in 2008 the volume of FDI was US\$ 425.6 mn, in 2009, it decreased to US\$ 89.3 mn. In 2010, the level of FDI increased to US\$ 231 mn. Though in 2010 the indicator of attraction of FDI had improved, it equalled 54.3 per cent of the 2008 level, which was US\$ 425.6 mn. More than half of the FDI was from the CIS countries<sup>1</sup> – from the sum of US\$ 425.6 mn, more than 50 per cent investments came to Tajikistan.

**Table 3: FDI in the Economy of Tajikistan (January, 2011)**



(The table is created by the author; Reference: *Tajikistan statistic Agency. Annoyer, Foreign Economic Activity*, Dushanbe 2010, pp. 229-240)

Outside the CIS, most of the investments come from Cyprus (more than US\$ 72 mn), the US (US\$ 29 mn), China (US\$ 17.4 mn), UAE (US\$ 11 mn), Estonia (US\$ 7.1 mn), Iran (US\$ 3.3 mn), and Switzerland (US\$ 3.2 mn).

In this period, there were changes in the branch preference for FDI. In particular, good indicators were shown by the following branches: power (US\$ 219.4 mn), bank intermediary (US\$ 49.8 mn), and extraction of precious ores and rare metals (US\$ 12.4 mn).

Other sectors attracting investments were in communications (US\$ 46.7 mn), building of highways (US\$ 19.9 mn), coastal fortification (US\$ 10.7 mn), fixed in financial leasing (US\$ 158.2 mn), and bank intermediary (US\$ 88.6 mn). During the 2009 crisis, the volume of other investments decreased and was only US\$ 293.8 mn. Rate of decrease equaled 47.5 per cent.<sup>3</sup> The decrease had resulted from reduction of foreign actives and foreign obligations. In 2008, foreign capital in authorised stocks, and shares equaled US\$ 317.2 mn. In 2009, it decreased 9.5 times.<sup>4</sup> The impact of the crisis was also reflected in availability of external credits. The credits obtained from investors in 2008 was US\$ 84.4 mn and in 2009 – US\$ 59.2 mn, which was a decline of US\$ 25.2 mn or by 29.5 per cent.

In 2009, the volume foreign investments from six countries had decreased in comparison with indicators of 2008 in Tajikistan's economy: Cyprus – 97.0 per cent, the US – 69.6 per cent, the Russian Federation – 87.3 per cent, Switzerland – 81.9 per cent, China – 80.4 per cent, Iran – 11.7 per cent. Inflow of direct foreign investments though increased from Great Britain – 2.3 times, Italy – 6.8 per cent, and India – 2.9 times.<sup>5</sup>

Capital investments basically tended to grow. In 2008, their volume was 1332.7 thousand somoni. In 2009, it had increased to 400.7 thousand somoni or by 46.5 per cent, and thus, totalled 1733.4 thousand somoni (Tajik currency 480 somoni = US\$ 100 in 2011).

In 2009, the total investment from all sources in the Tajik economy was 3724.3 thousand somoni (at established prices), which in comparison with 2008, was a decline by 309.3 thousand somoni. The volume of capital investments in fixed capital in 2008 was 22.5 per cent, in 2009 -18.5 per cent of the total gross national product. This testifies the fact that the republic yet has not reached the level of a safe threshold on volumes of investments (25 per cent of GNP).<sup>6</sup> As a result of insufficiency of credit availability, the investment activity decreased. In 2009, capital investment from all sources decreased by 15.5 per cent, in comparison with 2008.

The structure of investments in fixed capital in January-March, 2011 was: state - 406.9 mn somoni (49.4 per cent), private – 257.9 mn somoni (31.3 per cent), joint venture – 33.4 mn somoni, and foreign – 125.3 mn somoni (15.2 per cent). The share of foreign investments has decreased in comparison in the first quarter of 2010 (41.7 per cent of 2010 investment).<sup>7</sup>

The power sector remained a priority with 31.1 per cent of the total investments. Fixed capital investment in the electric power industry was 255.8 mn somoni, of which the state support, and own capital of the enterprises and the organisations was 193.6 mn somoni or 75.7 per cent, while the foreign credit constituted 62.2 mn somoni or 24.3 per cent. Capital outlay was mainly for reconstruction 'Sangtuda-1' hydroelectric power station, building of 'Rogun' hydroelectric power station and

‘Sangtuda-2’. The volume of investments in 2011 into fixed capital on transport and communication in comparison with the 2010 Q1 also increased.

Experience shows that the enterprises with the foreign capital basically work in the centres and those regions where there are good conditions for manufacturing activities. Thus, there are 128 joint ventures functioning in Dushanbe, 17 in Sogdi area, 8 in areas of republican submission, 2 in Khatlon area and 1 in Badakhshan area.

The State Committee of investments and management of the state property have simplified conditions for allocation of land for construction, and revision of general layouts of areas and cities. Questions of improvement in conditions of trade have been considered also. The quantity of documents required for carrying out export and import activities will be reduced. The certificate of the country of manufacturer, the conformity certificate, individual number of the tax bearer is deleted from the list of necessary documents.

Tajik economist Kh. Umarov argues in favour of creating liberal conditions in comparison with the coastal island countries, and also with those states, which aren't located in periphery of the world market and large continents. It means that the investment environment in Tajikistan should not only be much better in comparison with France if country of origin of investments is France, but also means that climate of investment should be better than in the Baltic States, Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. This is important as Tajikistan is located in the heart of the Eurasian continent, and investors consider it as a distant periphery.<sup>8</sup>

The policy of attracting foreign investments will increase competitiveness of products, diversification of the economy, modernisation of financial sector, and will provide such possibilities by which Tajikistan will manage to overcome its difficulties and gradually overcome the financial crisis.

Tajikistan passed the law ‘On investments’ and other laws which promote foreign investments. Therefore, it is possible to say with confidence that the Indian companies can join the ranks of active investors in Tajikistan. In connection with big deposits of precious metals, the law ‘On investment agreements’ has been adopted. Considering the importance and scale of the major projects, such agreements serve the purpose of regulation of such projects in a special way taking into account specificity of the concrete project (for example, questions of the taxation, licensing, currency regulation, etc.).

The country's hydropower potential is a priority branch. 60 per cent of water of the Central Asia originates from high mountains of the Tajik Pamir – ‘Roof of the World’ – and other higher areas. At present, the largest power station of the Central Asia – Nurek hydroelectric power station – with a capacity 2700 MBT of electric power and some other power stations, are functioning in this sector. The Russian Federation in 2010 has constructed hydroelectric power station ‘Sangtuda-1’ with a capacity of 670 MBT. In a year, it makes 3.9 KWh. However, in the country, especially during the winter period, the electric power shortage is felt.

The Iranian builders have agreed to build on concessional terms the hydroelectric power station 'Sangtuda-2' with a capacity of 220 MW. The conditions are: after the end of construction they will use the given hydroelectric power station for 12.5 years and then transfer it to Tajikistan.

At present, construction of Rogun hydroelectric power station with a capacity of 3,600 MBT is under construction. In the Soviet period, construction of Rogun station had begun. After disintegration of the Soviet Union, the work has halted temporarily. There are problems (Uzbekistan is protesting), which Tajikistan wishes to solve by means of international laws and mediation of international organisations.

There are some prospective branches for investment which can involve foreign investors:

- Creation of the textile enterprises
- Building of small hydroelectric power stations
- Creation of small-scale enterprises for fruit-juice, processing vegetables and mashed potatoes
- Cooperation in the field of processing of tanning raw materials
- Creation of joint ventures for packaging and packing of the Indian tea in Tajikistan
- Cooperation in the field of chemical industry
- Creation of the joint venture for producing jewellery
- Extraction and marble processing
- Processing black and nonferrous metals, etc.

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## 5 ■ Globalisation and Labour Mobility in Uzbekistan: A Study in Changes and Challenges

*Tareq Ahmad Rather*

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### **Introduction**

The intellectual preoccupation with globalism has been an important framework for theorists who have argued that social scientists should abandon their traditional analytical focus on the nation-state in favour of one centred on global flows and networks. One aspect of this new orientation is the emphasis on the new global world as one that offers unprecedented opportunities for mobility, migration and travel. National governments may have imagined that the free circulation of goods, services and capital across borders would reduce people's inclination to migrate by allowing them to prosper from wherever they were.

However, in reality, the movement of commodities appears to promote rather than stem the movement of people, with telecommunications raising rather than reducing the desire to meet and talk in person. It is probably why Zygmunt Bauman remarked, all of us are, willy-nilly, by design or by default, on the move.<sup>1</sup> In the post-Communist, post-9/11 world, migration and immigration have become an important area of public interest. Since the attack on the World Trade Center and ensuing crises such as the Madrid and London bombings, immigration fears have fused with those over national security.

The contemporary global economy is characterised by international movements of capital and labour. The international movement of these factors of production however, is certainly not a phenomenon unique to the contemporary global economy. Indeed, cross-national flows of capital and labour have been directly implicated in the structuring and development of the global economy throughout the world history.<sup>2</sup>

Globalisation has generated qualitatively different patterns of migration, both in terms of geographical reach and character, being more internationally encompassing and having greater social, economic and political significance. Social networks and transnational links and practices, an inherent feature of global trends, have meant that 'microstructures' (forms of social capital) created to support migrants in vulnerable circumstances have become more important than ever.

Anthony Giddens defines globalisation as the intensification of worldwide social relations, which links distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shared by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is a dialectical process because local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distant relations that shape them. Local transformation is as much a part of globalisation as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space.<sup>3</sup>

Globalisation is proceeding in various dimensions including economic, political, cultural, formation of world opinion, democratisation. This paper portrays approaches towards globalisation by various generations in Uzbekistan. Attitudes headed for the utilisation of new technologies are reflected along the way since technology is viewed as a means to further globalisation. The labour migration which is having both positive and negative consequences has improved the socio-economic situation in rural areas in Uzbekistan by reducing the level of unemployment, encouraging market relations and raising the living standards but at the same time it has affected different social institutions of Uzbek society. People, who lost their jobs in the aftermath of restructuring process in rural areas, and led to unemployment in the cities is partly resolved through the temporary labour migration to different countries particularly Russia and Khazakistan. The various sociological dimensions of labour migration related to family, marriage, wages, residence, economy, children, etc. are the primary concern of the present paper.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and centralised employment system, the evolution of market economy and a reduction in the rural employment market in newly independent states in Central Asia have entailed considerable changes in labour markets and growth of internal and external labour migration. The regional migration has eventually affected all population strata, all age categories, both men and women, various occupations and social groups. According to the Central Asia Human Development Report, only in the period from early 1989 to early 2002, nearly 3 million people (over 20 per cent of population), migrated from Kazakhstan; 6,94,000 (11 per cent of the population) migrated from Tajikistan; over 1 million (4 per cent of the population) migrated from Uzbekistan; and 3,60,000 (7 per cent of the population) migrated from Kyrgyzstan.<sup>4</sup> Over the past decade, the former Soviet zone turned into one of the major human migration regions in the world. The amount of remittances sent home by labour migrants grew significantly in the 2000s and peaked in 2008.<sup>5</sup> Labour migration became a potential major force for integration among the former Soviet republics. Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are predominantly migrant-sending countries; the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan are the primary migrant destinations. Russia has become attractive for many foreigners due to the high living standards and the possibility of earning a higher salary. Second, the situation in the Russian labour market is determined by the consistent demand for foreign workers, and offers employment opportunities for foreigners in both formal and informal sectors of the economy.

### **Globalisation and Labour Mobility in Uzbekistan**

Attitudes towards globalisation in Uzbekistan take different forms depending on various sociological and technological factors – age, migration, social background, education, and the surrounding environment. For example, older people and those in rural areas do not use new technologies, or use them less and have less affection for globalisation than younger generation Uzbeks who have studied overseas and travel frequently. The latter group cannot imagine living without new technologies,



and most of them believe globalisation is a requirement of the times and an engine for development.

Uzbekistan's emigrant population is the largest in Central Asia in absolute numbers. Over 2 million immigrants from Uzbekistan reportedly reside in Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, South Korea, the US, and Europe. These migrants send over US\$ 1.3 bn home in remittances annually, making up to 8 per cent of Uzbekistan's GDP. The real number of Uzbek migrants and the actual size of remittances are believed to be considerably higher than reported by official sources. Roughly, 60 per cent of Uzbek migrants work in Russia, making them one of the major immigrant communities there, alongside Ukrainians, Belarusians, Kazakhs, and Azerbaijanis.

With an overwhelmingly rural population and heavy government control of the economy, Uzbekistan inevitably became a major migrant-exporting country. According to various estimates, between 2 million and 8 million Uzbek citizens work abroad. The vast majority of labour migrants work seasonally, travelling abroad only during warm months, and come from rural areas and the Karakalpakstan autonomous republic. The Uzbek government is notorious for denying the very existence of labour migration among its citizens. The IOM is not accredited in Uzbekistan, but several government-controlled organisations (officially registered as NGOs) manage projects in conjunction with the IOM office in Almaty, Kazakhstan. These organisations collaborate actively with law-enforcement structures and work at the grassroots level. Local government and 'makhallas' (local communities) help organise trainings with potential and returning migrants on how to acquire legal status abroad, the migrants' rights and responsibilities. When the organisation first began working, the migrants were perceived as outcasts of society who were at fault for any trouble abroad. Trafficked women, for example, were treated as criminals and social pariahs. Today, that view has changed, with law enforcement being more empathetic towards migrants and victims of trafficking.

Uzbekistan works far more closely with the Russian law-enforcement structures and NGO partners than with those in Kazakhstan. Since the Uzbek government denies that migration problems with Kazakhstan exist, Uzbek citizens are the most common victims of sexual and labour exploitation there. Because the Kazakh police is often involved in covering up human trafficking in Almaty and other large cities, 'Istiqbolli Avlod' has been unable to repatriate Uzbek trafficking victims. Even when the NGO has information on the possible location of a victim, the Almaty police refuse to collaborate. Along with labour migration, the Uzbekistan's internal and external human trafficking rates are the highest in the region. The Uzbek government continues to be reluctant to build a regional dialogue on migration issues. Many local experts believe Tashkent fears negative international publicity from the migration issue. Uzbekistan's collaboration on migration is best with Russia, and the Uzbek government continues to build contacts with Middle Eastern programs. Yet, cooperation with Kazakhstan, one of the largest recipients of Uzbek migrants, is far from adequate.

### **Migrant Working Conditions and Health Issues**

The lack of interstate cooperation on labour migration and the corresponding low interest among public officials has led to widespread abuse of migrants' rights. Without official procedures, both Russian employers and labour migrants are forced to establish informal contracts. Over 65 per cent of employment agreements among Tajik migrants in Russia are brokered without any written contract.<sup>6</sup> Among them, only one-third have legal employment authorisation in Russia. The employers, in order to legally employ guest workers, must pay a deposit to the authorities that would cover the deportation costs for migrants who break the law. They must also pay higher taxes and take responsibility for the civic rights of these workers.

According to sociological surveys, most Central Asian migrants in Russia work up to nine hours per day, with over 10 per cent working more than 12 hours. Moscow and Saint Petersburg are the highest-paying cities, with monthly salaries ranging between 3,000 and 9,000 Roubles (US\$ 100 to US\$ 300). Higher salaries in both cities, however, also make them prime places for fraud and corruption. Roughly 35-50 per cent of migrants in these cities are not paid for their work. Migrants in Astrakhan receive the lowest salaries (less than 3,000 Roubles/month) and live in the worst conditions. Over 44 per cent of all migrants live in adverse conditions, while 80 per cent of migrants lack access to healthcare. The registration process in Russia for citizens from former Soviet republics is lengthy, taking up to 30 days. However, a migrant must register within three days upon arrival in Russia if they want to continue the legal registration process. Labour migrants, arriving by airplane or train from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, are accustomed to paying bribes to the custom control officers. Upon arrival in Russian cities, migrants must bribe another set of customs control officers. Then when they leave Russia, migrants are pressured to pay bribes if they want to travel back home with their remaining wages. Surveys of migrants show that most would indeed prefer legal registration.

Starting in 2003-04, several international organisations began to work with NGOs in sending countries to develop special manuals for migrants informing them of their rights and responsibilities, the necessary documents for legal registration and pertinent immigration regulations in Russia. Such attention to migrant needs was provoked after the death and deportation rates among migrants in Russia spiked in the early 2000s. Over 400-1,000 migrants die in Russia and Kazakhstan each year, due to poor working conditions, lack of access to health care and violence against migrants. According to the Bishkek IOM office, half of all migrants return home with worsened health conditions. Heavy lifting, freezing temperatures, insufficient health care and poor living conditions are the leading causes of worsening health. After working in Siberia, where temperatures drop as low as -60 degrees Celsius, most returning migrants meet the government criteria to be considered handicapped. In the 2000s, mostly young men migrated to Russia straight after finishing secondary school, creating a generation of citizens with severe health problems. Since winters in Russia are colder than in Central Asia and the construction sector slows down, most labour migrants who travel without

families return home during this period, usually for 1-2 months. The energy crisis and abnormally prolonged sub-zero temperatures during winters 2007-08 led most migrants to remain in Russia and even summoning their families from Central Asia. Usually after working in Russia for over five years, migrants bring their families to Russia but lack of a second income affects the cost of living. To obtain a legal work permit in Russia and Kazakhstan, migrants must prove that they are in their good health. Any person with potentially infectious diseases will not be able to work legally. Although migrants are required to collect necessary medical documents prior to leaving to work abroad; they do not have a medical examination once they return home. Yet many return with far worse health than when they depart for work. Since the majority of labour migrants are young, often unmarried males, they are exposed to numerous STDs from paid sex services. Respiratory transmitted infections such as tuberculosis are also a common problem among migrants living in cramped quarters. Lacking access to health care abroad, migrants might be unaware of their diseases; delay in treatment means greater chances of infection among their fellow co-workers as well.

### **Present Global Economic Crisis and Migration**

One of the defining features of the post-Cold War era has been the growing saliency of international migration in all areas of the world.<sup>7</sup> New kinds of economic activity, driven by finance capital that prospers by transcending national borders, have triggered social changes both in the sending and receiving countries. The new global financial markets depend on mobile labour—recruitment production and distribution is no longer nationally constrained. These changes have produced new forms of migration, raising issues for its management and implications for governance and political liberalism. Despite the increased movement of labour and capital across borders within the global economy, nation-states still play a large role in the movement of labour as they exert control over borders, citizenship and immigration policy.<sup>8</sup>

According to Uzbek experts, Uzbekistan will likely be less affected by the by 2008, global economic crisis due to the country's low external borrowing. Along with falling global prices for cotton, migrants' shrinking remittances can potentially become one of the sizable negative impacts on the economy. Regional economists unanimously believe that returning migrants will shake the very economic foundation of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Yet, although overly-pessimistic forecasts prevail, analysts are divided into three general groups when assessing the impact of the crisis on labour migrants' remittances. The first group warned that the crisis will shake the very fundamentals of the migrant-sending countries – Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, and to a lesser extent Uzbekistan, will suffer tremendously from abruptly decreased remittances. Returning migrants will increase unemployment and exacerbate the ongoing energy crisis. The second group argues that migrants will not return from Russia and Kazakhstan en masse, and thus, remittances will decrease only gradually. The impact of the economic crisis will be sizable, but no

strong shocks will be felt. Labour migrants who lost jobs in Russia, for instance, will try to stay in Russia and find jobs in other sectors. In the meantime, only a small share of migrants will return.

Finally, the third group concludes that the economic crisis will affect labour migrants' remittances over a short period. But the overall volume of remittances will stabilise during 2010, as more migrants travel to Russia and Kazakhstan to find jobs and substitute for the shrinking remittances from other family members. However, job opportunities will be scarce, while migrants will seek to maximise their earnings and allocate larger sums for remittances. Russia's labour market being complex and multi-layered, and that is why Northern Siberia and Russia's Far East have become more popular destinations for migrants who previously preferred to work in large cities in the west. Migrants working in Kazakhstan's construction sector had to move into the agricultural and retail sectors as building projects dried up. Remittances indeed fell dramatically in late 2008 and early 2009, but they decreased not only due to the loss of jobs but also employers' delays with payments to guest workers.

### **Conclusion**

The economic problems are the key reason for Uzbek migration, and do not only rivet unemployment; it also embraces dissatisfaction with the income level and untimely wage payment. Majority of the families can't invest in a labour migrant as that would exhaust all the resources of most extended families. Also, problems related to residence in a host country are search for inexpensive housing (which often means lack of basic living conditions), registration, employment, and adaptation to new environment. Registration is of special importance since its lack means not only the risk of deportation, but also lack of access to health services and social safety net. Thus, migrants depend on people providing them with registration (usually acquaintances and intermediaries). There are some gender differences in migrants' labour division. Urban women usually work as sellers in the market. Some of them who have university education and computer operation skills find jobs as secretaries. Rural women mostly work as housekeepers and babysitters residing with their employer. The men, recruited by intermediaries to work as construction workers, usually work in brigades and live in barracks. Migrants try to minimise their spending in host countries to set aside more money which have improved the well-being of their families back home, but at the same time it has affected their families in terms of family relations and children upbringing.

In the 'corporate-driven' globalisation, the challenge of contemporary migration is to find ways of dealing with it that are compatible with global equality, justice and liberal democracy. While transnationalism has changed the experiences of belonging, it has not necessarily created rootless identities. It is truer in case of Uzbek immigrants where cultural awakening has remained the major focus since independence.

Even at times of relatively strong growth, the labour market situation remains generally adverse for immigrants. Most of the times there is a contradiction in the state policy between opening borders for the movement of information, commodities and capital and closing borders to people. Controls on migration seem to contradict underlying economic and cultural impulses towards more exchange, but they satisfy vested political interests. It is easier to attack the inflow of people than goods and services. It remains to be seen how immigrant states deal with the dilemmas arising from the need to accommodate new minorities and simultaneously to protect them from exploitation.

Labour mobility in the global context demands a fresh look at migration, one that pays attention to social and policy response. The empirical evidence confirms not only the wide range of motives that lead to (and experiences that follow from) migration, but also the establishment of a new transnational 'migration industry', whose political handling has the potential to provide social protection for migrants as well as expose them to exploitation.

What we need at this stage is both macro- and micro-level studies in order to resolve the increasingly visible clash between adoption of a 'flexible' and 'globalised' labour market, dependent on labour movement within and across national boundaries, and traditional citizenship/welfare arrangements based on permanent residence and individual-level politics, and pain of migration policies, analyses need to retain a focus on boundaries, national and regional, as well as supranational institutions and transnational networks and activities.

There is a new migration industry in Russia of labour recruiters, brokers, housing agents, lawyers as well as human smugglers involved in transporting migrants illegally and banks that deal with financial remittances. However this is not restricted to Russia alone. This is a feature of the social and transnational linkages that are intrinsic to migration. Motivated by the 'push' of poverty and the 'pull' of lucrative low wage labour and sex trades, human smuggling and trafficking are one of the newest and most disturbing forms of migration in the new global era that includes Russia as well.

In these circumstances, the management of migration and the impact of migration on internal ethnic relations become imperative. The ruling political elite have to show the desire to find long-term rather than short-term solutions.

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## 6 ■ Uzbekistan: Impediments in Democratic Transition

*Tabasum Firdous*

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The dismantling of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the subsequent emergence of 15 sovereign Republics, including the Central Asia Republics in the same geographic space, came about swiftly. The people who once were citizens of a Super Power overnight became citizens of sovereign republics with uncertain future. But the dismantling of the Union and the collapse of the Soviet system placed every republic in a dilemma, which was also accompanied by political and economic uncertainties.

The Central Asian Republics (CAR) Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan were the most affected as the Soviet system provided them an excellent quality of life in the form of cradle to grave welfare, guaranteed employment, universal education, the best health care, housing, etc., even though their contribution to the overall Soviet Union's economic system was more agricultural in orientation notwithstanding the industrial infrastructure that was built right across the Soviet Union. The dismantling of the Soviet Union and the Soviet system, thus, has had its most terrible impact on the Central Asian Republics. Added to this was their dilemma as regards the future path, particularly, the political and governmental system after seven decades of Soviet system and the Socialist ideology.

This dilemma placed the CARs in a very vulnerable position. They were subjected to many conflicting ideas of multi-party democracy, parliamentary systems and presidential form of governance. Many dubious, non-governmental agencies and NGOs, with questionable reputations from the West including the US, played definite roles in propagating the ideas on behalf of their countries. The new CARs were constantly urged to be a part of the vast democratic world. The leadership in the CARs, however, opted for a system they were familiar with; so they established a system of government that had resemblance with the former Soviet legislative system. But the modified non-Soviet system had its own contradictions as the leadership did not encourage the emergence of political parties with opposing views to the government. Thus, mere declaration of democratic principles with selective acceptability by the leaders only encouraged silent opposition to the government which no doubt contributed towards political instability and uncertainty in the general law and order situation. Most significantly, the leadership in the CARs, without exception, had little or no experience in that kind of governance they themselves articulated.

Being members of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the CAR's leadership in the past 20 years have tried to adopt and emulate selective principles of the OSCE and the European Union (EU) as regards features of democracy and economic reforms to gain international acceptability and credibility

but the same is negated by very restrictive laws that do not even encourage business or foreign direct investments thereby placing the country and the people in a low happiness index.

The major impediment to Central Asia's forward movement and economic development is the shattered infrastructure and neglected economy that requires reforms and restructuring. Banking was known but international business banking is unknown. However, today it is making steady progress. Free-market economy was known but the nuances and guiding principles were not well known.

On the political front, the former Communist leadership is well entrenched as neo-democrats and very Napoleonic in style – grand and larger-than-life role – and wielding complete power and authority with no opposition. Elections are held at regular intervals but the former Communist leaders with democratic principles of their own seem hard to replace as the restrictive political environment has not allowed the emergence of new grassroots or national level leaders.

### **Failed Ideals**

Uzbekistan, the most populous and industrialised country in the region with its infrastructure and aircraft industry intact, found its independent status as an excellent opportunity to join the world community of nations. President Islam Karimov viewed the emergence of independent Uzbekistan as an opportunity to lead his country to be on par with any of the advanced EU members.

Karimov seriously went about nation-building and restructuring by introducing very promising economic reforms acceptable to the international community and institutions like the World Bank, Industrial Finance Corporation (IFC), Asian Development Bank (ADB), European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Investors from the EU (Germany, Italy, France and the UK), Turkey and Asia (South Korea and Japan) came with an open mind. As investors and international business came, President Karimov soon built a closed circle of corruptible persons around him. Rising incidents of corruption led to loss of trust among foreign investors. By 1995, Uzbekistan went on rapid decline and lost international trust and credibility. President Karimov, on the other hand, began introducing laws and policies that became serious impediments to a healthy transition. Progress and fast development became elusive for Uzbekistan.

The leadership in Uzbekistan does not deny the absence of democracy but explain that the country's domestic political strategy is a step-by-step development of democratic institutions and culture in a political system governed by the principles of *proto-democracy*, which simply means that it has no links or association to the democracy of Athens (in present day Greece) – that is, 'rule by the people'. Democracy as understood today has its origin in Athens but 'proto-democracy' implies the democracy that prevailed in ancient civilisations like Egypt. The Ottoman Empire being inspired by the grandness of the Egyptian civilisation proclaimed their political system to be proto-democratic, that is, the king knows best what is good for his people and subjects. For Uzbekistan, as for any other Central Asian Republic,



swift shift to Westminster type democracy with which the westerners are familiar could not come about without going through the process at many stages.

Most importantly, by established standards of democracy, proto-democracy is no democracy. Taking into consideration the real situation in Uzbekistan, President Karimov has been cautious in allowing all those freedoms to the people in a state of transition with which westerners are conversant. Although many laws based on democratic principles have been adopted, their implementation suffers from some debilitating contradictions and inadequacies. There is a gap between precept and practice. And the gap has historical background

## **Governance Issues**

### ***Rule of Law***

In any democratic dispensation, there is a minimum of three unavoidable pillars that have to be in place – the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature whose functioning is on the principles of independence, yet they mutually complement each other correctly to allow for governance founded on principles of democracy and universal rights. However, what is evident in Uzbekistan is that the Executive – the President – has a formally sanctioned unhindered supreme authority over the Judiciary and the Legislature, and a complete control over all arms of the government even if they are institutionally distinct. The Judiciary in principle and by law is institutionally separated from the Executive and the Legislature, but in practise, its decisions and doctrines of justice is subordinate to the Executive.<sup>1</sup> All the Supreme Court and Constitutional Court judges are elected by the Senate on recommendations of the President, while all other judges are appointed and dismissed directly by the President.

In addition to the restrictive and personal preferences of the President in appointments, the judiciary is also constrained by deficits in its functioning as a result of its dependence on directions from the Executive – the President – himself. Funds for the wages of the Judiciary and the running cost of courts are ever expanding but budgetary allocation is low and inadequate not even enough to pay the wages. Thus as funds remain scarce and the functioning is subordinate to the Office of the President, justice is never delivered. Rule of law thus remains enshrined as a principle for the record. Due to the posts being lucrative, positions are bought and inevitably qualifications also get compromised resulting in wrong appointments accompanied by a high level of corruption in the Judiciary.

### **Corruption**

Corruption has many forms in the region; and particularly so in Uzbekistan. Bribes, frauds, scams, misappropriation of public funds, grabbing government property and other forms of misconduct and mismanagement are a phenomenon prevalent right across the country. It did exist during Soviet times but it was not the general trend as very deterrent punishments were institutionalised; these have increased

dramatically since 1991. This decline in public ethics is largely due to uncertainties of life today. Corruption is not only a moral issue; it has practical implications for policy implementation and in the utilisation of international assistance and loans. And sadly administrative and economic reforms get subverted.<sup>2</sup> Transparency International places Uzbekistan amongst the most corrupt nations.<sup>3</sup>

The prevalence of a form of corruption in Central Asia during the Soviet period was confined to the age-old tradition of good will – ‘hurmat’ (Turkic) or ‘nazrana’ was paid, which was not viewed as corruption or even bribery. During the Soviet period, these were viewed as remnants of a tradition. The tradition was present in every aspect of social life: a guest arriving for a visit is expected to bring gifts and in return, the host also gives gifts. When an official is felicitated, gifts are showered openly and with warmth and affection. But when hurmat and nazrana were being demanded, the tradition lost its significance as bribery and corruption became more rampant. Corruption has today taken deep roots right across the Central Asian region. In Uzbekistan, even the traditional ‘hukumat’ and the traditional rule by the hokim have lost to modern-day corruption. The ‘hokims,’ who were traditional territorial administrative heads, are today direct appointees of President Karimov and wield absolute authority in their respective regions as long as they enjoy the trust.

In Uzbekistan, in order to become a district hokim, one is expected to pay around US\$ 1,00,000. For an oblast’s [region] hokim position – it is up to US\$ 5,00,000. For the post of a deputy hokim, bribe payment is proportionately reduced by half. At each level, this money is collected and then sent to its higher destination.<sup>4</sup> President Karimov, not long ago, referred to the court trials of two former hokims accused of corruption and the abuse of power, and ironically expressed his unhappiness about the growing corruption. As observed earlier, a hokim holds office as long as he enjoys the trust of President Karimov. But such trials are largely used by the President as a way of weeding out his opponents. The fight against corruption as referred to by President Karimov is only rhetoric, and if real, it is only a political instrument to remove opponents. In Uzbekistan, burial ground comes at a price; even though free, a bribe must be paid.<sup>5</sup> Officials exploit their rank and position for private gain. Corrupt officials are prosecuted only when they have lost the confidence of their mentor or when the official attracts adverse publicity or when pressure from the international community cannot be ignored. The current level of corruption is a serious obstacle to transparency and governance.<sup>6</sup>

## Media

The Uzbek constitution<sup>7</sup> grants freedom of the press and media as in any democracy. The media restricts role in Uzbekistan notwithstanding the constitutional guarantees. Thus, in practice, there is no freedom of the press/media. The events in Andijan and its fallout in 2005-06 led to many more restrictions that left the media more isolated in 2007. Uzbek law limits political criticism, and public insult of the President is a crime punishable and imprisonment for five years. As a matter of fact the law today

holds the media accountable for their ‘objectivity’, and defines the internet websites as media outlets.<sup>8</sup>

Given the draconian Uzbek law against the media, one can understand the fear of editors and journalists especially when any election is near and the political atmosphere is tense. In order to keep order and pro-Karimov mood around the country, the law enforcement agencies do their best to ensure that there are no untoward incidents. And those who dare criticise President Karimov, know their fate; Alisher Saipov, a prominent journalist, comes as an example.<sup>9</sup> All media persons are, thus, very careful about what they speak and write.<sup>10</sup> Information and media in Uzbekistan is powerless, and is dependent on news and information provided by the government. Sadly, the people live in fear and are unable to even ask simple questions regarding the government. Of course, none dare to oppose President Karimov as most opponents have been jailed or are in exile. Political parties with opposing political views are banned and media organisations with independent views are restrained from performing their legitimate role.<sup>11</sup>

### **Legal System**

The legal and judicial system in Uzbekistan consists of the Constitutional Court of the Republic, the Supreme Court and the Higher Economic Court of the Republic of Uzbekistan. These courts co-exist with the Supreme Court and the Economic Court of the Republic of Karakalpakstan – an autonomous region in western Uzbekistan and the Aral Sea, which is predominantly populated by the Karakalpak – a group of nomadic herdsmen and fishermen (in the Aral Sea region). Judges of these courts are appointed for a term of five years. The judicial branch also includes oblasts (regions), districts, towns, cities and Tashkent city courts.<sup>12</sup> The courts in Uzbekistan are very disappointing as they are unable to address serious issues such as the growing number of complaints on ill-treatment, cruelty and filing of baseless charges by the law enforcement agencies. The police are notorious for their indiscriminate use of torture and psychological violence. Sadly, the police officers are also very corrupt and this poses a real threat to reforms.

### **Economy**

Over 70 per cent of all Soviet era state assets have been privatised in Uzbekistan. However, restrictions are many, which alienate Uzbekistan from the global economy. Pressures from the private sector and mult-nationals for easy access to natural resources including oil and gold are not bringing the desired results while the governmental restrictions remain major challenges in the political economy of the region<sup>13</sup> and Uzbekistan in particular. Thus, the management of the economy is not easy in view of the duplicity in the policies of the government; in theory, the economy is open but in practice it is closed or selectively opened.

In Tashkent, most business is controlled by President Karimov’s daughter Gulnara Karimova, and expectedly, in all major business ventures she must be made a shareholder and be given equity without payment, or pay the nazrana or royalty to

her on a monthly basis, which never reduces irrespective of the business volume. No private business of relevance can survive without the blessings of Gulnara Karimova. On the other hand, those private business establishments who are legally correct and work by the rule books, are subjected to constant inspection and audit by the relevant Uzbek authorities. This is a cancerous face of corruption damaging and destroying private business initiatives. Starting a business is very easy with the blessings of Gulnara Karimova but at the same time, it is very complicated without her blessings as it involves a number of legal procedures.

Most of the offices of the economic affairs have a huge backlog on the wages and salaries of the officials and in a normal situation, it is three to six months behind schedule. The people are indeed frustrated and forced to be corrupt and are vulnerable to bribes. Minimum salary is meagre US\$ 100, which is not disbursed on time but is compensated by food coupons or food products.<sup>14</sup> This corrupt system severely hinders the much needed reforms and building of a robust economy and democracy.<sup>15</sup>

### **Political Parties**

One positive aspect of the Central Asian region is that political parties do not have an agenda that fosters regional or ethnic divisions.<sup>16</sup> In Uzbekistan, there are five prominent political parties; four of them do not differ with each other, and importantly, they fully support President Karimov. They do not demonstrate any competition and even do not struggle for power. Their ideology is vague, and their prestige and influence in the society invisible.

The efforts of opposition parties in Uzbekistan, on the other hand, do not have any visible achievement to show. They are not even allowed to register. Thus, they are denied the right to function which makes all their activities illegal and untenable to even emerge as a real political force in the country. Simply put, the formation of a real and true multi-party system in the country stands suspended.

In this scenario, it is very difficult to anticipate the prospects of development of multi-party system that could lend support in the creation of democratic institutions in the country. Political intolerance by the leadership has also put an end to all aspirations for the manifestation of different shades of opinion to grow in the civil society. Therefore, it is clear that the absence of political tolerance has denied Uzbekistan with a credible opposition. The parliament sadly has no real authority as it is subordinated to the President. Even though the parliament is the voice of the people, the parliamentarians are not the real representatives of people because they are unable to put across the aspirations of the people they represent. Thus, the 'Oily Majlisi' – the parliament of Uzbekistan – remains a lame duck. The ruling circles in Tashkent are yet to realise that the parliament of representatives of the people must be effective.

### **Public Opinion**

Public opinion is an important element of democracy as it reflects the state of the

civil society. However, in Uzbekistan, public opinions were manipulated to endorse specifically President Karimov's views or to reflect positive aspects of a government policy, action or proposal. Any attempt to seek public opinion by independent agencies was handled with a heavy hand of the enforcement agencies. And very often, the local authority disallowed the conducting of interviews by private agencies seeking public opinion.<sup>17</sup>

The research centre for the study of public opinion, 'Ijtimoiy Fikr', an Uzbek governmental agency conduct opinions every year to seek public opinion on socio-economic and political development in Uzbekistan. The results of the survey reported that the achievements of Uzbekistan since 1991 in all spheres were well appreciated and received full endorsement of the people from all walks of life.<sup>18</sup> To the question 'Who or what is the guarantor of stability, strengthening of independence and successful solution of problems in our country?' – 98.5 per cent of respondents replied, The President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov. The citizens of Uzbekistan, regardless of their ethnicity, place of residence, age and sex, displayed a high degree of social optimism.<sup>19</sup> However, the general public opinion is in total favour of government and President Islam Karimov, as no dissent, is encouraged or tolerated.

### Conclusion

The problem with Uzbekistan is almost the same as we find in other republics, that is, the pangs of transition from a command to democratic system. Since economy is still state controlled and market forces have not made any serious dent in the political economy of Uzbekistan, hopefully with the opening of economy new elite is expected to grow, who may forge regional and international relations, and will give an outward push to Uzbek democracy. A neo-liberal middle-class expansion may yield space for civil society activism and help democratic transition.

Kyrgyzstan in the neighbourhood of Uzbekistan is a living example of how changes can come or be brought about in Uzbekistan. Therefore, it would be in the best interests of President Karimov to support and develop democratic structures and institutions, and permit human rights groups and other NGOs to register with the ministry of justice, and reform the complicated process of registration. This is indeed a difficult task as democracy is not known to proto-democrats like President Islam Karimov. But one can be optimistic as times have changed and continue to change. The generation of today is keen to bring about changes and be masters of their destiny. If the spring comes to the Arab world, can Central Asia be far behind?

### Notes

1. The 1992 Constitution of Uzbekistan states the division of power in article 11. The judicial authority in Uzbekistan "functions" independently from the legislative and executive authorities, political parties and other public associations
2. Shirin Akiner, "Emerging Political Order in the New Caspian States" Gary K. Bertsch, Cassidy Craft, Scott A. Jones and Micheal Beck, (eds.), *Crossroads and Conflict Security and Foreign Policy In the Caucasus and Central Asia* (London, 2000), p. 114.

3. Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index 2002, Berlin, August 28, 2002, available on line at [http://www.transparency.org/cpi/2002/cpi\\_2002.en.html](http://www.transparency.org/cpi/2002/cpi_2002.en.html), accessed on August 11, 2003.
4. Zamira Eshanova, "Central Asia: Corruption a common feature of daily routine", *RFE/RL*: July 17, 2002.
5. Drimth Pushkin, *Structure and Practice of State Administration in Uzbekistan* (Hungary, 2003), p. 39.
6. The author has had a bitter experience of bribe giving in Uzbekistan as she was also a victim several times at the airport, in police department and in institutes of higher education.
7. According to Chapter 15 article 67 of the constitution, the mass media shall be free and act in accordance with the law. It shall bear responsibility or trustworthiness of information in a prescribed manner. Censorship is impermissible.
8. After domestic unrest in 2005, the Uzbek authorities undertook a concerted campaign against foreign-funded media, and in 2007 radio correspondents of the British Broadcasting Corporation, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, and Voice of America were not allowed to radio report from Uzbekistan while Deutsche Welle correspondents in Uzbekistan experienced harassment. Correspondent Natalya Bushuyeva fled the country after the authorities filed tax evasion and other charges against her that could have led to at least three-year prison sentence. In April, 2007 prosecutors filed charges against three Deutsche Welle correspondents but the charges were subsequently dropped. In October, Sid Yanyshv, a reporter for the UK-based Institute for War and Peace Reporting, was attacked by unidentified individuals. [www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org)
9. He was killed in 2004 by Uzbek Government for openly criticising President Karimov.
10. The author did not witness any election campaign and neither was the opposition party's manifesto ever made public. But the TV channel [Yoshelol] telecast achievements of President Karimov once a week for an hour.
11. [www.bbc.co](http://www.bbc.co)
12. Maria, S. Stalbovskaya, *Guide to Uzbekistan legal Research*, January 2002.
13. Lecturer by Prof. P.L. Dash in Center of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir, 2007.
14. Interview in Samarkand in December 2007 with some university teachers.
15. Different agencies are demanding tax, like trade union, commercial union, etc, every body have to pay tax or settle with them, if a person grows vegetables in his yard he has to pay to government tax known as pension, no body knows what this pension is. Respondents are of the view that Government is destroying business. *Interview with some businessmen and shopkeepers in Uzbekistan*.
16. Valentina Kurganskaia, "The Party System in Kazakhstan and Ethnic Issues, *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, no. 2 (32), 2005, pp. 67-74. For an overview of parties in the region see Mira Karybaeva, "Development of a Multiparty System in Central Asia," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, no. 2 (32) 2005, pp. 41-60.
17. Farkhod Tolipov, "The Gap between de jure and de facto Democratization process in Uzbekistan" Leiden, 2004-05, p. 89.
18. "Public opinion survey on results of 2009 in Uzbekistan", February 02, 2010 *Press release Uzbekistan*.
19. Ijtimoiy Fikr announces public opinion poll results, August 08, 2009, see [www.gov.uz/en/press/society/](http://www.gov.uz/en/press/society/)

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Section III

Nation and States-Building

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# 1 ■ Unification of the Mongolian Historic and Cultural Community in the Context of Post-Soviet Political Reality

*M. Baldano and V. Mitypov*

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The late 1980s in Buryatia, just like other ethnic regions in Russian Federation, witnessed an ethno-cultural Renaissance. The national elite faced the need to deal with the most pressing issues such as a necessity to re-assess the processes of ethnic development during the Soviet era and to establish the plan for the future of the Buryat community. This goal found its reflection in the numerous meetings and conferences, in research articles and monographs, in official documents, and formation of new political movements and groups. Through these multiple media, Buryats discussed the issues of the status of the Buryat language, revise the history of the Buryat people, and expressed the need to protect and to revitalise traditions and customs; these discussions often morphed into discussions on political standing of the republic. To borrow from the modern discourse, the 1980s witnessed the birth of a ‘project of nation-building’.

What distinguished this trend in Buryatia from similar trends happening across the Russian Federation is the fact that in addition to the two competing models of development, ‘citizen nation’ and ‘ethnic nation’, there was a trend within the ‘ethnic nation’ approach that stressed the fact that the concept of Buryat nation cannot and should not be restricted by the current political borders. The supporters of this trend viewed the ‘nation’ as a result of a centuries-long historic process that was also happening within the fluid borders of Central Asia – the process of formation of a Mongolian cultural entity.

One must acknowledge the importance of thorough understanding of historical processes in all their complexity, which is a task of utmost importance. However, one should also remember that at any given point of time with all the complexity of the processes going on, there always existed a certain notion of such common Mongolian entity based on linguistic similarities, similarities in cultural tradition and in economic organisation of life, similarities of myths and ideas regarding the common history of the entity. Gigantic role was given to the shared historical memory of the previously existing state structure – the Genghis Khan Empire. The physical environment of the Mongolian community was later cut through by various political borders, primarily separated by the Russian and the Qing empires. The geopolitical situation became even more complicated in the 20th century, with the major pockets of Mongolian settlements being in such different countries as China, Russian Federation, and Mongolia. This influenced the trajectories of cultural, political and social development of the different parts of the Mongol entity.

Nevertheless, there still exists an idea of the possibility and the necessity of some form of ethnic unity of Mongolian communities across the political borders, even though these political borders may present obstacles to this path of unification. The logical step in overcoming these obstacles is the necessity of physical and political unification of Mongolian peoples. The approaches to this idea are different in the minds of different thinkers: from the unification of all Mongolian peoples to the resurrection of 'Buryatia within borders before 1937'.

In their search for the spiritual foundation of the proposed unity, the Buryat intelligentsia turns to history in an attempt to uncover historic precedents and the possible ways of solving the current predicaments.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon received the name 'Pan-Mongolism'. In this article, however, we will focus not on the phenomenon itself, but only on one aspect of it, the aspect of state-building as a way to nation-building.

The beginnings of the nation-building idea, or 'project' as we called it earlier in the article, are visible at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century. This was the time when Buryatia was becoming modernised in the ethno-cultural sense of the term. The biggest part of this process was the emergence of a European-educated Buryat intellectual section. This relatively small but very active and engaged class of people made a huge contribution to the creation of the modern culture and the civic society of the Buryats. Not that this class of Buryat intellectuals was a homogenous group united by a single political idea or ideological strain; on the contrary, this was a heterogeneous, multidimensional group, often full of contradictions. Yet, later this group was jointly called the 'Pan-Mongolists'. In the Soviet times, this label would become a political label and even an accusation. The reason for this name was a well-spread idea that was most clearly worded by Ts. Zhamtsarano, who wrote: Buryats, being a part of the larger Mongolian people who have their unique writing system and unique literature, cannot sever the ties to its own Mongolian history and its Mongolian roots to appease the Russification policies.<sup>2</sup> Zhamtsarano referred to the historical and cultural similarities between Buryat and Mongol cultures and to their glorious imperial history.

Historical studies were conducted based on the aforementioned notions as well as practical ideas, and recommendation on ethnic preservation and cultural development were evaluated on those bases. Although multifaceted and at times multidirectional, these projects and ideas could be called 'nation-building' in the modern sense of this word. In fact, the essence of the idea was a deliberate transformation of tribal environment into a unified cultural and political entity, which would adjust well in the modern world. This implied creation of a single cultural basis, common view of history, common literary language and overcoming of tribal particularism.

In essence, this was a political project, in which the creation of the independent state as a precursor to the creation of the nation was of utmost importance. To create a state in order to create a nation – it was not so farfetched an idea, rather an actual strategy, at the end of the 19th century. The uniqueness of 'Pan-Mongolism' was in the fact that the nation was to be created on the basis of Mongolian historic-cultural

entity that was at that time divided by the established political borders. Consequently, the project of Mongolian nation-building would initiate large-scale geopolitical shifts in the region. Some authors of such ideas, who had by then become politicians or state officials, even made attempts to bring these ideas to life.

As a political doctrine, the idea of Pan-Mongolism was worded by Zhamtsarano as such: The unification of Mongolia with Inner Mongolia, Buryatia, Kalmykia, and with Mongolians of Xinjiang and Tuva will allow to rebuild the historic region of habitat of Mongolian people and will result in creation of an authentic sovereign state.<sup>3</sup> This approach to the creation of unified Pan-Mongolian state, which would integrate Mongolian-speaking people, and in the end, minimise the cultural differences between them and allow for further ethnic and cultural integration, effectively followed the contemporary 19th century European idea of nation-state.

Some particulars of the possible projects are described in the correspondence of the well-known Buryat thinkers. For instance, E.D. Rinchino in his letter to D. Sampilon wrote: The previous National Committee suggested that Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia would fall under the auspice of Japan. The Southern, Northern and Western parts of Mongolia would then unite with the Buryats and organise a sovereign state, a 'buffer' state. In this scenario, the Buryats would have to move to Khalkha or move towards the border with Transbaikial region and to exchange land. In case if the South and North of Mongolia would not unite, we will end up with two separate states, with the South being the Japanese protectorate.... Mongols and other peoples of Central Asia are too primitive and are too much affected by the Buddhist clericalism to actively engage in state-building. We, the Buryats, on the other hand, as a more culturally and civilly advanced group, must and will play a huge role in the state-building.<sup>4</sup>

This was yet another project the authors of which gave little thought to ignoring the complexity of such tasks as relocation of whole ethnic groups and creation of new states. The idea of Pan-Mongolism was for them worth the difficulty of realisation of the project.

The historic events of the 20th century in Russia and China provided an additional stimulus to the idea of the Mongolian nation-state. The Chinese empire collapsed and this collapse resulted in the emergence of the 'de jure' and 'de facto' independent sovereign state of Outer Mongolia. The Russo-Chinese Declaration of the 1913, and the Kyakhta Russo-Chinese-Mongolian Agreement firmly established the international standing of the new Mongolian state. The Russian revolution and the Russian Civil War followed soon.

The coincidence of these events seemed to provide the grounds for the real hope for the creation of a unified Mongolian state. The Civil War drew the active European-educated elite to political struggle. Having the best interests of their people in mind (as understood by them), the elites centred around the Buryat National Committee (Burnatscom). Negotiating, building coalitions, partnering up with multiple (contradictory and often opposing) interest groups, the Buryat elites tried to negotiate a real autonomous position for the region, ideally a sovereign state.

For many of them the idea of the state was not limited to the entity with physical borders of the contemporary Buryatia. Pan-Mongolism as an ideology and now as a doctrine with the goal of creation of Pan-Mongolian state 'over' and beyond the existing political borders became a reality. Fully understanding the constraints of what the elites could do, they tried to build coalitions with various (and often opposing) movements, trying to play their opposing interests. The Pan-Mongolists were, in their turn, of particular interest to such 'players' as chieftain Semyonov, Baron Ungern, General Zhang Zuolin, the Japanese, the prime-minister of Far-East Republic Shumyatski, Revvoensovet of the 5th Army, and all state and military officials, who had interests in the larger region. Each player pursued his/her own interest.

With the support of the chieftain Semyonov and the Japanese, in 1919 in Chita, a conference took place in which Buryat representatives of various political fractions and representatives of Inner Mongolia took part. Interestingly, no representative of Outer Mongolia participated in the conference, despite the fact that it was Outer Mongolia that 'was called to become the center of Pan-Mongolian movement due to its geopolitical position and history'.<sup>5</sup> The conference announced a resolution to create an independent Federation of Great Mongolian state. Four 'aimaks' were to join the state: Outer Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, Barga and the lands of Transbaikalian Buryats. The conference even elected the head of the new state - Mongolian prince Neise-Gegen.

This attempt at creation of the Great Mongolian state failed for a number of reasons: first of all, it was not supported by the traditional aristocracy of Outer Mongolia, who ignored the conference and its resolutions altogether; secondly, the resolutions were not supported by the general public; and finally, 'the Pan-Mongolian movement itself suffered from inside provocations'. Despite battling larger problems, both Russia and China kept a stranglehold in the region and kept the borders intact. The governments of General Kolchak and China, using the lack of unity within the Pan-Mongolian movement, effectively destroyed the plans proposed by the conference: prince Neise-Gegen was defeated, taken prisoner and killed by the Chinese.

It is important to mention the position of the 'Comintern' (Communist International) on the issue of Mongolian state. At some moment, the Pan-Mongolian movement was viewed as a positive trend and a Mongolian state as a platform for the spread of the revolution internationally. In the words of a member of the Comintern, San Katayama, Comintern will not object against the unification of all Mongolian tribes into one independent federative republic that would have the potential to "sovietize" and a potential to join the Soviet Union in a distant future... Such an idea is wonderful... We implore Outer Mongolia to reach out to their brethren in Inner Mongolia, Barga and Xinjiang and organise them against the global imperialism.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of the failed attempts to create Kashgar and Dzhungar republics in Xinjiang, Outer Mongolia was declared a republic in 1924, and set out to realise the idea of a nation-building within just this state. At the same time, the creators of the young Mongolian state used the knowledge and experience of some widely-

recognized activists of the Buryat nationalist movement such as E.D. Rinchino and B. Baradin.

Only a year prior to these events, Soviet Russia declared the creation of Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The name reflected the idea that Bolsheviks still held at that time, the idea of unity of all Mongolian peoples as a logical continuation of the global revolution. For some time thereafter, the leaders of the newly formed autonomy held onto the idea of unification of Mongolian peoples.

However, the process of nation-building in Buryatia and in Mongolia evolved in quite different ways from the one imagined by the Pan-Mongolists, who desired either a union within the frames of a new independent state based on common Mongolian cultural and historical roots or a union in the form of a national autonomy followed by allocating territories for the Buryat people.

The conditionally realised model of nation-building may be called 'Soviet'. The authors of this article do not intend to analyse the model at length. However, it should be noted that this model did not exclude national unification even though of different predispositions altogether. Choibalsan discussed the issue of unification of Mongolia and Inner Mongolia, whereas, Yu. Tsendenbal discussed the possibility of unification with the Soviet Union. However, the ruling elite of Mongolia was suspicious of any kind of unification projects after having to fight so hard for the statehood, which was based on 'equilibrium in relationship' between China and the USSR. Nevertheless, the idea of creation of one state for all Mongolians persisted as 'a dream of such Mongolian scientists and intelligentsia as S. Danzan, Ch. Dandaa, N. Amar, Ts. Dambadorzh, N. Zhadamba, D. Dogsom, B. Rinchen, Gombozhav, among others'.

However, as time passed, by the end of the 1920s, the idea of Pan-Mongolism had ceased to be an interesting or an important card in the geopolitical game of the USSR, and was deemed 'dangerous'. One of the reasons for the alleged danger was Japan's increased activity in the Far East region and its interest in the developments in the Pan-Mongolism movement. In return, NKVD (Soviet secret police) 'uncovered and destroyed' the so called 'anti-Soviet rebel pan-Mongolian organisation'. NKVD repressions resulted in sufferings of thousands and thousands of citizens of Soviet Russian and Mongolian Peoples Republic. Pan-Mongolism was equated with 'bourgeois nationalism' and the words 'Pan-Mongolian' and 'Pan-Mongolist' became political accusations.

The political situation regarding the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) changed critically. At first, the republic was a part of Siberian *Krai* (Territory), and then the Eastern-Siberian *Krai*, but in 1937 the republic became part of the Russian Federation directly. A decision to change the borders of Buryat-Mongolian ASSR soon followed. According to the resolution of September 26, 1937 of the All-Russian CPSU Central Executive Committee, Aginsk and Ulan-Ononsk aimaks were transferred to Chita Oblast under the name of Aginsk Buryat-Mongol national 'okrug' (administrative area); the Alar, Bokhan, Ekhirit-Bulagat

and Olkhon aimaks were transferred to Irkutsk Oblast (Province) under the name of Ust-Orda Buryat-Mongol national okrug. Under this arrangement, the Olkhon aimak was transferred into direct administrative rule of Irkutsk Oblast, and parts of Ulan-Olonsk aimak, later known as Onon 'raion' (district), became the immediate parts of Chita Oblast. As a sort of 'compensation' the Buryat Republic received thinly-populated territories to the north-east of Baikal. Two decades later the very name of the republic was changed to Buryat ASSR having lost the name 'Mongolian'.<sup>7</sup>

Formally, the administrative division and the creation of these newly-formed okrugs provided for the autonomy of the Buryat population of these units that Buryat-Mongolian ASSR lost. However, these divisions negatively impacted the Buryat ethnos as a whole. The arbitrary division of the common ethnic entity resulted in slower consolidation of the nation, given an added imperative to morph into a state-approved new cultural and national entity – the 'Soviet people'.

The re-naming of the Republic, that is, the lawfulness and the necessity of the re-naming, is the subject of heated debates by Buryat intelligentsia till this day. The exact names of the new administrative units were, according to some Buryat researches, dictated by ideological reasons and to some extent by the reasons related to foreign affairs. According to G.L. Sanzhiev, Soviet leader Khrushchev insisted on the re-naming of the Republic because the previous name (containing the word 'Mongolian') could be used by the Chinese as a pretext for occupation of ethnic Mongolian territories in Asia.<sup>8</sup>

In other words, the process of nation-building was left to continue only within the geopolitical borders that had been already established. The process was different in the sovereign (although the sovereignty was recognised by the international community only after 1945) Mongolian Peoples Republic; the process was different in all the ethnic regions in the USSR and in Inner Mongolia. It appeared that the idea of unification of the Mongolians in one state based on their cultural identity became obsolete, having lost all of its appeal.

The historic events at the end of the 20th century, however, brought the 'project' back. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Soviet idea of nation-building vanished, freeing the space for new ideas. Change became a necessity. Importantly, the collapse of the Soviet Union changed the political status of Mongolia: it stopped being a mere satellite-state of the USSR and acquired a political weight in the eyes of its own citizenry and internationally.

In Buryatia, these historic events started intense discussions, creation of new political movements and ideologies. This was an unavoidable and necessary process, and the most important part of it was an attempt to re-assess the past and create the new 'national history'. The lives and works of great many Pan-Mongolists of the past became known again; their ideas received the attention of the new generation. Their biographies were studied, their research attracted new attention and was published; all was done not only in respect of the memory but to re-establish historic justice. Through the study of the works of the early Pan-Mongolists, the new Pan-Mongolists were looking for answers and solutions to the modern problems. A.A.

Elaev described this renewed interest in the following manner: In the pursuit of national idea, the Buryats have brought back the old, if modified, ideas of Pan-Mongolism. The civic society is, however, firmly directed into the past. Attempts to look forward are rare.<sup>9</sup>

Still, the ideas of Pan-Mongolism became extremely relevant. In this context, the very name of the republic became the object of debate. The essence of this debate is reflected in the name of the brochure that was published by the Congress of the Buryat People, 'Return the name Buryat-Mongolia'. The essence of this approach is formulated by Sh. B. Chimitdorzhiev: The issue of language preservation is tied into the issue of the preservation of ethnos itself. It is essential to understand that if we, Buryats, will follow the other Mongolian peoples, then we have a chance to preserve ourselves as a Buryat-Mongolian ethnos. We have the language crisis precisely because we have separated from our Mongolian roots. And, thus, not to lose our language we must get closer in cultural and linguistic meaning to our neighboring Mongolian peoples.<sup>10</sup>

This was not a purely academic discussion: In the past decades, beginning in the late 1980s, the proposition to re-name the Republic was brought to the attention of the appropriate governmental structures. The decision has not been rendered yet. The returning of the name that the Buryat people requested is still up in the air. Despite the fact that this proposition to return the traditional name had been submitted by the Government of the Republic of Buryatia, it was, to our embarrassment, voted down by the Congress of the Republic (Verkhovny Soviet).<sup>11</sup>

According to P. Varnavski: Introduction of the traditional ethnonym was meant to give more weight to the right of the Buryat people to seek statehood. It was particularly important for the political union of the Buryat and the Mongolian peoples. In other words, the return of the term 'Buryat-Mongols' to the lexicon of Buryat nationalist movement would signal not just 'the Buryat Cultural Renaissance' but stake some political claims, as well.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1980s, a new movement appeared. This movement was trying to shift the idea of Mongolian unity from the realm of theoretical discussion to the realm of political action. Among the first activists of nationalist movement were the representatives of the Initiative Group of the People's Front Supporting Perestroika (NFSP) that was formed in November 1988, 'riding on the wave' of the ecological movement. The most radical part of NFSP, which was mostly represented by ethnic Buryats, demanded to raise the status of the republic to the level of federal republic, as well as to return the territories annexed in 1937. In political circles, there was talk about 'the divided people'.

In the midst of all the political activity of the early 1990s, Buryatia saw the formation of such political and social organisations as 'Geser' that later became the Buryat-Mongolian People's Party (BMPP, 1990), and nationalist organisation 'Negedel' or 'Unity' (1992). The latter proposed secession of Buryatia and all its previous territories from Russia and the subsequent creation of the Central-Asian Federation, which was supposed to also include (in addition to Buryatia and

Mongolia), Tuva, Kalmykia and two autonomous regions in China.

One of the leaders of 'Negedel', V.A. Khamutaev, in 1993 gave a speech in Ulan-Bator entitled 'Moving towards integration of Central-Asian peoples and revitalisation of Mongolia through the interests of the peoples of Baikal Asia'. In his speech he said: Consolidation of all Mongolian peoples is necessary for the survival of Mongolian peoples, the Buryat-Mongols, the Khalkh-Mongols, the Oirat-Mongols, the Dotor-Mongols, all of us. Separately, individually, even within the borders of our respective states, we won't be able to preserve our ethnicities, let alone to revitalize the Mongolian culture... We must think in different categories, in categories of Pan-Mongolism, in categories of Pan-Mongolian consolidation... We all want, more or less, one thing: to be together, to revitalize the common life style, the common statehood. We must move from cultural cooperation between the Mongolian peoples towards ... the confederation, towards the real Union, based on our shared interests of peace and stability in Central Asia.

Khamutaev continued to explain the practical implementation of this goal, which included the return to the common language, literacy, culture, education and further move to the confederative Union with common economic and political goals.<sup>13</sup>

Although this idea did not resonate with the general public or the elites, it entered the national discourse. Most importantly, one part of this 'programme' stuck in the political and social discussion: the issue of division of Buryat-Mongolian ASSR. This event is considered a real national trauma, and the demand for the resurrection of Buryatia to the pre-1937 borders finds a lot of support in the general public. This demand, for example, was part of the By-Laws of BMPP.

In August 1990, a group of Buryat veterans sent an open letter to R.N. Nishanov, Chairman of the Committee on Nationalities in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in which they demanded to recognise the un-constitutionality of the 1937 decision and to return the republic to pre-1937 borders. The official reason for the division was territorial dispersion of people, but in fact the reason for this horrible and lawless act was the desire of those in power to eliminate the economic and political basis of Pan-Mongolism.<sup>14</sup> The letter received a wide public support both in Buryatia and in Buryat regions of Russia. The division of the Republic in 1937 was condemned by the All-Buryat Congress of 1991. The Congress of the Buryat People was created soon after the Second All-Buryat Congress of 1996; it set out to widen its influence on the political and social discourse of the Republic and the Buryat regions. Special attention was given to the issue of the division of 1937 and the issues of the return of the territories and the return of the old name 'Buryat-Mongolia'.

The urgency of this matter was lost after the Russian Federation granted autonomous status to the Buryat regions. However, the current political movement towards expansion of the subjects of Russian Federation as in, for example, merger of Ust-Orda Buryat autonomous region with Irkutsk Oblast, brought the debate back. The idea of expansion in general was met with a lot of resistance. Everywhere in Buryatia, people hold protests and demonstrations, as well as public discussions, meetings and round-table discussions. This matter was put on a ballot in public



referendum that took place on April 16, 2006. The referendum was widely publicised in the press, both regional and national. The newspaper 'Nezavisimaya Gazeta' wrote in January: In Buryatia many consider the act of 1937 unconstitutional. The idea of reunification of autonomous regions with Buryatia is very popular. The supporters of this plan have become very active when the plan for the merger of Ust-Orda and Irkutsk Oblast emerged. Three major positions emerged from the writings of public figures in Buryatia: first of all, the year 1937 entered public discourse. Secondly, there is a concern for the fate of the 'merged' region. Thirdly, the fate of Buryat language and culture is in danger.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, the merger was approved by 99 per cent of the votes. *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* wrote after the referendum that the perceived discord was just an illusion, and the provocations of the referendum's opposition (that included just about anybody from the Buryat 'shamans' to the leaders of the World Mongolian Organisation) did not influence 'the desire to expand'. It is, however, conceivable that the results of the referendum were dictated by the huge administrative resources and not so much by the public opinions.

The First, Second (1996), and Third (2002) All-Buryat Conferences were, in essence, indicators of ethno-political processes that had been taking place in the Republic and in the regions. The First Conference established the All-Buryat Association for Cultural Development that became instrumental in the process of spiritual unification of the Buryat people and in revitalising the Buryat culture. The Second Conference rejected attempts to transform the Association into a political party. The idea, however, found its realisation just a few months later when the Congress of the Buryat People was founded; the Congress set forth an agenda for influencing the political and social climate in the Republic and the regions.

Both the Congress and the Association emphasised cooperation with Mongolia in the sphere of culture. The Third All-Buryat Conference emphasised the importance of cooperation between the Mongolian diaspora and Mongolian peoples from Mongolia and from other parts of Asia. It is important to mention here that if the early 1990s saw a movement from culture to politics, than the late 1990s witnessed the reverse trend.

In regards to Mongolia, the ideas of Pan-Mongolists are well-known and still occupy an important place in public discourse. The ideas are most clearly and abundantly put together in the article by Ts. Ghurbadam and L. Bat-Ochir, published in Mongolia in 1999 and in Russia in the Russian translation in 2003. Let us cite (the ideas are presented so clearly and eloquently that it makes it almost impossible to avoid longer citations): What Mongolians witnessed is how their own territories got divided into three separate pieces - Outer Mongolia, Buryat-Mongolia, and Inner Mongolia, and then even further more into smaller slivers, the country was cut in a way a cake is cut into pieces for the pleasure of those in power. For three centuries, the Mongolian people had to endure the bitterness and the harsh consequences of this involuntary separation. All they have kept is the irrepressible urge to unite with their brothers. Many attempts were made over this period of time to unify the Mongolian territories, and although they did not succeed the idea of Pan-Mongolism

could not and would not cease to be, for it is what they have been longing for, it is the ideal of their national consciousness. And that's why it will live on. The idea of Pan-Mongolism must be revitalised in the current understanding of ethnic rights, the current theoretical understanding of nationalist movements, the current understanding of the Convention of Ethnic Minorities Rights. It is conceivable that the idea of Pan-Mongolism will receive a boost in the near future, and that the world will soon witness new real developments in the process of unification of the Mongolian people under the auspice of one Mongolian state. There are no real obstacles save artificial ones on the way to cultural and economic unification of all Mongolian people; the territorial unification may follow later. The unification will allow the preservation of the Mongolian nation and without it we will disappear. Creation of the independent, internationally recognised sovereign Mongolian state – this scenario can not, we presume, but satisfy such influential countries as the US, Japan, England, France or India. As for Russia and China, maybe a larger state will stop being 'an apple of discord'.<sup>16</sup>

These words do not, in our opinion, need additional comments. The goals are identified, the plan to achieve the goals are explained. We would only like to comment on one particular point regarding the article: on the one hand, the authors claim that Mongolia, due to its geographic and historic centrality should become the center of the new Pan-Mongolism. On the other hand, the authors recognise that these ideas do not have a wide-spread public support in Mongolia itself and are rejected altogether by some. The authors mention certain 'nihilistic works', which it is hard to believe 'were written by Mongols'. The article asserts that many believe that 'the dream of the unification is unreachable or that there is no necessity in Pan-Mongolism any more, and that there is an imperative to respect the status-quo of the post World War II world, or that the Mongols who live outside of Mongolia should linguistically and culturally be assimilated'.

It is possible to suggest that this view of the Pan-Mongolian movement is prevalent in Mongolia since the Daur Conference. It is also conceivable that any idea of larger Mongolian unification present certain danger to Mongolia as a state whose stability depends on balanced relationship between Russia and China. It is also reasonable to suppose that for Mongolia the only option of nation-building lies within the frames of the currently-existing state.

Thus, two attempts to carry out the geopolitical project of Pan-Mongolism ended in failure. The idea of unity did not secure sufficient support, neither in Buryatia nor in Mongolia, both, at the beginning of the 20th century and at present. The strengthening of Russia, increased power of China combined with lack of interest on behalf of Mongolian intellectual elite clearly showed the illusory nature of unification process.

Still, the idea on Mongolian unification lives on, even with the full sense of the impossibility of its realisation. We will briefly mention the premises for this phenomenon and will leave the full analysis of this hypothesis for another work.

The hypothesis that we would like to formulate is that the idea of Pan-Mongolism

is an important instrument, a means of mobilising ethnic consciousness. The project did not disappear; rather it simply gained different functionality, that is, the dream of unification in itself became an instrument of nation-building. In the words of one of the leaders of the national organisation ‘Negedel’, V.A. Khamutaev, Buryat nationalist movement, despite its certain focus on ethnic and national agenda, was in the early 1990s mostly an instrument of reinvigoration of political activity and a means of engaging the public in the civic society.

The historic events of the past hundred and fifty years showed that ideas of national unification emerge in specific political and cultural situations as a result of logical and necessary processes of consolidation of the Buryat ethnos. The ideas of Pan-Mongolists became useful once again after an era of oblivion, and thus, they deserve full attention.

### Notes

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## 2 ■ Ethnicity and Culture in Contemporary Crimea

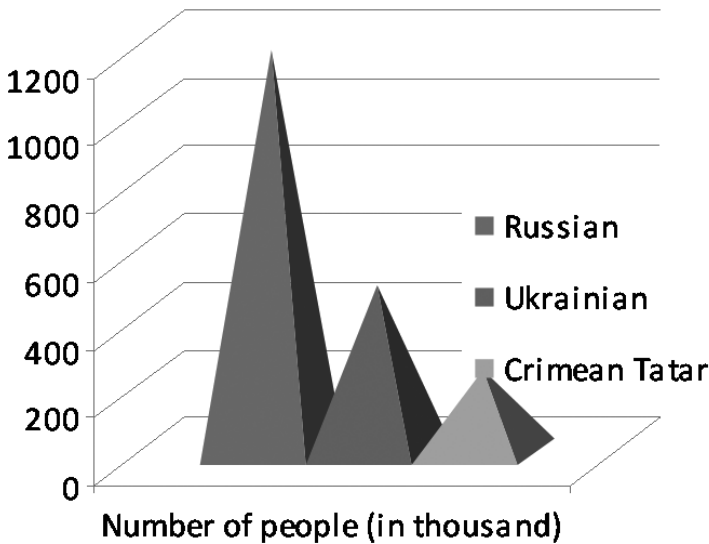
*Preeti D. Das*

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The massive wave of migration in the territories, once part of the Soviet Union, astonished the world with the existing number of diverse ethnic groups that came to limelight after the collapse of the Union from the apparently united soviet nationality. A long awaited desire to return to their own 'once forbidden homeland'<sup>1</sup> became the utmost important task for most of ethnic groups. In the situation of political instability, economic crisis and social unrest of the region, the attempt by various political powers to exploit all possible resources for achieving desired goal deteriorated the situation. The present paper tries to draw attention to some of the issues related to socio-cultural integration of Crimean Tatar community with other existing ethnic groups in Crimean Republic of Ukraine. An understanding of global and regional dimension of the relationship of various ethnic groups residing in contemporary Crimean peninsula will provide a clearer picture of the differences between them. Various nongovernmental organisations, supported by international organisations, have come up in the region, which are constantly working to avoid the critical conditions that might appear and to bridge the gap between communities; however, the situation is far from stable so far.

Once, one of the most peaceful and beautiful regions Crimea was known for health resorts; till date, it has well equipped beautiful sanatoriums. Unfortunately, today it is third least developed region in Ukraine. Geographically, the Crimean peninsula occupies a very significant place of geopolitical interests. Crimean peninsula was transferred from Russia (RSFSR) to Ukraine in 1954 from the administrative purposes. Russians were the major community resided in the region. Prior to second World War II, it was under Crimean Tatar Khanate. The agreement signed by Crimean Khan on November 01, 1772 with Russia (King Dolgorukii) brought Khanate under Russia's patronage. Today, the region being at the crossroad of European neighbourhood attracts the attention of many international communities along with Ukraine, Russia, and Turkey.

As per the 2001<sup>2</sup> census report, the largest community in Ukraine is 77.8 per cent Ukrainians and, the second largest is 17.3 per cent of the Russian community. The data show a decreased in Russian population by 26.6 per cent from what it was in 1989. In the Crimean Republic, the Russians still constitute the majority, along with other ethnic groups like the Armenians, Bulgarians, Germans, Greeks, Karaims, Krymchaks and other ethnic minorities. Crimean Tatars constitute the third largest community in Crimea. (Figure: 1)



The territory of Autonomous Republic of Crimea is 10 sq miles, which is subdivided into 25 regions. There are total 14 (Raions) districts and 11 city municipalities officially known as the ‘territories governed by city councils’.<sup>3</sup>

Keeping in mind the current situation, the experts are of the opinion that the complexity of the situation in Crimea, and the significant social and economic tension theoretically poses a threat to the potential conflict in the Republic. Apart from the mass return of Crimean Tatars since 1989-91, the maladministration and lack of democratic tradition, economic decline, and unemployment contributed in deteriorating the situation. However, some of the local Russians were of the opinion that they did not have any major issues in accommodating Crimean Tatars.<sup>4</sup> Whereas western scholars are also of the opinion that similar to Russian – Georgia war over South Ossetia and Abkhazia might erupt in Crimean republic also and it is of great concern for European Union as Crimea is located in the Eastern neighbourhood.

Nonetheless, the relation between the Russians and the Crimean Tatars is a very sensitive issue as there are deep divisions between them including electoral preferences, admeasurements of land for construction and agriculture,<sup>5</sup> along with vast regional differences owing to deep-rooted historical memories associated with culture and traditions. At some point of time, some of these differences have turned into conflicts. For instance, the incident of Bakhchisaray in 2006, which involved building up of a food market on the site of an ancient Tatar graveyard, turned violent.<sup>6</sup> Similar vandalism and aggression with regard to sacred Muslim places have been noticed in 2007 in Sophievka of Simferopol region.<sup>7</sup> As per the opinion of some researchers, the attitude of local governments also contributes to an extent the materialisation of some of Xenophobic trend in Republic.

Crimean Republic always enjoyed a number of exceptional features from all the other Ukrainian regions. Till date, it is the only region, which is granted political autonomy by the Constitution of Ukraine, and this status is confirmed in the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. Crimea has its own parliament, which appoints and designates a prime minister with the consent of the President of Ukraine.

*Article 135. The Autonomous Republic of Crimea shall have the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and approved by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine by no less than one half of the constitutional membership of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.*

*Regulatory legal acts of the Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and decisions of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea shall not contradict the Constitution and laws of Ukraine and shall be adopted in accordance with and in pursuance of the Constitution of Ukraine, laws of Ukraine, acts of the President of Ukraine and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.<sup>8</sup>*

*Article 136. The Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea shall be the representative body of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.....*

*The Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea shall be the government of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea shall be appointed or dismissed by the Verkhovna Rada of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea subject to the consent of the President of Ukraine.*

### **The Major Issues**

1989-91 was marked by mass return of Crimean Tatars from Central Asia and other regions by selling off their properties and most of their belongings. The Ukrainian government's plea to Uzbekistan's government for controlled migration was turned down. The spontaneous migration of Crimean Tatar and the Ukrainian government of the newly independent Ukraine lacked the capacity to deal with the issue of such scope and scale.<sup>9</sup> This could be one of the reasons why the Crimean community represent the poorest households with lowest per capita income, highest unemployment and mortality rates in Crimea.

As per the constitution, the deportees who were entitled to reparations and reimbursement of damages, due to the economic hardships, have problems with obtaining housing and jobs. The number of Crimean Tatar migrating to Crimea is much higher than number of people deported, and the location of land provided for their placement by the government is of dispute. (Figure 2)

### Increase in Crimean Republic through Migration of People (in thousands)

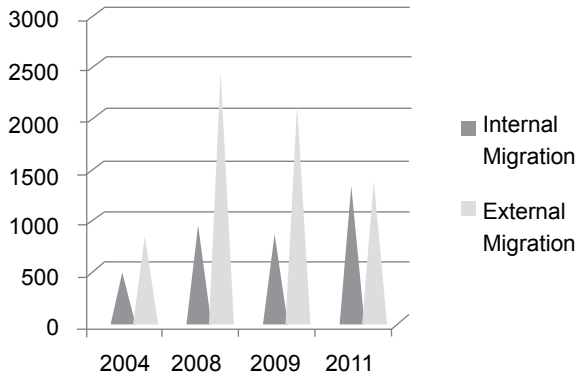


Figure 2: Source<sup>10</sup>: Derzhavna Slujhba Statyky Ukrainy, 2001

This internally led to the territory suffers poor and corrupt governance, unresolved economic and social problems and increased tensions in relations between the Slavic majority and the Tatar minority and externally, expansion of Russia's influence. There is an ethnically Russian majority and the Russian Fleet is stationed at Sevastopol harbour. However, in 1997, the conflict over Black Sea Fleet and the important naval base at Sevastopol in Crimea was settled.

The focus is also on the educational institutions of Crimean Tatars, which were destroyed and books and literature were burnt. Today, in the region of approximately 260 thousand Crimean Tatars, there is lack of schools in Tatar language. While Crimean Tatars were forced to live in a concentration camp during 1944-56, they got only primary education in Russian, Uzbek and Tazik language, and not in Crimean Tatar language. The period 1960-80 was a little liberal when Crimean Tatars could get middle and higher education. In an attempt to cope with the progress of other ethnic groups and provide better living, specially education and culture sector, the response of Ukrainian Government on restoration of cultural institutions and religious institutions of Crimean Tatars appears to be too slow. As far as the print media is concerned, the survey reports show that while there are 987 Russian-language printed media in Crimea, there are only five published in Ukrainian and only four in Crimean Tatar.

### Historical Background

For the comprehensive analysis of the potential threat the regional dimensions require some of the historical details. In 1944, about 2,00,000 of Crimean Tatars, the indigenous population of Crimea, were deported by the unlawful decision of Joseph Stalin on the accusation of collaboration with the fascists along with some 38 thousand representatives of other ethnic minorities of Crimea; Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks were also deported on the same accusations. In 1941, around 51,000 Germans were deported from Crimea. These peoples lived in exile until 1956, when



repressions against them were recognised illegal, and they were allowed to leave the place of deportation. However, Crimean Tatars as a people were not allowed to return to their homeland, and were forced to live and settle anywhere but not in the Crimea. Approximately thirty three years later on November 14, 1989, the Declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR 'on Recognition as Illegal and Criminal Forced Deportation and Repressive Measures against Displaced Peoples and Provisions for Their Rights', restored the rights of all the deported peoples. This declaration initiated the process of repatriation of Crimean Tatars to their homeland 'Crimea'.

As far as the origin of Crimean Tatar<sup>11</sup> community is concerned, the ancient records of history of Crimean peninsula reveals that it has been ruled by an array of rulers belonging to various empires - the Cimmerians, Greeks, Scythians, Goths, Huns, Bulgars, Kievan Rus', Ottoman, Golden Horde, Mongols, etc. at various times. Therefore, it is difficult to deny that they must have had an impact on the formation of ethnic group 'Crimean Tatars'. Crimean Tatars, the ethnic minority who make up about 13 per cent of the population, existed in Crimea during Crimean Khanate.

According to A.G. Gertsen,<sup>12</sup> the name Crimean Tatar require historical explanation of 'Tatars' beginning from the period of Golden Horde (1224-66) in order to understand a clear cut difference between the two. There is no basis for simplified analysis of the ethnonym and on that correlate the ethno-genesis of Tatars of Eastern Europe with ancient Mongol population. (Gertsen 2010: 228) This argument is being supported by many contemporary scholars. Crimean peninsula was part of Genghis Kan's empire, which was divided into three major sub groups: Mongolian (Mongol and Kidan), Turkic (Turkic and Uigurs), and Tunguso-manjurs (Tanguri and Cjhurjhani) with the majority speaking in Turkic (Gertsen 2010:229). Crimean Tatars also considered that they are the original Turkic people.

With the aim of strengthening the empire towards the end of 1222, the troops of Alan and Kipchak were united, whereas the Mongols could split the union on the grounds of commonness of Mongols and Turkish people. The Alans were a group of Sarmatian tribes whose first reference is made in First millennium AD – they appeared in northern Caucasus and from there to Crimea. They spoke in Eastern Iranian language, a derivative of Scytho – Sarmatian. They got settled in south-west Crimea; also partly in south-east part of the peninsula. According to Prof. Khrapunov, by the 16th century, Crimea must have been the part of ethno-genesis of Crimean Tatars. (Khrapunov 2010:95)

Hence, as per the sources available, the history of ethnic groups in Crimean peninsula consisted of widely different ethno-cultural groups, which have gone through a peaceful cultural assimilation process. There have been marriages between people belonging to different communities. It also important to note that at all levels these tribes did have a well developed system of community norms and local self government.

Thus, the history of the first habitants (Neandertalsti) in Crimea begins approximately 100-150 thousand years back, who came from the heart of present Ukraine. All these tribes and communities have been the outcome of 'fusion of cultures' by means of peaceful and coercive efforts of varied empires. The Greek historian Herodotus did mention about

Cimmerians in northern bank of Black Sea. According to V. Vlasov, the geographical names of ‘oblasts Kimmeria, Bospor Kimmeriiskiy’ (Kerch Strait), the city ‘Kimmerik’ and mountain ‘Kimmeriy’ do reflect upon their connection. (Khrapunov 2010: 8) The Tauri, offshoot of the Cimmerians, were settled in Taurica (ancient name for Crimea) approximately around 6 to 7 century BC.

### **Islam in Crimea Today**

Return of the Crimean Tatars started the process of restoration of political, cultural and spiritual life of people. Undoubtedly, along with other social structures which Crimean Tatars had, the religious renaissance occupies an important position in ascertaining Crimean Tatar ‘identity’ today.

Since long, the Crimean Tatar had a traditional system of self-government called the Kurultay (the National Assembly of Crimean Tatar people). The Kurultay<sup>13</sup> elects the Medjhlis<sup>14</sup> as the executive body of the Kurultay. Since 1991, when the Medjhlis was founded and national sovereignty declared, its leader has been the well-known Soviet dissident Mustafa Djemilev.<sup>15</sup> Presently in Ukraine, there are four spiritual centres out of which one is the centre for Crimea (ДЮМК).

As per the survey done by E.C. Muratova,<sup>16</sup> about 25.7 per cent support the activities of Medjhlis as it is a representative body of people; however, 51 per cent selectively support the decision taken by Medjhlis. It is to be noted that the Medjhlis is not a political party. Though its main task is associated with the spiritual and cultural life of the Muslim community at the time of electoral process, it aligns itself with some or the other political party and recommends Crimean Tatars to vote accordingly. However, as has already been shown by the survey reports of E. Muratova, their decision is not binding.

As far as the policies of Ukrainian Government towards Islam are concerned, the constitution of Ukraine contains that no religion can be State religion or compulsory. All religious organisations are separate from state and equal before law.

*Article 11. The State shall promote the consolidation and development of the Ukrainian nation, its historical consciousness, traditions, and culture, as well as development of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious identity of all indigenous peoples and national minorities of Ukraine.<sup>17</sup>*

Though these clauses are foundational in nature, they could not foresee the reality of formation of diverse religious relations in Ukraine.<sup>18</sup> At the policy levels, the Crimean Tatars have a prominent place. Several amendments were made to simplify some of the legal processes for formerly deported people. Various numbers of institutions including governmental and non-governmental organisation have come up which are involved in addressing the integration of returnee.<sup>19</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Representation of the Crimean Tatar in the parliamentary election of 1998 for the

first time at the national level by Mustafa Dzhemilev, the head of the Crimean Tatar Medjhlis, was one of the positive steps towards political integration of Crimea into Ukraine. Nevertheless, the cultural integration of Crimean Tatar communities in Ukrainian society is of significance. Research scholars of Simferopol<sup>20</sup> noted with deep pain that despite the 1944s' deportation and humiliation, they are struggling to prove that they are indigenous people of Crimea and not offshoots of Tatars, who came during Mongol-Tatars attack. However, many historians and researchers do consider the Crimean Tatars as the indigenous ethnic group of Crimea.

The majority of researches and discourses with regard to situation in Crimea also specify the need to work out a more comprehensive and detailed understanding for carrying out the relationship between the Ukrainian Government and Islamic community. Deputy Secretary of the National Institute of Strategic Research, Vyacheslav Shved,<sup>21</sup> has drawn attention of the State on some critical issues. Among them, the first and most important is providing socio-political stability for Muslims, and not tolerate the transformation of Islamic Factor as destabilising force in Ukrainian society or its uses by internal or external forces in the destructive plans. The other major aspect is to work out a model with which it will be simpler to integrate the Crimean Tatars in the Ukrainian society.

Thus, the major objection from the point of view of Crimean Tatars as described by Professor Memetov of Crimean Tatar language in Tavrida State University is: It is not only to reclaim the territories belonging to ancestors but also to gain their recognition as well as political and economic rights. Thought at the policy level the special consideration was being given to Crimean Tatars, however it in practice there were differences. There are still a large number of people who do not have shelter. In an attempt to restore Crimean Tatar culture and tradition, the international funding agencies are also involved; however, they all do have their own vested interests. Thus, it is very difficult to identify whether they are for promoting and restoration of the Crimean culture. In spite of deep-rooted cultural differences, economic and political unrest, there is a strong desire among all the communities residing in Crimea for peaceful coexistence.

## Notes

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  13. Kurultay (Курултай) – is a body of national representation of Muslim community, national congress of the nobility for the decision of the major policy questions.
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  18. Elmira Muratova, *Islam*, p. 165.
  19. In her article Milana Nikolko highlights some amendments in the law on Ukrainian Citizenship to simplify the process of obtaining Ukrainian citizenship for formerly deported individuals, several draft laws were submitted for the consideration of parliament. Among them was *The Law on the Status of Crimean Tatar Peoples* and *The Law on Rehabilitation and Provision of Rights of National Minorities Who Were Discriminated Against and Deported from the Territory of Ukraine*, p. 378
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### 3 ■ Human Resources Management System in Oil and Gas Industry of Kazakhstan

*Senyngul Dossova*

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#### **Introduction**

Today's economic environment is dynamic, and stability today may become an uncertainty tomorrow. Facing this situation, companies need to manage effectively all resources. Traditionally, product technology and process, accessible capital sources, finance and so on, were essential to win the game; however, at present, these kinds of resources, suggested by Pfeffer (1994), fail to fulfil their roles to defeat competitors. The decreased vitality of those resources has drawn practitioners and academics' attentions to explore other types of assets which can capture and retain competitive advantage and at the same time, are not easily imitated and copied by competitors (Barney 1991). The question of the kind of asset that can provide sustainability, competitive advantage, and superior performance has been asked and discussed among managers and scholars over the past decades. As a result, the finding of human resources as a valuable intangible asset of an organisation was the unequivocal answer to clarify all doubts on how organisations could compete in the market, achieve superior performance, realise competitive advantage, and improve organisational performance over a very long time.

Nowadays, the whole world recognises that human resources are vital to achieve success in the most effective and efficient ways. Only a small number of firms are able to elicit the hidden power of human resources and bring them into use to become leaders in the markets (Sang 2005). The first formal human resource function and department were initiated since the 1920s (Ferris, Hochwater, Buckley, Cook and Frink 1999). Traditionally, HRM function was considered by managers as a tool to deal with staff function, record keeping and file maintaining for organisations. However, the HRM function has evolved into being strategic partner, sharing ideas, perspective, and resources with marketing, finance, and accounting departments (Schuler and MacMillan 1984; Ulrich 1987; Dulebohn, Ferris and Stodd 1995; Barney and Wright 1998). A number of researchers found a link to HRM practices with some influential variables seeming to increase firm performance. For example, Youndt, Snell and Lepak (1996) found that business strategy and HRM practices interaction is an important factor in organisational effectiveness. Richard and Johnson (2001) conducted a study to understand the impact of human resource diversity practices on firm performance. They employed business strategy as a contingent factor and found that business strategy moderates the relationship between human resource practices and firm performance. Chow (2006) mentioned that business strategies, paired up with appropriate HRM practices, will have a positive effect on firm performance.

The primary objective of this article is to analyse integrating HRM practices in National Company 'KazMunayGas' Joint Stock Company (NC KMG JMC) and compare with the benchmark models proposed in the literature.

Oil and Gas industry of Kazakhstan has long been regarded as a symbol of national strength. Since the Oil and Gas industry is closely related to economic stability and national development, it can be considered as a national strategic industry of Kazakhstan. Furthermore, 'KMG' improved the financial performance of its production activities in 2010. The volume of oil and gas-condensate production amounted to almost 22 million tons. The company's share in the country's liquid hydrocarbons production volume grew to 28 per cent. The company's total profit rose almost threefold, the financial soundness improved. The company remains one of the principle sources for recharging the state budget. The 'KMG' group of companies accounts for 2.9 billion dollars in taxes and payments to the budget of the republic. This is a quarter of the state budget revenues and almost a third of all tax revenues of the budget. The National Fund of the republic is 70 per cent formed using the receipts from the group.

## **Theoretical Background**

### ***HRM practices***

The influence of HRM on organisational outcomes has become an important topic of research starting in the 1990s. Laka-Mathebula (2004) has mentioned that HRM attaches importance to the motivational aspect of organisational practices in the development and best utilisation of human resources. Thus, she defines HRM as an integrated strategy and planned development process for effective utilisation of human resources for the achievement of organisational objectives. Mondy, Noe and Premeaux (2002) defined HRM as the utilisation of individuals to achieve organisational objectives. HRM involves the development of an individual's abilities and attitudes in such a way that the individual is able to grow personally and contribute towards organisational interests. Noe, Hollenbeck, Gerhart and Wright (2006) defined HRM as referring to the policies, practices, and systems that influence employees' behaviour, attitudes and performance.

However, the important thing is to define the boundary of HRM practices. Hornsby and Kuratko (2003) defined HRM practices in five major areas: job analysis and description, recruiting and selection, training, performance appraisal and compensation.

Huselid (1995) defined HRM practices as employee recruitment and selection procedures, compensation and performance management systems, employee involvement, and employee training. Jeffrey and Donald (2003) viewed HRM practices as job analysis, recruitment, selection, compensation, benefits, incentive, performance appraisal and training. Mondy et al. (2002) thought the practices of HRM include five basic functions, including staffing, human resource development, compensation and benefits, safety and health, employee and labour relations and so on.

Pawan (2000) identified HRM practices as pay and reward, recruitment and selection, training and development, health and safety, and work expansion or reduction. Pfeffer (1994) proposed sixteen most effective practices for managing people. Delery and Doty (1996) shortened the list to seven: internal career opportunities, formal training systems, appraisal measures, profit sharing, employment security, voice mechanisms, and job definition. These researchers speculate that some HRM practices will be better than other practices and that these 'best practices' should be adopted by all firms. Pfeffer (1994) proposed that use of 16 management practices, then latter reduced the list to seven: employment security; selective hiring of new personnel; self-managed teams and decentralisation of decision making as the basic principles of organisational design; comparatively high compensation contingent on organisational performance; extensive training; reduced status distinctions and barriers, including dress, language, office arrangements, and wage differences across levels; extensive sharing of financial and performance information throughout the organisation (Pfeffer, 1998, p. 96).

Similarly, Osterman (1994) argued that a number of innovative work practices, such as teams, job rotation, quality circles, and total quality management, result in productivity gains for all organisations (in Delery and Doty, 1996). Pfeffer and Osterman have labelled those practices that have been previously discussed as 'high performance work practices,' or 'best practices'.

In summation, the HRM literature emphasises the importance of human capital in enhancing firm performance or even creating competitive advantage.

From the above discussion, this article suggests six key HRM practices that are likely to be positively associated with firm performance, product quality, production cost, product delivery, and production flexibility. The six HRM practices are training and development, recruitment and selection, compensation/incentives, HR planning, performance appraisal, and health and safety.

Training and development refers to the amount of formal training given to employees. Organisations can provide extensive formal training or rely on acquiring skills through selection and socialisation. Training is targeted on skill development, whether technical, clinical or soft skills such as team working, leadership and interviewing (Delery and Doty 1996). According to Harel and Tzafir (1999), training can influence performance in two ways: first, training improves relevant skills and abilities; and second, training increases employees' satisfaction with their current job and workplace. Training can consist of on-job training, off-job training, formal training, skill training, cross-functional training, team training, literacy training and so on (Gomer-Mejia, Balkin and Cardy 2004).

Compensation or incentive is contingent on performance (e.g., individual or group incentive pay). One of the primary means organisations use to enhance employee motivation is providing performance-contingent incentive compensation to align employee and shareholder interests (Delaney and Huselid 1996). According to Gomer-Mejia et al. (2004), there are three kinds of compensation plan – (1) base-compensation (fixed pay to employees); (2) pay incentives (bonuses and profit sharing), (3) indirect

compensation (health insurance, vacation, unemployment compensation). Normally, compensation is based on two categories of incentives – financial and non-financial.

HR planning includes the forecasts of personnel requirements, the budget on selection staff, the numbers of people involved in selection, and structured and standardised interviews (Chang and Chen 2002). Firms need to predict the supply of labour required to meet the future demand. According to Sang (2005) and Schuler and MacMillan (1984), firms have to take the following things into consideration: (1) What is the rate of availability of a future workforce? (2) Are there enough potential young workers in the labour market for the next two years or five years? (3) What is the level of education of those potential workers? (4) Do firms need to help invest in the educational system to help upgrade education of the potential workers or not?

Performance appraisal is used to evaluate employee performance. The purpose of performance appraisal is to improve goal setting and feedback processes in order that employees can direct, correct and improve their performance. It can be based on results or behaviour. Considerable evidence shows that the extent and sophistication of appraisal are linked to changes in individual performance (Fletcher and Williams 1985). According to Sang (2005), performance appraisal helps the top level of management to clarify and communicate organisational objectives and expectations to internal employees, and helps them understand the capability of its own workforce. Gomer-Mejia et al. (2004) have mentioned that performance appraisal system can be used for administrative purposes which are related to employee's work conditions, including promotion, termination and rewards. However, some scholars and managers argued that performance appraisal brings demoralisation to a workplace and low productive rate, and should be eliminated from practices (Williams 1997). Thus, some firms adopt performance appraisal in a careful way.

### **Integrated HRM Practices of 'KMG'**

Today, 'KMG' is the owner of 44 Oil and Gas onshore fields in Mangistau and Atyrau regions. Total fields area is 837.4 sq km. The production divisions of the company have been in operation for more than 90 years, and their specialists have deep knowledge and solid experience. 'KMG' provides 65 per cent of oil transportation, 100 per cent of gas transportation, 50 per cent of tanker transportation, carried out on the territory of Kazakhstan. Pipeline Oil transport is performed by 'KazTransOil' JSC, gas transport – by 'KazTransGas' JSC, tanker transportation is carried out by 'National Maritime Shipping Company 'KazMorTransFlot' JSC. The company runs main refineries in Kazakhstan ('Atyrau Refinery' LLP; PetroKazakhstan Oil Products' LLP; 'Pavlodar petrochemical plant' JSC), and owns refineries in Romania. 'KMG' sells oil and products of oil and gas refining, protects interests of the state in the export policy in trading these products.

### **Brief historical review**

At the end of 1991, alongside with general changes in the structure of the state management of the republic, transformations took place in the management of



Kazakhstan's energy sector. The industry has passed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of energy and electrification of the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK) and the State committee of the RK on geology and subsoil protection. It was obvious at the beginning of the 1990s that great discoveries capable of the dramatic increasing of the amount of prepared oil and gas reserves in the republic are possible only with the development of Caspian Sea water area. During the Soviet period, this territory had been covered twice with marine geophysical investigations. At the time of sea surface reduction due to the fall of stage, at the areas opened from sea water the search and detailed geophysical works were conducted. Land geophysical investigations at the significant part of the sea territory, occupied with shallow water, were conducted. By complex result interpretation of these investigations the large-scale structures were determined, what corresponds with the contour of present Karashagan, Central, Kurmangazin, South-Ghambai structure groups. For the first time they were reflected on the summary structure map of Caspian depression on the reflecting surface P2, drawn in 'Kazgeofizika' association at the end of the 1980s.

In 1993, these maps were improved and issued in the form of an Atlas together with French company CGG. In the explanatory note to the Atlas the high prospects of marked structures were made. The Atlas of maps was approved by the Ministry of Geology of RK, further copied and sold to the foreign petroleum companies, including JSC 'Kazakhstankaspiyshelf' intended to work in Kazakhstan. In 1988-89, these materials were considered in the USSR Gosplan and the whole region was referred to the area of the USSR strategic reserves. On December 1992, Kazakhstan announced to the world about the intention to conduct search works on Caspian Sea. At the second half of this year the group of Kazakhstania specialists developed 'The State programme of the development of Kazakhstan sector of Caspian sea'. By the Resolution of the Government of RK No. 97 of 13 February 1993 the state company 'Kazakhstankaspiyshelf' was established for the realisation of the work programme of the geological and geophysical investigation and oil-gas fields' development in Caspian water area. On December 03, 1993 the Government of RK signed the international agreement with foreign companies SHELL (Holland), STATOIL (Norway), MOBIL (the USA), BP (England), TOTAL (France), AGIP (Italy) on the creation of the international consortium, where SC 'Kazakhstankaspiyshelf' was the operator, and G.N. Marabaev was appointed as the consortium director. In 1994-96, on the water area of more than 100 thousand sq km seismic, ecological, infrastructure and other researches were conducted. Seismic works investigated the regional structure of Kazakhstan Caspian sector, determined high quantity of local traps, including Kashagan, Kurmangazy, Kalamkas-sea and others, some of them were detailed for the installation of prospect drilling. In 1997, the Kazakhstan Government signed with the Consortium OKIOC the Agreement on the production division (APD), and in 1999, the prospect drilling began. On July 2000, the Consortium announced about the oil discovery at East Kashagan in the well No. 1. It was the exact moment, when holding the capsule with oil from this well, the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev said: Today is the happy day for Kazakhstan

people. The oil discovery at Kashagan is a great help for our independence, for the further prosperity, the improvement of our people's live. Great hopes of Kazakhstan people have realised. After East Kashagan the deposits West Kashagan, Kalamkas-sea, Kairan, Aktoty and South-West Kashagan were discovered, and in Russian sector – Shirotnoe and Khvalynskoe. The discovery of Kashagan deposit allowed increasing of oil reserves on 35 per cent. First oil of Kashagan shall be received in 2008. At the present time at Kashagan and a number of other deposits of Caspian Sea, preliminary and prospecting works are performed.

### **Human Resources Policy of KMG**

The main value of 'KMG' is its personnel working in different places of Kazakhstan, as well as in near and far abroad throughout the world. To date, the total number of personnel, including those with subsidiaries, exceeds 64 thousand people. The 2011-15 Human The resource Policy of 'KMG' was developed in accordance with the Long-Term Strategy of 'KMG' and provisions of the 2010-20 Human Resource Policy for the Group of Companies of the NWF Samruk Kazyna JSC. The Policy outlines main areas and approaches of HR management for the implementation of the mission and strategic goals declared by KMG.

The main goal of 'KMG' Human Resource Policy is to improve the efficiency of human resource management through the establishment of an integrated system of human resource management focused on making the maximum profit and ensuring leadership in the competitive environment, based on economic incentives and social guarantees, and facilitating the balanced recognition of employer and employee interests, and development of relations between them to the benefit of the Company. 'KMG' not only sets tasks for its employees, but also creates conditions for them to improve their professional expertise and skills, develop their professional and creative abilities, build up personal potential and have carrier growth prospects. The basis for successful activity of 'KMG' are the corporate values and standards that are designed to provide trust and respect to business community, partners, representatives of the government and all those on whom the success and prosperity of 'KMG' are depended. They cause a sense of pride to workers of 'KMG' and desire to achieve the best results at their work. Honesty and impartiality are the basis of KMG activity and business reputation.

KMG tolerates no conflict between personal and professional interests. Deception, concealment and false statements are incompatible with the status of a 'KMG' officer or an employee. Responsibility is the guarantee of KMG performance quality. 'KMG' bears responsibility in accordance with its commitments, legislative requirements, contractual obligations, and normal business practices, moral and ethical principles. 'KMG' realises its social responsibility to the state and society. KMG employees and partners have the right for honest and fair treatment, irrespective of their race, language, political and religious beliefs, sex, nationality and cultural association. The integrated HRM system of 'KMG' consists from six basic functions – employees' training and development, employees, career development, performance appraisal, compensation, recruitment and selection, and HR planning.

### **Employees' Training and Development**

Training is the process of making proficient through instruction and hands-on practice that is expected to be used in the performance of assigned duties (Goldstein 1993). Research on employee training has stressed the impact of training on different types of outcomes. A popular distinction in what training may contribute is made in the four-level model of Kirkpatrick (1998). This model distinguishes (1) reaction criteria that represent attitudinal and affective responses to the training; (2) learning criteria, learning outcomes of the training without reference to the performance for which the training was meant; (3) behavioural criteria, actual on-the-job performance, and (4) results criteria, distal and macro criteria that relate to productivity and profits. Training can be beneficial to organisations but, in practice, obstacles in the implementation may lead to diminished outcomes. Although investment in training might be a wise decision, it may not necessarily lead to improved productivity. For example, in a survey on the impact of human capital investment on business productivity, Lynch and Black (1995) found that the number of employees trained did not have a substantial impact on productivity. There may be many reasons to engage in training programmes, and not all may be expected to lead to improvement of organisational output.

The purpose of 'KMG' personnel training and development is to build and maintain the required level of professional expertise in a view of the requirements and prospects of 'KMG' strategic development. The training costs are long-term investments in the development of 'KMG' human resources. The 'KMG' objectives in the area of personnel training and development are:

- Develop and implement the training system that includes identifying of training needs, training planning and budgeting, organisation and control of training efficiency
- Establish corporate training in accordance with the specifics of KMG business processes
- Develop corporate training standards
- Use the best world experience, knowledge and good practices of labour organisation in the process of personnel training and development
- Ensure general development of personnel in the training process: establish the institute of internal coaching, mentoring, development of managerial personnel pool, enhancement of corporate culture
- Motivation of employees to improve work efficiency

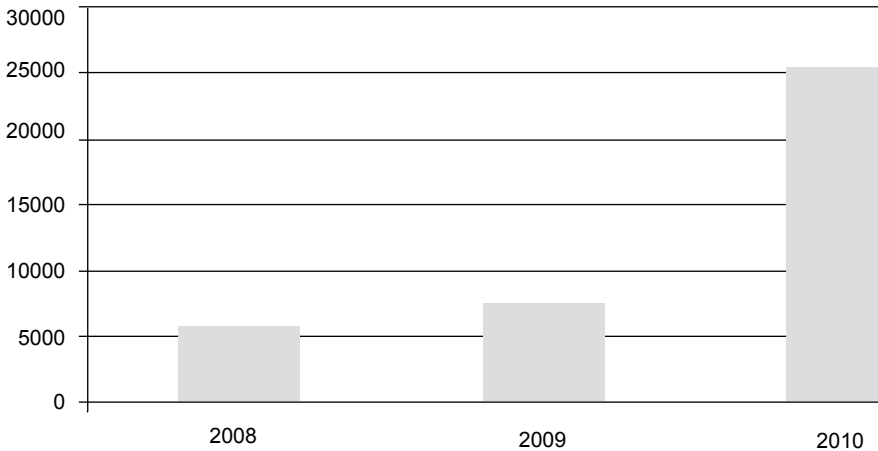
The principles on which the training and development of KMG personnel is based on are:

- Systemic – all elements of the professional training system and professional development shall be subordinate to the 'KMG' strategic goal.
- Dynamism and flexibility – any adjustment of 'KMG' goals and objectives shall result in the change of training goals, topics, priorities, methods and forms.
- Regularity and continuity – training and development shall not be occasional, but systematic and well planned.

- Effectiveness – training and development shall be accompanied with clear and measurable criteria for assessment of achieved results.
- Practical orientation – training and development shall be, primarily, oriented on growing professional expertise and business skills.
- Joint responsibility – an employee, who takes the training course, a coach (teacher), a head of a respective structural subdivision and HR Department shall be jointly responsible for the training effectiveness.

‘KMG’ pays special attention to the issues of training and human resource development. For the development of the corporate training, the Company uses the resources of training centres of the ‘KMG’ group of companies and collaborates with long-term partners for joint development of human resources. A set of actions, aimed at acquisition of knowledge and skills by the employees of the ‘KMG’ Group of companies, instead of the traditional individual training, has made it possible to train 25,494 people for the total amount of 22,98,205 thousand tenges, with the average cost of training amounting to 90,146 tenges 91 tiyns (see Figure 1).

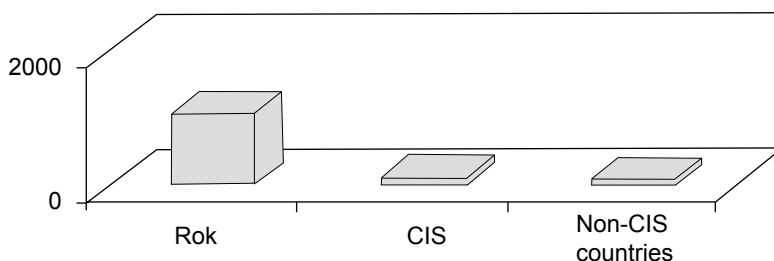
**Fig 1: Number of KMG Group of Companies Employees Trained (persons)**



Source: annual report of JS NC KMG, 2010

In addition, in 2010 trainings for the employees of the ‘KMG’ group of companies were held mainly on the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the purposes of the Kazakhstan content development in the services purchased and support to the domestic training suppliers. Workshops and courses in the engineering specialties in the absence of similar offers from the domestic suppliers, programmes for the development of the succession pool and discharge of obligations on long-term agreement were an exception.

**Fig 2: Number of Training Events on the Territory of Rok, CIS and non-CIS countries (2010)**



Source: annual report of JS NC KMG, 2010

The majority of the training activities were designed for the operational personnel – 64 per cent of the total number. The capabilities of such corporate training centres as Educational and Courses Centre of ‘Intergas Central Asia’, Training Centre of the ‘OzenMunayGas’ PB and LLP ‘Embaakuortalygy’ were used for re-training and development of competence of the operation personnel.

A significant assistance to the solution of this issue is provided by PE ‘Corporate University ‘Samruk-Kazyna’ (earlier named PE ‘Unified Human Resource Development Centre’), which organises training for the employees of the ‘KMG’ group of companies, and develops its own training programmes both for ‘KMG’, and other national companies, which are part of JSC NWF ‘Samruk-Kazyna’. Development of universal curricula, especially related to managerial skills, allows forming unified requirements towards the knowledge and skills of the administrative and managerial personnel, as well as engineers and technology employees.

Overall, we expected training to have a positive effect on organisational effectiveness because raising the level of and range of workers’ competencies would imply a broader repertoire of behaviour that may be used in the organisation to improve performance. A substantial number of studies indicate a positive relationship between HR interventions and organisation level performance (Holzer, Block, Cheatham and Knott, 1993; Huselid 1995; Blundell, Dearden, Meghir and Sianesi 1999; Bartel 2000; Gmu.r and Schwerdt 2005; Wright, Gardner, Moynihan and Allen 2005). The above studies indicate that the effects of training on organisation productivity and profitability are less well researched than those examining the effect of training on trainees’ attributes (such as wages or mobility).

As it was mentioned above, the total investment of KMG in employees’ training and development programmes in 2010 was 22,98,205 thousand tenges. The total amount of trained employees was 25,494 people, that 300 per cent above number of people how were trained in the year 2009. Now let’s examine the key financial and performance indicators of KMG for the last 3 years.

**Table 1 Key Financial Indicators**

<i>KZT mn</i>	<b>2010 2009</b>		<b>2008</b>	<b>2010 / 2009</b>
<b>Total income</b> <i>including:</i>	22,52,197	19,55,526	20,22,475	15%
Income from sales of goods and rendering services	20,98,942	15,89,549	18,85,606	32%
<b>Total expenses</b> <i>including:</i>	20,65,663	17,65,068	16,78,475	17%
Cost price of sold products and rendered services	14,09,001	10,50,463	11,99,360	34%
<b>Corporate income tax expenses</b> <i>(including sales tax)</i>	1,32,675	1,78,603	2,00,287	74%
<b>Total profit</b>	3,05,309	1,10,904	2,98,291	275%

(Source: annual report of JS NC KMG, 2010)

In 2010, The total income was 22,52,197 mn KZT and total profit 305 309 mn TKZ, that indicates 275 per cent increase against 2009. In spite of many opponents can argue that it could be direct correlation between investment in training and total company's profit, we can conclude that the rise of KMG's productivity and profitability in some sense is the result of its HR policy, specifically its training programmes.

### **Career Development**

Besides systematic implementation of short-term training and retraining programmes, a constant work is done on training the succession pool for managerial positions. For this purpose, such methods of human resource development as secondment and traineeship are actively used. Employees are seconded under the projects which are jointly implemented with international partners (Tengizchevroil) and to the newly created structures and operating companies (Kazakhoil-Aktobe, CPC and others). Every year, under the partnership on these projects, as well as within the framework of the relations established with oil companies in foreign countries (JCCP, JOGMEC, Chevron, etc.), employees are sent for traineeship to international offices of the partner companies for the exchange of experience with the leading oil and gas companies. The employees, who are sent for secondment or traineeship, enjoy the possibility to learn the experience of the leading oil and gas companies. The Company continually works on establishing the HR Pool of managerial and administrative positions of KMG Group from specialists of KMG Group motivated to carrier growth with a high level of professional expertise and managerial competency. The candidates for enrolment to the HR Pool undergo through the selection process of two stages – (1) tests of employee skills on analysing numeric and verbal information and

writing an essay, and (2) assessment of business and leadership competencies by the assessment centre. Based on the test results the individual carrier development plans for improvement of professional knowledge and managerial competencies are worked out for the employees enrolled in the HR Pool. At the same time, the regulations on the Integrated HR Pool for KMG Group are being developed to ensure continuity in appointment on the key positions of the company. The work is continuing on forming the Common Administrative Succession Pool for the KMG group of companies applying up-to-date methods of assessment of the nominees by means of staged selection (testing, essay analysis, assessment centre). An individual career plan is developed for each employee enrolled on the administrative succession pool for gradual preparation of the succession candidate to the assignment to a key executive position within the KMG Group of companies. At the same time, as part of the project, NWF 'Samruk-Kazyna' is forming a management candidates' pool for the development of succession plans for occupation of the key management positions within the group of companies of the 'Samruk-Kazyna' Holding Company.

### **Performance Appraisal**

Performance appraisal (PA) is among the most important Human Resource practices (Boswell and Boudreau, 2002; Judge and Ferris, 1993). PA has increasingly become part of a more strategic approach to integrating HR activities and business policies and may now be seen as a generic term covering a variety of activities through which organisations seek to assess employees and develop their competence, enhance performance and distribute rewards (Fletcher, 2001). Thus, both practice and research have moved away from a narrow focus on psychometric and evaluation issues to developmental PA (e.g., Fletcher, 2001; Lefkowitz, 2000; Levy and Williams, 2004; Waal, 2003), which may be defined as any effort concerned with enriching attitudes, experiences, and skills that improves the effectiveness of employees (Boswell and Boudreau, 2002). Performance appraisal can be defined as a periodic evaluation of the output of an individual measured against certain expectations (Yong, 1996, cited in Rusli and Nur Azman, 2004). The process involves observing and evaluating employees' performance in the workplace in relation to pre-set standards.

Conventional approaches to performance appraisal treated it as a measurement exercise, while more contemporary approaches are more concerned with information processing within the performance appraisal decision-making process (Rusli and Nur Azman, 2004).

Performance appraisals are used for a number of reasons and can have a significant impact on salary administration, performance feedback, promotions, training, development, and identifying an individual's strength and weaknesses. Several human resource (HR) scholars suggest the importance of performance appraisal in providing backup information for management decisions when salary rises, transfers or corrective actions are called into question. According to Smith and Rupp (2003) performance appraisals can be a critical part of a company's success because they allow the company to retain and reward high performers and offer guidance

and improvement to poor performers. As evidenced by a review of the business literature, Drucker (1994) has stated clearly that employees are to be considered as a strategic asset for the organisation, and could determine the organisation's survival. This is a widespread assumption underlying among other topics the whole area of knowledge management (Boisot, 1998). On the other hand, Brumback (1988) suggests that performance appraisals have been used for two primary purposes – (1) to help the managers in making administrative decisions, especially regarding pay and promotions, and (2) to meet developmental objectives, such as coaching staff and assessing their training and development needs. Drawing from the literature review citations, a wider range of other purposes of performance appraisal systems has been suggested (Taylor and O'Driscoll, 1993: 21). These include improving performance, validating personnel selection, facilitating supervisory feedback and control, and providing a platform for organisational diagnosis and development (Jacobs et al., 1980).

The performance appraisal system (PAS) is also important as a management tool to assess employees' efficiency in the workplace (Armstrong and Baron, 1998). According to Rusli and Nur Azman (2004: 49) performance appraisal is also being seen as having direct influence on job satisfaction and motivation of workers.

'KMG' applies a system of performance appraisal oriented on two components to provide comprehensive and objective evaluation and rational management of personnel efficiency:

- Management by Objective that is the system of quarterly assessment of progress and quality of objectives achieved by an employee. Based on the assessment results a bonus is paid as per the differential scale of ratings and ratios.
- Competency Assessment that is the system of annual assessment of performance as per the indicators set out for the achievement of objectives by the most acceptable way. Based on the results the decisions are made on further professional development of an employee (enrolment in the Human Resource Pull, sending for training, promotion, etc.). Annually according to the assessment results the employees make up their individual development plans, which include trainings necessary to achieve the goals assigned. Along with the assessment system of the KMG personnel there is an appraisal system of the human resources to define the employees' compliance with their positions. The personnel appraisal is carried out not more than 1 time in 3 years by testing the employees in their professional area. At the moment the assessment system of personnel is transmitted to the 'KMG' subsidiaries so as to create a unified corporate approach that will allow facilitating adaptation of employees in case of their transition inside the 'KMG' group and to create transparent and objective conditions for professional growth of the employees.

### **Compensation System**

As in any other activity, the design of the compensation plan is an important element to be taken into account within the human resources management of the firm.



These plans should be stimulating, flexible, easy to understand and administer, fair, competitive and guarantee the security of the employee. According to the literature, the employee compensation plan (Darmon 1974; Sharma and Sarel 1995, Barkema and Gomez-Mejfa 1998) has the following main functions: to remunerate the employee for his work (compensation), to channel his efforts towards a variety of activities in accordance with the objectives and priorities of the firm (management and control), and to induce him to dedicate the greatest possible effort to his task (motivation). In this section, we will discuss the most relevant aspects of 'KMG' compensation policy.

When determining the financial compensation of its employees, the firm must take into account the composition of each one of the different types of plan (Churchill, Ford and Walker 1993). Thus, there could be a fixed part, or basic salary, and a variable part, made-up of commissions and bonuses and also some additional components such as social benefits or expense allowances (Kotler 1994). The fixed part, or basic salary, is a fixed payment made to the employees at pre-determined intervals, and which is guaranteed independently of the result obtained during the period immediately prior to it (John, Weiss and Weitz 1987). This component makes the employee who occupies a specific job feel that he is incorporated into the firm and it tries to satisfy his need to maintain a stable income. Its amount is usually a function of worker's experience and ability, together with the time during which the individual has carried out the task. On the other hand, commissions represent an incentive to stimulate performance. They are defined as a variable payment based on short-term results, generally with reference to sales, performance or profits achieved (Basu, Lai, Srinivasan and Staelinn 1985; John, Weiss and Weitz 1987). These two mechanisms are usually combined, offering remuneration with both a fixed and a variable component, which supposes a tendency that distances itself from the traditional compensation formulas (Basu, Lai, Srinivasan and Staelinn 1985; Churchill, Ford and Walker 1993). One of the main responsibilities of management is to properly motivate its subordinates in such a way that they dedicate a greater effort to achieving the general objectives of the organisation (Churchill, Ford and Walker 1993). Many firms fundamentally depend on the motivation of their employees, and have developed a range of compensation plans to guarantee such motivations.

'KMG' is striving to provide a competitive remuneration and social support system for its employees, making it possible to employ the best specialists in the oil and gas sector with sufficient motivation effect for the increase of labour productivity, enabling to get an objective assessment of contribution made by each employee for the achievement of common goals of the company. In a view of this purpose 'KMG' is working on the establishment and implementation of a single policy in the area of labour remuneration and social support for our employees in all regions where the company operates. The company sets high expectations for its employees, and therefore, the remuneration in 'KMG' directly depends on the result of a personal contribution and performance quality.

## Conclusion

The human resource management strategy of 'KMG' supports innovation management, company's effectiveness and environmental management with the same degree of importance. HRM practices of 'KMG' such as training and development, benefits, career development and performance appraisal have significant effect on employee productivity. All HRM practices help improve firm performance. In order to increase personnel's role in implementation of strategic directions of the Company, 'KMG' has determined integrated policy in human resources management system. HRM is an integrated strategy and planned development process for effective utilisation of human resources for the achievement of organisational objectives.

HRM system of 'KMG' involves the development of an individual's abilities and attitudes in such a way that the individual is able to grow personally and contribute towards organisational interests.

The purpose of 'KMG' personnel training and development is to build and maintain the required level of professional expertise in a view of the requirements and prospects of 'KMG' strategic development. The Company continually works on establishing the HR Pool of managerial and administrative positions of 'KMG' Group from specialists of 'KMG' Group motivated to carrier growth with a high level of professional expertise and managerial competency. 'KMG' applies a system of personnel assessment oriented on two components to provide comprehensive and objective evaluation and rational management of personnel efficiency.

'KMG' compensation system is stimulating, flexible, easy to understand and administer, fair, competitive and guarantees the security of the employee. Its main functions are remunerating an employee for his/her work (compensation), channelling his/her efforts towards a variety of activities in accordance with the objectives and priorities of the firm (management and control), and inducing him/her to dedicate the greatest possible effort to his/her task (motivation). The company sets high expectations for its employees, and therefore, the remuneration in 'KMG' directly depends on the result of a personal contribution and performance quality.

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## 4 ■ Historical Memory and State-Building in Ukraine

*Lesia Parno*

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### **Introduction**

In 2011, Ukraine celebrated 20 years of independence. Heretofore, Ukraine is still in the process of political, social, and economic transformation. As it turned out, the post-Soviet past of Ukraine still has a strong impact on its current development. Inherited practice of taboo on discussion of controversial problems, which were common in the USSR, caused emergence of the social conflicts and difficulties in the transformation process. Still, one of the most crucial questions for Ukraine is revision of its historical heritage.

In the recent years, public interest in historical memory phenomenon on the Post-Soviet space has considerably increased. Due to historical occasion, after the restoration of the national statehood and independence, former Soviet republics have begun the process of rethinking the historical narrative and the search for the national identity.

People were faced with the need to overcome colonial history and cultural heritage, construction of the new system of values, consolidations around the primary tasks of national and state building<sup>1</sup>.

The problems of the historical memory have started to be articulated widely in the public discourse. While progressing nation- and state-building the conflict in the society has been deepening, history becomes an important political factor, and a divergence of political moods – an equivalent of different interpretation of the history.

The analysts notice that the future of the statehood depends on a particular interpretation of the past. The situation becomes complicated, when in the community which represents the people of one country, there are several different models within the meaning of the ‘historical memory’.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, a need to study functioning models of the historical memory has arisen, which were generated in the modern historical mythology and historical consciousness and became the object of research. Scientists are beginning to consider memory ‘as a category of knowledge and oral history as a method of research’.<sup>3</sup>

Within this article, I would argue about some features of the construction of historical memory in modern Ukraine.

### **The Concept of ‘Historical Memory’ in the Context of ‘Memory Policy’**

Speaking about features of the given phenomenon in Ukraine, at first, approaches to the definition of historical memory and its value in the process of the nation-building should be considered.

According to G. Toschenko's definition, the historical memory is a kind of focused consciousness, which reflects the importance and the relevance of information about the past, in close relationship with present and future.<sup>4</sup> It is an expression of process organisation, preservation and reconstruction of the past, the historical experience of people, countries and states, in order to apply it in the activities of people or to influence the social consciousness<sup>5</sup>. 'Fixed in forms of knowledge, cultural stereotypes, symbols, myths, historical memory is unique set of representations of national community about the past' (U. Zerniy)<sup>6</sup>.

German researcher J. Rjuzen considered that historical memory, on the one hand, is a mental ability of the subject to keep memories on the endured experience, which is a basis for the formation of historical consciousness. On the other hand, the result of defined operations on the construction of the meaning and producing of the memories formed during construction of historical consciousness as a result of understanding the historical experience.<sup>7</sup>

Some scientists have criticised the use of the concept and the term 'national historical memory', which activated in social and political lexicon, and is increasingly used in the professional literature, believing that it is extremely unsuccessful and incorrect. For example, researchers such as A. Saveleva and A. Poletaev consider that connection and furthermore understanding of the knowledge about the past with memory in whole is impossible. According to the authors, the term 'historical memory' is an ideological cliché, which symbolises the process of history politicisation. The term 'memory' has been introduced in the history studies due to the attention of the eyewitness of the tragedies of the 20th century – the Holocaust, Stalin's purges, and the genocides. It is noted that the memory is just one of the cognitive system's components and a part of the perception process like learning, processing, and storage and information reproduction. Therefore, in their opinion, the memory corresponds with the knowledge about the past as like as knowledge about the present or future or as like any kind of knowledge.<sup>8</sup>

It should be noted that in studies of the historical memory, there was conventional thought that the memory has become a powerful instrument of the individual and the social consciousness manipulation.<sup>9</sup>

In the process of identifying the mechanisms of representation of past, including the level of the mass consciousness, the attention of researchers was fixed on a political component of this mechanism. The historians-post-modernists have considered memory as a facility of mobilisation of the political power. Focusing on the problem of co-memory narrative manipulation to achieve political goals, influence on consciousness by the state in the process of co-memory is considered to be crucial. Therefore, in the researches devoted to the problems of the historical memory, the most developed issues are about 'memory policy', the study of the role of political project, ordering the formation and consolidation of values, knowledge about the past with a certain socio-political purposes. Analysing specific subjects, the researchers search for an answer to a theoretical question: How social understanding of history and national symbols are formed?<sup>10</sup>

‘The memory policy’ is described as control by elite or dominant group over the understanding of knowledge about the past, which is reached through the interpretation of history, organisation of mass historical education (procurement of textbooks, which describe the official history for educational institutions), museum and archival base organisation, monumental propaganda, literary and art forms, myths construction (celebration of national holidays, symbols, memorials), toponymic names (renaming towns, streets, etc.), the media and others.

According to the researchers, social group or force that enters the public arena usually brings up its own interpretation of the common past, and the memory of a collective group will be established in the social discourse when this team will dominate. For example, polarity of memory policy under the presidency of Leonid Kuchma and Victor Yushchenko proves this.

By not making scrupulous analysis, I will illustrate this difference:

L. Kuchma:

- Initiative of celebration at the state level, 350th anniversary of Treaty of Pereyaslav
- Establishment, by the proposal of Moscow, a working group for revision of history textbooks, written after the collapse of the USSR

Instead, during the presidency of V. Yushchenko:

- The initiative on Baturin’s revival as hetman capital
- Appeal to the world community to recognise the Golodomor of 1932-33 as genocide against Ukrainian nation

During the periods of social transformation, it is needed to ‘saturate’ or ‘clean’ and restore ‘distorted’ historical memory, as well as nostalgia for the ‘unwritten history’ and ‘unendured past’ is observed.<sup>11</sup> The researchers warn about the dangers of using history for the political purposes. For example, a Polish scientist, E. Jedlitsky, describes two situations when using the historical memory may cause maximum pressure and confrontation in society: (1) the sacralisation of certain historical events that would transform into powerful symbols and myths, and (2) a reminder of the massive injustice because of other group or force. The researcher argues that collective memory can be ‘cold’ or ‘hot’. Thus, if the ‘cold’ maintains or preserves the facts, the ‘hot’ produces politically actual version of the past and its further development will depend on the emotional pressure in society.<sup>12</sup>

The reference to the heroic and militant (victorious) history and lack of responsibility for the abuse inflicted on other societies form the so-called memory of war.

The EU also has lots of ‘victorious stories’ constructed as the result of practical attempts to match them and which has developed within the First and Second World Wars.<sup>13</sup> The western countries, as N. Yakovenko marks, began to pass gradually towards the so-called ‘memory of the peace’ with an emphasis on everyday life, diversity and interrelation of cultures, in comparison of different views on the same events, figures, etc.<sup>14</sup>

### **Peculiarities of National Memory Construction in Ukraine**

According to the historical peculiarities of Ukraine's development, the construction of historical memory has its own characteristics. In my opinion, the so-called 'Soviet period' has become the most defining factor for Ukraine.

During the formation of the USSR, the first major attempt to construct new Ukrainian historical memory had taken place. Actually, Ukraine has been paid special attention considering it was the second largest republic of the USSR, and its resource base advanced all parts of the ex-empire. During 1930-50, the single correct interpretation of the model of the Ukrainian past and its adjustment in accordance with party leadership has been developed.

Actually, it meant that the history textbooks, films and arts works were adapted to the demands of the ideological line.<sup>15</sup> Its main characteristic was that Ukrainian history was weaved in common Soviet (Russian) history, which de-facto meant humiliation of the other nations (including Ukrainian) compared to Russian. Among the arguments used by the following history without the union with Russia, Ukraine would have disappeared from the map because of the threats of the Rzech Pospolita, Ottoman Empire and two world wars.

However, the Cossack-peasant revolts and the revolutions did not fit this scheme. As Y. Hrytsak noted, the Soviet regime practiced radical national amnesia. Therefore, the national memory not just deformed but also atrophied.

Another feature of the period is the policy of the political and cultural consolidation. This resulted in an active manipulation of the historical material to provide a unified view of the history. The basic ideology, which functioned in that period were 'gathering lands', 'reunion', 'the brotherly help', and 'friendship of people'. Actually, the last one has the weighty role in mobilisation of the scattered population. Gradually, the Russian identification with the Soviet was introduced. Consequently, the next mythologem was constructed – 'the great Russian people'.

In addition, special attention should be paid to the process of rehabilitation of the national heroes of Ukraine, which occurred partially. For example, if B. Khmelnytsky was represented as a statesman, who had struggled against the Poles, nevertheless the fact of his struggle against Russia was ignored.<sup>16</sup>

The 1960s became known as the 'Thaw-era'. However, despite more or less favorable conditions, Ukrainian historians nevertheless could not construct an alternative scheme of the Ukrainian history. In particular, most researchers tend to explain this in connection with unresolved problems of the Ukrainian elite, which were quite marginalised. The long period of 'cleansings' de-facto destroyed most of the cultural elite, who could act as the engine of transformations. Moreover, the political elite were strictly controlled by the centre.

However, despite the difficult conditions, the formation of the Ukrainian political elite continued. The process of its creation can be divided into the following periods:

- Liquidation of the old political elite
- Creation of the proletarian intelligency, which represented a local and average



link. The top echelon of power was non-Ukrainian or Ukrainian-proletarian (the 1920s)

- Establishment of the Soviet Ukrainian nomenclature, which has been given the communistic ideals and ideology (1930-60)
- Apathy and nomenclature erosion range (1970-80)
- Decline and degradation. The formation of the new elite in an independent state (the 1990s).

If we analyse the social base of the so-called 'new political elite' of the 1990s, we will realise that its 'quality' in particular has not changed in comparison with the Soviet period. The situation has occurred whereas 70-80 per cent of the new elite were representatives of the former nomenclature (so-called 'Group 239'). As a result, a considerable part of the characteristics of the old elite was inspired by the 'new elite'. Among them: lack of skills of the transparent governance, clannishness, technocratic approach, conservatism, etc.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, some Ukrainian scientist (V. Polohalo, O. Dergachov) consider that Ukrainian elite has shifted from communist-nomenclatural totalitarian regime to postcommunist-nomenclatural totalitarian regime. In other words, nothing has changed. The main reason for this is the recruitment of conformists' leaders from the 'old political elite'. The transformation processes in Ukraine were initiated from the 'top', which allowed old elite to re-obtain power.

Another factor which influenced on the formation of political elite is that certain number of people from the scientific, artistic areas and former dissidents has come to power. It was thought that these people would become carriers of new ideas and the driving force for change. However, practice has shown that most of them had quite romantic moods concerning the situation, and were not prepared to offer an accurate strategy of the development, including nation-building. Until 1991, their main purpose was to obtain independence. And when it was fulfilled, it is turned out that the national goal-setting was in vacuum, and it has not been filled yet. It should be noted that most of them have lost their positions in power with the lapse of time.

Nowadays, we can see a clear split between the political elite on key issues: state-building, economic, political and cultural development. The nature of this split is not ideological, rather geopolitical. It lies in the plane of the 'East – West', 'past – future'.

The current situation analysis on issues concerning construction of the historical memory testifies constantly growing politicisation of this segment of public life. The reason for this is not only objective factors (the collapse of communist ideology and declaration of independence have caused naturally shifts of historical past of the Ukrainians) but either subjective factor (ideal interpretation of the past by the various political forces, inclusion of the historical themes in the context of political struggle). The discussions on the evaluation of the important aspects of the historical past of Ukraine grew beyond not only scientific discussions, but also national borders, which results in the purposeful leadership position of Russia concerning the memory policy in Ukraine.

The state policy of historical memory in the unarticulated form has been constructed after the collapse of the USSR and the declaration of Ukrainian independence, and has been patterned according to national content. Traditionally, the memory policy in Ukraine was controlled by the presidents and depended on their personal views. With small differences, the memory policy up to 2005 was carried out consistently, but was characterised by amorphous, ambivalence and had tactical character. It was held in common to achieve the public opinion compromise concerning reconciliation between the nation-state and the Post-Soviet narratives. Regardless the political leaders sought not so much to shape the historical consciousness of the citizens, rather to adapt the memory policy to situational circumstances.

At the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, during the celebration of the anniversaries, holding the co-memorations and formation holidays partial returning to traditions of the Soviet period has occurred. This position allowed to keep the peace in society, but transferred the disputed issues of historical subjects in a latent state, without solving the pressing issues and without breaking off with the Soviet tradition. Even under the conditions of limited democracy, totalitarian methods of historical memory constructing could not work longer. Some progress in this matter was initiated by President L. Kuchma in his book 'Ukraine is not Russia', but it was not a case of complete transformation of the memory policy.

The new stage of the realisation of a historical policy begins since 2005. This period was marked by formation of counter-elite in Ukraine. Aftermath, V. Yushchenko confirmed as chief moderator of the official memory policy. Its intensity, the meaningful content and the methods of work testified radical changes. Positioning to principle and determine actions concerning construction of the collective representations of the past have become one of the reasons for worsening domestic and foreign policy debate around the issues of historical memory.

A tense situation around interpretations of individual plots of the Ukrainian history is not only a result of the struggle of parties with different ideological orientations and different models of state- and nation-building. The public policy is also characterised by lack of the memory integrity. In addition, notable counter-versions of the official co-memory measures appeared in the regional dimension. Moreover, deconsolidation of the politicians concerning the construction of the collective representations of the past in the different branches of power is observed. If number of acts of President of Ukraine aimed on decommunisation of the national memory, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine may act in the opposite direction, taking, for example, a resolution on the 90th anniversary of the Komsomol of Ukraine. In fact, the political discourse characterises by the acute controversy: celebration the 300th anniversary of the Battle of Poltava and the interpretations of events associated with the beginning of the Second World War. Also, there are still ongoing discussion on Golodomor, the activity of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the status of Ukraine within the USSR and others. The multi-vector representation of the history substantially prevents the construction of the national memory. The same as the facts

of an establishment of the monuments to figures Soviet-era collective will disorient collective memory of the Ukrainians, slow down the processes of the nation- and state-building.

Accordingly, such uncertainty and conflictness among the political elites rather transferred to the level of the public. As a result, today we can observe the conventional division between the eastern and the western parts of Ukraine. While the eastern Ukraine remains committed to the Soviet interpretation of the historical processes, the western Ukraine was traditionally set up to review the Soviet ideology and myths. In Ukraine, therefore, the different regional versions of the historical memory are observed. A notable presence in the historical consciousness of the Ukrainian citizens of rudiments of the communist era, which are not just feeding the relay through the generations, but also through well-established examples of the Soviet art and the symbolic space (state holidays, ceremonies, toponymics, monuments), the lack of a holistic vision of the national history, the excessive fragmentation of the collective visions of the history.

Thus, we can state that the unwillingness of the existing political elite to carry out reforms in the socio-political and economic spheres led to limitation their activity to resolving exclusively group, corporate interests. In practical terms, it is manifested by the main task of the representatives of the political elites to obtain victory on the elections. Therefore, the issue of the national historical memory construction, a choice of strategy development was used solely as political manipulations during the elections.

The danger of this situation is that finally, Ukraine may find itself at a deadlock since the current policy leads to:

- disintegration and disorientation of the population that may subsequently lead to the growth and formation of the regional conflicts, rather than national patriotism.
- weakening of the national security. The memory policy should be integrated in the context of the Ukraine's national security. The security component of the historical memory is not sufficient developed by the academics and the experts at the state level. After all, the existing ambivalent state in terms of the internal political strife and external influences national memory weakens their identifying, mobilising and consolidating functions into a factor of disintegration and a potential threat to national security of Ukraine.
- 'exception' of Ukraine from the global historical process. The unclear vision of the matter does not allow determining the civilisational identity of Ukraine. That in turn affects the uncertainty of the international policy of Ukraine.
- unpatriotic public attitudes, lack of feeling of the nation-centred Ukrainian history. The awareness of identity and uniqueness of Ukraine.

## **Conclusion**

It should be noted that Ukraine needs further institutionalisation of the memory policy with clearly defined entities implementing and controlling bodies. Also it is

extremely important to involve the academic circles to the elaboration of systematic, science-based approach, as this will make the policy more effective. In addition, this will stimulate the development of the historical science and the political science as well.

A focused approach to the policy design of the national historical memory will reduce the impact of the political situation and the subjective factors on the construction of the collective ideas about the past.

Another important point is the need of social dialogue on designing memory policy. The most resonant questions of national history should be the subject of free discussion. The monologue and lack of dialogue were the main reasons for government manipulations by the following issues.

Particular attention should be given to the work with youth – this should be manifested in a balanced approach in the development of the textbooks, the school curricula and the courses at universities.

By working out of the given direction it is necessary to remember that sights at the past vary depending on the region. The reasons for such situation is mainly long existence of the separate parts of modern Ukraine under various government entities as well as the ethnic composition of the population, its social structure, religious and denominational differences, local cultural and historical experiences and other. It is essential to construct a unified national historical narrative. The urgency of resolving this issue for Ukraine is that the unification of the historical narrative will determine Ukraine's place in the world not only historical and civilisation, but also in designing future project. Despite the fragmentation time of cultural flows, definiteness of the past arises as metanarrative of future.

## Notes

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15. For example, after the Second World War, teachers-volunteers were sent to the Western regions to resume the teaching process, which had been destroyed after the war. However, the main reason of this initiative was to establish communist ideology at this region
16. It concerned even such figure as Taras Shevchenko, the founder of Ukrainian language and literature. Shevchenko's works in soviet interpretation were adapted to the requirement of ideological propoganda. In practice, it meant that national problems were diluted, but the problems of class struggle were absolutized. (*Word and Time*, no. 3, 2001, p. 58)
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## 5 ■ National Identity and Culture-Ideological Aspects of Integration in the Central Asian Region

*Kamilla Sheryazdanova*

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When studying international relations and world policy, we have to pay attention to the cultural and civilisation differences between human communities for the sake of understanding how they affect the policy of certain states, functioning of non-governmental and international organisations, public opinion and mass behavior.

In 1993, Samuel Huntington in his article 'Clash of Civilisations' expressed an idea that if the 20th century was one of conflict of ideologies then in the 21st century the main conflicts will happen between civilisations and religions. Religions are the most important constituents of civilisations having truly huge influence on them. Islam, as well as Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, were generated by their 'own' civilisations and have rather great influence on the course of further development of their respective civilisations.<sup>1</sup>

But the interdependency and interpenetration of civilisations, with religions as their most important components is the historical truth. Strengthening of the globalisation process cannot but be expressed in greater influence of different civilisations on each other. False identification of international terrorism with Islam and activity of small Moslem minorities with the Moslem world as a whole needs special focus since developments in the 21st century would sufficiently depend on resolution of problems.<sup>2</sup>

Central Asia occupies a key place in the Eurasian region from the viewpoint of stability due to its geopolitical location. Here, the sharp activation of radical Moslem organisations and also militant armed groups of different kinds uniting under the slogan of struggle against the enemies of 'veritable Islam' has become the dominating threat.

The web of political, international, inter-confessional problems with which the countries of the Central Asia are confronted with creates favorable context to make the region a springboard of international terrorism. This simultaneously creates the imperative for the Central Asian Republics (CAR) to join against the common threat. This is an important factor for starting the process of integration in Central Asia.

Threats from international terrorism is not related only to its destabilising influence on the situation in the region but with the possibility of terrorists groups' 'transit' through Central Asian countries to Russia and Europe. Destructive efforts of Islamic extremists may lead to serious political calamities in the Central Asian countries, as well as have huge negative implications for security of many countries throughout the world.<sup>3</sup>

In conditions of globalisation and also the increasing reality of the cultures and civilisations coming closer with narrowing differences, Central Asia being on the

junction of Europe and Asia and also of Islam, Christian and Buddhist religions ought to play an important political role in this process.

In CAR, Islam has centuries-old history. It is obviously understandable that the division of the world on the basis of civilisations and religions could strike seriously the nations and countries of CAR. Despite of the fact that CAR countries are secular ones where official equality of religions exists, the ever expanding threat of political extremism in the region is a reality.

Kazakhstan may serve as an example of struggle against terrorism. On February 18, 2005, President Nursultan Nazarbayev signed the Law 'On countering extremism' in which the legal and organisational grounds of countering extremism were defined for the purposes of protecting human liberties and rights, fundamentals of constitutional system, and the republic's sovereignty.<sup>4</sup>

In mid-March 2011, the Supreme Court of Kazakhstan recognised seven international organisations as terrorist and outlawed them – Asbat-al-Ansar, Moslem brothers, Taliban, Boz Curd, Central Asian Mujaheeds' Jamaat, Lashkar-i-Toiba, and Organisation of social reforms. Earlier, four organisations, 'Al-Qaida' being one among them, were recognised as extremist ones and prohibited in 2004. On March 16, 2011, in accordance with the law, 'Hizb-ut-Tahrir', an international organisation with emissaries in the region since 1998 and trying to spread their ideas, was recognised as extremist and prohibited in Kazakhstan.

In September of 2003, under Nazarbayev's chairmanship, the First Congress of the Leaders of the World and Traditional Religions was held in the Kazakh capital, Astana. The forum participants adopted a Declaration in which they stressed their fidelity to such eternal values as tolerance, truth, justice and love and agreed to have Kazakhstan as the venue of the next meeting.

In the epoch of globalisation preserving diversity of human culture and of mass culture, and preservation of the national cultural values, promoting positive solutions to problems before society, matter of linguistic and cultural identity and unique traditional culture of Kazakhstan, are extremely real issues.<sup>5</sup>

Simultaneously, it may be said that discussions should concern revival and development of all nationalities in order that they stand on their own viz-a-viz the Western culture. In conditions of globalisation constructive dialogue between the values of traditional cultures of Central Asian nations and liberal-democratic society is necessary. Laws regulating relations in the sphere of culture in transition societies and preserving the uniqueness of nationalities populating the region are necessary.

According to our point of view the cultural process in what is figuratively defined as 'Eurasian cultural area' may occur within the general perspective of cultural development in the 21st century. As it happens, Central Asian Republics are situated between Europe and Asia, though not geographically but rather from the demographic and cultural point of view. In the context of dialogue between the Western and Eastern cultures and civilisations, the question particularly appears whether a Eurasian community of different ethnic groups and religions is able to be formed to articulate the fundamental principles of the preservation of local national cultures.



In this connection, Nazarbayev underlines, the ideology of traditionalism is logically connected with the crisis of socialist ideology. Actually to what is it possible to appeal to if the former dogmas appears to be untenable? Most likely to the simplest, understandable and simultaneously deeply moral one in the life of each nation, that is, to its traditions. Their role in the nation's life is unquestionable. Cultural traditions were always a source of social rebirth. Return to own cultural backgrounds is surely a positive process. Therewith it is necessary to refuse the simplistic interpretation of traditions and public progress. Modern world experience shows clearly that some traditional structures are very organically interwoven into the tissue of modern civilisation. Innovation is not possible without experience. Just traditions allow a man not to be lost but adapt his life image to swift changes of modern world.<sup>6</sup>

Globalisation process not only creates homogeneous economies and structures and policies in different countries but also leads to 'glocalisation', that is, adaptation of modern Western cultural elements to the local traditions.<sup>7</sup> On such basis not only preservation but also the rebirth and mastering of people's culture and spirituality, development of local cultural traditions and civilisations are possible. Globalisation does not require unconditional subjection of the local cultures but it requires constructive perception of other civilisations and their emerging experiences which may be possible only in the process of constructive dialogue with them.

Globalisation leads to lowering of linguistic and cultural uniqueness of identities and causes crisis in a nation's self-identification, which results in the revival of the primordial aspects of national cultures and traditions. Globalisation intensifies competition in the cultural sphere; it becomes a basis of economical expansion of highly developed countries into new regions. In fact, in modern international relations the struggle is for domination over values and principles. In this connection the loss of cultural and social identity becomes a serious deficiency for the Central Asian Republics.

Identity includes such factors as self-consciousness, common interests and values, historical experience, and religious factor. Forming of the religious factor is an important aspect of the integration process. According to Peter Frankenberg and Jorge Shubauer, the elements such identity include are:

- Cognitive: awareness of citizens of their region.
- Affirmative: emotional attitude to their region, sense of solidarity.
- Instrumental: becomes apparent in the political culture of population and is a foundation for the population mobilisation, perception of the national political problems, and so on.

Identity may be contained in history, religion, literature, music and folklore. On such basis, the identity of European countries is formed. Feeling of common belonging formed under the influence of culture is a catalyst for people's solidarity.

A major aspect of globalisation is that it promotes a new type of identity, the so called 'universal' one. Thanks to mass media and mass culture, an individual

becomes a part of the world cultural, social, political and other spaces. One not only identifies oneself with one's ethnic group and national state but feels affinity with the world events; a person becomes aware of oneself as 'a world citizen'. This new identity works within a complex relationship and sometimes it comes into obvious conflict with a person's identity as the citizen of a certain state.

For the countries of former USSR, the conflict between civic and ethnic identity has a special meaning. In spite the pressure of global processes, strengthening of national statehood being a fundamental social and political condition of their existence has essential meaning for them. National state is a decisive link for social, economical and political reforms of public life.

It should at the same time be noted that already in the second year of its independence, Republic of Kazakhstan became an initiator and organised the international forum 'On way to spiritual consent', where spiritual tolerance was declared as the most important priority of the government's foreign policy.<sup>8</sup>

It is symbolical that regular meetings of the world and traditional religious leaders in Kazakhstan have become a good tradition. Second congress that took place in 2006 showed to all mankind that problems of universal and inter-religious relations may be solved through talks avoiding any kind of hostility.

At the congress, President Nazarbayev stressed that for years in multinational and independent Kazakhstan relations of peace, harmony and mutual respect have prevailed, and thanks to it the Kazakhstan model of economic development was formed and certain progress was achieved; that Kazakhstan's policy is based on respect for human inner freedom that in its turn determines inter-confessional tolerance. Along with the traditional Islamic culture, the conditions for development of all world and traditional religions were created in the country. That is why Kazakhstan became one of the biggest world centres of inter-religious dialogue. In terms of promoting cooperation among religious communities, holding of Second Congress of Leaders of the World and Traditional Religions gained great meaning for international political relations. This view was expressed in the Declaration adopted by the Congress. The Declaration reflects the global need to replace conflict of ideologies with the culture of peace, and the ideology of tolerance, harmony and dialogue.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most important forms of taking and implementing the ideas of peaceful culture is strengthening of concord between nationalities, and promoting the culture of cordial relations between ethnic groups. In this background, the progress of Kazakhstan in forming a multinational and multicultural society is particularly notable. In such a society, the equality of all nationalities and harmonious combination of individual rights and liberties are provided.

Currently the process of political modernisation in the CARs is complicated by nation-building and identity factors. As is known, preconditions for political transformation are nation-building factors such as common territory, sense of national identity, and also the personal psychological factors determining decisions of political leaders and social and cultural orientations.<sup>10</sup> In other words, the flourishing of national identity makes the transition processes easier.

In the CARs, matters of national identity remain the most important ones. Provision of the nation solidarity depends on the degree of elites' consolidation and personal characteristics of political leaders. National elite of the CARs present perspectives of their states as the third way of development which stands in between the traditional past and borrowed image of Western and Eastern civilisations.<sup>11</sup>

Conflicts in CARs are mostly generated as a result of struggle and replacement of leading elites without representing a nationwide sense and because high positions are not often offered on the basis of ethical-moral merit. Forming of independent countries on the basis of national ideology of titular nation has become the main national idea of the CAR political elites.

In the CARs, there also exist problems linked to the traditional way of life and system of networks that affects selection and empowerment of the political elite and the nature of decisions taken by it. This system has deep historical roots in tribal-clannish structure of traditional society. Strengthening of the traditional institutions in the policy of the states also assumed geopolitical character. On the one hand, they stabilise society and lead to integration of 'related' countries, but on the other hand, the excessive emphasis on unique nationhood negatively affects the closer integration of Central Asian countries. That is why it is necessary to work out common strategic objectives and principles that can consolidate collective action by these countries.

From the religious point of view, all CARs countries profess Islam but the degree of dissemination of religion and its influence in each country varies. In the opinion of American political scientist Martha Olcott, among the surprises which the CAR independence brought with itself the discovery was made that Islam in the soviet time turned out to be more widespread than it was supposed before.<sup>12</sup>

Under specific mentality of Central Asian nations and their history it may be said that extremism on religious ground is practically excluded. Islamic solidarity in the region is secondary, mostly superficial. Islamic factor in the CARs assists to arrange a dialogue outside its bounds.<sup>13</sup>

As in other states, in Kazakhstan groups of nationalists promoting ideas of national rebirth were formed. Policy of Kazakhstan government is directed to fight against nationalistic ideas and attempts to create disharmony between nations. This is exemplified by the fact that Law 'On language' did not exclude Russian language, which has been given a place in the political, official and cultural life of the population, and also as the language of integration in the post Soviet area.

Nazarbayev is one of those persons who worked out the understanding on the necessity of integration of all CIS countries. The process of political construction is inseparable from the personality of its leaders. President Nazarbayev's notion of 'Eurasianism' is not only a theoretical approach but a vector of practical policy. For Kazakhstan, it is the course to integration and development of multilateral regional partnership. Idea of 'Eurasianism' comes from the fact that in the modern world dialogue between national cultures is not only necessary but also is the way to draw

them closer; only the understanding of each other leads to integration and closer relations.

On September 17, 1998, the UN adopted an international policy doctrine, 'Diplomacy of Silk Road', which was based on the revival of the Great silk Route, which would give new impulses to integration process in CAR. Great silk Route as trade and economic communication appeared in 3rd century BC, though the term 'Silk Route' was given to it by a German geographer, Ferdinand von Richthofen in 1870.<sup>14</sup> Later, Great Silk Route became a symbol of the Central Asian nations and their cultural unity, particularly, through such contemporary projects as TRASECA and INOGATE, which received the name 'Rebirth of Silk Road'.<sup>15</sup>

The concept of the 'Great silk Route' answers many general questions and stresses development of inter-governmental cooperation, multilateral diplomacy, and forming of new effective integration structures. It is a spiritual idea uniting East and West, disproving artificially created concepts of locally closed civilisations. In condition of globalisation, ideas of humanity, tolerance, steps towards universal brotherhood, etc. will receive powerful impulse and become really dominating ones.<sup>16</sup>

In the current conditions, 'Silk Road' is supposed to be built on three piers, which are: energy, transport system and telecommunications. Realisation of 'Great Silk Road' revival will help overcome geographical isolation of CARs. Possibilities exist for developing Caspian natural resources. Use of raw materials potential will allow giving dynamism to the economies of the regional states and stimulating regional integration.

Disintegration of the USSR led not only to rupture of economic relations between republics, but also liquidated intergovernmental relations and links in the sphere of ideology. The idea of 'national independence' of the ruling elites in Central Asia included the revision of history, propaganda of negative appraisal of the Soviet period, deletion of positive experience of relations between the Soviet republics, and rolling out of the cultural and scientific boundaries.

Legacy of the Soviet authoritarianism being preserved in the people's mentality has special ideological and political influence. People express themselves through routine fidelity to governmental institutions and regard current political structures as effective and priority ones.

National mentality has decisive meaning in the historical process. Being a deep part of the collective and individual consciousness, mentality expresses itself as the totality of the nation's ideas and predispositions for world appreciation, feelings, thoughts and definite actions.<sup>17</sup>

In this connection, ten years ago in his message to Kazakhstani people, President Nazarbayev said: Our mentality had been formed by generations of people who were brought out in the spirit of communist principles. Some people enthusiastically used a chance of recent changes, but many people did not. The human and objective factors influenced on people, they used slowly to accept changes as before waiting for the government assistance to solve their own problems. Such philosophy and

attitude to things impede them to overcome new difficulties and bereft of energy and desire to act independently.<sup>18</sup> Mentality is a complicated, contradictory spiritual structure which includes variegated elements influencing the choice of political development, form of government and power arrangement. That is why in respect to the CARs, it is necessary to find such forms, which allow further steady progress on the designated way of integration processes while preserving social stability and consensus of political forces.

As Nazarbayev noted: We are a Eurasian country having its own history and its own future. That is why our way will differ from other ones. It will absorb all achievements of different civilisations.<sup>19</sup>

On the CIS area, uncontrolled migration of working forces became a serious negative consequence of integration that may in future lead to social destabilisation in the Central Asian countries. Therefore, only theoretical, analytical and pragmatic approaches and also coordination of different ministries and departments of the Central Asia countries will promote the progress of integration in the region.

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## 6 ■ From ‘Militia’ to Police in Russia: Overcome Crisis of Civil Distrust

*Yacov Samodelkin*

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The Russian society experienced a shock due to the corruption and the unmotivated violence against the citizens by the representatives of the law enforcement bodies, the so called ‘militia’, which replaced the police in Soviet Russia in November 1918, the year after the Great Russian Revolution. The leaders of the Soviet Russia hated the earlier Russian police who had hampered their revolutionary activity.

The leaders of the USSR and the Communist party neglected the value of both human rights and human beings. At present, the modern leaders of the Russia and the Party of the United Russia have decided to defend the society and the individuals from the criminals and ‘militia’ (the law enforcement bodies).

In 2009, the Russian government gave permission to an NGO ‘The Centre for human and political technologies’ for carrying out the sociological research on the topic ‘Assessment of efficacy, effectiveness, efficiency and quality work of militia’ in 6 towns (Alapaevsk, Asbest, Krasnoupheimsk, Kushva, Pervouralsk, and Polevskoy) of Sverdlovsk region.

### **Methodology**

Two questionnaires were used – one for the public and one for the police. Each questionnaire had approximately 30 questions. Pilot testing of the study tools were conducted before finalising the questionnaires. The breakdown of interviewees for both questionnaires revealed equal participation by men and women, as well as proportionate participation across ages, different education and employment categories.

The research group decided that the militia has to get the assessment from civil society but not from the higher government bodies. Civil society pays attention to the quality of work and the satisfaction of public expectation. The higher government bodies, on the other hand, pay attention to the quantity of the crimes and how many from them to make public. It is reasonable to suppose that quantity and quality are different things. This survey was intended to draw conclusion about the main distinguishing features of the law enforcement bodies.<sup>1</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Although this study revealed that there is little awareness of the term and concept of ‘democratic policing’ among the public, it showed a good understanding by the majority of the public about the necessity and benefits of public-police cooperation within their communities. Cooperation with the police was seen by the public as a duty, and a contributing to a safer community.

Police, on the other hand, appears to be quite unaware of the concept of cooperation by the general public, even though they say they approve of ‘democratic policing’. When asked how they saw democratic policing in action, they overwhelmingly said in the establishment of better relations between the police and local leaders and influential people; there is little mention of cooperation with the general public. Similarly, when asked what form they envisaged for this cooperation to take, the overwhelming majority said in the holding of regular meetings with local leaders. When asked whom the police should be accountable to, they said the government.

Therefore, there appears to be a major gap between the public and police’s understanding of the concept of democratic policing, as well as between the police’s understanding of democratic policing, and the essence of public-police cooperation envisaged by it. Any attempt at promoting democratic policing will need to take these differences on board very seriously.

The research group elaborated some indexes, which can help the representatives of civil society to understand where to locate the law enforcement bodies. The indexes cover the main field of activity of the law enforcement bodies. For example, the level of scientific, methodical work with personnels, the level of keeping of laws, the level of understanding between the directors and subordinates, the level of understanding between colleagues, the level of the interest in safeguarding human rights. Special indexes are: the level of efficacy (the wealth of experience and the translation of the experience), the level of control over the civil society, the level of recognition of failures (the laws that hamper catching the criminals and the lack of experience), the level of individual wealth, and the level of motivation in work.

The results of the research will lay the basis for the reform of the law-enforcement enforcement bodies. Now modern Russia has a police which cooperates with the Council of NGOs (the representatives of the civil society). Russia will try getting out of the negative USSR legacy in the field of human rights.

### **The Indexes have Represented Different aspect of Work of ‘Militia’ such as:<sup>2</sup>**

**Chart 1**

Towns of Sverdlovsk region	The level of scientific, methodical work with personnels	The level of keeping of laws	The level of understanding between the directors and subordinates	The level of understanding between colleagues	The level of the interested in the safe the human rights
	(-1 to 1)	(-1 to 1)	(-1 to 1)	(-1 to 1)	(-1 to 1)
Alapaevsk	0,65	0,67	0,57	0,92	- 0,19
Asbest	0,46	0,63	0,67	0,9	- 0,12
Krasnouphimsk	0,33	0,52	0,77	0,88	- 0,01
Kushva	0,61	0,55	0,71	0,86	- 0,14
Pervouralsk	0,48	0,60	0,45	0,87	- 0,18
Polevskoy	0,41	0,64	0,76	0,94	- 0,09



**Chart II**

Towns of Sverdlovsk region	The level of efficacy		The level of control of the society	The level of recognize of failures		The level of individual wealth	The level of motivated in work
	The wealth of experience	The translation of the experience		The laws hamper to catch the criminals	The lack of experience		
	(-1 to 1)	(-1 to 1)		(-1 to 1)	(-1 to 1)		
Alapaevsk	0, 37	0, 30	0,10	0, 32	0, 31	2, 8	0, 77
Asbest	0, 43	0,43	0,02	0,43	0,18	2,6	0,75
Krasnoupimsk	0,48	0,37	0,08	0,50	0,27	2,7	0,70
Kushva	0,38	0,45	0,04	0,35	0,37	2,7	0, 85
Pervouralsk	0,37	0,38	0,02	0,39	0,33	2,6	0,87
Polevskoy	0,44	0,45	0,06	0,44	0,49	2,6	0,89

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## 7 ■ Newspeak of Post-Soviet Time: Grammar and Politics

*Lilia Katseva*

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George Orwell had introduced the concept of ‘newspeak’ into the active vocabulary, when speech consisting of words characteristic of the past epochs are no more used in the same way. During the Soviet period for some reason, the word congress in ‘the congress of CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union)’ was written with small letter c, and ‘the Plenum of CPSU’ with capital P, ‘Great Patriotic War’ – with capital G, and ‘civil war’ – with small c, ‘Ilichem Leninym’ (instrumental case in Russian), which means ‘by Ilyich’ – through ‘ë’ in Russian, and all the remaining Ilyichs – through ‘o’. The Soviet regime in Soviet era was written with capital letter, and now – with small letter. After the break-up of the USSR and creation of independent states, these changes have appeared in the Russian language of one or other country (the Russian of Ukraine, Estonia, Kirghizia and so on). Therefore, today it is said ‘tourists will go to Ukraine’ (the Russian preposition ‘на’ replaced with ‘в’), the capital of Estonia became Tallinn with double ‘l’ and ‘n’, whereas in Russia, only double ‘n’ is recognised. Moreover, there is an attempt to introduce in the regional Russian language writing of various words, as per the use in the local languages in the republics. So, instead of Kirgizstan (with ‘i’) there is a requirement in the Russian as in Kirghiz to write and to pronounce Kyrgyz, Kyrgyzstan (with ‘y’).

Even ‘littered’ spoken language in each of the epochs is in its own. Today, word-parasite “как бы” (as) is combined with ‘positive’ and ‘creative’ meaning, and phrase «не переключайтесь» (literally ‘you do not be switched to’) frequently is heard from the television screen.

Economic and political realities not only influence, but also help form the contemporary language, therefore the appearance of different kind of public associations under the aegis of foreign countries influenced on use of the word ‘product’ in new meaning. And even those words, which long years related to the nonstandard vocabulary became ‘normative’ on the pages of newspapers, in the works of artistic literature, in the radio and the television.

Even some dictionaries appeared to be explaining the meanings of words, used in one or other book. There is an example of the memoirs of Arsen Bayanov called ‘Non-formal Alma Ata behind the facade of Asian communism’, Alma Ata, 2010; This mysterious word of three letters... NGO, Bishkek, 2008 and so forth.

Tatiana Tolstaya demonstrated the surrogate language of the last wave of Russian emigration in one of her journalistic polemical articles ‘Hope and Support. Heart of sorrowful thoughts-1’. The strong mixing of Russian with English, Russian with Hebrew led to the appearance or co-called ‘Russian from Brighton’. The last word can be replaced with any geographical point, where the former compatriots adapt

foreign countries for themselves. This language is comprehensive to the specific wave of emigration, because it includes the lexical forms, inherent to that medium and level of the culture of the majority of emigrants. It is understandable that the literature using, imitating, making parody of this language also simultaneously popularises it. The language of characters and works of V. Nabokov and S. Dovlatov is directly opposite, although it reflects the lingual situation of the emigrant circles of the 20th and 80-90-s of the 20th century.

The Soviet regime censored two spheres: policy and morals. If they did not correspond to the affirmed canons, then they remained outside of 'official' works. So it is related to the lingual problems. At the very beginning of 30th of the 20th century the discussions of artistes were held, including about languages of literature. There were stigmatised (1) enthusiastic usage of foreign words, and (2) usage of talks, adverbs, dialects and so on. The works, in the final analysis, began to be written in 'stiff style'. Hence, there is stormy enthusiasm of usage of so-called 'rural prose' of 70-th of the 20th century, that overcame lingual hard times. Thus, the new conversational language introduced in the Russian literature at end of the 1980s and further, filled with Russian filthy language, jargons (slangs) and loanwords. Slang expressions widely are used beginning from V. Aksenov to Ven. Erofeev, Vic. Erofeev and further to N. Guberman, V. Sorokin, D. Rubina and many others; in the satire M. Zadornov. Appropriately, 'camp language' was transformed into 'kitchen language' of intelligentsia for long time and it was used out of the official literature in the forms of tape recording, underground, 'sam' and 'tam' izdat. Even the English translators of contemporary Russian literature are needed to publish special lingual dictionary, where besides so-called 'obscenities', was, for example, the explanation of category of 'Soviet woman' having nothing in common with the category of 'woman'.

The concepts, connected with all civilisation vocabulary introduced in the contemporary literature, and further the official language is arrived (this is, as a rule, the distinguishing feature of mass literature). Today's Russian language is a lingual conglomeration originated by some contradictions to the political and cultural life of the previous period. By this it forms the language of contemporary literature.

The calls to counter with 'newspeak' are useless.

Epoch passes – language renews.

### **Dictionary**

MADAM, Bandersha (Bawd) – woman, who coordinates the work of prostitutes, as a rule, well acquainted with the criminal laws and the concepts.

BAR – sex making. (There are very many words generally in musical slang, which refer to sex. There is nothing strange, it is known indeed that terms 'jazz' and 'rock and roll' originally designated sex. Entire contemporary music is generally refers to sex, and let the reader forgive me for a certain frankness, but without this, there is no life).

BARATSYA – to be conveyed with something (also means sex making).

BARUN – a giant of big sex.

BARUHA – a girl of easy virtue, but not a prostitute.

ACKERS, FAYDA, KHRIMA, MARMULETKI – money.

WITHOUT FORSHLAG – to speak without filthy words.

SQUIRREL – alcoholic psychosis, alcoholic mania.

BENIFITSIARII also *vezunchiki*, *vygodopoluchateli* – lucky stiff, which could convince donors that their project will help to create the best product.

BIRLO – food.

BIRLYAT – exist.

CHARITY – state of soul and purse, when by crumbs from the wealthy table donate some money or service to the weak, poor or seek people. It makes possible to decrease the taxes in the civilised countries and raises his/her self-esteem not only in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of people he feed. For example: Christ by five loafs of bread and two fishes fed five thousand people. In regard to this, Ostap Bender said that he himself made the same, but what crush there was! Charity takes the forms of patronage or sponsorship.

BROADWAY – is a former street of Kalinin, now *Bogenbay-batyr*. In those times practically all more or less popular restaurants and cafes were located in this region. For example, restaurant ‘*Issyk*’, cafe ‘*Teatral’noe*’, and feather – restaurant complex ‘*Alma Ata*’ with the very first in the city bar. In general, ‘Brod’ was the most center place of the city, where the Hippies and dandies gathered in front of the building of old TYUZ (Theater of Young Spectator) brought-down already, and it was possible to agree with the prostitute only for 25 rubles, in any case, it was told so by the more adult comrades, who past there their entire youth. The grocery ‘*Stolichnyi*’ was also located in ‘Brod’, and remained open till 11 o’clock in the evening: only there at this time it was possible to purchase a bottle of wine, because all wine shops of Alma Ata were shut at 8 or 10 o’clock in the evening. By the way, exactly lower than this grocery, opposite of the conservatory the ‘*TSK (Central Committee) courts*’ were located.

In Alma Ata at that time, there were not less popular regions, for example ‘*Chokanka*’, ‘*Inter*’, ‘*Chicago*’, ‘*Mikry*’, ‘*SMU – 15*’ and so forth. By the time the new regions like ‘*Salem*’, ‘*Golden girls*’, ‘*Samal*’ appeared But it is here already necessary to compose the newest encyclopedia, but not glossary.

BUFFER, BASSES – female breasts.

BUHAT’, KIRYAT, KUMARITSYA, VMAZAT’, OFORMIT’ – to drink.

VARIT STRUNY – TO COOK STRINGS - to be occupied by nonsense, type as to iron the socks (the Soviet bassists in the literal sense cooked old strings in order to somehow restore them, it was the scarcity of strings). The played notes in the instruments “DO-RE-MI-DO-RE- DO” is equivalent to non-standard idiom, that is, to three letters.

VIRZAT – do number two, a poo.

VIRZOSHNIK – toilet.

CIVIL SOCIETY – society, in which the priority of the personality is personified above the institutes of authority.

GRANT – charitable address, financial aid to individual, people or organisation. The system of small grants is developed. (If it will be stolen, then comparatively a little).

GRANTODATEL (grant donating side) – releasing grants and waiting reports on resources allocation.

DONOR – individual, person or organisation, that render aid (material, financial) to different associations, for which the satisfaction of the expectations of people - is routine.

TO PRESS TO BASSES – to embrace woman.

BOARD – guitar (also thin woman).

DRIVE, KACH, MEAT – special power engineering during the game

DRUSHLYAT – to sleep

DYROCHNYI BUSINESS (P-TYPE BUSINESS) – prostitution.

ZHMURY – burials.

ZAPILIT' - TO SAW – to play solo guitar (also sexual act).

TO DROP INTO THE COUNTRY OF KUMARIYA – hard drinking.

GREEN CONCERT – completion of concert tours, when it is possible to gambol, to dissemble and to make a fun. 'The last concert' was never said because of a bad sign to say that, therefore, it is called either 'green' or differently.

KATSAPETOVKA, KATSADRILOVKA – remote areas.

KEYS-STUDY – touching history of the small useful matters, activating children and adult, that knocks out tear of those, on whom depends the financing as many the useful matters, as their description.

KIZY were located above Dzhandosov avenue, lower than VDNKh (Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy of the USSR)

KIKSOVAT, LAZHATSYA – incorrect to play or to enter.

TO THROW STICK – to do sex.

KODA, CODA – end of works.

DOOR POST – besides the cigarette with marijuana, also incident.

KOCHUMAT – to keep silent.

KIDNYAK – a kind of the hangover syndrome (also fraud).

FORTRESS – the region, which was located beyond Gor'kiy park

Kosyak (DOOR POST) – a cigarette oppressed by marijuana.

LABAT, LABUKH – to play, restaurant musician.

LABAT TO WEDGE – to play by clean sound.

LAKHUDRA – girl disdainfully.

OLEASTER – simpleton.

MALUKHA – known urban region – a small Cossack village.

Mamka (WET-NURSE) IN THE ZONE – ringleader of homosexuals.

MENZHOVATSYA, TUSOVATSYA – to be fear of something or someone.

MAECENAS – individual person or organisation, that render charity aids

(financial, material and other) voluntarily, in the complete consciousness are unselfish. Frequently M. renders to anonymous aid.

MONITORING – selection and processing different information from different sources. Monitoring has research nature, many-sided presenting object.

MULKA, Fishka – the game rules (also fun).

TO MOW CABBAGE – to earn money.

BEING NOT OVERTAKEN – being not sufficiently drinking (in due to the alcohol).

BEING NOT OVERTAKEN – being not understood.

NGO – non-government independent associations, which pursues the specific purposes, for realisation of which they activate sponsors, donors, Maecenas and grant givers.

Oformitel’ – DECORATOR - drunkard, drunk.

STICK-GUITAR – another name of concert.

For instance, to give two sticks – to give two concerts.

PARNAS – tip.

PARSHCHIK-KHOKHMACH – a man, who tells jokes, hitching posts.

PETUSHNUT – to rape man, to make by him ‘rooster’, omitted.

WASH, BOX – prefix for the guitar, changing the sound.

PRODUCT – embodiment of idea, under which is isolated financial guarantee.

P. is called everything which is obtained as a result the well untwisted project.

SBATSAT, ZHMURIKA, KODANUTSYA – to die.

SEYSHN or JAM-SEYSHN – joint performance of different performers, usually in some closed parties for the musicians.

SKUBATSYA – to fight.

SKUL – quarrel.

SNYAT’ – to be introduced to the girl, and also to learn the musical work without notes (earlier there were no instruments, no either notes).

SURLYAT, SBATSAT, SURLIKA – do number one.

SKHAVAT – to adopt completely the style of any executor.

Torchok (HEADER) – druggie (even more funny *tchuvak*).

Ugolnaya (Coal CARBON) – the region of the old auto station, now it is ‘*Sayakat*’.

*Tchuvaks* of *Ugolnaya* were also not easy – there is a legend that one of *tchuvak* arrived with grenade, even on today’s measures this is cool.

FAYDA – pay for the maintenance, the so-called ‘tea’.

Fanera (PLYWOOD) – phonogram. Frick - freak.

FACE-CONTROL (verbatim - the control of face) – the special service, which controls that undesirable visitors would not enter to restaurant or club.

KHALDEY – waiter.

HALTURA – wedding, banquet, celebration.

KHILYAT – to walk.

CHUVAK – our fellow (approximately the same as boy).

CHUVIKHA, Biksa (STEAM STERILIZER) – a girl, woman.

CHES – many-month long concert stage.

SHANGHAI – was located below street of Tashkentskaya. There then under the bridge gypsies dealt in vodka, especially during the Gorbachev's 'dry law'.



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Section IV

Society, Culture and Identity

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# 1 ■ Andrei Volos and Hurramabad: The Dynamics of Russian-Tajik Relations

*Rashmi Doraiswamy*

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Of the five Central Asian states, it was Tajikistan that faced the most turmoil in the post-1991 years. The country was gripped by Civil War and ethnic identity conflicts that had been dormant for decades. The conflicts unfolded with a ferocity that led to large-scale death, destruction and migration. Economic, political and social transition in the country was, thus, very different from other countries in the post-Soviet space. The peace accord of June 1997 and the elections of 1999 brought the country a stability of sorts.

In 1929, the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic was crafted out of the Tajik Autonomous Republic that had been formed of Uzbekistan in 1924. Samarkand and Bukhara, where the Tajiks formed the majority of the population were given to Uzbekistan. According to Devendra Kaushik, The delimitation left behind a difficult legacy. Many Uzbek towns were left behind in Kazakhstan and several Tajik areas were incorporated into the Uzbek republic. Yet it cannot be denied that the ethnographic map of Central Asia was more justly drawn as a result of national delimitation. It introduced a greater degree of democratisation of administration which facilitated an increased pace of economic development and cultural progress. The Tajiks who had earlier formed 7.7 per cent of the population of Turkestan ASSR and 31 per cent of the Bukhara republic, formed 71.2 per cent of the population of Tajik ASSR within the Uzbek SSR in 1924. The Tajiks formed 75.2 per cent of the population of the Tajik ASSR which was raised in 1929 to the level of a republic.<sup>1</sup> The percentage of Russians grew in the Republic, increasing from 1 to 13 per cent between 1926 to 1959. During the years of the Civil War, of the 4,00,000 lakh ethnic Russians in Tajikistan, nearly 25,000 left the country. Muzaffar and Saodat Olimova point out: In 1996, the Movement for the Restoration of the Soviet Union was very popular in Tajikistan; about one and a half million people signed the petition supporting this idea. It means that at least half of the adult citizens supported it. Adults retained Soviet passports, children used Soviet textbooks at schools, and Russian TV channels in 1998 were the main source of information for 72 per cent of the population of Tajikistan.<sup>2</sup>

Andrei Volos, an ethnic Russian from Tajikistan, now living in Moscow, creates a fictional city to stand in for the capital city of Tajikistan – Dushanbe. Winner of the 1998 Anti-Booker Award, ‘Hurramabad’ is a novel set in this fictional city, whose name means ‘the City of Happiness’. Maria Remizova refers to the split in the meaning of the very name of the city: Hurramabad – as Volos explains it in his notes - is a toponym which you find in Iranian and Turkish fairy tales. In its literal translation, it means ‘the city of happiness and joy, full of greenery and laughter’. It is impossible

to miss the double meaning. On the one hand, this is the 'city of happiness' in the literal meaning, without doubt, beautiful like any other lost paradise. On the other hand, in contrast to this first meaning, filled with the strong irony of the oxymoron – it is the city of shadows, full of horror and death.<sup>3</sup> Like Thomas Hardy's Wessex or R K Narayan's Malgudi, the fictional city of Hurrabad reminds the reader of a real city, while at the same time transcends it, in spirit and in details. The cognitive mapping of the city, its bazaars, by-lanes, streets, the way it looks from atop the hills is like a door on a hinge, now opening out onto reality, and now onto fantasy and desire: To become a child in a bazaar again, as one of the characters thinks.<sup>4</sup>

Andrei Volos sketches life in this post-Soviet city and portrays the changing life of its citizens, where old relationships do not seem to function anymore. The writer uses realism and fantasy to portray the transformed nature of Russian-Tajik relationships. Hurrabad is a city that is caught in the vortex of chaos. The city is overrun by criminals and gangs and the ordinary citizen has to not only make ends meet with great difficulty, but go about the daily business of living and negotiate conflicts with all manner of thugs. The English translation of the book has seven stories.<sup>5</sup> Each of these stories narrates a small history of the 'new' relations between people, and at the same time, gives us a view of the city, its desolation and its desolation. The first story 'Ascent' is about an old woman and her grandson, climbing up with great difficulty the hillside to visit – it turns out – the grave of her husband. This arduous ascent is accompanied by an oft-heard narration of how she came to meet her husband a Red Army man, in the early years of Soviet rule. The grave, in fact, is an important motif, since those who leave the land, leave behind the graves of their forefathers which will henceforth be untended.

In 'A Decent Stone for a Father's Grave', the protagonist, Platonov, sells his car and goes on a long and nerve-wracking search for labrodite that he wants to erect over his father's grave before he migrates from Hurrabad. The stone-cutters discuss how the life they lead no longer makes any sense: Even Mahmadi says everything's out of control' Sadykov remarked with unexpected irony....Mahmadi who is in charge of the cemetery and who only has to deal with dead! Imagine what it's like for those of us who deal with the living!<sup>6</sup> To which Mahmadi replies that it is not easy dealing with the dead either. Nowadays sheep are allowed to graze over the graves: I tried chasing it away... and this man comes running from the 'kishlak' over there, takes a pistol out of his pocket and says, You chase my sheep and I'll kill you! It's only Russian graves anyway', he says. 'Nobody needs them here'. Well? Who can say things are not out of control? .... A few years ago who would have dreamed of talking that way. How can anyone say a grave is unnecessary when soon enough they will lie in one themselves? Russian or Tajik, everyone is laid to rest in the same ground.<sup>7</sup>

Maria Remizova aptly sums up the main theme of the novel as that of 'One's Own' and 'Aliens' in the City of Happiness. In traumatic political times, it is one's own identity and those of others that comes under severe stress. It is as if markers of the Self and of the Other give the slip, leading to chaos and violence. Andrei

Volos focuses, quite frankly, on the Russians, particularly those leaving the city. The 'native' and the 'foreigner', the 'local' and 'the outsider' in times of upheaval become fluid categories. It is symptomatic that the novel begins with 'Ascent', a story in which the grandmother climbs up a hill and remembers her past and the coming of Russians to Tajikistan: The hilly land sprawled around him; the sun beat down on it almost perpendicularly, and the ground was dry and resonant. To these expanses with their broken lines, to these lands thrust up to eternally clear skies, they had set out one time, and here they had lived clattering their tractors, scratching its breast with their ploughs, conscious every step of the way of the tugging holster strap. And sometimes they did get a bullet in the head or the dark blade of an Ura-Tyube knife in their suntanned side. Taking their dead to herself, this yellow land once so foreign had become little by little their own.<sup>8</sup> The novel ends with a story called 'A Foreigner', in which the protagonist, Dubrovin, is stuck with other passengers in the container of a train, because the tracks have been blown up. He inhabits no-man's land, the borderland space, the Bakhtinian threshold, in which 'looking into the eyes of the other, you see yourself'. Having left his home, he has not yet reached Russia; in this mid-space, he views the city from the 'outside', even though he is still 'inside':

What was this thing called exile?

Where had he met the word before? Only in novels he had read in his youth. There it had a fine, noble overtone of fortitude and courage. Now it seemed clear enough that neither courage nor fortitude were involved, only fear. One day something had broken in his heart under the sheer weight of fear, and everything that had been dear and familiar to him became foreign and threatening. He suddenly found himself in exile without even having to move anywhere, because that is where you are when everything around is foreign and dangerous. He had become a foreigner.<sup>9</sup>

From the panoramic view of the old, fat grandmother, whose keen eyes can see details of the city spread out beneath the heights of the hills in 'Ascent', to this last story where the city unfolds itself in all its, paradoxically enough, 'familiar alien-ness' Andrei Volos offers a large repertoire of emotions faced by Russians in Hurramabad:

He walked along, whistling, and looking about him like a tourist.

Old Russian women were sitting at the street corners. Everything they had for sale was curiously unitary: a single fork, a liqueur glass, a book with no cover, a shoe with no laces, a broken watch strap, and the watch itself, irreparably broken many years ago. It was painfully clear that if you were to bring them all together from the whole of the city, it would still be impossible to find two items which actually matched....

He walked along the scorching pavement without a thought in his head, not registering, since it was so entirely normal, the feverish atmosphere of

misfortune, hunger and catastrophe, nor the peculiar pleasure he derived from immersing himself in a city which was not merely familiar but which felt almost like a mother's womb, where there is neither hunger, nor misfortune, where there is nothing that belongs to you and nothing that is foreign, since everything exists purely for your benefit.<sup>10</sup>

Andrei Volos is also sensitive, however, to the inter-ethnic relations and conflicts among the Tajiks. As Muslim, Dubrovin's companion in the train container says, 'Foreign!' Muslim snorted sarcastically. 'What's the difference. Do you think I am not foreign here? Who do you think these people regard as their own?'<sup>11</sup> The differences in clan and region emerged in the years of the Civil War, the divide between the Khojenti North and Kulyabi South; the cleavages between the industrialised north and agricultural south, the tensions between the Badakshanis, Garmis, Khojentis and Kulyabis among others.<sup>12</sup> In 'A Local Man', Volos deconstructs the fragmented identities of what constituted the 'local' identity: A man from Kanibadam might equally sometimes fail to understand someone from Karatega, or someone from Gharm a Khodjent, but still they all regarded themselves as local, as people who truly belonged here.<sup>13</sup> In this story, Makushin is so fascinated by Hurrabad when he comes here on an official trip that he gives up his family, his Russian identity and even his name to merge with the locals: Nobody any longer took him for a Russian. If he admitted it himself nobody believed him. They would exclaim in amazement, almost touching and prodding him to convince themselves. A couple of times the whole thing had become quite ridiculous, with him having to wave his passport at them to prove his nationality.<sup>14</sup> He finally is killed because the murderers are trying to decide whether he is a Kulyab or not: For a moment he felt hard done by, but he died happy nevertheless, accepted finally as a local man.<sup>15</sup> Volos realises that the trajectory of a Russian 'becoming' a Tajik is a possibility, given the power equations, while the opposite is unlikely: Well, that's what I just can't understand, Farkhod sighed, plucking the pies that were ready from the smoking pan. You had it all, you really had it all. Now me, I've got a Tajik wife too, but I never had a Russian one, and I never will either.<sup>16</sup>

Along with the theme of selfhood and otherness, Hurrabad posits the theme of home. In times of political turmoil and uprootment, the home as an identity marker, as a place where roots run deep is problematical. The awareness that the Russians, who will migrate, will be 'foreigners' in Russia, almost like the Tajiks, who will migrate there, is evinced by the protagonists. There is the loss of home, the sale of home; the loss of the city as home; the loss of values of compassion and humaneness; even nature has become alien. When Anna Valentinovna looks out of the train on her trip to Russia to find a new home, she is unable to identify with the view: The train crawled on its way over the as yet fresh, green steppes, the dirty carriage rocking on the rails as if it might derail at any moment. Most of the windows were broken, and those in her compartment were crudely sealed with stinking mattresses. A vast pockmarked land flew by beneath the wheels, exposing

its poverty and anguish; somewhere a baby cried incessantly because of the cold; a stench came from the toilet; and trains coming the other way rushed heavily towards them with an ominous howl.<sup>17</sup> Displaced from home, even animals try to compromise and make peace with a surrogate home. In the story 'Sammy', the rolling tanks on the road scare a viper into coming into the basement and then the house of Anna Valentinovna, a widow. At first Anna is afraid of the snake: Whichever way you looked at it, this was creature from another world, another universe, as remote and alien as a Martian.<sup>18</sup> She slowly adjusts herself to its comings and goings: As time went by they paid less and less attention to each other, both of them changing from unknown beings whose unpredictability called for heightened alertness and caution, into neighbours or relatives whom you simply didn't notice until they annoy you with their banging or drunken singing.<sup>19</sup> The snake waits for her when she locks her home, and goes to Russia to look for an alternative home and dies because there is no one to feed it. Displaced from its natural surroundings, Sammy 'adapts' and gives up its natural behaviour as viper that bites, and responds to the affection Anna Valentinovna shows it. Sammy is a poignant story about displacement and the re-placement of creatures that normally do not co-exist with each other. Anna's response to the snake is more compassionate than the rude response of the woman in Moscow of whom she asks directions to the locality where she is looking for a house. The story lends itself to several readings. Elena Oznobkina, for instance, believes that the story is metaphorical: It seemed to be one's own, but turned out to be alien and harmful.... Living next to each other, they turned out to be enemies of each other.<sup>20</sup> Another interpretation is also possible: the circumstances outside are so bad that even a poisonous snake cannot return to its natural habitat. If circumstances force a human being and a poisonous snake into 'good neighbourly' behaviour, why cannot human beings of different ethnicities live together peacefully, the author seems to ask.

Volos touches upon other themes as well. In the chaos of transition, property changed hands, but it was not clear to whom and why: The kishlak was quiet and dull. The collective farm no longer existed, and nobody knew who the land belonged to now. At all events it was still being managed by the same rais; it was said that he was driven around in a car with dark glass and a bodyguard and that he had several wives in his house.<sup>21</sup> The streets have been taken over by gangs, who are into extortion and are violent to boot. In fact, violence has become a way of life. People have cartridges coming out of their ears, says one of the Tajik characters in a story. Yamminov, whose house is going to be taken away by extortionists in the story 'A House by the River' decides to shoot them when they come to claim the house. He muses: Would he really raise his hand against another human being? Would he sit in ambush knowing that his intended victim was a human being? Never.<sup>22</sup> But when he remembers how they had threatened to kill him and cut him into ribbons, his hatred for them resurfaces: All right, I'm an animal, Yamminov muttered, yawning with a shudder and driving sleep away. If you live among wolves you have to howl like a wolf.<sup>23</sup>

'Hurramabad' has been called a 'roman-punktir', that is a novel, where the outline of the narrative appears as if it has been joined from dot to dot, from point to point. The stories join up to create a composite narrative of a city and its inhabitants in post-Soviet times. This is the time of transition, of chaos, of hostilities between ethnic groups, and of migration of Russians and Tajiks. Volos' novel gives us an insider's view of the times, but as Remizova astutely points out, he does so without nostalgia, or sentimentalism. It zooms in on the plight of the Russians, but also portrays the difficulties Tajiks face. The novel provides a different take on transition, while political and other discourses centre around 'nation-building', the writing of alternative histories, etc. Volos presents us with a city whose administration has collapsed; no industrial or agricultural work is taking place, there is no sense of state, nation or even community and lawlessness reigns supreme. Hope is to be found in the small people (*malenkij chelovek*), such as Farkhod (*Ascent*), Ibrahim (*House by the River*) and Muslim (*A Foreigner*) who epitomise compassion in senselessly violent times.

Hurramabad is a novel about the trauma of political, economic and social transition. If we compare it with other post-trauma literary works, such as partition literature in the subcontinent, we find several points of convergence. The narratives are often episodic, stringing stories together to create a novel – Bhishma Sahni's 'Tamas' being one such example. The meta-narrative of the historical event courses through the veins of these stories, holding them together. The second point of similarity is that historical events of the magnitude of the Partition of the Indian subcontinent or the break-up of the Soviet Union always problematise the concept of 'home' as metaphor of identity – national, regional, individual, communitarian. The third point of convergence is the discourse on 'selfhood' and 'otherness', of compassion and hatred, that wells up with a sudden, almost inexplicable force. Fourthly, the theme of the familiar city, becoming alien in times of trauma and the protagonist walking through this violent cityscape is a counter to the concept of the flaneur proposed by Walter Benjamin. As opposed to the dandy who strolls through the interiors of the arcades of the city, these are traumatised protagonists, for whom the city has lost its conventional significances. This walk is also different from the everyday act conceptualised by Michel de Certeau – this is the walk of trauma, where as Volos puts it, you are a tourist in your home, and the sights being offered are everyday ones, but filled now with a sense of horror and foreboding. This is modernity inverted, a cruel modernity, a modernity that suddenly bares its barbaric teeth, in contrast to the one envisaged by Benjamin and Certeau. Where Andrei Volos' novel differs from Partition literature in the subcontinent is in its less sharp posing of the question of the ambivalence of ethicality, particularly with regard to the responsibility of violence, as it is posed in novels such as 'Tamas' or Bapsi Sidhwa's 'Ice Candy Man'. What Volos novel does, however, is to show how Russians became foreigners in a land they had also tilled and worked on for decades, and also how they destined to remain foreigners in Russia, when they migrate there, although it is posited as a land ethnically and territorially 'their own'.



**Notes**

1. Devendra Kaushik “Nationalities Policy in Central Asia: Soviet and Post-Soviet Views”, *Contemporary Central Asia*, vol. 8, no.1, 2, April-August 2004, pp. 26-27.
2. Muzaffar Olimov and Saodat Olimova, “Tadjikitan in a Changing Eurasia”, in Anita Sengupta and Suchandana Chatterjee (eds.), *Eurasian Perspectives*, Shipra and MAKAIAS, New Delhi, 2010, p. 199.
3. Maria Remizova, *Svoi i Chuzhie v GorodeShastiya*, [http://exlibris.ng.ru/kafedra/2000-04-06/3\\_aliens.html](http://exlibris.ng.ru/kafedra/2000-04-06/3_aliens.html), accessed on October 31, 2011.
4. ‘A Local Man’, in Andrei Volos, *Hurramabad*, Glas, Moscow 2001, p. 49. All further quotations from Hurramabad are from this book.
5. The 2005 Russian edition has twelve stories and an epilogue.
6. ‘A Decent Stone for a Father’s Grave’ in *Hurramabad*, p. 112.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
8. ‘Ascent’ in *Hurramabad*, p. 22.
9. ‘A Foreigner’ in *Hurramabad*, p. 215.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
12. For a detailed exposition of these cleavages see *Society and Politics in Tajikistan in the Aftermath of the Civil War*, Suchandana Chatterjee, Hope India, Haryana, 2002.
13. ‘A Local Man’ in *Hurramabad*, p. 51.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
15. *Ibid.*, P. 66.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 33
17. ‘Sammy’ in *Hurramabad*, p. 84.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
20. Elena Oznobkina, *GorodRadosti i Shastiya*, [http://magazines.russ.ru/novyi\\_mi/2000/12/volos.html](http://magazines.russ.ru/novyi_mi/2000/12/volos.html), accessed on October 31, 2011.
21. ‘First on the List’ in *Hurramabad*, p. 150.
22. ‘The House by the River’ in *Hurramabad*, p. 200.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 203.



## 2 ■ Urban-Rural Relations in the Transition Period: The Case of an Animal Bazaar in Kyrgyzstan

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### **Introduction**

It is known that bazaars are primary locations where intensive social, economic and commercial exchanges take place. Bazaars, emerging from eastern civilisation, are also places connecting rural and urban areas. In this connection, bazaars vary according to the materials of exchange, such as food products, animal and other items of trade. Among them are bazaars specialising in animal husbandry. In the Kyrgyz Republic, such bazaars constitute a model for animal markets. We can see livestock animal bazaars in the cities and towns of Karakol, Kochkor, Sokuluk, Alay and Atbashi during the Soviet period and its aftermath. In this article, we will concentrate on such a bazaar – Mürök in Tokmok city.

Tokmok is a city in northern Kyrgyzstan, and lies at a distance of 60 km from the capital city, Bishkek, and at a distance of 10 km from Burana (Balasagun), known as the capital of the mediaeval state of the Karakhanids. Tokmok is located in the Chui valley where urban culture and commercial life became highly developed in the period of the Turkic Khaganates (Khanates) in the 6th and 13th century.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, a very important branch of the Silk Road passed through this region. The first settlements of present-day Tokmok city started to appear in the Chui valley at the beginning of the 19th century. As far as it is known, Tokmok, surrounded by city walls in the period of Kokand sovereignty, acquired the character of a ‘military’ base controlling the road into the Chui valley.<sup>2</sup> From the mid-19th century, Tokmok was under Russian sovereignty and then it became the centre of the province, established in the Chui valley, under the name Tokmok. During the Soviet period Tokmok developed as a trading and industrial centre. It became the centre of the Chui province in the independent Kyrgyz Republic in 1991, and now has approximately 60,000 inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

This research is based on numerous expeditions and field studies made between 2008 and 2011 in the Mürök bazaar in Tokmok. At first, in order to make a preliminary study and to see the Mürök bazaar, I went to Tokmok a couple of times with my young colleagues, Kayrat Belek, Murat Kodjobekov and Baktybek Isakov. After gathering preliminary information on the bazaar, I continued visits to the site for observations and field studies.

In this study, I argue that the transition period represents a turbulent period of change particularly for civil society. During this period, civil structures and organisations serving the people gained importance without receiving state subsidies and without creating a burden for the state. The Mürök bazaar in Tokmok is a typical

example of this. Specifically it owes its success to the fact that it acted as a mediator between the rural and urban areas in developing social, economic and commercial relations and creating employment for rural and urban populations.

### **Historical background**

In the course of our research, we learned that the previous livestock bazaar during the Soviet period stood at the site of the present-day mosque called ‘Dostuk Mechit’ (Mosque).<sup>4</sup> According to an informant,<sup>5</sup> the establishment of this bazaar goes back to 1920s. Due to limited space, the bazaar moved probably in 1976 or 1977 to the outskirts of Tokmok, its present location.<sup>6</sup> According to informants, at the beginning its location was about one-third of its present size, while the number of sellers in the bazaar was minimal due to the Soviet system. Soviet practice did not encourage the development of the livestock bazaar, nor did it permit free trade. Therefore, people did not have the possibility of owning enough animals to be sold in the markets. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the development of market economy, livestock bazaars gradually gained importance, and the Mürök bazaar in Tokmok entered into a process of development. In 1997, the location of the bazaar was enlarged to its present size by its owner (bazaarkom), Ashymbek Sydygaliyev.<sup>7</sup> At present, the central part of the bazaar where animals are kept is approximately more than three hectares.

Following the transformation in the 1990s, the name of the bazaar changed as well. In 1997, the bazaar was named Mürök by its owner, Ashymbek Sydygaliyev. This word mentioned in the Manas epic as ‘müröktün suu’ means ‘immortal waters’.<sup>8</sup> This means that such a name was given in the wish, and hope that the bazaar would remain for a long time. This must also mean that the people wished to return to their own culture after independence.

### **Description of the bazaar**

The Mürök bazaar is one of the largest livestock bazaars in the Kyrgyz Republic. The animals are brought to the Mürök bazaar from various bazaars in the districts of Naryn, Isyk Kol, Osh and Jalalabad provinces and from rural areas. Its importance as a link to the other bazaars in the region became the principal reason for the enlargement of the Mürök bazaar.

The Bazaar has two large entrances, one of them on the east side and the other on the western side. Animals and animal loaded vehicles use these gates for entering and for leaving. In the bazaar, there are a couple of loading docks for animals brought in by the vehicles. Overlooking the bazaar can be seen a bit of a mix-up among the animal stalls. However, the space of the bazaar is separated into sections according to animal stalls. On the left side of the eastern entrance of the bazaar, one can see a section reserved for horses called ‘jylky turgan jer’. Cattle and yaks are housed in a section called ‘kara mal turgan jer’. On the right side, goats and sheep are kept in a section called ‘koy echky turgan jer’. There are also sections where items related to the animals are sold, such as tethers, saddles and horseshoes. Also, there are three

places on the left side of the main road and a place on the left side where animals are unloaded from and loaded onto vehicles.

On the south wall of the bazaar, there are some small turnstiles where only people can pass. Outside the southern wall there is a market place where chickens, geese, ducks, pigeons, hares and dogs are sold, apart from animal feed. This part of the bazaar is an important place consisting of 15 restaurants (ashkana), 3 salt shops for animals, 1 veterinary pharmacy (veterinarnaya apteka), and 1 restroom (tualet). This is actually the section of the bazaar which is totally service-oriented towards the entire Mürök bazaar community (see figure 1).

### **Bazaar and Time**

One of the most important issues related to the bazaars is time. The week and seasons of the year are issues that affect the functioning of bazaars. In accordance with these time periods, the number of animals and their prices in bazaars could increase or decrease. In this connection, we are obliged to update our research on a weekly basis. The Mürök bazaar in Tokmok works on the seventh day of the week, which means on Sundays.<sup>9</sup> On that day, intensive shopping is carried out in the bazaar. However, the animals must reach the bazaar the day before it opens. On opening day, the number of animals gradually increases in a kind of snowballing effect. In the evening this density reaches its peak and the process is renewed.

It should be pointed out that the bazaars in other regions operate on other days of the week coinciding with the Mürök bazaar. For instance, the first animal bazaar of the week operates in several villages of Aksy district in Jalalabat on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Following this, larger animal bazaars function in the district centres and provinces, such as Jalalabat, Naryn, Atbashy, Aktalaa and Kazarman on Thursdays and Fridays.<sup>10</sup> On Saturdays, the sixth day of the week, an animal bazaar operates in the district of Kochkor. The bazaar in Kochkor is the largest one in rural regions of the country. That is why the Kochkor bazaar operates a day before the Mürök bazaar. And the other small bazaars in rural areas specify their day of operation in accordance with the Kochkor bazaar. The Mürök bazaar works on Sundays, the last day of the week. The difference is that animals are brought to this bazaar from other bazaars by brokers with camions; and so, this bazaar has become one of the largest animal bazaars in Kyrgyzstan to work on the last day of the week. One of the peculiarities of this bazaar is that the animal dealers and owners from near or distant places bring their animals to sell at this bazaar. This situation plays a significant role in establishing a balance in prices of the wide variety of animals sold in the bazaar. In this connection, customers come to the market from near and far distant places.

The second issue related to time is the season. It seems that every season affects animal bazaars in accordance with their own particular features. In general, spring season is a period that follows the hard winter days. Therefore, the animals which are brought to the bazaar during this season are weak. Animals fed with special meat are sold at high prices in the bazaar.<sup>11</sup> For this reason, it is impossible to have crowds of animals in these seasons in the bazaar. Of course, a situation that has a significant

effect on the animals is that they usually must give birth in spring. Summer is a season when the animals are moved by their owners in Kyrgyzstan to summer pastures to graze. Since not too many animals are brought to the bazaar in this season, prices also become higher. The season that is most intense for the animals in the bazaars is fall. The animals, after being fattened by the beginning of this season start to return from summer pastures. Owners of animal herds who wish to replenish their herds bring many animals to the bazaars to sale before the animals give birth and before they move to summer pastures. Especially in the fall season on Sundays, the number of animals in the Mürök bazaar in Tokmok reaches to high numbers as many as 2,000. This growth continues until the middle and even through end of the winter season.<sup>12</sup>

### **Bazaar Society**

The marketing of livestock appears to be a complex process based on three major steps – (1) procurement and source of the livestock, (2) transportation to the bazaar, and (3) marketing of the livestock.

Different groups are formed in each one of the three stages. Each group has its own function that contributes to a functional network accompanying the three stages. A number of groups take part in this network. We learned through our research that people coming from various sectors of the society work or take part in the Mürök bazaar. Against this background, I believe that a term we can use to describe these people coming from all walks of life would be ‘bazaar society’ (bazaar koomu). We can describe them also as the pioneers of civil society that emerged in the process of an uncertain period of transition.

For a more detailed description to the Bazaar society, we can mention various names and titles such as ‘alyp sataar’ (buyer and seller), ‘mal tartkan’ (transporter of livestock on trucks), bazarkom (a private person, owner of the bazaar), ‘kontroler’ (controller), and ‘ortomchu/daldalchy’ (broker). These are self-established professional groups within the market.

Among these, the ‘alyp sataar’ group appears as a major group playing a more dynamic and efficient role among the bazaar society.<sup>13</sup> An analysis of this ‘alyp sataar’ group leads us to believe that they used to belong to other professions during Soviet times. For instance, in the Mürök bazaar, Almaz Osmanov was an economist in the past, Nurlan Abdyldaev was a zoo-technician,<sup>14</sup> Murzapar Aitaliev was a technologist,<sup>15</sup> Almaz Osmonov was an economist,<sup>16</sup> Anarbek Abykeev was a farmer,<sup>17</sup> Mahmutcan Sabyrov was a driver,<sup>18</sup> Shayloobek Kampabekov was an improvisator (*tökmö akyn*),<sup>19</sup> Anarbek Kichinebay was a butcher,<sup>20</sup> and Zholdoshbek Beishebayev was a driver.<sup>21</sup> In addition, Zhamal Suleyman has been an ‘alyp sataar’ since the Soviet period.<sup>22</sup> There are people without any profession as well. One of them we met is Maksat Apilov.<sup>23</sup> Such people having no prospects in other fields within the transition period and thereafter try to make a lucrative business in a market economy by joining the bazaar society. In addition, the Aлып satar group consists of not only men, but also women<sup>24</sup> as seen in many bazaars in Kyrgyzstan, such as Osh bazaar, Dordoi bazaar and Alamudun bazaar.

The 'alyp sataar' group in general consists of three sub-divisions. The first group consists of people who visit villages in rural areas to purchase and collect livestock to bring to the closest market in rural areas. They are local 'alyp sataars' operating within their districts. These local 'alyp sataars' are active in almost all districts of Kyrgyzstan. Their numbers vary according to the size of the local markets and the quantity of the livestock that they are trading. For instance there are 25–30 'alyp sataars' in Bayetov,<sup>25</sup> the centre of the district Aktalaa comprising 15 villages. They are active in all of these villages. It is useful to mention also that in general these people work individually. In Bayetov, the livestock bazaar is set up on Fridays. The 'alyp sataars' trade in villages with the aim of reaching the bazaar by Friday.

The second 'alyp sataar' group is composed of traders who buy livestock in the district bazaars. This group acts as a direct 'mediator' between rural and urban areas. In other words, they are the people who not only buy the livestock to bring to the Mürök bazaar but also they are the people who establish contacts and connections between the towns and rural areas. Therefore, we can call this group the main dynamics of the bazaar society.

The third group of 'alyp sataar' work within the Mürök bazaar. They purchase the herds, paying a gross price and reselling them retail in the market. This sector consists of people living in and around Tokmok. They have all the means of observing developments in the Mürök bazaar since they live there. Their number exceeds 100. Within this group not only ethnic Kyrgyz are active but people from different origins, such as Russians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Dughans, Tatars, Akhyska Turks, etc. are also operational.<sup>26</sup>

The 'mal tartkan' group constitutes the second largest group among the bazaar society. They operate depending on the 'alyp sataar'. Their possessions are the trucks used for transport. Their duty is to reach the Mürök bazaar with the livestock they transport. Their trucks are of different brands, such as Kamaz, Zil, Gaz-24, Gaz-52 and Gaz-53. These are the transport vehicles inherited from the Soviet period. The owners of these trucks are essentially drivers who later owned their vehicles through the privatisation process following the independence of Kyrgyzstan.<sup>27</sup> In the fall, a period of concentrated activity in the Mürök bazaar, the number of vehicles entering the bazaar reaches about 100. Including drivers' assistants, one can say that the number of people included in this group is around 200. Together with their assistants, the 'mal tartkan' group comprises about 1,500 persons. The 'mal tartkan' in general come from the local market districts. Among these, one can see some 'alyp sataar' as well. The 'mal tartkan' receive a transportation fee according to the number of livestock they transport. The cost of transport changes according to the distance and the gender of the animal. For example, for each head of cattle and for each horse transported from Aktalaa an amount of 1,000 soms (approx. US\$ 20) and from the village of Akchaly in neighbourhood of Tokmok an amount of 300 soms (approx. US\$ 7) are usually paid.<sup>28</sup>

Another group of the bazaar society could be called the bazaar administration. It includes the owner of the bazaar and the bazaar staff as well. In the bazaar, the

owner of the market is called 'bazaarkom'. The last 'bazaarkom' of the bazaar was Ashymbek Sydygaliev who died three years ago. At present time, this duty has been assumed by his sons and bridegroom, Omor Zhamangulov. About seven or eight people, mostly relatives of the 'bazaarkom' work to assist the 'bazaarkom'. They normally stand on the sidelines of the entrances to the bazaar to supervise the movements of the cattle. Thus, they are called 'kontrolers' (controllers). In addition, there are officials in the bazaar. They are the veterinarians and the 'militia police'. The 'militia' in the Mürök bazaar are also called 'sakchy', which means 'protector or preserver' in bazaar terminology. In the Mürök bazaar, there are about 6 'militia' officers and six veterinarians.

Another group of people in the bazaar society, even though very few in number, were the 'ortomchu' or 'daldalchy' (brokers), whom we met in the bazaar in 2008. They walk around the bazaar surveying the offers and demands of the market. They are the people who introduce the customers and sellers to the relevant price levels. However, we did not meet them during recent observations in the bazaar. According to an informant, the reason is that the 'alyp sataar' do the bargaining themselves, and therefore, they do not need an 'ortomchu' or 'daldalchy' at the present time.

### **Bazaar and the State**

The relationship between the state and the bazaar can be seen from two approaches. The first one is the study of the intervention of state authorities in the steps involved in transporting the livestock from their region to the bazaar. In the bazaar, there are no random offers and purchases of the livestock. Government authorities interfere in three stages: at the source in the rural areas, in the local markets, and at check points on the roads and in the Mürök bazaar. In the village, the 'Aiyl Ökmötü' (village administration) and the veterinarian first issue a document (spravka). This document shows the colour and age as well as the health of the animal. This constitutes the first intervention by state authorities at the source.

The second intervention by state authorities takes place in the local markets. At the entrance of the local bazaars, the documents issued by the 'Aiyl Ökmötü' are controlled by the 'militia' and a veterinarian, and another document is issued by them to give the owner of the livestock permission to enter and to sell the livestock in the local market. These documents are necessary in order to leave the market with the purchased livestock. The livestock trucks bound for the Mürök bazaar are controlled at check points called 'bajy'.

The third intervention by government authorities takes place at the entrance to the Mürök bazaar. All documents are controlled there by the veterinarians and the 'militia'. They then issue new documents called 'talon' (in Russian), which are checked at the exit from the bazaar.

The second approach to study the relationship between the state and the bazaar consists of analysing the management of the bazaar. The area of the Mürök bazaar is private property belonging to one person called the 'bazaarkom'. The owner of the property and his assistants are responsible for the security of the bazaar, but they



do not interfere in the management. They only supervise the entrance and exit of animals to and from the bazaar. The internal functioning of the bazaar is organised by the 'alyp sataar' people themselves. As mentioned, some of the informants in the Mürök bazaar said that they have never seen the 'bazaarkom'. It is interesting to note that the relationship between the government authorities and the management of the bazaar has proven to be very weak. The veterinarians are not appointed by the government; they are recruited by the 'bazaarkom'.

As we observed during the field research, the bazaar has two problems. One is cleanliness, and the other is security. Also, when it rains, the bazaar space turns into a swamp. During rainy days, the buyers and sellers perform their transactions in very dirty places. Besides, there is no lightening system in the bazaar. Therefore, the sellers and buyers have to use hand torches when the Mürök bazaar starts at midnight.

In this context, we need to talk about the issue of security, because in the absence of a lighting system informants told us that some buyers and sellers were robbed in the dark.<sup>29</sup> What is interesting here is that the 'militsia' and security guards reacted very weakly. That is why the sellers of the bazaar try to solve their security problems by themselves.

### **Kinship Relations**

According to our observations, there are several types of kinship relations in bazaar society. Generally a variety of kinship relations can be seen, but here we will emphasize only two of them. These are the group of relatives and the sense of fellow countrymen (aiyldash).

The group of relatives is interesting because during the field research in the Mürök bazaar, we met several groups of relatives who were engaged with animal dealings in the bazaar. For example, Cholponbek Dushenbiev, who migrated from Naryn in 1994, bought a house in Tokmok and he has several animal courtyards for different kinds of animals in his present house.<sup>30</sup> He keeps a lot of horses, cows and sheep there. He has four married daughters and all of them live in Tokmok, specifically in the neighbourhood of their fathers. Since the husbands of three of them work in the Mürök bazaar, they keep very close relations with the house of the father. All those sons-in-law are animal dealers (alyp sataar), and they engage in independent business with each other. In this connection, they can help each other in many bazaar activities, including financial support like short-time borrowing. At the end of the bazaar, all of them bring their unsold animals to their father-in-law, Cholponbek.

The second kin relation in the bazaar is the relationship among the fellow countrymen. The best example of this is the relationship between the truck owners and animal dealers. In this connection, many animal dealers take animals from their home villages and of course they choose the truck owners from the same village in order to carry the animals to the bazaar. That is why many animal dealers do business with their fellow countrymen. Especially in the transportation in animals, one truck

owner told me that if he could not sell his animals in the bazaar, it is possible to pay the truck owner a couple weeks later. This is because they are fellow countrymen.

### **Bazaar and Money**

Markets are undoubtedly places where money is circulated. When we talk about animal markets in Kyrgyzstan, the amount of money circulated there is extensive. The Mürök bazaar is a very good example of this. In addition, the Mürök bazaar serves as a central place for the circulation of money between urban and rural areas. In other words, a network has been created among the animal bazaars, and thus the money flows towards rural areas within the network. For instance, in the case of the Mürök bazaar, animal dealers bring a large amount of money which they made in urban animal markets to very far distant rural places. If we take into consideration animal prices in urban markets, for example, horses 50,000 soms (approx. US\$ 1072) per head,<sup>31</sup> cows per head cost 30,000 soms (approx. US\$ 643), sheep 4,500 soms (approx. US\$ 96) per head, and goat 2,000 soms (approx. US\$ 42), this is a clear indicator of how large amounts of money are transferred to rural areas.

Secondly, we need to take into account another area in the circulation of money. This is the money which is used to transport animals from rural bazaars to urban bazaars. Specifically this is the money which is paid for transportation to the truck and lorry owners (*mal tartkan*) by the animal dealers. The vehicles can carry from 6 to 11 heads of cattle, or 20 sheep or goats according to vehicle size and the prices according to distance. For example, vehicle owners get between 800 (approx. US\$ 17) and 1,000 soms (approx. US\$ 21) per head of cattle and 350 soms (approx. US\$ 7.5) per head of small-scale animals like sheep, for a distance of about 500 km. Also, vehicle owners get between 300 (approx. US\$ 6.4) and 400 soms (approx. US\$ 8.5) per head of cattle and 100 (approx. US\$ 2) or 150 soms (approx. US\$ 3) per head of small-scale animals like sheep, for a short distance.

Apart from this, there are other fees which are collected by officials for the state. These are the veterinarians and policemen. For example, veterinarians provide security references on the health of the animals at the source and second, security references are given by the local policemen at the entrance to the bazaars. These references help the animal dealers or owners of the animals to reach the bazaars and to pass legally through control stations. Here some emphasis could be made to official withdrawals of money for the state: 40 soms for veterinarians, 20 soms for policemen for cattle and yaks, and 15 + 5 soms for sheep and goats for the same officials. In addition, at the entrance, 30 soms per head of cattle like horse and cow and 15 soms per head of sheep and goats are paid to the bazaar administration. Also, the bazaar administration gets 25 soms at the entrance for a camion (*gruzovih avtomashini*), 20 soms for a small car (*legkoviy* and *mototsikl*), and 21 soms for a small camion, Uaz (*Uralskiy Avtomobilniy Zavod*) and Raf (*Rigiskaya Avtomobilnaya Fabrika*).<sup>32</sup>

### **Animal Sources and Composition**

Nomadism was considered a way of life of Kyrgyz society in the pre-Soviet times.

It is a fact that livestock herding was the main economic activity. Within this context, Kyrgyz society was totally integrated into both the nomadic way of life and livestock herding. Thus, nomadism or pastoral life has never stopped functioning in Kyrgyzstan. The underlying reason is that 95 per cent of the geographical area of Kyrgyzstan consists of hills and mountains. And the wide pastures like Son Kol, Sausamyr and Arpa have been used in pre-Soviet, Soviet and post-Soviet times by Kyrgyz pastoralist families.<sup>33</sup>

In the years of collectivisation, animals were forcibly transformed from private hands to state property. The state created paid herders called 'chaban' to herd the animals that were collected. The Soviet state tried to take advantage of animal husbandry for economic interests, and so paid extra attention and gave multi-directional support to the provinces where most of population was engaged in livestock herding.

But within this context, it is a fact that families owned limited numbers of animals in their households. People were not allowed to increase the numbers of animals, but they could increase their varieties. So before and after collectivisation, the Kyrgyz families used to have six kinds of animals, which included horses, cows, camels, yaks, sheep and goats. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the animal husbandry sector also fell. Actually all the animals belonging to the state were distributed to families on a person-by-person basis. Here, the core of private animals within households was a mixture of private and state-given animals. At present, most of the animals circulated in the bazaar network originate from the animals of households in rural areas.

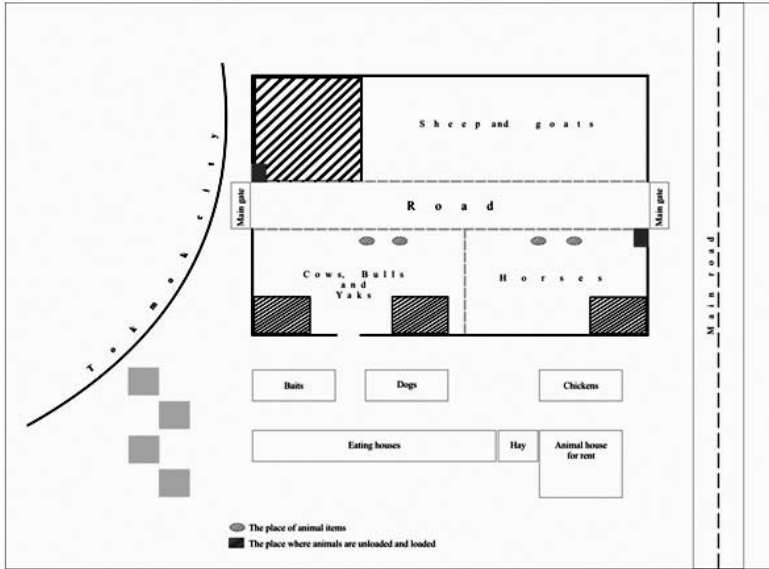
As for the composition of the animals in the bazaar, there is a famous Kyrgyz phrase related to their animal species: 'tört tülük mal' means 'four kinds of animals'. These are horses, cows, sheep and goats. It is a fact that the actual composition of animals in the Mürök bazaar consists of these animals. However, apart from these animals, it is possible to find small numbers of other kinds of animals, such as yaks and camels. As far as it can be observed, the largest number of animals can reach to 2,000 in the bazaar in fall. Animals included in this number consist of approximately 55 per cent sheep and goats, 25 per cent cows, 17 per cent horses, and 3 per cent camels and yaks.

## **Conclusion**

The transition period following the dissolution of the Soviet Union brought a lot of unexpected social, economic administrative and political problems. People faced with this situation are still trying to cope. In our opinion, traditional methods and values are seen as a way out, and the emerging market assumes greater importance. Therefore, bazaar culture has never lost its function. It is becoming even more common and diversified. As the case of the Mürök bazaar in Tokmok, the emergence of animal markets in Kyrgyzstan shows that Kyrgyz society has preserved their traditional lifestyles, partly during the Soviet period. Here it should be noted that in periods, such as the transition period, relations and connections between the towns

and rural areas were weak. However, important structures such as bazaars play an intermediary role between the two areas. In this connection, bazaars refresh social and economic relations between the towns and rural areas.

**Figure 1: The Plan of Mürök Bazaar**



## Notes

1. For a recent monographic study related to the period of Turkic Khaganates which developed urban culture and trade in the Chui valley, see V. D. Goryacheva, *Gorodskaya Kultura Tyurkskih Kaganatov na Tiyan-Shane (seredina VI – nachala XIII v.)*, Bishkek 2009.
2. For more information on Kokand Khanate, see V. M. Ploskih, *Kirgizy i Kokandskoe Hanstvo*, Frunze 1977. For a political and geographic report written by Russians related to the Kokand Khanate before the Russian sovereignty, see “Obozrenie Kokanskago Hanstva. V Nyneshnem Sostyanie”, *Zapiski Russkago Geograficheskago Obshestva*, III, Sankpeterburg 1849, pp. 176-216.
3. For general information on Tokmok, see “Tokmok”, *Kyrgyz Sovet Entsiklopediyasy*, V, pp. 629-631.
4. This mesjit (Mosque) including service rooms and a large garden, according to its imam, was established between 1991 and 1994, (Interview on November 20, 2011, Tokmok city, Kyrgyzstan).
5. Mirsharif Pazyldjanov (born in 1932) is from Tokmok city, Chui Province (Interview on November 20, 2011, Tokmok city, Kyrgyzstan); Masudahan Pazyldjanov (born in 1935) is from Tokmok city, Chui Province (Interview on November 20, 2011, Tokmok city, Kyrgyzstan).
6. Murzapar Aitaliev (born in 1968) is from Kashka Suu village, Aksy raion (district), Jalalabad Province (Interview on May 28, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan); Mirsharif Pazyldjanov.

7. Omor Zhamangulov (born in 1965) is from Burana village, Chui raion (district), Chui Province (First interview on October 12, 2008, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan, and second interview on November 20, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan); Murzapar Aitaliev; Zhamal Suleyman (born in 1953) is from Burana village, Chui raion (district), Chui Province (Interview on May 28, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan); Adyl Nurmatov (born in 1932) is from Tokmok city, Chui Province (Interview on November 20, 2011, Tokmok city, Kyrgyzstan); Sadat Imanhodjayeva (born in 1933) is from Tokmok city, Chui Province (Interview on November 20, 2011, Tokmok city, Kyrgyzstan).
8. See E. Abdylidaev, “Müröktün Suusu”, *Manas Entsiklopediya*, II, Bishkek 1995, p. 119.
9. Nurlan Alymkulov (born in 1976) is from Beisheke village, Kemin raion (district), Chui Province (Interview on November 13, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan); Duishon Kairanov (born in 1965) is from Aral village, Chui raion (district), Chui Province (Interview on November 13, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
10. Nurlan Abdylidaev (born in 1967) is from Kurtka village, Aktalaa raion (district), Naryn Province (Interview on May 28, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan); Moldobek Kalnazarov (born in 1967) is from Kurtka village, Aktalaa raion (district), Naryn Province (Interview on May 28, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan); Zhamal Suleyman.
11. Omor Zhamangulov; Almaz Osmonov (born in 1977) is from Tokmok city, Chui Province (Interview on May 28, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
12. Maksat Apilov (born in 1980) is from Kurtka village, Aktalaa raion (district), Naryn Province (Interview on May 28, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
13. Different terminology is used in different regions to mean the *alyp sataar* group. In Naryn region they are called *mal algandar*. In Osh and Jalalabad, they are called *jylky alarman*, in Issik Kul region they are called *jylky alyjuu*. In pre-Soviet and Soviet times, they were called *kyzyl kulak* or *chaikoochu*. *Kyzyl kulak* indicates that the *alyp sataar* were not a welcome people within society in the Soviet period. The second term may suggest the qualification of the person as someone earning money without any effort by only being an intermediary in the livestock trade. In traditional society and culture, traders were not really appreciated. This approach is much stronger in rural areas.
14. Nurlan Abdylidaev (see note 10).
15. For Murzapar Aitaliev, see note 6.
16. For Almaz Osmonov, see note 11.
17. Anarbek Abykeev (born in 1976) is from Beisheke village, Kemin raion (district), Chui Province (Interview on November 13, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
18. Mahmutcan Sabyrov (born in 1949) is from Tokmok city, Chui Province (Interview on November 13, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
19. Shailoobek Kampabekov (born in 1970) is from Atbashy raion (district), Naryn Province (Interview on November 13, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
20. Anarbek Kichinebay (born in 1978) is from Ottuk village, Naryn raion (district), Naryn Province (Interview on November 13, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
21. Zholdoshbek Beishebeyev (born in 1960) is from Alchaly village, Chui raion (district), Chui Province (Interview on November 13, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
22. For Zhamal Suleyman, see footnote 7.
23. For Maksat Apilov, see note 12.
24. Luba Shutova (born in 1957) is from Isyk Ata raion (district), Chui Province (Interview on October 12, 2008, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan); Ainagul Imanova (born in 1960) is from Isyk Kol raion (district), Isyk Kol Province (Interview on November 13, 2011, Mürök bazaar,

- Kyrgyzstan); Aida Dushenbieva (born in 1974) is from Naryn raion, Naryn Province (Interview on November 13, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
25. Moldobek Kalnazarov, see note 10.
  26. Luba Shutova; Zhamal Suleyman; Duishon Kairanov; Asman Kadimoglu (born in 1965) is from Yurevka village, Isyk Ata raion (district), Chui Province (Interview on November 13,, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
  27. Zholdoshbek Beishebayev; Amurkan Ismailov (born in 1963) is from Yurevka village, Isyk Ata raion (district), Chui Province (Interview on November 13, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
  28. Maksat Apilov; Zholdoshbek Beishebayev, see note 12 and note 21 respectively.
  29. Ainagul Imanova, see note 24.
  30. Cholponbek Dushenbiev (born in 1947) is from Ottuk village, Naryn raion, Naryn Province (Interview on November 13, 2011, Mürök bazaar, Kyrgyzstan).
  31. US\$ 1 = 46.6 Kyrgyz som.
  32. These prices are based on the priceboard hanging at the entrance of the bazaar. The “raf” term here is written incorrectly as the “rav”.
  33. For wider information see Baktybek Isakov, *XX. Yüzyılın Başından Bugüne Kadar Sonköl'deki Yayla Hayatı* (Summer Pasture Life in Son Kol from the beginning of the XXth century until now), Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University, Unpublished Doctorate thesis, Bishkek 2011; İlhan Sahin, “Social and Economic Changes in the Transition: The Case of Suusamir Valley in Kyrgyzstan”, in Suchandana Chatterjee and Anita Sengupta (eds.) *Communities Institutions and 'Transition' in Post-1991 Eurasia*, New Delhi 2011, pp. 317-325.

### 3 ■ Two Decades of Transformation in Higher Education System of Kazakhstan

*Bek-Ali Yerzhan*

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Kazakhstan is in the process of state-building for the last 20 years. It witnessed Khan Rule, and Soviet kind of state. It has no experience, whatsoever, in what it is building today. In the process, no one guarantees flawless process. The important is to keep process in the right direction.

The urgent and complex task for Kazakhstan includes but not limited to evolutionary shift into new state, reform in education, meeting current and upcoming development and strategic goals, and creating a healthy, highly educated and mobile society.<sup>1</sup>

In the 20th century, we measured a nation's wealth primarily by its natural resources, its land mass, its population and its army. In the 21st century, the true wealth of a nation is found in the creative minds of its people and their ability to innovate.<sup>2</sup>

In general terms, the state-building process includes military build-up, functioning of integrated economy, and vibrant culture, constructive and genuine political institutions. However, all these essential elements of a state-building are interlinked to education. We know from many success stories that education makes miracles because it brings innovation, development and sustainable growth. It has influence on Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth, social cohesion and social well-being.<sup>3</sup> It is a well accepted fact that a state which depends upon others for upgrading its basic scientific knowledge will be slow in its progress and weak in its competitive position in the world stage.

This paper focuses on one of the higher educational institutions in Kazakhstan, and aims at finding out the objectives of Higher Educational Institution (HEI) reforms and current process of its implementation. Is there any match between what happens in HEI and state-building in general? What are the expected outcomes of the current reforms in HEI? How will the state transform as a result of post-Soviet education policy in Kazakhstan?

Despite significance of the higher education, it remains untapped. So far, the attention was on state-building process, focusing on military, politics, and economy. The reform in education has touched upon different levels such as primary, secondary and higher education. It covered the Bologna process, and subsequent reforms in higher education system. The impact of different scholarship programmes on education was researched in several scholarly works. So far, the research in education has examined impact of curricula, academic standards and accountability, testing procedures, school and class size, parental choice, etc. However, the research on

interlink of state-building and education has not been done. The influence of current reforms in HEI and change of Kazakh state are out of contemporary research. It is hoped that our paper based on research will help to build a foundation for future investigations of issues surrounding HEI and state-building in Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan is home to 148 higher educational institutions, nine of which have national status, two of which have international, 32 states, 12 of which are military institutions, and 93 are private institutions in Kazakhstan. There are 5,95,000 students who are studying in those institutions.<sup>4</sup> In order to have focused prioritisation, the government granted national status to 9,00,00,000 universities. These universities are funded and supported by the government. They are supposed to be exemplary leaders in different fields.

In 2010, the government inaugurated the new Nazarbayev University, which has a long way ahead before joining the elite universities in the continent. The university is supposed to be an experimental platform for the higher education system in Kazakhstan. In 2011, the Kazakh government closed bachelor degree scholarships and increased Masters and PhD studies through the Bolashak scholarship programme. Thus, it shifted focus towards research and fundamental sciences.

The objectives of education are outlined in various documents. The law on education of 1999 and updated law of 2007 outline principles for different levels of education in Kazakhstan. It proclaims adherence to democratic principles such as freedom of inquiry, creativity, independence, freedom of choice. The 2001 law on science was replaced by the 2011 law. The law introduced a Research University. This type of university has autonomy in standards and curriculum development and mainly focuses on graduate studies and research.<sup>5</sup>

The strategy of educational development, its dimensions and ambitions are given in the Education development programme (2005-10), State Programme of Education (2011-20), and Science development programme (2007-12). The Education development programme (2005-10) aims at creating a three-level education system. The Science programme stresses on creating technological and engineering schools.<sup>6</sup> The State programme on education (2011-20) analyses current situation at all educational levels and presents objectives for the next 10 years. The programme proposes corporate governance of a HEI through state, business and civil society participation. However, the programme does not give any idea about mechanism, responsibility, and implementers of the project.

In the 20 years of its transformation, the most difficult work to carry out by the HEI in Kazakhstan is to prepare skilled people with sound academic credentials and qualifications, and personal characteristics to become good teachers. They have to have life-long learning ambitions. Experience shows that teachers usually improve in their first three years, and then they stagnate for the next 20 years. This is not what is required for improvements in education. There is one principle that has to be kept in mind all the time. It is by investing in quality, capability and capacity of the teaching staff, and by consistently looking for outstanding people and train them really well that the country can achieve highest levels of education. Such teachers



can lead the reforms in education.<sup>7</sup> Azeem Premji, CEO of Wipro, in one of his talks in CFR (Council for Foreign Relations) mentioned that if you have good human resources, it means that 60 per cent of any work is already done. Referring to a movie – Karate kid – which released in 2010, he underlined that there is no such thing as a bad student, but a bad teacher.

The teaching staff in Kazakhstan is overloaded with teaching, administrative compliance, checking reports, and other extra unnecessary paper works and meetings. The annual workload fluctuates between 700-1,000 academic hours, whereas globally, it is 200-300 hours in universities where qualitative research is produced.<sup>8</sup> Generally, in Kazakhstan, the faculty lacks necessary support, means, and incentives to pursue research and innovation. They are now mainly engaged in ceaseless teaching without any research. The research is generally pursued as a hobby but not as a part of teaching career and profession. They have less time for the preparation of course materials and update their knowledge. The way out is more funded opportunities for professional development and reduction of non-academic work burden. This would improve the teaching and learning quality.

It is worth mentioning that there also exists a clash of generations. The tension is felt at all levels of education management and teaching. The harmonious system of passing good traditions and openness for changes has to be sorted out in order to make education flexible and effective. It might be achieved through seminars and corporate games.

The second issue is the structure, which involves research and autonomy of university. Almost all universities in Kazakhstan have to follow course requirements set by the government. In addition, the universities offer their own optional/elective courses. Due to high academic hour requirements from the government, there is less room for optional/elective courses. Students are overloaded with the courses. And they have less time for homeworks and creative activities. The state programme (2011-20) proposes enhancement of university autonomy, limiting state interference by 2018. The state will only have licensing rights.<sup>9</sup>

In the research field, scientific laboratories and centres are separate from higher educational institutions. The effectiveness comes from joint venture of universities and research centers. Currently, the universities are trying to establish their own research centres, since attempts to integrate with the existing centres face fierce opposition from centres themselves. The reason is that research centres have their own budget and buildings. In a case of their joining to university system, they will lose all financial preferences and control.

The academic freedom and freedom of inquiry are essential elements of any kind of creativity and development. These elements are integral part of a HEI. A HEI is supposed to encourage critical thinking. It is a place of open communication where any idea can be challenged and contested. A HEI has to accept radical and extreme thinking. If university community does not accept it, then a society won't have necessary skepticism for further development. But once radical views are proposed, they should be defended. At the same time, one can not expect that if you

give academic freedom and autonomy to a university, then there will be a spurt in innovations and discoveries. Even in great and leading universities of the world, a lot of people from academia do not contribute to growth of knowledge and innovation. But no one can deny that in an atmosphere of academic freedom and autonomy, one has more chances for innovation and discoveries.

Financing is another burning issue. The proportion of expenditure on education in Kazakh GDP has to be increased up to 1 per cent. The current 0.30 per cent is not enough for rapid development in the field and does not meet declared ambitions. However, there is a steady increase in the funding. In 2011, 29 billion Kazakh Tenge (KZT) was spent on education. In 2012, the amount is slated to increase to 42 bn KZT. It means a 42 per cent growth.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, transparency, accountability and independent audit have to be introduced to monitor flow of funding and its efficacy.<sup>11</sup> The increase of faculty salary and student stipend is only first step in education funding. The necessary funding is to be used for creating academic atmosphere, infrastructure and campus. The academic atmosphere includes academic buildings with full technical support, residences, laboratories, sport facilities, medical centres, libraries, dining halls and security.

The next aspect is improvement of quality and achieving international standards. The first thing to do is to set very clear standards. These standards should be internationally benchmarked.<sup>12</sup> The goal to meet international standards needs some time and a lot of efforts. Present experience of Kazakhstan shows that things are not done simply by pouring money and copying of some foreign experiences without properly preparing necessary human resources, infrastructure and management. It has to be long-term process, not limited to a certain minister's personal initiatives. There are three international examples that show high effectiveness in education in a short period of time. They are Alberta in Canada, Singapore and Finland. These three different countries represent different context and success stories completely. However, it does not mean that if Kazakhstan follows the example of Finland, it can have the same success; it is a gradual process. One improves from fair to good, from good to excellent, and so on. One can not jump ahead from fair to excellent.<sup>13</sup>

Institutionally, the improvement comes from an independent accrediting agency or agencies with the direct involvement of professional associations which will be responsible for quality assessment. This idea has been incorporated in the 2011-20 State programme. Questions still remain about the mechanisms and implementation.<sup>14</sup> Currently the quality assessment of education is finalised through annual National report on Education. It focuses on such aspects as state's actions in providing effective education, quality of educational management, outcomes of the education. It is a new experiment in self-assessment of education. However, the report does not include employer and HEIs' relationships and comparative analysis of level of education globally. The report often refers to global standards without specifying and giving criteria for those standards. It is full of vague and general

concepts. Thus, clear, independent and professional assessing agency and defined standards are way forward in the self-evaluation process.

Governance and management are necessary if Kazakhstan wants to be successful in its state-building endeavors. One needs to have good educationists as leaders who can create a conducive climate for the faculty and students. And it should be knowledge that every learning person can achieve and his/her background should not mean anything.<sup>15</sup> Today, a rector is appointed by the the country's President in state universities. There is a plan to have elections for a rector position in the universities from 2013. This procedure if implemented correctly will definitely add to the quality of management.

In conclusion, it should be said that declarations and laws on education in Kazakhstan ideally fit internationally-recognised standards. Question remains, however, in their implementation, accountability, transparency and governance.

## Notes

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7. Talk by A. Premji in CFR, <http://www.cfr.org/education/conversation-azim-h-premji/p24111> accessed on September 09, 2011.
8. Interview with R. Alshanov retrieved from <http://www.nomad.su/?a=10-201002260027> accessed on July 11, 2011.
9. 2011-20 State programme in education. [http://www.edu.gov.kz/ru/zakonodatelstvo/gosudarstvennaja\\_programma\\_razvitija\\_obrazovanija/](http://www.edu.gov.kz/ru/zakonodatelstvo/gosudarstvennaja_programma_razvitija_obrazovanija/)
10. Speech by B. Zhumagulov, minister for education and science of Kazakhstan, in the meeting with foreign businessmen in Kazakhstan, Astana, November 24, 2011.
11. Interview with Sir Michael Barber, head of the Global Education Practice at McKinsey & Company, Improving the quality of education, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ltAeLXUCqaQ&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ltAeLXUCqaQ&feature=player_embedded).
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## 4 ■ Siberia and Far East Facing Economic Migrants: The Outcomes of the First Decade of the 21st Century

*Natalia Ablazhey*

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Between the censuses of 1989 and 2010, the population of Russia decreased by 4.5 million people. The expected perspective of demographic development of Russia is its natural diminution, which will be about 6.4 million in 2025 because of depopulation and aging of population, while labour force will decrease by 10.4 million.<sup>1</sup> In such a situation, immigration is going to become the major source of compensation for population decrease, and economic migrants will have to compensate the deficit of labour resources. Migrants who arrived in Russia between 1989 and 2010 caused the increase of its population by 6 million.

Huge territories of Russia (Siberia and Far East) are now poorly populated regions with ongoing sustainable population diminishing. For 1990s, the population of Siberia decreased by 5 per cent and Far East by 1 per cent. In 2002-10, between two censuses, population of the Siberian Federal District (SFD) decreased by 4 per cent, of the Far Eastern Federal District (FEFD) by 6 per cent. Now there are 19.3 million people residing in Siberia and 6.3 million people who live in Russia's far-Eastern territories.<sup>2</sup> Historically, the population of Siberia and Far East was formed by migrants. The development of these outskirts of Russia and their natural resources is impossible without stable and substantial migration. However, traditional sources of migrants for this territory such as European Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia to Siberia and Far East have already been exhausted. Siberia and Far East are located on the cross-road of mighty migration streams from Asia – the region that possesses surplus labour resources.

Migration situation has been very dynamic during the twenty Post-Soviet years. Before addressing specifics of the labour migration to Russia, we should refer to the changes in the 1990s. The transformation of Soviet space into Post-Soviet space became one of the key consequences of the collapse of the USSR. On the one hand, inter-republic migration became interstate one, and disintegration of previously united labour market took place. On the other hand, migration contributed to the inclusion of the Post-Soviet countries into international labour market and became a catalyst to the integration processes on the Post-Soviet scene. The market economy and visa-free relations stimulated international mobility of labour force and formation of the united labour market, spontaneous in some respects. Russia has become a centre of the Post-Soviet migration system. By the end of 1990s, the labour migration has become the dominating trend of migration. In parallel, it was just a starting phase for setting up several regional migration subsystems including the Asian one,<sup>3</sup> which are located in the zone of Russia, the CIS and other countries. Formation of these migration subsystems was conditioned by uneven economic

development of different countries, differences in their demographic potential and disparity on the labour markets.

In the 1990s, there was predominantly forced-by-circumstances migration in the Post-Soviet space. Even economic migrants were in fact 'economic refugees'. Officially registered economic migration to Russia in 1990s was rather limited, somewhere around 2,00,000 to 3,00,000. These data do not correlate with real scale of migration since immigration to Russia was mostly illegal. Some 50 per cent of immigration was represented by migrants from the CIS countries. Chinese migration was also substantial but the share of China in officially registered labour migration hardly exceeded 10-11 per cent. However, according to experts' evaluation, at the edge of 20th and 21st century, there were some 3-4 million labour migrants from the CIS countries in Russia. Among them, were 1.5 million were from the Caucasus countries, 1 mn from Ukraine and 1 mn from the Central Asian countries.

In the 1990s and beginning 2000s, there were several anti-China campaigns in Russia but the issue of 'Chinese threat' was exaggerated. The fear of mass illegal migration from China is typical for Russian administration and population. Expectation of potential Chinese expansion is connected not just with mass illegal migration but with Chinese interest in the natural resources of Siberia. In reality, by the beginning of 2000s, Chinese migration stabilised at the level of some 3,00,000 people and its illegal component was minimised.

In the 1990s, the labour migration became the most mass type of migration to Russia. It is also worth mentioning here that migration potential to the Russian Federation, first of all, is concentrated in the Post-Soviet countries.

Sustainable and planned registration of external migrants in Russia was introduced in last ten years only. The database for legal migrants as referred to in the beginning of 2000s did not correlate with reality. Officially, the number of labour migrants in 2000 slightly exceeded 2,00,000, in 2006 – more than 1 million, and in 2010 – some 2.5 million. Illegal migration was assessed to be 4 to 15 million. Partial legalisation of labour migrants took place in 2006-07. However, in parallel with liberalisation of legislation, some preventive actions were introduced, such as introducing quotas for foreign labour force, not just for non-CIS countries but for the CIS countries as well. According to the Russia's Federal Migration Service, there are 3-4 mn illegal labour migrants working in the country. Chinese component in external labour migration to Russia has now decreased to 6.5 per cent of the total migration. According to the Russia's Statistical Agency, the number of Koreans working in Russia was 26,200 in 2000, 38,600 in 2001, 38,700 in 2002, 72,800 in 2003, 91,400 in 2004, 1,60,600 in 2005, 2,10,800 in 2006, 2,28,800 in 2007, and 2,81,700 in 2008.<sup>4</sup>

By the end of the first decade of 2000s, half the migration flow to Russia (1.2 million) was formed by the Central Asia component. Currently, Russia has become the major migration partner for the Central Asian countries, and is the key importer of labour force from this region. The Central Asian countries became the major

supplier of labour migrants, and Kazakhstan just played the role of a transit corridor. Four main parameters characterise this migration flow:

- Cross-border character of a substantial segment of labour migrants from Central Asia to Russia. The Central Asian migration subsystem possesses very substantial potential of migrants. Predominantly, labour migration in these countries is not regulated by the states. By some expert assessments, the share of labour migrants in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan varies from 25 to 50 per cent of economically active population of these countries. In Uzbekistan it is equal to 15–25 per cent and even more.<sup>5</sup> In Tajikistan, labour migration became the basic component of the national economy and the important part of the state strategy of employment. One out of four migrants from the southern Central Asian republics is employed in Kazakhstan, the rest three are busy in Russia.
- Division of the Central Asian migration to Russia into legal and illegal components. The share of illegal migration on visa-free territories of the CIS is very high. The share of unregulated migration out of total migration from Uzbekistan to Russia varies from 52 to 65 per cent, for Kyrgyzstan this figures are higher, for Tajikistan they reach 93 per cent.<sup>6</sup>
- Two flows that characterise geography of the transit migration from Kazakhstan. The Western flow goes across western and northern provinces of this country and is directed to the European part of Russia. The Eastern flow goes across border regions of Russia (Altai, Omsk and Novosibirsk provinces), and connects the donor countries with Western and Eastern Siberia. At the moment, some 20 per cent of migrants constitute the Western flow but its share is steadily increasing.
- The major trend is the increasing share of the ingenious people of the Central Asian countries in the structure of migration.

The situation related to the attractiveness and utilisation of foreign labour force differs a lot in different territories in Russia. In the 1990s, a substantial part of labour migrants concentrated on the border regions of Russia. Then the tendency changed, and labour migrants spread across the whole country. Some 40 per cent of labour migrants are now employed in the Central region, first of all in Moscow agglomeration. They constitute from 1.5 to 5 per cent of the economically active population there.<sup>7</sup> In 2006–07 in Russia as a whole, the share of foreign labour migrants in 2008 reached 3.4 per cent, in SFD – 3 per cent, in Ural Federal District, and in FEFD – 5 per cent. Today some 30 per cent of migrants (8,00,000) are employed in the economies of Siberia, the Urals and the Far East. The number of migrants in the Far Eastern territories increased to 1,74,000 (4 times) in 2002–08, in the Urals – to 3,21,000 (7 times), and in Siberia – to 2,89,000 people (10 times).<sup>8</sup>

The share of the Siberian regions in accepting migrants has got a stable tendency to increase. In general, Siberia as a cross-border territory to Central Asia is now taking a lead in attracting international labour migration. Substantial portion of labour migration is used in Irkutsk, Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk and Zabaykalskiy provinces. Utilization of foreign labour force is traditionally high in the northern

oil and gas extraction enterprises, which are territorially located in the Ural Federal District.

On the contrary, the share of the Far East is decreasing in utilisation of labour force. In 2005, in the total foreign labour force, 40 per cent migrants were from China. More than 60 per cent of labour migrants were concentrated along the border territories of Russia. In 2006-07, the Chinese migrants utilised 70 per cent of quotas for foreign labour force from countries that require visa for Russia. In 2008, this parameter sharply decreased to 35 per cent while Russian demand remained at a high level. In 2009, the quota for Chinese workers in the border regions of Russia was diminished by 2-4 times, and general quotas for foreign labour force (visa-requiring) decreased. A lot of foreign labour force is still used in Vladivostok and Khabarovsk, but in general, a trend for increasing labour force from Central Asia, mostly from Uzbekistan, is visible in Russian Far East now.

Labour-intensive professions and some specific sectors of labour market dominate the structure of labour migration to Russia. Migrants' (or ethnic) 'niches' of employment are clearly visible in industrial centres, in the agricultural regions in the South of Russia, along the border territories, and in big cities. According to an official data, 40 per cent of migrants are employed in construction industry, 30 per cent – in commerce, 10 per cent – in industry, 7 per cent – in agriculture, 5 per cent – in transportation, and 8 per cent – in the other sectors of the economy. There is a discrepancy between official and real engagement of migrants, however. The number of migrants employed in different kinds of services, including recreation services, in housing and communal services, etc. are underestimated. There are some peculiarities in the utilisation of labour migrants in different regions of Russia. In 2008, the distribution of foreign workers in sectors of the economy in Siberia was agriculture and forestry – 9 per cent, natural resources extraction – 5 per cent, manufacturing industry – 7.5 per cent, construction industry – 55 per cent, commerce and automobile repair services – 10 per cent, transportation and communication – less than 2 per cent, and other kinds of activities – 11.5 per cent.<sup>9</sup>

The neighbouring states of North-East Asia and Central Asia continue to remain the major donors of labour force for Siberia and Far East. In the meantime, it does not create any special tension neither on national nor on regional Russian labour markets.

Today, Russia faces both mass economic migration and diminishing migration inflow. The country is trying to differentiate regulation of migration processes. Several national programmes addressing constant and temporary migration are accepted in the country. However, their implementation is not smooth enough. For example, in the framework of programme focused at compatriots living abroad, Russia planned to receive up to 5,00,000 Russian-speaking migrants mostly from the Post-Soviet countries, and settle these people across the border territories of Siberia and Far East. The programme has de-facto failed as just 45,000 people came to Russia within its framework so far, and of them, less than 7,000 people resided in Siberia and Far East.



According to the latest concept of the Russian Migration Strategy, all barriers for foreign labour force are to be liquidated, such as quotas for foreign migrants. Cooperation with the CIS countries is aimed at formation of the united labour market, which is going on with many difficulties. Russia now understands that the donor potential of the Post-Soviet space will go down, and in the coming years, the Russian Federation will have to re-orient to the wider geography of the sources of migration including such nations as China, India and other Asian countries.

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## 5 ■ Roerich Movement in Post-Soviet Epoch: Problems and Dynamics of Development

*Natalia R. Kravchenko and Vladimir Zaitsev*

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Disintegration of Soviet Union was followed by the process of formation of new independent states in 1991. However, very quickly, the short-term euphoria changed into a phase of deep shock.

Economic reforms to create free market had produced unexpected negative outcomes, dramatically polarising the society in terms of poor and rich, and dissolving the old developed infrastructure completely. These changes also resulted in national conflicts and ignited the process of forced migration. The weakening power of the state and its ideological doctrine transformed the whole system of moral and cultural values replacing them with the ideology of commodity-money relations. At the same time, this period was marked with the growing influence of mass media and public debates, freedom of the press, and foundation of new social and political institutions. With the introduction of the democratic reforms, the system of censorship underwent significant changes. The revising of archive policy and opening up of new historical documents, ‘secret papers’ and materials created an environment for re-evaluation of many historical events and role of the state power in the Russian society, as well as building up a platform for the development of new political and social perspectives.

The ideological niche of the 1990s provided fertile ground for the growth of new nationalistic movements, activation of imported religious teachings and increasing the influence of the

Russian Orthodox Church, which used political and ideological instability as an opportunity to strengthen its own position and engage in uncompromising campaign against its opponents.

At the same time, in these years, a cultural and educational movement named after the renowned Russian artist and humanist – Nicholas Roerich (1874-1947) – developed in all major cities of post-Soviet states and created a kind of social and cultural phenomenon. The universalism of ideas, and ethical and aesthetic appeal of Roerich’s legacy attracted people from different social, ethnic and religious backgrounds, and by the mid-1990s, it took the shape of a popular mass movement.

The ‘Roerich studies’ (rerihovedenie), originated in the USSR in the early part of the 1970s from limited research seminars and conferences, gradually evolved into an independent research discipline bringing together diverse fields of human knowledge like history, art, literature, archaeology, philosophy, education, religious and oriental studies. ‘Rerihovedenie’, based on systematic and scientific study of N. Roerich’s artistic and creative heritage, became a recognised field of human knowledge and research like other well known disciplines ‘pushkinovedenie’ (Pushkin studies) or the study L. Tolstoy’s literary heritage.

The remarkable feature of this movement is that, along with growing popularity in post-Soviet territory, it found many supporters and admirers in many other countries like the US, Germany, Switzerland, Spain and India. Unlike the ideology of new-age youth movements, non-traditional groups and religious societies of the transition period, Roerich's philosophical doctrine was not the manifestation of time, a temporary projection of spiritual quest; on the contrary, it had a long history of development and grew up from the necessity towards inner evolution of a man and cultural transformation of the society.

The initial impulse to the movement was given in mid-1920 in America, where the name of Roerich was associated with Russian art as well as represented a cultural leadership. In November 1921, the Master Institute of United Arts was opened in New York. Almost at the same time, artists' Association 'Cor Ardens' was established in Chicago, and in 1922, the International Cultural Centre 'Corona Mundi' appeared. The main objective of this movement was 'to bring together, at least in sympathetic spirit, sympathetic isolated individuals'.<sup>1</sup> Thus, three major artistic institutions were made to unite internationally artists from different countries to incorporate holistic art education with broader perspectives, and provide legal protection to cultural institutes and historical monuments. In October 1929, Nicholas Roerich's Museum was opened exhibiting hundreds of the artist's paintings and artifacts from around the world.

In his philosophical and artistic essays, Roerich created an absolute new concept of culture based on the ideas of the Living Ethics. Culture, in an artist's opinion, is closely related to the problems of cosmic evolution of mankind and is 'a greatest foundation' for this process. He wrote: Culture is true enlightened learning. Culture is scientific and inspired approach to the solution of mankind's problems. Culture is beauty in all its creative grandeur – culture defends the historic dignity of the nation.<sup>2</sup>

In 1931, an International conference was held in Bruges for the adoption of one of Roerich's greatest conceptions – the Roerich Banner of Peace – and the adoption of the Peace Pact to protect all cultural treasures as neutral and inviolable during the war. On April 15, 1935, this Pact, often called the 'Red Cross of Culture', was signed in the White House by the representatives of twenty-one Governments of Latin America in the presence of the American President Franklin D. Roosevelt. One of the documents of the Pact stated: All cultural centres of the world should proclaim ceaselessly the call to the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace, thus eliminating the very possibilities of war. There can be created for generations new lofty traditions of veneration for real cultural treasures.<sup>3</sup>

By the mid-1930s, inspired by N. Roerich's ideas and cultural projects, more than eighty societies, institutions and organisations were created in thirty countries.<sup>4</sup> In India, adherence to the Pact was expressed by such outstanding men as Rabindra Nath Tagore, J.C. Bose, S.Radhakrishnan, C.V. Raman, Jawaharlal Nehru, and many other artists and scientists. The Allahabad Municipal Museum, Trivandrum Art Gallery and Museum, Bharat Kala Bhavan in Varanasi, Baroda Museum and

Picture Gallery provided separate halls for the permanent exhibition of N. Roerich's paintings. In many of these institutions, were cultural centres conducting regular seminars, exhibitions and publishing books were found.

Almost every important museum or art gallery in India has paintings by Russian artists. According to a recent survey, there are approximately 180-185 art works in the country. Along with nine important masters of contemporary art, N. Roerich's works were declared by the Government of India as part of the National cultural treasure. N. Roerich occupies a significant place in the modern history of India. His art and creative legacy made an important contribution in development of national culture, and left indelible influence on the generations of Indian artists and intellectuals. Kalidas Nag called Roerich the 'first ambassador of Beauty and Russian culture'.

The first publications on Roerich in USSR appeared only in the end-1950s, almost after thirty two years since the artist left the country, with the change of political climate and return of his elder son, renowned Orientalist – George Roerich.<sup>5</sup> In 1957, prestigious State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow hosted the first exhibition of N. Roerich and published several catalogues (1957-58). The first articles on the artist from 'terra incognita' were covering the broad spectrum of his life and artistic activity: travel and expeditions, works for the Russian theatre and ballet, unknown correspondence, literary essays and selected poetry. ('Moscow', 1973, n. 7)

In 1958 and 1963, the first monographs were published presenting 'Russian period' of N. Roerich's art. In 1972, another monograph 'Roerich' came out in the popular series 'Life of remarkable people', in which the authors were first artist biographers – P. Belikov and V. Knyazeva. 1974 was a landmark for official recognition of the artist in USSR when his 100th produced wide resonance in public and cultural elite, and since that time, new research, publications and documentary films were carried out on this subject. In 1976, on the initiative of a group of scholars from the Soviet Academy of Science in Novosibirsk, the 'Roerich readings' (Rerihovskie Chtenia) scientific conferences dedicated to the artist's legacy took place.

In spite of the growing interest on Roerich in USSR in that period, the subject of research and public discussion was very restricted by authorities, and all works related to philosophical and religious views of the artist were carefully monitored and censored. Many of the artist's original books and letters were fully published only after many years. Nevertheless, while balancing Roerich's popularity in his own country, Soviet political leadership used his material and spiritual legacy for strengthening of diplomatic relationships with India, the artist's name becoming a symbol of long and genuine relationship between the two nations.

The period of 'perestroika' and first democratic changes in the press, evoked new wave of interest in Roerich studies and found its culmination in the meeting of President Mikhail Gorbachev with S. Roerich in Kremlin in 1987. Because of this meeting, the Roerich Memorial Foundation was founded and the historical building – the house of Lopuhins family – in Moscow was granted by the Government for the development of a future museum. By the beginning of the 1990s, the Foundation

was transformed into the International Centre of Roerichs (ICR), one of the first principal institutions for the study and propagations of Roerich family's artistic, literary and philosophical heritage; it has gradually developed as a research and educational centre conducting annual seminars, conferences, and bringing out regular publications.

Besides ICR, after the collapse of Soviet Union, several museums and institutes were formed dedicated exclusively to Roerich studies – The Roerich family Museum-Institute in St. Petersburg and Memorial Room of Roerich at the State Museum of Oriental Art (Moscow). The post-Soviet period is particularly significant for its growing stream of information, expanding freedom and influence of press, revealing archival materials and open public discussion; these tendencies are reflected in *rerihovedenii*. For the past twenty years, Roerich's name is brought into the field of cross-cultural research scientists, educators, philosophers and politicians. Around three hundred articles, papers, books and sixteen monographs were published; amongst them are the works by L. Shaposhnikova, 'A great journey. Universe of Master' (Moscow, 2005); monographs by L. Korotkina, 'Creative path of Nicholas Roerich' (St. Petersburg, 2001); H. Yakovleva, 'Theatrical and decorative art of N. Roerich' (Samara, 1996), and N. Sergeeva-Tutugina, 'Ancient Russian traditions in symbolism of N. Roerich' (Moscow, 2007). One of the most stimulating factors in these years was the publication of Roerich's philosophical works – a series of books titled 'Agni Yoga' or 'Living Ethics' previously distributed through underground network and 'samoizdat' (self-publishing on typewriter),<sup>6</sup> as well as numerous unpublished correspondences like 'Letters of Helena Roerich' (1929-39) in two volumes, 'Diary Leaves' of N. Roerich in three volumes (Moscow, 2002), and many other works.

In the mid-1990s started a new type of research papers and dissertations related to study and analysis of philosophical legacy of the artist's family, gradually developed multi-disciplinary and inter-religious approach; the Roerich's philosophical concept was often associated with the pioneers of Russian Cosmic philosophical school – Tesiolkovsky, Vernadskiy, Chizevsky. At the same period, new publishing houses were established dealing mostly with books by Roerich's and about them, like 'Agni' (Samara), (ICR, Moscow), 'Sfera' (Moscow), new journals came to light – 'Culture and Time' (ICR, Moscow), 'Delphis' (Moscow), and 'Messenger of Ariavarta' (Moscow).

The growing interest and popularity of the Roerich's legacy, access to archive resources, availability of documents, and new published works revealed a number of problems related to understanding and interpretation of their life, cultural and pan-humanitarian activities and their philosophical credo. The big discussion was evoked by the dissertation of V. Rosov concerning Central Asian expedition undertaken by artist in 1924-28, where Roerich was presented as the head of a Buddhist Mission trying to establish new union of Asia.<sup>7</sup> The more controversial publications were done by Z. Shishkin and I. Minutko based on fragmented archive papers and correspondence. The authors were trying to associate the artist with the Soviet secret service. The popular theme turned Roerich studies to another unexpected dimension

– genre of adventure and mystification, which largely distorted and misinterpreted the chain of historical events and facts. The lack of professional background in research, differences in approach, methods and evaluation, growing contradictions and struggle for material possession of N. Roerich's legacy, the problem of legal rights, as well as distribution of administrative power created uncompromising split within the movement, dividing it to several major and minor streams.

The crisis of relationships was worsened by the strong and directed critics from the side of the Russian Orthodox Church, which from being the victim of 'atheism' during the Soviet period turned into monopolistic religion, declaring in 1994 that Roerich movement was one of the religious sects with its head-office at International Centre of Roerichs in Moscow. The philosophical doctrine of 'Living Ethics', its ethical and aesthetic concept of man's transformation, its universalism and pluralism ignited the Church representatives' outrage and made it almost impossible to create any background for positive dialogue.

In spite of the fact that for the last two decades Roerich movement was passing through complex, dynamic and contradictory processes, it well demonstrated the transitory period of the Russian society, with pressure and burden of economical reforms on one hand, and aspiration and striving towards establishing new cultural values and idealistic structures on the other hand. Apart from the institutes and museums dealing with Roerich legacy, it is also associated with a number of government and non-government organisations with cultural, educational and scientific orientation, and its activity is acknowledged by the state authorities and international agencies like the UNESCO.

The Roerich movement, which began abroad and grew up in secluded environment of Soviet era, transformed into a massive cultural wave in the period of democratisation of Russia, and indeed, one of the largest and unique modern social manifestations united with the name and ideas of a Renaissance artist.

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## 6 ■ Literature and Problems of National Independence of Post-Soviet Era

*Alexander Katsev*

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Literature is an important component of culture that figuratively demonstrates the processes in the society, although events are only the background for it to discover the multiform dimensions of a man. Post-Soviet reality is characterised not only by the return of the authors and works of the different epochs, which earlier were withdrawn because of the nonconformity to ideological and moral postulates, but also by the appearance of works comprehending the present in a new way (for instance, ‘When the mountains fall’ by Ch. Aitmatov, the novels by I. Laylieva, and the works of expatriate Kirghiz authors. This literature attempts to comprehend reality of the national independence, when euphoria is replaced by disappointment after several decades.

Journalistic approach is inherent in the quality of these given works. It is possible to state that any national culture includes journalism, which helps to represent and to understand one or the other epoch in multi-voices of its ‘inhabitants’, who express their predilections, priorities, love and hatred – entire spectrum of feelings from entire variety of life in the most direct form. Journalism is always the biography of time in which it is created and which reflects it directly or indirectly.

Journalism in Kyrgyzstan has long history – from folk-lore to our days. If it is possible to define the beginning of its appearance, then it is eternal, it does not and cannot disappear as the voice of contemporary. It has only inherent resources, energy, charisma and other qualities in it, which make it possible to act on the surroundings. The individual authors change, but the voice of contemporary constantly continues to sound.

Kyrgyz folklore is rich in genres, in which journalism reflects the views of its authors to a greater or lesser extent. Besides the publicist element in the eposes, in the akyn’s poetry (like zamana, aitysh, koshok, arman, tamsil – the didactic poetry, fable, etc.), journalistic writing is an important feature of the style, reflecting the individuality of author and his attitude of not being indifferent to reality.

In journalism, it is possible to guess the riddles of time, encoded in the separate facts, personified in the variety of the genre composition of the works, which include journalism as an important generative principle. Journalism finds its niche with the appearance of written literature by being in the foreground, then – in the shadow, but permanently being present and being developed.

Besides the wide representation of Kyrgyz journalism as the unique ‘scout of the future’, 20th century gifted journalism to writers of different nationalities in the republic, which introduced different hues into the common artistic canvas of Kyrgyzstan. National and public self-consciousness, being interwoven, are

represented in the unique chronicle of time. The individuality of the authors emphasises the multidimensionality of the world, in which the writer exists and which he tries to transmit in his works, emphasising personal view on his entire surroundings. Journalism is a child of its time. The artistic genres use works of journalism as one of the sources, which it does not diminish its value.

On the one side, journalism 'ties' the works to the present, on the other, it presents bilingual divergences, when works are written in the official version. It illustrates the poor possession of the possibilities of literary language by authors. This phenomenon is analogous to what was observed in the new Russian literature of the first decade of the Soviet regime which B. Pilnyak and K. Fedin wrote about.

Literature, besides the development in its original forms, coexists in parallel with the translations into other languages. The foreign language reader depends on the skills of the translator; the reader's attitude toward the work or the writer is influenced, as a rule, by the way the translator manages 'cultural situation', that is, visualised epoch, language, style of the translating source, etc. Speaking about interaction of literatures, one should remember that the merit belongs to the translator, since historical functioning of literature is inseparably connected with the emotional and aesthetical influence on the reader, depending on the artistic analogues of 'translating material'.

The art-translation, which helps in the process of interpenetration and mutual enrichment of literatures, is an inherently valuable substance for the development of foreign language literature in its translation. Original is often inseparable with translation activity. They are bound in unity, complementing each other. Besides the direct action of the so-called 'voice of the author', there is indirect connection, reflected at different levels of the artistic consciousness. This is the merit of the translation, making it possible to include the original text of one or other national culture in the overall cultural process.

Art-translation is not only a model of the foreign world, but also a component of the national artistic consciousness as well. The specific literary context with its laws of conformities which reflect the special features of the translation that is limited internally by the motif of the works, are derived from separate works of the translations into one or other languages. Since they absorb the general features of one or other national literature, translations may be adequate, but not equal to its original. Besides own nationality, translation acquires foreign cultural 'residence' and exists as a special component of bicultural origin.

Translation is fact of translated and transferring literatures. The problem of translation is a problem of the translation of culture into the sphere of another national existence, where it is generating artistic analogues that make it possible to preserve the original source and simultaneously make it comprehensible to the representatives of another cultural community. In this case national and the 'other' appear to be in unity, creating the possibility to perceive another as its own, without changing it, but realising the significance of creating the national analogue of the 'other'.

Art-translation is one of the specific types of translation of the original text. The original is unique; translation is the phenomenon of multiplicity, since its perception is limited in time. Each epoch in its new way of reading requires new translations in accordance with the cultural demands of the specific period of people's life, which re-translates foreign cultural values. The Russian Soviet literature appears as a genre of heroic revolutionary content in the Kyrgyz translations. The first Kirghiz translators from Russian were K. Bayalynov, K. Tynystanov, S. Karachev and others.

Most actual works of art of their time are translated. It is understandable that beginning of the Kyrgyz written literature was perceived as an integral part of the alteration of contemporary into socialist personality. Therefore, the attention of the Kyrgyz translators first of all focused on the works devoted to the revolution and its leaders.

But it was not only reality that determined the selection of works for translation. One of the earliest and most popular genres of Kyrgyz oral poetry for centuries was the genre *maktoo*, canons of which were composed of extolling songs to the outstanding people and to significant developments.

The revolutionary present, undoubtedly, was the immense event, which broke with the past, and the ideas and way of life created over centuries. Translation apprenticeship coincides with the apprenticeship of the translated works, distant from the artistic perfection, whose value is determined by the revolutionary content. They were many ready for reproduction by translation. The artistic level of the original and translation coincides in many respects. Selection of works by the translators was not connected only with the political or ideological situation. The models of revolutionary creation, like those represented by works about Lenin and the revolution, were required for the forming of Kyrgyz literature, which was one of the first to embark on the path of the mastery of Russian literature. Moreover and subsequently, the relationship between translated Russian classics and Soviet literature into the Kyrgyz language was turned in favour of the second. This translation obtained logical continuation in the Kyrgyz original literature. It was analogous to working out one or the other problems on the basis of local material.

The translated literature created conditions for the development of twin works. In this case, the translation and original, as if supplementing each other, formed adequate socially designated works, which artistically realised the overall mythologised history.

It is possible to note that Russian writers 'growing into the Central Asiatic, or more precisely, into oriental thematic' works were mainly due to art-translation. After a certain period, the Kyrgyz reality – culture, the way of life, nature – all this became material for creating the original works; their translation becomes unique key for the discovery of the contiguous Central Asiatic reality, which appears both in modern specifics (concrete), and in the historical and cultural generality.

Contemporary literature is only the first stage in the comprehension of the political, historical and culturological processes, which will appear entirely through their special features in the specific boundaries somewhat later (face to face not to see the face).

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Section V

Changing Geopolitics of Eurasia: Strategic Dimension

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# 1 ■ Kyrgyzstan between Mistakes and Misfortune

*P. L. Dash*

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2010 spring in the mountainous country of Kyrgyzstan was a time of revolutionary upheaval. This time, however, was not the tulips of the spring, but bullets of the forces and resultant bloodbath of ethnic Uzbeks and Kyrgyz that stained the streets. As the first week of April 2010 approached to a close, Kyrgyzstan, one of the smallest and poorest countries of Central Asia, passed through a phase of intense discontent. Disillusioned with the policies of President Kurmanbek Bakiyev, who had deposed independent Kyrgyzstan's first President Askar Akaev five springs ago in March 2005; the opposition leaders mustered strength and courage to challenge Bakiyev head on and forced him to flee.

This country of 5 million people has experienced two changes of president like none other in Central Asia. The country has earned the dubious credo of being a strategic hot potato of intense big power rivalry. It has two military bases – Manas leased out to the US, and Kant to Russia – in close proximity to one another. This has validated the presence of militarily two big powers in a small country that could never dream of being their matching rival. Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan has, thus, become a sordid reality swinging between mistakes and misfortune, not knowing the way to its future. Touted as the Switzerland of Central Asia through the Akaev years, it suddenly passed through the Tulip revolution – one of the three such cases of colour revolutions sweeping the post-Soviet space – the other two being the Ukraine experiencing Orange and Georgia having gone through the Rose. Kyrgyzstan remains Central Asia's fore-post of revolt because it continues to swing between its peripatetic past, globalising present and strategic future.

How you are viewed by others does remotely depend on how you perceive yourself to be. Kyrgyzstan's location at the juncture of ancient Silk Roads has made it the cynosure of many an eye. Emerging powers such as China and India, established powers such as Russia and Turkey, and aspiring for a foothold in that region powers such as the US are afield in and around Kyrgyzstan, thereby making this mountainous country a geopolitical hub. Bigger and more influential countries in the neighbourhood such as Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan could side with big powers to sandwich Kyrgyzstan forever in a Great Game in Central Asia. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the internal political dynamics in Kyrgyz republic that led to the dethronement of Bakiyev after five years of his misrule, and plunged Kyrgyzstan headed by a woman interim president to a tumultuous phase of whirlwind development, the implications of which are not exclusively limited to the region. This juxtaposed Kyrgyzstan with all other aspiring powers that endeavour to ensure physical presence in this mountainous country, but eschew it when it was facing a deep political crisis.

### **Why Kyrgyzstan?**

Consternations and exclamations about swift political development in Kyrgyzstan centre around a moot question: Why this hapless republic and not any other country in the neighbourhood? It was from here the movement for democracy had begun in post-Soviet Central Asia. It was this country that did not have a communist president as political bequeathal. Akaev was an academic-turned-politician, and distinctly differentiated himself from rest of the presidents on the political plains of Central Asia as precursor of liberation. But those liberating ethos soon had petered out. Akaev's was the country that had started repressing journalists, who behaved forthright and reported how the real situation stood at the grass root level across the country. This author was privy to the first hand information of a journalist, who was coerced to toe the official line, and when he refused, was forced to quit Bishkek for Moscow. He was waxing eloquent at seminar organised by the RSDLP of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in January 1998 on anti-government and anti-Akaev line long before the Tulip revolution had occurred. Fifteen years of Akaev's reign had witness crony capitalism heavily loaded with widespread corruption. Five years of Bakiyev's rule has not stemmed the rot that had set in then. Elimination of corruption and transparency in governance was the two cardinal issues of Tulip revolution back in 2005. Common Kyrgyz citizens have been yearning for Bakiyev to fulfill his promises to the people, but he miserably failed to address the common woes of Kyrgyz citizenry.

Repression on journalists continued. Reality was never reported. Even Russian TV channels that broadcast the lively stories of Kyrgyz reality were proscribed. Newspapers were subject to closure and their journalists hounded for anti-state activities. This had generated resentment until Kyrgyzstan passed through a full circle of repression until bloody overthrow of the president left the country in a stalemate. After the Tulip revolution, Kyrgyzstan's politics was divided along pro-Akaev and Pro-Bakiyev lines. Now after the spring events of 2010, it remains almost the same. Roza Otunbayeva, who was Kyrgyzstan's ambassador to the US and the UK also served as the country's foreign minister, and had played a decisive role as a leader of the Tulip revolution. It is the same Madam Otunbayeva who has now gone against Bakiyev and become the country's head of the interim government. Her tasks are cut. She is to ensure a free and fair election within six months.<sup>1</sup> The country watches gingerly every step this first woman leader takes to steer clear Kyrgyzstan of the mess. In the past, she had swung between Akaev and Bakiyev, sharing the administration in various capacities under both presidents. Now on the saddle herself, her stock of supporters are proselytising elements that have equally swung between the two presidents who had ruled independent Kyrgyzstan in the past two decades. After all, from where do you get independent, critically thinking political cadres, if past presidents have not trained them?

If popular discontent under Akaev was a secret land deal with China to trade out some Kyrgyz territory in Naryn oblast, the undertone of popular disillusionment under Bakiyev was many: how long the Americans would stay on in Manas and



the Russians in Kant was the first question every Kyrgyz asked himself without concrete answer. Why should electricity tariff be increased in a country so bountiful with hydro resources was the second unanswered question for the citizens. The third was a brawl in a local casino in Osh involving Uzbeks and Kyrgyz that snowballed into the street with mob-cop clashes soon becoming prominent until military forces arrived. Worries over asymmetric relationship between mighty powers such as the US and the Russian Federation on the one hand, and meek Kyrgyz republic on the other least bothered the president. Kyrgyzstan's beleaguered president failed to fathom the depth of resentment common men nurtured against his regime. He was looking red at public protests against his regime and trying to hide the truth from public eyes. But that was surely not to be for many years. That's why it is for the first time Kyrgyzstan passed through a full circle from Akaev to Akaev supporter in power. The situation under Bakiyev boiled down to outright disapproval of his administration that generated intense abomination even among his onetime supporters. The political protests became too stubborn to be contained and that's why it was not that difficult for Otunbayeva to stage manage a bloody coup – the first in recent memory spearheaded by a woman, and that too in a country predominantly with Muslim population.

However, the immediate trigger for the opposition revolt against Bakiyev became the sale of an electricity company for a paltry sum of US\$ 3 mn. This electricity company was supplying power to Bishkek, and it was sold to the son of Bakiyev as if none else was the worthy bidder. This was evidence of high level corruption that even cronies of Bakiyev abhorred. While quality of life in Kyrgyzstan rapidly slid to the abyss, Bakiyev had no time to redeem the situation. The result: Kyrgyzstan ranked 166th among 180 countries in scale of living standard in the world.<sup>2</sup> It was one of the most corrupt countries in the world under Akaev, and things have not changed for the better in the last 5 years.

One of the characteristic features of authoritarian despots is their fondness for eulogy. His ears heard only honey,<sup>3</sup> Ms. Otunbayeva had once admitted in the past about Askar Akaev. The initial two years of Bakiyev was exactly like that when he expressed concern about his country's affairs as Akaev had done in his inceptive years. Gradually, the glamour and glory of presidency had inebriated both presidents in sovereign power, and they extended lip sympathy to the problems of the people. The sovereign power of the president could not be challenged even by his coterie due to fear of repression; nor could they be tolerated far too long. This brews a political intoxicant strong enough to arouse popular sentiments to oppose the president. That's what has been exactly happening in Kyrgyzstan. One the one hand past presidents had sealed themselves from the public. His political opponents, hand in gloves with the local leaders, could hatch a plot to deflate public tension. The result is a coup, a political mess, a mob uprising or a revolution, depending on the level and intensity of discontent. This was why the Tulip revolution of March 2005 was variously referred to as the 'daffodil, pink, silk and lemon' revolutions aside from the Tulip.<sup>4</sup>

With four clear layers of opposition brewing across the country, the president sits comfortable at the top, dolling out lollypops of plum postings and business contracts to his relatives, family members and cronies – the elite layer of the country's rulers. The second layer is hopelessly divided along whether to support or oppose the president. This is the most ambivalent group that tends to change its loyalty the way the change of political winds blow. The third group is the indifferent, apathetic lot who do not bother about what happens. They go with the change as and when it comes. The fourth are the grass root supporters of change and their leaders are the real movers and shakers of the upheaval. They are real creators of history. It is they, who vote, participate in street uprising, sacrifice their lives and make history. Kyrgyzstan is the classic case of such a paradigm, whether under Akaev or Bakiyev or now under Otunbayeva.

### **Implications of Osh**

The April coup in Kyrgyzstan stands out to influence the behaviour of other dictatorial regimes in the Central Asian neighbourhood. The impact will apparently have two aspects: regional influence for Asia and global influence for the world. First of all, all other leaders in the proximity of Kyrgyzstan have been ruling their countries more or less in the same manner as did Bakiyev. In the despotic rating parameters published by the Economist in 2005, Kyrgyzstan scaled two, supposedly least despotic of all Central Asian countries, while Kazakhstan and Tajikistan scaled three, Uzbekistan four and Turkmenistan five.<sup>5</sup> Although situation in Turkmenistan has considerably changed after the sudden demise of Turkmenbashi in 2008, more despotic Central Asian presidents think that Akaev's leniency in dealing with the opposition was the root of all Kyrgyz troubles.

Rosa Otunbayeva's mission referendum in Kyrgyzstan was over on June 27, 2010. The ruins and debris of Osh are still reminder of the recent bloodbath in that ill fated valley has gone through. Sitting near their charred and ravaged houses, voters voted a mandate for Otunbayeva to continue as interim president up to December 2012 – a two and half years of breathing space to make a transition from the present presidential form of government to a popular parliamentary system. The OSCE has approved the elections results, thus making Kyrgyz republic the first forepost of parliamentary democracy where the parliament and not the president, be the supreme legislative authority. Its implications will be far reaching.

By deposing a president, Rosa Otunbayeva has proved her political mettle to conduct a referendum and hold on to power as interim president. The apparent hopes rest on the ensuing parliamentary elections to be held in October 2010 – a time apparently ridden with uncertainty. However, Otunbayeva hopes the ethnic clashes between Uzbeks and Kyrgyz populations that have erupted in Osh, will die down after the elections contrary to apprehensions by the West that spill-over effects of recent Osh tragedy may flare up further violence in the region. In any case, the referendum has turned out to be better than it was feared albeit Osh continues

to remain ferment, the valley's population is fearful and rumours are rife about incompetence of Otunbayeva to handle the explosive situation with due caution. If the April-Spring violence in Osh was precursor to the June referendum on a new constitution, the outcome of June 27 elections may prove to be political precursors to many things new, including the upcoming October parliamentary elections.

Kyrgyzstan has many firsts to its credit. It was the first country in post-Soviet Central Asia that was touted as the Switzerland of the region. It was the first country, where a non-communist had hailed power with heavy Soviet legacy. It was the democratic fore-post of political reforms in Central Asia in the 1990s. Then when popular discontent swept across the countryside, Kyrgyzstan became the first victim of a colour revolution – the Tulips that deposed Askar Akaev and saddled his successor Kurmanbek Bakiyev in power. With Otunbayeva reigning now it becomes first among the post-Soviet countries to have three presidents in Post-Soviet Central Asia – all through bloody dethronements. Kyrgyzstan is also the first post-Soviet country to have a woman president in the personae of Roza Otunbayeva. The referendum she conducted on June 27, 2010 gave Kyrgyzstan the credo of being the first country in Central Asia to have ushered in a path to parliamentary democracy. India is the only major country in the neighbourhood that has sustained parliamentary system for decades and that may be madam Otunbayeva's single most fascinating allurements. Despite all these firsts, neither the interim president nor the recently held referendums can alter the grassroots realities of Kyrgyzstan in general and Osh and Ferghana valley in particular.

First, Osh and neighbouring Jalal-Abad are incendiary, ethnic hot spots, where the ethnic cauldron is sharp. Uzbeks make up a quarter of Jalal-Abad's and half of Osh's population, while across the country, they represent just 15 per cent of the overall population in Kyrgyzstan.<sup>6</sup> The geographical boundaries of the Ferghana valley are an intricate overlap of multiethnic diversity. This will continue to remain a volatile political spot in the near future, because southern Kyrgyzstan is the base of the deposed President Kurmanbek Bakiyev, who has now taken asylum in Belarus and Otunbayeva has time and again emphasised the implicit hands of Bakiyev in instigating the Osh violence.<sup>7</sup>

Secondly, Otunbayeva's past experience as Kyrgyzstan's ambassador to London and Washington gives her the sobriquet of western ambassador in Bishkek, who is likely to handle Osh the way West wishes it to be handled. This would pit Otunbayeva against Moscow, and Moscow against Washington, in a triangular political jigsaw in the years ahead. And the region will create geopolitical juggernaut not too soon to be resolved. Osh is likely to set the geopolitical tone in the region for foreseeable future, with US involved in Manas, Russia staying afoot in Kant, Uzbekistan chary about a big power competition looming large on its own or neighbouring territories and China looking askance at every one of them to score its own geostrategic mileage. The Russia led CSTO has a role to play and in this bewildering moment of referendum amid chaos, it does not know what role exactly to play in the current Kyrgyz crisis. However, Otunbayeva deserves the kudos for the June end referendum

she braved to hold. Even critics say: 70 per cent of those eligible voted, roughly 90 per cent in favour. Foreign observers congratulated the country's interim leaders on a job well done.<sup>8</sup>

Thirdly, the sheer figure of death and casualties are too staggering and bewildering. On the eve of June 27 elections, clashes erupted in the two provinces on June 25, 2010, killing at least 147 and injuring more than 1,500. The figures are differing. Other Uzbek sources put the pre election clash toll at 700 killed in Jalal Abad alone. Interfax has reported some 1,00,000 people getting homeless and becoming refugees to stay in camps. It is summer fortunately; or else hundreds would have been frozen in savage winter cold. In such a conflict-ridden situation, involved agencies throw up differing figures of death, injury and displacement. Osh is no exception.

Death and displacement figures began pouring in right from the day the mayhem began on June 10, 2010. Within a week, on June 17, it was reported confirmed that 200 people, both Kyrgyz and Uzbek, had been killed.<sup>9</sup> However, the actual figures were far more than it was officially reported. Since there is a local Muslim custom to bury the dead within 24 hours of death, people have hurried up to bury their family members without registering death with the authorities. The mass funerals that took place after the Osh tragedy indicated that the magnitude of problem was far more serious than earlier anticipated. The clash was between Uzbek minority and Kyrgyz majority in Osh. Initial Uzbek reports suggested that some '45 thousand Uzbeks have registered as refugees in the neighbouring Uzbek-majority Uzbekistan'.<sup>10</sup> This report was subsequently put at 75,000 by an Uzbek press release. Refugees fleeing Osh to safe shelter in Uzbekistan crossed 100 thousand people, mostly women and children, was reported by the UN children's agency. The displacement issue became too serious; so serious that Uzbekistan had to shield its borders saying it could take no more. Within Kyrgyzstan itself, there were 2,00,000 people internally displaced, mostly fleeing from the south of the country to safer areas elsewhere within the country. Strife-torn Osh has precipitated a serious crisis of displacement – the first in magnitude in 21st century Central Asia – not too soon to be healed in human memory in the foreseeable future.

However, what remains intricately undesirable is the very characteristic of Osh as a populous city in the valley with multi-lingual and multiethnic but mono-religious ethos. For centuries, Osh has hosted cross-currents of religious ideas travelling along the Silk Road. Mountains, deserts and valleys have always fascinated travellers and adventurers to venture into the region despite insalubrious weather and adverse living conditions. In the contemporary context its incendiary nature lies in this multi-lingual and multi-ethnic composition of the area and it has become the tinder box of Central Asia. The ethno-national flare ups have become recurrent in perestroika and post-perestroika years based on a different idea: natives versus non-natives. And the disputed proposition of this precisely cumbersome demographic configuration of a place with Stalin's legacy of coercively settling in the Ferghana valley thousands of non-natives from far away Caucasus has made even the Uzbeks non-natives in an area where they

once grazed their cattle freely before state borders were drawn and redrawn.

Carving out the zigzag boundaries of the Ferghana valley shared between three modern nation states such as Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and claiming native status in a place that once inhabited them all freely is a moot question affecting people and politicians alike: more affecting the people who suffer than politicians who drive and manipulate emotions on the ground of nativity. Eponymous proclivity to cling to nativity is hard to uproot, still harder is to resolve state, boundary and ethnic disputes based on it. Thus, it is not only Kyrgyzstan, but also Uzbekistan and Tajikistan who are all embroiled in a situation of no return from the impasse of Stalin's legacy.<sup>11</sup>

Medvedev's Russia is distinctly different from that of Stalin's. Stalin had fractured races, smashed nationalism, divided Central Asia's Ferghana into patchwork of states and prevented ethnic groups to unite against him. He effectively ruled these states with an authority that was never challenged. As a result Central Asian and Caucasian countries in general and Ferghana valley in particular remained a hot bed of ethnic rivalry forever. The Uzbeks of Kyrgyzstan, the Tajiks of Uzbekistan and many more nationalities such as Meskhetian Turks, Germans, Jews and Koreans – all compactly living in a valley – thus remain pitted against each other in an environment of animosity.

### **Russian Approach**

The new Russia under Medvedev is apprehensive of further trouble brewing in Ferghana and unwilling to interfere in the ongoing and unfolding tragedy in Kyrgyzstan. From the very start, Russia was loath to intervene directly in Osh crisis although many believed that the ouster of Bakiyev by Otunbayeva was connived by Russia because Bakiyev promised Russia not to extend the lease of Manas base to the US in exchange of financial aid, but soon reneged on his promise, when the US agreed to pay more money for Manas, what is now called the 'American Transit Centre',<sup>12</sup> prompting Moscow to seek a regime change. Otunbayeva was not the obvious choice due to her pro-western background; hence, only promise but no active military intervention by Russia. Russia was further sick of helping these onetime-client states. The trouble was once historically created by Russia during the reign of Stalin. But Medvedev's Russia is different and it does not wish to involve any longer in costly near abroad wars. The experience in Nagorno-Karabakh, Georgia and elsewhere in Caucasus has given Russia enough death and disability that it wishes to take no longer unless it is extremely exigent on its national security interests.

Therefore, soon after the regime change in Bishkek in April 2010, Medvedev sounded prophetic, when he predicted that Kyrgyzstan would degenerate to a collapsing state, and that the chaos in scale and magnitude would be equal to that prevailing in lawless Afghanistan. He bluntly said that Kyrgyzstan may be a 'second Afghanistan'. Three clear factors discouraged Russia to intervene in Osh this time – (1) Russia was convinced that the unfolding event in Kyrgyzstan is likely to reset the geopolitical equations of Central Asian overtures by other powers. It

patiently watched who was overtly supportive of the Kyrgyz crisis and who sided with Otunbayeva. From Akaev, who teaches mathematics in Moscow to Bakiyev, who lives in political asylum in Belarus to US that has a military base on lease to China that has vast geostrategic interests to immediate neighbours like Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, who faced the refugee problem, none was overtly supportive of Otunbayeva. Moscow, therefore, gingerly related itself to the crisis, involved itself to the extent it would not affect the interests of ethnic Russians living there and limited its action to wait and watch as the situation unfolded. Even Uzbekistan, whose ethnic brethren were killed, did not overtly intervene.

### **Retrospect and Prospect**

Given that the June referendum is now passé, it is necessary to hark back to the tumultuous political journey Kyrgyzstan has travelled in post-Soviet years and why and how it has landed in the limbo. Akayev's reign is history and certainly beyond the scope of this article. Five plus years ago, in the Spring of 2005, when the Tulip revolution swept Kyrgyzstan and deposed Askar Akayev, the first president of independent Kyrgyz republic, the country had lost its aura of being a transparent, democratic state in Central Asia. Kyrgyzstan in post-Soviet Central Asia was the first country to have introduced sweeping reforms and the first country to have experienced a revolution. Its reforms credentials were too good, both in political and economic realms for which, a few years later it was admitted to the WTO – a credo that Russia has failed to achieve so far. The country was the forerunner in many respects. Akaev's visionary zeal in a country of 4.5 million people endeared him to the public, both urban and rural. However, within a span of five years, what went wrong was his unpopular move far away from the Kyrgyz reality, and still farther away from what he promised to his countrymen to achieve.

A Kyrgyz journalist, very critical of Akaev, who was living in Moscow, told this author in 1998 that Akaev's forte was his family, and not popular support. His policies were geared to self aggrandizement and not to serve the country. He distributed lollipops to his cronies, lucrative business deals among his relatives and plum diplomatic postings to his near and dear ones. He leased out military bases to the Americans and the Russians to curry their favour, apparently hoping that in the event of a crisis, they would salvage him and Kyrgyzstan. He struck a land deal with China and gave away a big chunk of Kyrgyz territory in the Naryn oblast to China without consulting his parliament. People disliked these moves, despised him to be autocratic. The result: the Switzerland of Central Asia passed through Tulip revolutions. Akaev fled to Moscow, took political asylum and has been teaching Mathematic ever since in a Moscow higher educational institute.

His successor, Kurmanbek Bakiyev, came to power on two planks. He promised to fulfill the aspirations of the people by remedying all the wrongs his predecessor had done. Then there were two programmes, minimum and maximum, facing Bakiyev. The minimum programme implied that he should stamp out corruption in the country. The maximum programme was aimed at future political space he

promised to create, drive Kyrgyz republic away from foreign interventions and raise salary of employees to improve living standard in the country. A more democratic process was presumably the answer. However, over the course of five years, Bakiyev failed to deliver on his promises. As a result, willy-nilly, he pushed the country to another phase of political crisis.

Otunbayeva, Akaev's past ambassador to both the US and the UK, and Bakiyev's foreign minister opposed Bakiyev, and overthrew him in April 2010, while arson, rape, looting and violence wrecked Osh city in the Ferghana valley in southern Kyrgyzstan – Bakiyev's stronghold from where he hailed. Bakiyev fled to Ferghana, endeavoured to mobilise his supporters, but in vain. Finally, he took political asylum in Belarus, where he has been living.

The third Kyrgyz President, Roza Otunbayeva, is the first female head of state in post-Soviet Central Asia. She has inherited a trouble-torn country with plenitude of problems, some of them intractable and others solvable. However, she has a vision to reshape the contour of Kyrgyz politics. Despite Bakiyev's criticism and his supporters overtly encouraging violence, kudos to Otunbayeva to have conducted the June 27 referendum on future political orientation of Kyrgyzstan as a parliamentary democracy. The results of the elections have given Otunbayeva the mandate to continue in power as care taker president until the end of 2012. The parliamentary elections are slated to be held in October this year. Otunbayeva has declared that she will not contest for any slot and admonished her ministers to quit their swanky ministerial premises, go to the people to serve them and seek electoral mandate of the people rather than currying favour of the president in Bishkek. She seems serious about her political business.

Otunbayeva or no Otunbayeva, no president can alter the geography of Kyrgyzstan. A mountainous country intercepted by fertile river valleys, Kyrgyzstan is home to one of Central Asia's two large rivers – Syr Darya that originates from upstream Kyrgyzstan and flows down to the plains of Ferghana valley, where it enters the Uzbek territory, touches at one point Tajikistan and veers to Kazakhstan all the way to fall in to the Aral Sea. Thus majority of the population of Uzbekistan (26 million) and Kazakhstan (12 million) depend on potable fresh water that flows from the mountains of Kyrgyzstan. On the way the river has many Soviet era reservoirs that generate electricity. The countries are fighting for the riverine resources in an unprecedented water war, never seen earlier in Central Asia. The irony is that two of Central Asia's five poorest states are very rich in hydro resources, thereby, making others dependent on them for fresh water. Tajikistan is the other country with upstream Amu Darya, originating from its mountains and flowing down through Afghan-Tajik borders and Uzbek-Turkmen border right up to the Aral Sea, where it falls. Nobody can change this geography and Otunbayeva has to find an amicable solution to the water crisis wrecking the region for two decades now.

Secondly, geography has put Kyrgyzstan on the geopolitical map of the world in a renewed Great Game. Kyrgyzstan is the only country in Central Asia where the US and the Russian Federation have obtained lease rights to Manas and Kant

military bases respectively. Their very presence catapult Kyrgyzstan to geostrategic competition in a space called heartland of Asia. Kyrgyzstan is surrounded by such powerful countries as Russia and China, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Other extraneous powers such as the US, Turkey, Iran, India, Japan and countries of the EU are all vying to gain a foothold in this country. That automatically answers why Osh, why Ferghana valley and why Kyrgyzstan?

Thirdly, Ferghana valley is ethnically the most fractured place in Central Asia deliberately designed by Stalin to keep fighting ethnos at bay and away from the Kremlin. This time, when the echo of Stalin's legacy reverberated across three countries bordering the Ferghana valley – Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan – Moscow sat cool and did not come to help resolve the crisis facing Osh. Overlapping population of one country living on the territory of another neighbouring country is an obvious phenomenon in the Ferghana valley, but killing the Uzbek minority living on Kyrgyz territory is no solution to the ethnic strife facing the valley. Besides, down south of the Ferghana valley and deep into the territory of Kyrgyzstan lie three enclaves – Vorukh, Sokh and Khaydarkan – administratively controlled so far by Uzbekistan. An amicable solution of the enclave problem can alone bring peace to the area, and not violence. Inflammatory speeches and slogans such as 'Kyrgyzstan for Kyrgyz' will aggravate the situation to a point of no return.

Roza Otunbayeva has visited the hot spots, urged people to remain calm and non-violent, and asked all other to exercise restraints and tolerance. Fortunately this time around, Russia, the US, China, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and members of the SCO have exercised utmost restraint and not intervened in the Osh crisis. Ironically, the June violence in Osh erupted just around the time the SCO was meeting in Tashkent. Facing the crisis, Otunbayeva was repeatedly pleading with Russia for help. But no military help came, primarily because everyone understood the gravity and incendiary nature of the conflict and avoided overt military involvement in Osh. Russia has shown remarkable restraint because it does not want anymore body-bags pouring from Osh or from any conflict ridden hot spots. Enough experiences from Afghanistan, Nagorno-Karabakh, Chechnya, Georgia, Tajikistan, Ossetia et al have prodded Russia to remain a silent spectator rather than an active actor this time.

Fourthly, political situation is in ferment. Hundred political parties in a country of nearly 5 million people is itself the ground for enough political proselytising. The country has a clear north-south political divide. However, the current crisis has created another north south divide: Bakiyev with his supporter and security forces based himself in the south and pitted it against Roza Otunbayeva, who based herself in the north. The US, the Russians and the Uzbeks all stood by her. Uzbekistan officially did not cry foul although hundreds of Uzbeks were killed. The ethno-political divide is thus sharp and intensely disturbing. Kyrgyzstan has an urban rural divide: the Uzbeks mostly live in cities and the Kyrgyz in villages. Besides, there is mountain and valley divide, the upstream and downstream divide. Kyrgyzstan is a divide galore.



Finally, Kyrgyzstan's economic crisis is unlikely to be overcome soon. With oil prices up and gold prices down, Kyrgyzstan's external debt has soared to US\$ 2 bn, which it sought to resolve by seeking Russian help. When promise came for the desired billions on the condition that it would not extend the Manas lease to the US, Bakiyev bargained with the US for lease rent hike and extracted a rise from US\$ 17 mn to US\$ 60 mn, thereby incurring the wrath of Russia.

However, these billions will not help Otunbayeva; harmony and peace will. She has to ensure stability of Kyrgyzstan in the midst of crisis. The memory of 300 officially declared dead and 2,500 houses burnt, hundreds of official establishments torched and US\$ 71 mn lost in damages in a few days of violence have shaken the people, whose faith Otunbayeva has to win. Weaning away those from the memory of violence whose kith and kin have died is no easy task. Besides, there are 1,00,000 displaced, living in temporary tents who have to be settled before the onset of autumn rains. Many more thousands have fled to safer areas. Precisely, Roza Otunbayeva's cup is full, and the world looks at her to deliver what her predecessor presidents have failed to.

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## 2 ■ The Potential and Problems of Caucasia

*Baris Doster*

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### **Introduction**

Caucasia is well known for its strategic and geo-political location. The region is at the crossroads of the energy corridors that connect Central Asia to the West. The region is also known as the bastion of different ethnic conflicts. Because of these strategic reasons, big powers such as the US, the EU, Russia, China and the regional powers are interested in Caucasia in general for political, economic reasons, military motivations and for its energy resources.

Russia has strong economic, political, cultural, historical, geographical, diplomatic and military ties with three Caucasian states – Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia. The two regional powers – Turkey and Iran – which compete with each other, are also interested in Caucasia. They try to improve their relationship with the three Caucasian countries and the other Eurasian countries as well. The geographical, historical, cultural, economic and political connections of Turkey with the two Caucasian states, Azerbaijan and Georgia, play an important role in this approach. The strong, important and rising powers of Eurasia, China and India are also interested in energy resources.

On the other hand, the Eurasian, Caspian, Caucasian and the Central Asian countries have common strategic interests; especially against the politics of the US and the Greater Middle East Project. However, each state has its own strategy and these strategies are diverging from each other. Each country tries to follow a multidimensional foreign policy. For the interests of the Caucasian countries, the Eurasian choice should be taken very seriously. It is obvious that the Eurasian countries which get together under the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation umbrella are against Western imperialism. And this alliance is the strongest organisation in Eurasia and has a big political potential.

### **Where is the Caucasus**

Caucasia is the region which starts from the Caspian Sea in the East and stretches back to the Black Sea in its West. Russian steppes are located in its northern part and the Kars plateau is in the southern quarter of the region. The Great Caucasus Mountains divide the region into two parts as the northern and southern Caucasus. In other words, Caucasia is the region that starts with the Anapa Peninsula, the peninsula which separates the Black Sea and the eastern part of the Azov Sea, and that extends to the Great Caucasus Mountains in Apşeran Peninsula and the land which stretches between those mountains. There are two important passes that connect the two sides of the Caucasus Mountains: Daryal and Derbent. In the southern part of the region,

Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan are located. The southern Caucasus region is also known as the Transcaucasia. In the northern part of the region, there is the Russian Federation. In the words of Amir Taheri, The Caucasus has many windows which are opening to the Mediterranean Sea and constitutes a bridge between Europe and Asia.<sup>1</sup>

Caucasia is a mountainous region and hosts different characteristics in terms of topography. The Caucasus Mountains that divide the region into two, by extending from west to south east are 1,440 km in length, and their width changes from 50 to 225 km. The Caucasus Region, which is also rich in water resources, is known as the region of mountains, tribes and languages. Therefore, the Arab geographers gave the name 'Mountain of the people' to the region.

Due to these characteristics, the region has suffered from serious conflicts throughout its history. During the period of Czarist Russia, the USSR and after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, it has been one of the most troubled regions, and has been home to various struggles for independence. It is a convoluted region for the purposes of cultural, ethnic and religious differences. Muslims, Christians, Jews, Turks, Slavic people, the people of the Caucasus, and the different denominations of the same religions have lived together for ages. In this region where 70 ethnic groups live, many languages are spoken from different language groups. This diversity at times causes bloody and permanent conflicts and has also opened the door for imperialistic interference.

It is possible to explain the region's international position by reference to three features. Firstly, the most important feature that determines the region's socio-political structure is its mountainous topography and that it consists of a large number of impassable valleys. As a result of this geography, communities from different social backgrounds have been able to preserve themselves from the occupations throughout the history and maintain their cultural characters. Another feature of the region within the geographic context is that it constitutes a buffer zone between the great powers. Arabs, Iranians, Russians and Turks, who are the neighbours of the region, have always had a close interest in the Transcaucasia region. Therefore, the region came under the dominance of various forces at different times in the history. The last feature which is related to the geographical structure of the region is that it constitutes a major bridge for the trade and transportation. The region provides the connection between North and South.<sup>2</sup>

### **The Significance of the Caucasus**

Caucasia enjoys a high level of strategic significance due to four geo-political reasons. These are (1) It is a gateway to Central Asia in a geo-strategic sense, (2) For Central Asia, the region constitutes a direct gate to the western market, (3) Taken as a whole with the Central Asia, the region has a significant amount of oil and natural gas potential, and (4) For the Russian Federation, it is a geo-political connection line extending from Basra to the Mediterranean.<sup>3</sup>

Caucasia, which demographically hosts a mosaic composition such as the Balkans, has become the zone of competition for many states. In the recent years,

due to the operationalisation of energy resources such as oil and natural gas pipelines and the implementation of energy projects of the century, the region attracts the attention of not only its immediate neighbours, but also of the worldwide public opinion. Even the smallest conflict and reconciliation have been closely followed all around the world.<sup>4</sup>

The goal of the great powers is to control the Caucasus and Central Asian oil and natural gas production (200 bn barrels of oil and 18 trillion cubic metres of natural gas), which is worth over trillions of dollars, and to enjoy the advantage of competitive transportation costs that the key location of the region offers. They accordingly aim to gain strategic advantage and determine the prices of energy for themselves but also for others too. In summary, the basic fact that lies under the so-called international struggle over 'the new great game' is the conflict of interests that are related to the use of energy resources, the acquisition of them and the transfer of thereof.<sup>5</sup>

Caucasia comes to the forefront as a geography where the great powers want to become a regional power. It has a strategic importance since it connects the East and the West and hosts the transmission lines of the rich natural resources to the western market. Caucasia as a junction region of the North-South and East-West axis is crucial for the transportation of all kinds of wealth owned by Central Asia to the world markets. It is a bridge between Europe and Asia. The Caucasian region has borders with the Russian Federation and states like Turkey and Iran, which try to become regional powers. The region, in general, is at the heart of Eurasia.

The region is highly strategic from geo-political, geo-strategical and geo-economical perspectives. Therefore, there is a great power struggle over it. It is close to the Central Asia, the US invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. It is located between the Black Sea and Caspian Sea, which is extremely rich in natural resources. The region is dependent on Russia for energy and for a large volume of its trade. Politically, it is close to the US and holds strong ties with Turkey both politically and militarily. Moreover, this is the region where the US and Iran fiercely compete against each other. Zbigniew Brzezinski, who is one of the most influential figures shaping the US foreign policy, says: A power that dominates Eurasia, would dominate the world. When this is taken into account, the US government's attention about Eurasia and for that matter for Caucasia could be more easily understood. The reasoning is simple: it is a must to dominate Caucasia, to be dominant in Eurasia.

Caspian's oil and the trajectory of the pipeline that will transmit it, is a cause for competition and even struggle between the Caucasian States. Until the negotiations about the transportation route for oil has reached a conclusion, it may not be possible to expect an end to the unrest in the region.<sup>6</sup> The US aims to reduce its dependence on the oil of the Middle East by controlling the Caspian Basin energy resources. Caucasia is a strategic region in this respect. The Russian Federation has considered its southern boundary with Caucasia as its backyard for centuries. Russia attaches a great importance to the region for marketing its own natural resources to the world. Plus, Russia is certainly against an effective US presence in the region. The Black

Sea and the Caspian Sea have a great value for Russia. The Caucasus has a coastline both with the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. Russia must be effectively present in Caucasia to open up to the warm waters, and be strong in Caucasus in order to project power to the Gulf of Basra because the Caucasus is the direct entrance from Russia to the South.

Turkey attaches importance to the region due to its strong historical and cultural ties with the Turkish world, geographical proximity and the developing commercial and political relations with Russia. The competition with Iran strengthens this concern as well. Turkey aims to become an energy corridor which transports the eastern sources to the West; for this, Turkey is obliged to be powerful in the Caucasus. The importance of Azerbaijan and the Central Asian countries for Turkey contributes to the high level of strategic importance accorded to the region by Turkey. Azerbaijan is the closest neighbour of Turkey in terms of their historical, geographical, cultural and social ties. The two countries enjoy close linguistic and religious affinity.

Iran, which is in close relationship with Russia, tries to affect the politics of Azerbaijan, strives to develop friendly relations with Armenia, and is involved in the Caucasus as a country that tries to be a regional power. People who live in the area known as the Iranian Azerbaijan, a region of Iran, preserve their Azerbaijani language and identity; however, they do not display any secessionist tendency. Moreover, Azerbaijan has no expansionist and provocative policy that reaches out to the Iranian Azeris. Besides the lack of such an intention, it does not have the power to succeed in any event.

Iran's policies towards the region are much softer than several experts predicted back in the past. Iran avoided to push the region into instability and avoided to use its revolutionary rhetoric when it deals with the region. Iran's close relationship with Russia and the Russian Federation's effort not to cause instability in the region were the main factors behind these policies of Iran. With the exception of the case of Armenia where Iran enjoys a higher influence, it cannot be said that Iran has been more successful in Caucasus than it has been in the Middle Asia. The fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran develops friendly relations with Christian Armenia, but goes through tensions with Shiite Azerbaijan may seem strange at first. This contradiction is a result of Iran's policies in the region, which are based on economic interests and political concerns than religious discourse.<sup>7</sup>

In the competition between Turkey and Iran, over the region, the US supports Turkey and Russia supports Iran. Armenia has no relationship with Azerbaijan and Turkey. Turkey has frozen relations with Armenia after the occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh, which constitutes one-fifth of the Azerbaijani territory. Another reason for the tension between the two countries is so-called Armenian genocide allegations of Armenia. In addition, the Armenian terrorist organisation ASALA's terrorist attacks against the Turkish diplomats remain in the Turkish public's memory. Beside the influence of the US in the Armenian politics through the Armenian Diaspora, there is also a strong Russian influence especially on the political, military and commercial life of the country.

We should underline that the US is the major power behind the recalcitrant attitude of Armenia against Turkey. By fueling such conflicts and by maintaining controlled instability in the Caucasus, and by preventing the development of neighborly relations between countries in the region, the US prevents the emergence of regional alliances. Russia and the US are competing powers in Armenia's foreign policy and domestic politics. These are the main reasons why the Armenian occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh continues today and that no mutually acceptable solution could be developed by Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Russian policymakers believe that by maintaining at balance between Baku and Yerevan, they can strengthen the dependence of both Azerbaijan and Armenia to Moscow.

The most important problem of Azerbaijan, which is the richest of the three Caucasian Republics, is the Armenian invasion of Nagorno-Karabakh. Azerbaijan has always enjoyed warm relations with Turkey. However, these relations soured after Ankara signed a protocol with Yerevan. Georgia is effectively under American management for political purposes. After the intervention of Georgia to South Ossetia in August 2008, a war took place between Russia and Georgia, and the American influence in Georgia has even more increase after this event.

The fact that the Eurasia possesses three-fourths of the world's energy resources increases the importance of the Caucasus. In this context, the US strategy in Eurasia includes purposeful management of the dynamic states geo-strategically and the control of the catalyst states geo-politically sense. In other words, they prevent hidden agreements between regional states in order to maintain the dependence of managed states to the US for their security. By doing so, the US makes its loyal subjects obedient, keeps them under protection and prevents the rise of elements which can pose a threat.<sup>8</sup> By this way, the US works to prevent the formation of an alliance between its three rivals, namely Russia, Iran and China who engage in the region. When we examine China's rapid rise, their dependence on energy sources and the relations they have developed with Russia and Iran as two majors of Eurasian powers who own rich natural resources, it can be seen that the power struggle is mostly over Eurasia, in particular over Caucasia.

The outstanding problems in the region are:

- The Azeri-Armenian dispute which arises out of the invasion of Nagorno-Karabakh; the tension between Turkey and Armenia
- The competition of regional powers and global powers in the Caucasus
- The remaining problems of the war between Russia and Georgia
- The ethnic and religious tensions in the North Caucasus
- The conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia
- The diverging policies of the regional countries concerning the transportation of Caspian oil to the world markets.
- The Caspian Sea's legal status – there are political and economic reasons that fuel this legal dispute. While Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan argue that the Caspian should be considered as a sea, Russia and Iran assert that it should be considered

as a lake. Turkmenistan which has not a definite attitude, have a closer view to Russia and Iran.

The three Turkish republics bordering the Caspian Sea (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan) are in need of major economic resources of the Caspian Sea. A very large proportion of the energy resources in the Caspian Sea belong to the three Turkish republics. The corresponding ratio for oil is about 70 per cent to 80 per cent. The situation is even more striking for the natural gas. Almost all of the Caspian natural gas is shared by the Turkish Republics. Azerbaijan provides a very important part of the oil and natural gas production from the Caspian Sea. This is also valid for Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan. For example, 80 per cent of the oil projects in Kazakhstan are on the Caspian Sea.<sup>9</sup>

### **Problems in the Caucasus**

The geo-political position of the Caucasus, its strategic importance and natural resources not only pose a great potential but also creates major problems. The Caucasus attracts the attention of the world because it is close to the Caspian basin and the Central Asia, the two great energy regions of the world. For this reason, conflicts in the Caucasus start at a regional level but then rapidly gain an international character.

Russia is related to the region due to its energy investments and the transportation of the energy to the world markets; its economic and political relations to the region, and also for military purposes. It attaches a great importance to the Caucasus for the purposes of the Russian military power in the Black Sea. Russia sees the presence of its military power in Central Asia as an essential issue for its national interest, as well as for the continuity of her political and economic power in the Caucasus and the Black Sea. Even though Russia knows that Turkey is one of two major naval powers of the Black Sea region along with Russia, it would remain faithful to the 1936 Monteux Convention, rejecting the efforts of the US to break the Monteux system.

It is known that the US has been trying to show its flag in the Black Sea. Ukraine has agreed on the continued presence of the Russian naval power in Black Sea. However, Russia does not back the demands of both Bulgaria and Romania, members of NATO, to update and renew the Monteux Straits Convention under the American pressure.

Caucasus is important for Russia because of its military bases in the region too. Azerbaijan is the first former Soviet Republic that closed down the Russian military bases in the country; Gabel radar base, which is owned by Azerbaijan but rented out to Russia, maintains its function. The Gabel base's duration of activity has been extended to 2012 in 2002, and it has been aimed to extend the date to 2032. Russia, who fought with Georgia in August 2008, announced the plans of setting up bases in Abkhazia and South Ossetia and improving military cooperation with the regional countries. Russia also has military bases and unions in Armenia. Russian soldiers are under an obligation to protect the boundaries of the Armenia with Turkey and Iran.



The situation between these two countries is perceived as Russia's military support to Armenia rather than a military cooperation.<sup>10</sup>

Explaining current Russian policy towards the Caucasus requires remembering the imperial role Moscow has played historically in the region. For instance, 'friendly relations' with Ossetians and the problems experienced by the Chechens, can be explained by reference to Russia's imperial history in the region.<sup>11</sup> While the problems between local groups provides new opportunities for Russia to be able to intervene the region, they also hinder the outside political actors ability to play an active role in the region. Russian politicians, who do not want to lose the Moscow's imperial relations which are established in Tsarist and Soviet periods, aspired to set a 'special relationship' which is not fully imperial. In this context, Russia in post-Soviet era, aimed to describe its interests and priorities in the South Caucasus by reference to two factors. First, Russia will be the only responsible for peace-building activities in this area. Second, Russia will seek the protection of the rights of national minorities, especially the Russian speakers.<sup>12</sup>

The US close monitoring in the region is a source of problem by itself. The US, which attaches a strategic value to Caucasus, is closely related to all political, ethnic and religious tensions in the region, such as the Armenian occupation of Nagorno-Karabakh and the tension in South Ossetia. One of the reasons why the US has intimate attention for Armenia is the influential Armenian lobby in the US. The US is closely interested in the underground sources of Azerbaijan, and is working for American companies to lead in the marketing and production processes of these sources. In the same way, being active in the processing and marketing of the Caspian oil to the world, is an important purpose of the US.

Another reason for the interest of the US in the region is Russia's historical and political activity and rapidly rising influence over the region. Russia's strategy to support political power and using the energy to support economic power narrows the domain of the US in the region. There is a sharp competition witnessed between the two countries in the control of energy resources.

A further reason why the US is interested and involved in the region is the possibility of a radical Islamist movement to win power through the support of Iran. The US exerts pressure to the Transcaucasian countries concerning the transportation of Iran's gas to Europe and to the far eastern countries. Turkey is also pressured in this context. On the other hand, China is Iran's greatest customer, but the route to China is constrained. It is because there is the US threat and Afghanistan is under the US occupation. Iran, thinking about different options, tries to improve relations with Pakistan and India.

The US interest in the region and its relations with Turkey affect the policies of the Caucasian countries. Turkey's proximity to the US, NATO membership, relations with the EU, its democratic situation and its experience in market economy, have become a model for the republics of the Caucasus and Central Asian Turks in the first period of their independence. However, the proximity between Turkey and the is often perceived as Turkey being the spokesman of the US in the region.

The EU is not a prominent political power in the Caucasus. Private sector investments of the powerful countries in Europe, particularly on the energy companies, looms Europe in the region more economically. Europe is trying to address its energy supply from diverse sources, and in this context, values the Caucasus and Central Asia substantially. However, the EU cannot follow a comprehensive foreign policy. Accordingly, it seems that they follow the US in defence and security policies and they rather emerge as a side power to the US.

Turkey should make effort to transform the organisations such as the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organisation and the Caucasus Stability Pact to become more functional organisations and should develop its relations with the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. Turkey needs to deal closely with Caucasia, while not forgetting that one of two keys of Euroasia is in the hands of Ankara and the other one is owned by Moscow. Turkey should manage its relations with the Caucasian countries and Russia not as a spokesperson of the West. Turkey should maintain intense criticism of the western world. Turkey should revive the history where it bought the weapons it needed from Russia. Russia's contribution to the construction of large state enterprises such as Cayirova, Aliaga, Seydisehir, Iskenderun and by not removing the credit in mind. The presence of Azerbaijan in the Caucasus and four Turkish republics in Central Asia, offers Turkey a great advantage. The Caucasus is very important for Turkey to reach out to these republics.

Turkey defended the integrity, sovereignty and independence of these countries during the conflicts in the Caucasus, and tried to contribute to the solution of problems through peaceful means; has considered the balance of power in the region. However, to be more active in the region Turkey must strengthen its ties with the Turkish republics. The relations with Central Asia should be developed at all levels. Turkey should benefit from the regional resources to meet its needs of energy. In order to increase the regional power in the Caucasus, Turkey should keep its relationship with Azerbaijan at the highest level.

### **Conclusion**

Working to put an end to the regional tensions in the Caucasus and promoting cooperation, more than competition, will be a step for the self interest of the regional countries. The US who keeps silent towards the developing relations between Ankara and Tehran, because this would reduce the influence of Iran within the region, subsequently undermined the relations between Turkey and Iran by pushing for the missile shield to be placed in Turkey. This missile shield is clearly intended to protect Israel.

The US attaches importance to Turkey as a counterbalance to Iran. Turkey must be aware of this situation. Turkey should consider the world's changing balance over the regional politics and must end the US influence in its politics. In this context, returning to the region-centred foreign policy of Atatürk will be a positive step.

The US, still the hegemonic power of the world, aims to be active in the Caucasus to become dominant in Eurasia. The US wants to control the oil which is transported

to world market from the region. The energy wealth of the Caucasus increases the US appetite, because it consumes one-fourth of the world's oil and natural gas alone. In 2020, it will import 65 per cent of its consumption from world. The US is obliged to be active in Caucasia to maintain its influence over the western Block and prevent Europe and Japan to spin out of the US control. Therefore the US watches uncomfortably the rapprochement between Germany and Russia. The strengthening of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and a rapprochement between Turkey, Russia, China, India and Iran, and the possible support of Germany to that vision, is a cause for concern for the US.

The gas crisis which has occurred between Ukraine and Russia and which spread to the EU showed us that Russia is committed to use its energy weapon in its foreign policy. The fact that one-quarter of Europe's gas consumption is supplied from Russia and the transportation of 80 per cent of it occurs through the pipes coming out of Ukraine, strengthened Moscow's hand. For example, dependence on gas supply from Russia in Austria is 50 per cent, 82 per cent in Greece, 80 per cent in Czech Republic, 28 per cent in Italy, 60 per cent in Hungary, 42 per cent in Germany, and 67 per cent in Turkey. This is the reason why the US is looking for alternative sources and routes for Europe. China is closely related to the Caucasus and aware of the need to be active in there in order to meet its energy needs and continue to assert political power in the region.

Solving the problems between the Caucasian countries by considering global and regional balance of power will relieve those countries and will reduce the influence of imperialist powers in the region. First of all, Armenia should give up its expansionist policies and Georgia should leave its adventurous acts and must get rid of the US influence. Since the conflicts in the region create an excuse for the US and Russia to intervene, Turkey, Iran and the three Caucasian republics in the region must make efforts to solve their problems. Political stability in the region will ensure more efficient use of its large economic potential, and this will enrich the communities.

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### 3 ■ Oil and Gas Factor in the Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan

*N. Aldabek and K. Gabdullin*

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#### **Introduction**

Oil is a strategic product which has greatly influenced the political and economical processes in the world since the industrial revolution till today. Oil was one of the main factors in both the World Wars and many conflicts in the Modern Age as well as wars in the Persian Gulf. Gas has lately become an important product in the World structure of production and consumption. If oil was the main strategic product in the past and present, gas will be so in the future.

At present Kazakhstan is one of the largest producers of oil and gas. In terms of proven oil reserves, Kazakhstan occupies 9th place and in terms of gas 15th place in the world. Proven oil reserves in Kazakhstan are 39.8 bn barrels, and gas – 1.8 trillion cubic metres. In the structure of production, oil and gas industry comprises 15 per cent of GDP or 49.4 per cent of total production in Kazakhstan.<sup>1</sup>

Today oil and gas sectors are dynamically developing industry and the main factor in the foreign policy of Kazakhstan. The legacy of being a country supplying raw materials to Centre during the Soviet period and the current situation arising from world energy demands, Kazakhstan accepted the oil and gas pipeline infrastructure of Russia which monopolized Kazakhstan's supply to external markets. In order to become more independent Kazakhstan began a policy of diversification of oil exports through other routes in search of new energy markets in China, EU and South Asia. It participated in projects aimed at bypassing Russian pipeline infrastructure. In the Energy Strategy of Kazakhstan 2020, diversification of oil and gas exports is the priority direction along with changes from exports of crude oil to exports of oil-products.<sup>2</sup>

The focus of this article is to analyse the impact of oil and gas industries on Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan, that is, intensification oil and gas exports to the different markets as much via Russia as through routes bypassing Russia. The paper has two parts. Part one analyses the history of development of oil and gas industries in the pre-independence and post-Soviet periods, its resources, dynamics of production of oil and gas in Kazakhstan which necessitates diversification. Part two examines the role of oil and gas in evolution of foreign policy of Kazakhstan, existing routes of oil exports and implications of the new routes.

Research methods used include analysis of source materials from British Petroleum's (BP) Statistical Review and Kazakhstan's Ministry of Energy and Mineral resources, information and analysis of Energy Strategy of Kazakhstan 2020.

### **The History of the Development of Oil and Gas Industry in Kazakhstan**

The beginning of oil industry in Kazakhstan can be traced to 1899 when Karashangul oil-field was discovered. After that two oil-fields – Dossor (1911) and Makat (1915) – began to function.<sup>3</sup> Since that time, industrial production of oil had begun. Subsequently, oil industry developed as a part of centralised Soviet industry. After the Soviet Union disintegrated and so did the unified system of industry, Kazakhstan began to cooperate with foreign companies in developing oil and gas-fields. Oil industry in Kazakhstan witnessed 2-stage development.

In stage one (1993-2002) Kazakhstan was promoting privatization of oil and gas fields. During that period, the organs of state in oil and gas industry were created and rapid growth of investment was registered. In 1993, a state company, ‘Kazakhstan Caspian Shelf’, was created for conducting geological study of oil-fields in the Caspian shelf. At that time Kazakhstan signed agreements with companies like Shell, Statoil, Mobil, British Petroleum, British Gas, Total and Agip KCO for establishment of an International Consortium. In 1994, the Ministry of oil and gas industry was created. In 1995 the law ‘On depths and depths use’ was promulgated. Moreover, Kazakhstan, Russia, Oman and International Oil Consortium agreed on constructing a pipeline by forming the CPC (Caspian Pipeline Consortium).<sup>4</sup> Many Oil-fields have been privatized with the participation of Western corporation and Kazakh companies like Agip KCO, Chevron, PetroKazakhstan, Eni, Total, ExxonMobil, Shell, ConoccoPhilips, and Inpex.

In stage two (since creating the NC ‘KazMunayGaz’ JSC, in 2002) Kazakhstan was increasing its presence in oil and gas industry by buying stakes in oil companies. In 2003, the State programme on developing the Kazakhstani Sector of the Caspian Sea was accepted. One of the important oil projects in this region is the North Caspian project for the industrial development of the Kashagan oil-field. In 2007, State companies, ‘RazvedkaDobicha’ and ‘KazMunayGas’, increased oil production by 11.6 per cent as compared to 2006. KazMunayGas acquired 50 per cent stake in companies ‘Kazgermunay’ and ‘CCEL’. In January 2008, Kazakhstan’s share in Kashagan project increased from 8.33 per cent to 16.81 per cent.<sup>5</sup>

### **Oil and Gas Resources**

Kazakhstan occupies 9th and 15th place in the world in terms of proven oil and gas reserves, which in 2009 were 39.8 bn barrels and 1.8 trillion cubic metres respectively, a growth from 25 bn in oil reserves in 2000, or by 62 per cent according to BP Statistical Review. Share of total of oil and gas are 2.9 per cent and 1.0 per cent of the total world reserves respectively. Kazakhstani experts estimate the proven oil and gas reserves to be 12 bn tonnes and 5.9 trillion cubic metres respectively.<sup>6</sup>

**Table 1: Proven Oil Reserves**

	At the end of 2000 (Thousand million barrels)	At the end of 2009 (Thousand million barrels)	At the end of 2010 (Thousand million tons)	At the end of 2010 (Thousand Barrels)	Share of total (%)
Kazakhstan	25.0	39.8	5.5	39.8	2.9
Total World	1104.9	1376.6	188.8	1383.2	100

(Source: *BP Statistical Review 2011*)

**Table 2: Proven Natural Gas reserves**

	At the end of 2000 (Trillion cubic metres)	At the end of 2009 (Trillion cubic metres)	At the end of 2010 (Trillion cubic feet)	At the end of 2010 (Trillion cubic metres)	Share of total (%)
Kazakhstan	1.8	1.9	65.2	1.8	1.0
Total World	154.3	186.6	6608.9	187.1	100

Source: *BP Statistical Review 2011*

At present the deposits of oil are in 6 regions of Kazakhstan. 94 per cent of proven oil deposits are in Atirau, Aktobe, West-Kazakhstan and Mangistau regions. The rest of the deposits are situated in Karaganda and Kzil-Orda regions (totally 144.9 mn tones). The main deposits are in Atirau and Mangistau regions.

The largest oil-fields are Kashagan, Tengiz, Uzen, Karachaganak, Kalamkas. Kashagan East and West is one of the largest deposits in the world. Oil was discovered in Kashagan East in 2000, West in 2001 and South-West in 2003. Estimated oil deposits range from 1.5 to 10.5 bn tonnes. Among it East Kashagan is estimated to have 1.1 to 8 bn tones, west – 2.5 bn tonnes and South-West – 150 mn tones. According to estimates of involved companies oil deposits are estimated to be 38 bn barrels or 6 bn tons. Companies-partners on project ‘Kashagan’ are Eni, KazMunayGas, Total, ExxonMobil, Dutch Shell with 16.9 per cent share each, and ConocoPhillips – 8.4 per cent and Inpex – 7.5 per cent. Production will start in 2012. Capacity of oil production will be 50 mn tons. Tengiz fields reserves are estimated to vary from 750 mn to 1,250 mn tones. Possible reserves are estimated at 3.133 bn tonnes. Partners in Tengiz fields are Chevron Overseas (50 per cent), KazMunayGas (20 per cent), ExxonMobil (25 per cent), Lukoil (5 per cent). Production of oil in Tengiz reached 26 mn tones in 2010. Karachaganak deposit is estimated at 1.2 bn tones. Operators are British Gas and Eni (32.5 per cent each), Chevron Texaco (20 per cent), Lukoil (15 per cent). Production of oil was 11.6 mn tonnes in 2007. Oil deposits in Uzen field are estimated to be 1.1 bn tonnes. Production was 7 mn tons in 2008. Kalamkas oil field estimates range from 500 mn to 1 bn tonnes. Production reached 4.2 mn tonnes in 2008.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 3: The Largest Deposits of Oil**

	Name of deposit	Year of discovery	Oil deposit (Thousand tons)	
1	Kashagan East and West	2000	6,400	North Caspian Operating Company
2	Tengiz	1979	3,100	Tengizchevroil
3	Karachaganak	1979	1,200	Karachaganak Petroleum Operating Company
4	Uzen	1961	1,100	KazMunayGas
5	Kalamkas	1976	510	Mangistaunaygas
6	Zhanazhol	1978	500	CNPC-Actubemunaygas
7	Zhetibay	1961	330	Mangistaunaygas
8	Aktoti	2003	269	Agip KCO
9	Kalamkas-sea	2002	156	Agip KCO
10	Kayran	2003	150	Agip KCO
11	Kenkiyak-nadsolveyov	1959	150	CNPC-Actubemunaygas
12	Kumkol	1984	90	Turgay Petroleum, PetroKazakhstan
13	West Buzachi	1975	70	Buzachi Operating Ltd, Zhalgiztyubemunaygas
14	Karazhanbas	1974	50	Karazhanbasmunay
15	Karakuduk	1971	40	Karakudukmunay
16	Asar	1969	30	Mangistaunaygas

Source: *Handbook of Oil and gas-fields*, Almaty, 2007

The biggest gas-fields are Karachaganak, Kiziloyk, Valin, Chinarev. Karachaganak is the largest gas-field in Caspian Sea shelf. Gas deposits are estimated to be 1.35 bn cubic metres. Production was 14.2 mn cubic metres in 2007. Kiziloyk gas-field is situated in Aktobe region. Gas-field estimates are 1.4 bn cubic metres. Operator in Kiziloyk is TethysPetroleum. Valin gas field is evaluated to have 332 bn cubic metres. Operators are Lukoil (50 per cent), KazMunayGaz (25 per cent), Total (18 per cent), GDF Suez (8 per cent). Production is planned to start in 2016. Chinarev gas field was explored in 1991. Proven deposits are 49 bn cubic metres. Operator is Zhayikmunay.

At present, Kazakhstan produces 81.6 mn tonnes of oil. As it is obvious from Table 3 and 4, production grew from 40.1 mn tonnes in 2001 to 81.6 mn tonnes or by 2 times, reaching the level of 4.4 per cent share of world oil production. The growth of production was conditional upon increase in production from Tengiz oil-field to 26 mn tonnes in 2010 and Karachaganak oil-field to 11.6 mn tonnes in 2007. Kazakhstan will become the 5th largest producers of oil with the beginning of production in Kashagan oil-field in 2012. Kazakhstan plans to increase production to 132.1 mn tonnes by 2020.



Consumption grew slower than production – from 8.7 mn tonnes to 12.5 mn tonnes – which is only 47 per cent (0.8 per cent share of the world consumption) of the total production. Slow growth in consumption is related to limited capacity of oil refineries. In Kazakhstan, only 3 oil refineries are operating. These are Atyrau, Pavlodar and Shimbent refineries. The total refining capacity is 19.4 mn tonnes, which is only 40-60 per cent of total production. Programme of oil industry development in 2010-2020 provides modernisation of refineries and growth in refining capacity from 7.6 in 2011 to 18.5 mn tonnes by 2020, and construction of a New Bitumen Plant with possible capacity of 1 mn tonnes by 2020.

**Table 4: Oil Production, Consumption and Exports in Kazakhstan**

(MT)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Share of Total (%)
Production	40.1	48.2	52.4	60.6	62.6	66.1	68.4	72.0	78.2	81.6	2.1
Consumption	8.7	9.3	10.1	10.7	11.3	11.6	11.8	12.8	12.1	12.5	0.3
Exports	31.4	38.9	42.3	49.9	51.3	54.5	56.6	59.2	66.1	69.1	

Source: *BP Statistical Review 2011*

**Table 5: Natural Gas Production, Consumption and Exports in Kazakhstan**

(bn cubic metres)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Share of total (%)
Production	10.5	10.2	12.6	20.0	22.6	23.9	26.8	29.8	32.5	33.6	1.1
Consumption	10.2	14.8	17.6	25.0	26.8	28.1	26.4	27.2	24.5	25.3	0.8
Exports	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	0.5	2.6	8	8.3	

Source: *BP Statistical Review 2011*

Kazakhstan produces 33.6 bn cubic metres of gas or 30.3 mn tons of oil-equivalent. It increased from 10.5 to 33.6 bn cubic metres or 9.5 to 30.3 mn tonnes oil-equivalent. Its increase was 3 times due to growth in production in Karachaganak oil and gas-field. By 2020, it plans production of 92.2 bn cubic metres. At the same time, consumption grew by 2.5 times from 10.2 to 25.3 bn cubic metres or 22.7 mn tonnes of oil-equivalent.

**Table 6: Expected Production of Oil and Gas**

	2011 (expected volume)	2020 (estimated)
Oil (million tons)	80.4	132.1
Gas (Billion cubic meters)	40.5	92.2

Source: *Prognosis of Ministry of Oil and Gas of Republic of Kazakhstan. "20 years of Development of Energy Sector of Republic of Kazakhstan. Achievements, Problems, Prospects"*. Astana, 2011

### **Energy Strategy of Kazakhstan**

The Strategy of Kazakhstan 2030 contains energy vector, and has three directions:

- Rapid breakthrough for Kazakhstan in the world energy markets by attracting investments of international oil corporations to oil and gas projects, involving foreign business and advanced technology
- Build a system of export pipelines for the transportation of oil and gas to break free from transport and price monopoly of one consumer
- The strategy of state on use of energy resources is directed to develop the interests of great powers in Kazakhstan as importer of energy raw materials

Energy Strategy of Kazakhstan aims to increase the presence of foreign investment and to have security and expansion of export links to the other destinations, including the South Asia vector.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Role of Oil and Gas industry in Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy**

Rapid growth of production of oil and gas prompts state's activity in transportation of energy to external markets. At present above 60 per cent of oil and 100 per cent of gas was exported through Russia by Caspian Pipeline Consortium and Uzen-Atirau-Samara pipelines. According to Energy Strategy of Kazakhstan 2020, diversification of oil and gas exports became priority direction of energy policy of Kazakhstan. Simultaneously with construction of pipelines via Russia, Kazakhstan is interested in other pipeline projects bypassing Russia to China (Kazakhstan-China Oil Pipeline), the EU (Aktau-Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline and Nabucco Gas Pipeline), and South Asia (Kazakhstan-Iran-Persian Gulf Pipeline).

### **Russia in the Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan**

Russia is considered as priority direction for Kazakhstan. The transportation of hydrocarbons from Kazakhstan to Russia is conducted basically via Russia. 60 per cent of oil and 100 per cent of gas is exported from Kazakhstan via Russia under the auspices of the Caspian Pipeline Consortium and Uzen-Atyrau-Samara pipeline. The beginning of cooperation between two states began in 1992 after conclusion of the agreement on economic cooperation. The goal of cooperation is in developing export possibilities of both the states.<sup>9</sup>

The aim of Russia in Kazakhstan is in expanding its transport monopoly over Kazakhstan's export of hydrocarbons. The Strategy of Energy Policy of Kazakhstan towards Russia contains further expansion of transport infrastructure via Russia and reduction of transit fees for hydrocarbons.

### **Caspian Pipeline Consortium**

The most important export organisation is the Caspian Oil-Pipeline Consortium. In this project Russia (31 per cent), Kazakhstan (21 per cent), Oman (7 per cent),

Chevron (15 per cent), ExxonMobil (7.5 per cent), 'LUKArko' Russia (12.5 per cent), 'Mobil Caspian Pipeline Company' (7.5 per cent), 'Rosneft'/'Shell' (7.5 per cent), Agip (2 per cent), 'BritishGas' (2 per cent), 'Eni' (2 per cent), 'Oryx' (1.75 per cent) take part.

First pipeline (value US\$ 2.1 bn) of the Consortium was put into operation in 2003. Its capacity is 28 mn tonnes a year. Total value of the pipeline is US\$ 4 bn. Oil exports from Tengiz, Karachaganak, Arman, Alibekmola and Martishi oil-fields are routed via Russia to Novorossiysk and further to European markets by this Consortium. In 2011 Kazakhstan exported 28 mn tonnes of oil and plans to increase it to 52 mn tonnes by 2020.

### ***Uzen-Atyrau-Samara***

This pipeline begins from Uzen oil-field, it continues to Atyrau oil-refinery, which joins with Samara pipeline. Its capacity is 15.75 mn tonnes. Maximum pipeline capacity is 30 mn tonnes. Pipeline holders are in Kazakhstan territory (Kaztransoil) and in Russia (Tatneft).<sup>10</sup> Kazakhstan exports 15 mn tonnes by that pipeline.

### **China in the Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan**

China is a much prospective importer of oil and gas. Consumption of oil and gas in China grew from 224.2 mn tonnes and 24.5 bn cubic metres in 2000 to 428.6 mn tonnes and 109 bn cubic metres respectively, that is, production of oil grew by only 162.6 mn tonnes and that of gas by 27.2 bn cubic metres in 2000 to 323.3 mn tonnes and 96.8 bn cubic metres respectively. Imports of oil and gas grew from 51.6 mn tons and 2.7 bn cubic metres to 105.3 mn tonnes to 12.2 bn cubic metres respectively.

Cooperation between the two countries is expanding in developing oil-fields and construction of oil and gas pipelines to China. In the Energy Strategy of China, Central Asia, especially Kazakhstan, was stated as a possible source of supply of oil and gas from abroad. China started cooperation by accepting 35 per cent stake in Buzachi oil field in 2003. In 2005, Chinese company CNPC bought PetroKazakhstan for US\$ 4.18 bn. In 2009, China accepted 100 per cent stake in MangistauMunayGas.<sup>11</sup>

### ***Kazakhstan-China Oil Pipeline***

The construction of the pipeline began in 1997. The first section of pipeline from the Aktobe region's oil-fields to the Atyrau was completed in 2003. The construction of pipeline from Atasu to Alashankou was finished in 2005. The construction of Kenkiyak-Kumkol section was completed in 2009.

The pipeline was constructed by the China National Petroleum Corporation and KazMunayGaz. The distance of Atasu-Alashankou section is 2,238 km, and the pipeline cost US\$ 700 mn. Capacity might be upgraded to 400 thousand barrels per day. This section started to supply oil in 2006. Kenkiyak-Kumkol section was 792 kilometres. It has transportation capacity of 10 mn tons a year. This section expected to take oil to Kumkol in 2011. From Alashankou, oil is supplied to Chinese market.

In 2011, Kazakhstan expected to export 11 mn tons and increase it to 20 mn tons by 2020.

### **The US in the Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan**

The US is one of the largest investors in Kazakhstan's economy. American investment totals US\$ 20 bn or 35 per cent of all foreign investment in Kazakhstan's economy in 1994-2007. American strategy in Kazakhstan includes protecting the interests of American corporations and geopolitically to decrease Russia's influence by promoting pipelines bypassing by Russia (Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan, for example).

### **Aktau-Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan**

Caspian oil is exports by tankers from Kazakhstani port of Aktau to Baku. The length is 300 km and possible supply could be 10 mn tons a year. From Baku, Azerbaijan provides transportation of oil via Trans-Caucasus to Turkish port Ceyhan. The length is 1,768 km. Capacity is 50 mn tones a year. Project value was US\$ 3.9 bn. BP (30.1 per cent), State Oil Company of Azerbaijan (25 per cent), Chevron (8.9 per cent), Statoil (8.71 per cent), Eni (5 per cent), Total (5 per cent), Itochu (3.4 per cent), ConocoPhillips (2.5 per cent), Inpex (2.5 per cent), are shareholders.

In 2003, Kazakhstan joined this project. Kazakhstan concluded inter-government agreement with Azerbaijan on commercial terms of the project. It intends to create the company, 'Aktau-Baku', which will supply oil by Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline. Kazakhstan will be able to export 20 mn tons a year by this route. In 2011, Kazakhstan intended to export 9 mn tons with the prospect to increase it to 12 mn tonnes in 2020. This project was lobbied by the US. Problems of that pipeline include conflicts along the route in Georgia and between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

### **The EU in Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan**

The EU is one of the largest global importers of oil and gas. Imports of oil and gas are 569.4 mn tons and 228 bn cubic metres respectively. The deposits of hydrocarbon in Europe are being exhausted. Traditional suppliers in North Africa and Middle East are instable. From gas crisis in Belarus and Ukraine, Russia's gas supply is deemed to be unsafe. The EU wants to diversify its hydrocarbon supply source to the Central Asia region, including Kazakhstan as one of the priority vector for its imports. The EU is considered as potentially the largest importer of Kazakhstan's oil and gas. Moreover, the EU is the one of the biggest investors in Kazakhstan's economy. European Energy interests are in construction and development of infrastructure for import of hydrocarbon to EU among which are Caspian Pipeline Consortium, Nabucco gas-pipeline and Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil-pipeline.<sup>12</sup> Nabucco project and involving Kazakhstan in it is under consideration. Moreover Kazakhstan is considering e other markets for hydrocarbon transportation to South and South-East Asia by Kazakhstan-Iran-Persian Gulf route and evaluating the prospects of Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) pipeline project.

### Kazakhstan-Iran-Persian Gulf

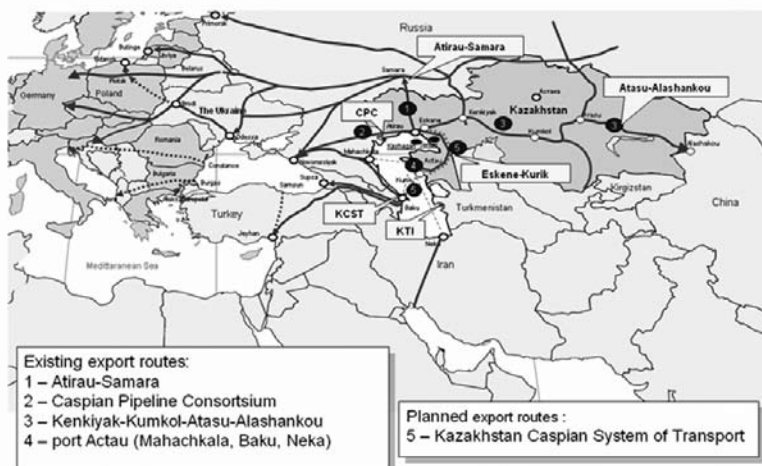
Kazakhstan began to supply 2 mn tons of oil a year to Iran with the prospect of growth to 6 mn tons a year by 2020. Oil exports are from Aktau port to port Amirabad (Iran) and through Iran to South and East Asia markets. In 2002, Iran, Russia and India signed agreement on construction of pipeline but it hasn't materialised till now. Oil was transported through Iran by rail.<sup>13</sup>

**Table 7: Exports of Oil Mn tones**

Routes	2011	2020 (forecast)
Caspian Oil-Pipeline Consortium via Russia	28	52
Uzen-Atyrau-Samara via Russia	15	15
Port Aktau (by KazTransOil System)	9	12
Kazakhstan-China	11	20
Port Aktau (by Iran, Persian Gulf)	2	6
Total	65	91.0

**Source:** Ministry of Oil and Gas of Republic of Kazakhstan. "20 years of Development of Energy Sector of Republic of Kazakhstan. Achievements, Problems, Prospects", Astana, 2011

### Pipeline Infrastructure



**Source:** Ministry of Oil and Gas of Republic of Kazakhstan. "20 years of Development of Energy Sector of Republic of Kazakhstan. Achievements, Problems, Prospects", Astana, 2011

### Conclusion

The growth of energy in Kazakhstan will need more export routes. The Russian route will not be sufficient though it will remain as dominating dimension. However the republic will definitely expand its energy transport capabilities to China, the EU and South Asia.

## Notes

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## 4 ■ Energy and Democracy: What role for the EU in Central Asia?

*Vanessa Boas*

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Traditionally, Central Asia (CA) was considered distant and strategically insignificant by the EU. The war in Afghanistan and the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 altered the stance of Brussels and the Member States towards this territory. The fact that the Central Asian governments cooperated with the West by allowing troops to use their airbases converted them into partners. Moreover, numerous energy crises in Europe, following disputes between Russia and its neighbours, pushed the EU to rethink its energy policy and contemplate deepening its relations with the region. Finally, enlargement brought the East closer to the EU's borders, which also heightened its sensitivity to the threats emanating from unstable regions. In order to combat organised crime, drug trafficking and illegal migration, the EU had to tackle the source of the problem. Recognising this change in circumstance, the Central Asia Strategy was drawn up in 2007, which marked an upgrade from the Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCA).<sup>1</sup>

While these documents cater for the region's democratic and economic development, the EU has been accused of pursuing its interests at the expense of its values. The decision to appease dictators in order to ensure Europe's energy security has been fiercely criticised by the NGO community and equally goes against the image the EU tries to promote of itself as a normative actor.

The New Great Game between traditional (Russia and China) and relatively new powers (Iran, Turkey, the US, the EU, and India) does, however, greatly restrict Europe's room for manoeuvre. Europe may be an investor, a trade partner and a balancing weight against Russia and China, but it cannot significantly change the countries of the region on its own. As neither Russia nor China have an interest in seeing a democratic Central Asia, the European attempts to promote such developments are likely to be quashed. Moreover, as both are set on securing their access to the Caspian's resources, the EU does not relish enough leverage to impose heavy conditionality on its investments.

To begin with, this article will adopt Ian Manner's Normative Power Europe concept in order to place this piece into its academic context. Next, the EU's relations with the countries of Central Asia and its democracy promotion agenda will be outlined in order to identify its strengths and weaknesses. Subsequently, the EU's energy interests in the region will be analysed as well as its current policies. Finally, the case of Turkmenistan will be scrutinised in order to underline the conflict between values vs. interests in the EU foreign policy and current debates on conditionality, engagement and isolation. It will be argued that engagement should be pursued over isolation with Turkmenistan although some minimum conditions must

be met. Regarding its role, the EU can be both a subtle democracy promoter and an energy importer, thus, combining its values with its interests if it acts strategically. It must not, however, set the bar too high as it lacks the leverage to realise the agenda put forward in its documents. The concept of Normative Power Europe, thus, only loosely applies to Central Asia where a number of intervening variables undermine its normative vocation.

### **Normative Power Europe?**

In the recent years, the EU has been conceptualised as a distinctly different type of actor - being described as a 'civilian', a 'soft' and a 'normative' power in international relations.<sup>2</sup> Such qualities are reported to have been obtained through its historical context, its hybrid polity and its political-legal constitution. Moreover, academics maintain that by being different to the pre-existing political forms, the EU is predisposed to acting in 'a normative way in the world politics'.<sup>3</sup> In fact, it is generally accepted that the EU is a post-modern actor, which does not believe in zero-sum games; instead, it seeks to cooperate and strengthen the third countries to pursue its interests. According to Manners, it is possible to identify the five core norms, which run through the Union's policies and legal documents – peace, liberty, democracy, rule of law and human rights.<sup>4</sup> These principles are then purportedly transposed to the external sphere where value-based rather than interest-based incentives govern the EU's external relations.

Critics have considered the description of the EU as a normative actor, 'generic, deficient and largely supply-side driven'.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, in a study conducted by Tocci et al, four different types of foreign policy (Realpolitik, imperialistic, status quoist and normative frameworks) were discerned in an analysis of the EU's external relations.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, Lucarelli refers to both 'problems of consistency' and 'double standards' in the EU's external policy.<sup>7</sup> In addition, Smith states that the EU's past historical record suggests that it has behaved inconsistently 'mostly due to calculations of the relative strategic and commercial importance of targeted countries'.<sup>8</sup> Central Asia provides an excellent case for testing Normative Power Europe as it resists the EU values due to the authoritarianism in the countries in question but equally presents sizeable interests for the EU due to the hydrocarbon resources on offer there. The variation in quantities of energy resources as well as in levels of authoritarianism between countries in the Central Asian case study should help refute or substantiate claims that the EU treats strategically important countries differently and that its behaviour is shaped by cost benefit calculations.

### **The EU in Central Asia**

The EU's commitment to normative policies is mirrored in both its foreign and development policy. In 1991, the European Council made democracy and human rights a condition of its development assistance, whereas the Maastricht Treaty integrated these elements into the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). In the same vein, human rights and democracy appear throughout the EU's documents



targeting Central Asia. The PCAs which were the initial documents governing EU-CA relations state that respect for democracy, principles of international law and human rights as well as the principle of a market economy, underpin the internal and external policies of the Parties and constitute an essential element of partnership of this Agreement. The 2007 Central Asia Strategy equally states that the EU has strong interests in a peaceful, democratic and economically prosperous Central Asia and identifies seven priority areas for engagement of which Human rights, the rule of law, good governance and democratisation, is one<sup>9</sup> – youth and education; economic development, trade and investment; strengthening energy and transport links; environmental sustainability and water; combating common threats and challenges, and inter-cultural dialogue were also among the priority areas enumerated in the strategy. In order to pursue these goals, the EU equally commits to regular political dialogue at foreign minister level, a European Education Initiative, a Rule of Law Initiative, a regular and result-orientated human rights dialogue and a regular energy dialogue all of which rely on norm diffusion through socialisation.<sup>10</sup>

### **Democracy Promotion**

The human rights dialogues (HRD) are a major element of the EU's democracy promotion strategy in Central Asia. Whilst the human rights picture in the region varies from country to country in the region, it can generally be stated that it is somewhat better in Kyrgyzstan, worse in Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, and abysmal in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. The HRD thus serve to 'raise the concerns felt by the EU on human rights in the countries concerned, gather information and launch initiatives to improve the relevant human rights situation'.<sup>11</sup> HRD is usually made up EU officials and representatives of Central Asian regimes and meetings take place annually. In addition, civil society seminars are organised in between so that human rights lawyers and NGOs from CA and the EU can meet to prepare the contents of the dialogue.

The idea behind the HRD is to foster change through dialogue. Moreover, by monitoring developments, countries are put under pressure to uphold certain standards. Unsurprisingly, their success has varied from country to country. In the case of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, there have been relatively frank dialogues although the EU is reported to have practiced some self-censorship, avoiding sensitive topics. Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have been more problematic as they have tried to undermine the endeavour.<sup>12</sup> For instance, it is reported that Turkmenistan seeks to downplay the process, keeping it strictly behind closed doors... Uzbekistan has taken a more aggressive and pro-active approach, insisting that the dialogue be symmetrical, with a place on the agenda for discussion of the human rights situation in the EU. This has led for instance to criticism of the EU treatment of various minorities.<sup>13</sup> Added to this, there is talk of HRD being instrumentalised by states to gain short-term concessions from the EU or to reassure it that it is committed to human rights without implementing any real change. Moreover, no concrete benchmarks have been created to measure progress and success. Whilst the

EU defends itself by stating that dialogue in itself is an aim, this has been fiercely criticised by the NGO community, which demands measurable and noticeable improvement.

Technical and Financial Assistance is equally a way in which the EU tries to influence the Central Asian states. These countries benefited from Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS) allocations after the fall of the Soviet Union, and later, from funds from the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI). Moreover, democracy has also promoted the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) via which Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have been eligible for micro-project funding to local civil society organisations.<sup>14</sup> It is clear that funding goes to those countries where success is most likely, and thus, very few projects are being implemented in either Turkmenistan or Uzbekistan.

Another tool at the EU's disposal is political conditionality. The EU has generally preferred positive conditionality, thus releasing funds when certain conditions have been met. However, the idea of rewarding the goodies or 'more for more' is not reflected in the EU bilateral allocations. For the EU's indicative programme for 2007-10, there were erratic per capita allocations – Kyrgyzstan 10.6 Euros, Tajikistan 10 Euros, Turkmenistan 4.6 Euros, Kazakhstan 2.9 Euros, and Uzbekistan 1.2. Turkmenistan, thus, got almost 70 per cent more than Kazakhstan even though Kazakhstan has been comparatively more cooperative in terms of project implementation and reform.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, negative conditionality has rarely been applied, and thus, funds are not withdrawn from offenders. This has largely been justified by the fact that Central Asian states do not respond to negative conditionality, with the Uzbekistan sanctions case being cited as an example.

In addition, the releasing of statements, which serves to encourage as well as criticise the states, has lacked in consistency. It is reported that the EU periodically reacts to dramatic events but does not pick up on gradual drops in freedom resulting in increased authoritarianism.<sup>16</sup> For example, between 1993 and 2006, 37 cases of electoral violation were reported in Central Asia to which the EU only responded in 11 cases by issuing declarations. In no case was aid withdrawn or were sanctions imposed besides in the Uzbekistan case where it took a massacre for the EU to react. In a recent interview with an EU official in Brussels, the release of a BBC journalist in Tajikistan was cited as an example of active EU involvement, and influence in the internal affairs of the state in question.<sup>17</sup> However, it seems that the EU failed to use its potential leverage in the Zhovtis case as the latter was condemned despite Western resistance. It, thus, seems that the EU is (a) slow at reacting, (b) fails to react in countries where there is no strong lobby, and (c) its condemning of certain events has little effect.

### **What Value does this Policy have?**

In the case of Central Asia, the EU has been criticised for upholding empty political rhetoric whilst providing relatively limited democratisation support. This is in line with the general debate on the expectation-capability gap referring to what the EU claims it can do and its abilities in reality.<sup>18</sup> According to the documents, the EU

has no modest goal – it strives to transform the dictatorships of Central Asia into democracies. This is despite the fact that it (a) enjoys limited leverage in the region, (b) the promotion of a Western type of democracy is out of tune with the local context, and (c) other powers, which are far more influential in the region as well as the local elite, do not want political change. It is interesting to note that neo-patrimonial models of governance, based on kinship and clan affiliation, are largely deemed incompatible with those of the EU. This would, thus, require Central Asian society to adapt its cultural makeup and mould its local traditions to Western styles of governance. This point is, however, problematic when democracy and liberalism are equated with instability and inequality as is the case in Central Asian states. Given these factors, an approach, which largely relies on socialisation, is unlikely to be sufficient as the EU's discourse is too far removed from local reality and is not in line with local models of governance.

In the past, the EU's policy towards Central Asia was also criticised for the fact that the projects were very much moulded on those used in the rest of the Post-Soviet Space despite the fact that the conditions between those regions varied substantially. For example, the Central Asian assistance largely focused on power redistribution in the form of judicial reform, parliamentary strengthening, political party development and electoral programmes. This was indeed appropriate for Eastern European societies where authoritarian structures had already been dissolved, the elites were committed to reform, and the EU had great material incentives to offer in the form of membership. In Central Asia, however, power remains consolidated and elites have no real motivation to weaken their position and to support democracy. This is also one of the problems with funding NGOs as a means of democracy promotion since these are either persecuted by the local government or government-run phantom organisations. They, thus, in neither instance, usher in any real change in terms of democratic development.

The special interests of Member States and consequent EU incoherence equally hamper the EU's democratisation strategy. Council members are reported to have blocked decisions regarding democratic contraventions when this has been in conflict with their national agenda, usually related to their special relations with Russia, the war against terrorism or their energy interests. As Putin became increasingly assertive about this backyard, large EU member states such as Germany, Italy and France paid attention to reassuring Moscow that they would not be getting too involved in Central Asia. Moreover, Russia generally does not appreciate any endeavours to export revolutions to the region where it strives for stability. An aggressive democratisation policy by the EU would, thus, be seen as an attempt to undermine Russia's building of replica states of its 'controlled democracy' in Central Asia.

Added to this, the EU Member States participating in the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) have felt compelled to cooperate with Central Asian regimes. Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan all provided over-flight rights, airbases and hosted foreign troops (German in Uzbekistan and French in Tajikistan). The concessions that Western governments have made in return for those privileges have

been fiercely criticised. For instance, not only did Germany manage to keep its base in Termez open despite the sanctions, Berlin directly undermined the EU's attempt to punish the Uzbek authorities by allowing a blacklisted Uzbek official to receive medical treatment in Germany shortly after the punitive measures had been adopted. Moreover, it repeatedly lobbied for the sanctions to be lifted during negotiations in the Council something that resulted in scathing criticism from NGOs.

In the case of energy, a number of European countries are especially interested in gaining access to Central Asian resources. In this context, it is important to bear in mind that neither Russia nor China imposes any conditions on the Central Asian countries regarding their investments. The EU largely feels discouraged to do the same, arguing that they will only push those states into the arms of other powers. Moreover, as democratisation simultaneously leads to destabilisation, numerous Member States involved in the hydrocarbon industry are especially reluctant to endorse regime change in the region as this could jeopardise their control over their assets.

The influence of interests over action is evident in the application of CFSP instruments where negative statements for human rights violations were solely issued in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan between 2005 and 2007. Whilst it can be stated that the case of Turkmenistan stems from an absence of lobbying, no such excuse can be found for Kazakhstan, which is the EU's closest partner in Central Asia but equally a major offender.

### Energy

Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan are very rich in hydrocarbon resources, which render them strategically significant for external powers. It must be noted that Kazakhstan has the second largest oil reserves and production in the former Soviet Union, beaten solely by Russia, and that globally, it is in the top ten for oil and the top fifteen for gas. Moreover, Turkmenistan has immense unexplored gas reserves; Uzbekistan is also a relatively important gas producer.<sup>19</sup>

**Table 1: Oil, Proven Reserves in Billions of Barrels, 2009**

Iran	139.4
Russia	75.3
Kazakhstan	40.1
Azerbaijan	7
Uzbekistan	0.7
Turkmenistan	0.7

Source: European Commission, DG Energy

**Table 2: Natural Gas Reserves in Trillion Cubic Metres, 2009**

Russia	44.9
Iran	29

Turkmenistan	8
Kazakhstan	1.8
Uzbekistan	1.7
Azerbaijan	1.3

Source: European Commission, DG Energy

At present, Turkmen gas exports are transported through Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan to Russia. From Russia, the gas is partly transported to Ukraine. Kazakh gas also largely ends up in Russia whereas Uzbek gas is either consumed in the region or exported to Russia. It becomes clear that despite negligible amounts of Turkmen gas being shipped to Iran, Russia enjoys a complete monopoly on the Central Asian gas exports, which is facilitated by infrastructure ownership already in place from the Soviet Union. As Russia owns part of the infrastructure, it has been buying the gas at below market price, later selling it to Europe at world prices. However, relying on Russia for Central Asian gas makes Europe vulnerable as a slight disruption in flows between Central Asia and Russia would directly impact the EU.

According to estimates, 10 per cent of the world's natural resources are in the Caspian, which explains why this is an increasingly coveted area with world powers competing for access. The root behind the EU's interest is clear: European countries face a long-term predicament due to declining domestic production, increasing demand and climate change which push the EU to secure energy resources. Moreover, increasing reticence to rely on Russia as a main supplier given the reoccurring transit conflicts in its neighbourhood are also a major factor.

The European Community Regional Strategy Paper (RSP) for Assistance to Central Asia for the period 2007-13 picks up on the importance of the region in achieving diversification Central Asia, with its significant hydrocarbon resources and favourable geographical location for transport routes to European markets, will play an important role in ensuring the EU's energy supplies.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, in the Central Asia Strategy, the EU openly states that it is willing to 'lend political support and assistance to Central Asian countries in developing a new Caspian Sea – Black Sea – EU energy transport corridor'.<sup>21</sup>

The EU has signed protocols of understanding on energy with Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are, thus, trying to increase its presence. Moreover, Oettinger and Barroso have consulted with Presidents Ilham Aliyev and Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedovat, which has resulted in the earmarking of gas for Europe. This is a substantial achievement for the EU as member states have tended to act individually in the sphere of energy policy.

### **The Case of Turkmenistan**

The case of Turkmenistan will be used to analyse the interests vs. dilemma in EU external relations. Turkmenistan is one of the most oppressive countries in the world. Amnesty International's 2010 Report enumerates a whole list of problems such as 'citizens' inability to change their government; reports of torture and mistreatment of

detainees; incommunicado and prolonged detention; arbitrary arrest and detention; denial of due process and fair trial; arbitrary interference with privacy, home, and correspondence; restrictions on freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association; restrictions on religious freedom, including continued harassment of religious minority group members; restrictions on freedom of movement for some citizens; violence against women, and restrictions on free association of workers.<sup>22</sup> It is, thus, not surprising that Ashgabat has been ranked alongside North Korea in international ratings.<sup>23</sup>

It was originally hoped that the death of Turkmenbashi (former Turkmen president Niyazov), solely a representative body called Europa House and a couple of EU member state embassies are based there. Moreover, no PCA has been signed with Turkmenistan due to its human rights record – an Interim Trade Agreement to partially bridge the gap in relations is in place in order for relations to be sustained in the meantime.

The 2004 Baku Initiative substantially increased the prospects of bringing Turkmen gas to Europe. This endeavour pursues integration of the energy markets of Black Sea and Caspian Sea littoral states, aiming at fostering transparent energy markets worthy of investment whilst equally ensuring energy supply security. In April 2008, the European Commission and the Turkmen government signed a Memorandum of Understanding on strategic energy partnership whilst Ashgabat committed to reserve 10 bcm of gas for Europe each year. At present, neither the European Investment Bank nor the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development have been in touch with Ashgabat, and Turkmenistan is not a member of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), all of which slows down the construction process.

While the EU has mulling over the Nabucco project, China constructed a gas pipeline link from Turkmenistan through Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan to Western China in December 2009. Chinese investments and loans to Turkmenistan have equally increased exponentially in the recent years, whereas, Russian imports have dropped following gas disputes with Ashgabat, and have pushed the latter to look for export markets elsewhere. Increased tension between Ashgabat and Moscow partly accounts for why Turkmenistan is increasingly keen on working with Europe.

On September 12, 2011, the Commission received a green light from the Council to go ahead with the negotiations for constructing a legal framework for a Trans-Caspian pipeline system which would transport natural gas from Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan to Europe. Whilst this decision is supposed to ensure Europe's energy security, the NGO community has heavily criticised this decision and chided it for pursuing Realpolitik.

Turkmen human rights organisations have called on the EU to 'make clear to the Turkmen government that human rights are a core element of EU-Turkmenistan relations and that failure by Turkmen authorities to ensure concrete progress on human rights will have direct consequences for continued EU engagement'.<sup>24</sup> The problem with this conditionality-laden approach is that firstly, Ashgabat may solely

feign liberalisation in order to pander to the EU, and secondly, the EU may recognise superficial progress solely to advance its interests. Undoubtedly, the EU faces a dilemma – in order to have an advantageous energy deal with Ashgabat, it cannot have a confrontational relationship with the government. Moreover, the EU fears if Ashgabat feels pressurised due to ‘excessive’ criticism or conditionality, it is likely to seek alternative partners such as China, and thus, the small window of opportunity to influence Ashgabat will have been lost.

In all in all, it seems advisable that engagement be pursued whilst the EU conditionality in the form of specific industry-related requirements remain on the table. Isolation is likely to be counterproductive, given that the objective is to reform Turkmenistan and that authoritarian regimes are largely unresponsive to punishment. Ashgabat does not depend on Europe for its survival, the EU must, thus, provide other incentives or raise the level of (inter)dependence. On the incentives front, the EU’s forte is technological excellence and efficiency, which are enticing to CA states eager to develop. (Inter)dependence will be increased by deepening economic relations, most likely in the form of trade in gas. Moreover, experts have advocated the integration of long-term political and social development into the commercial relations of European energy companies as ‘by doing so, they will meet local content requirements, build a more efficient local workforce, and foster the development of a middle-class likely to engender broader social progresses.’<sup>25</sup> It is, thus, hoped that there will be a spill-over effect into other sections of society, which allow for lasting change, facilitated by a more present EU.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, it seems clear that the EU does not have the leverage to be a fully-fledged norm promoter in Central Asia. The EU has far too few incentives to offer to the countries in question, and is competing with powers which have no interest in change. Moreover, the very transformations the EU advocates threaten the ruling elite, which are its main dialogue partner. Moreover, the message that the EU is trying to promote in Central Asia has little resonance. Central Asians never had democracy and see this as an alien concept. It is, thus, not surprising that such norms transfer is so challenging and that the Normative Power Europe model does not hold for the Central Asian case study.

Be that as it may, it is evident that there were attempts on the part of the EU to promote its values in the region. There is no doubt that the EU is more successful and proactive in countries where it has more leverage. In countries like Kyrgyzstan, where the EU has few interests and relative openness, Brussels faces far fewer difficulties in promoting its values. In states like Uzbekistan, rich in natural resources and with a leadership, which rules with an iron-fist, the EU has no means of pressurising the administration.

The problems inherent in the human rights dialogues have equally been highlighted; there are no benchmarks and these dialogues can be instrumentalised. However, the very fact that leaders agree to these talks is preferable to having no

interaction. With regards to regional DCI, it is clear that the EU's own interests have been pursued. When considering the EIDHR allocations, the EU reveals that it favours those partners with which it is easy to work. Given the absence of NGOs in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, this is not too surprising however.

It cannot be denied that the EU has substantial interests in CA and that energy is a priority. It would be unreasonable for the EU not to attempt to diversify and secure its energy supplies. However, the situation is not black and white; interests can be pursued whilst values are promoted. There is no doubt that it is easier for the EU to achieve progress in the interest-based domain even if the EU remains a minor power competing with more influential actors. However, it does not have to give up its values; it can integrate them into its interests, and thus, reconcile the two.

With regard to the case of Turkmenistan, it is argued that engagement should be pursued whilst the energy deals should go ahead. The reasoning behind this is that otherwise the contact the EU has been building up with the administration in Ashgabat will be lost. By creating interdependence, states are increasingly tied and can influence each other. This means that if Turkmenistan depends on Europe for its exports and thus currency, it will be more reasonable in negotiations.

The role the EU shall play in Central Asia can be that of both an energy partner and a democracy promoter. If used strategically, this position can enable Brussels to bring about social change through economic means. Whilst the EU is destined to continue being sidelined by Russia and China in the years to come, increased experience and interest in the EU is likely to raise Europe's visibility, commitment and impact in Central Asia.

## Notes

1. These have been signed with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan although the latter two have not come into force. Each of these agreements cater for several annual meetings in the form of cooperation councils, cooperation committees, inter parliamentary cooperation committees and subcommittee.
2. I. Manners, "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40 (2), 2002, p. 242.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Syuzanna Asilyan, "The European Union (EU) as a "Civilian" and "Normative Power": A Flip-Side Analysis" available at [http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p252495\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p252495_index.html)
6. Nathalie Tocci, *Profiling Normative Foreign Policy the European Union and its Global Partners*, CEPS Working Document, December 2007, p. 2, Available at: <http://www.ceps.eu/node/1409>
7. S. Lucarelli, "Interpreted Values: a Normative Reading of EU Role Conceptions and Performance", in O. Elgstrom & M. Smith (Eds.). *The European Union's Roles in International Politics*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 47.
8. K. E. Smith, "The End of Civilian Power EU: A Welcome Demise or Cause for Concern?", *The International Spectator*, 35 (2), 2000, p. 26.
9. European Council, *The EU and Central Asia: Strategy for a New Partnership*, June 2007.



10. This is to say that dialogue between the socialiser and the socialisee is to convince the latter of the former's worldview and encourage him to adopt a similar model.
11. European Commission, *European Union and Central Asia. EU Human Rights Dialogues in Central Asia. Fact sheet*, 2009.
12. M.Emerson, J.Boonstra, N.Hasanova, M. Laruelle, and S. Peyrouse, *Into EurAsia: Monitoring the EU's Central Asia Strategy*, Report of the EUCAM Project, Centre for European Policy Studies and Fundacion para Relaciones Internacionales y el Dialogo Exterior, 2010, p. 68.
13. Jos Boonstra, *The EU's Interests in Central Asia: Integrating Energy, Security and Values Into Coherent Policy*, Working paper, EDC2020, no. 9 , January 2011. Available at: [http://www.edc2020.eu/fileadmin/publications/EDC\\_2020\\_Working\\_paper\\_No\\_9\\_The\\_EU%E2%80%99s\\_Interests\\_in\\_Central\\_Asia\\_v2.pdf](http://www.edc2020.eu/fileadmin/publications/EDC_2020_Working_paper_No_9_The_EU%E2%80%99s_Interests_in_Central_Asia_v2.pdf),
14. Ibid.
15. *Central Asia Indicative Programme*, 2007–10, see [http://www.eeas.europa.eu/central\\_asia/rsp/nip\\_07\\_10\\_en.pdf](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/central_asia/rsp/nip_07_10_en.pdf).
16. Crawford Op, cit.
17. Interview with a Commission Official, Brussels, Belgium on October 21, 2011; and, Committee to Protect Journalists, “BBC reporter released in Tajikistan”, July 14, 2011. see <http://www.cpj.org/2011/07/bbc-reporter-released-in-tajikistan.php>
18. Christopher Hill, “The Capability- Expectations Gap or Conceptualising Europe’s International Role”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31(3), p. 315.
19. International Crisis Group, “Central Asia: What Role for the European Union?” *Asia Report no. 113*, April 2006, see [http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/central\\_asia/113\\_central\\_asia\\_what\\_role\\_for\\_the\\_eu.pdf](http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/central_asia/113_central_asia_what_role_for_the_eu.pdf), accessed on October 15, 2011, p. 7.
20. *The European Community Regional Strategy Paper (RSP) for Assistance to Central Asia, 2007-13*, at: [http://www.eeas.europa.eu/central\\_asia/rsp/07\\_13\\_en.pdf](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/central_asia/rsp/07_13_en.pdf).
21. Crawford op, cit.
22. The Amnesty International’s 2010 Report, at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/160480.pdf>
23. Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2010, ‘Worst of the Worst’*, June 2010, see [http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special\\_report/88.pdf](http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/88.pdf)
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25. Michael Denison, “The EU and Central Asia: Commercialising the Energy Relationship”, working paper, July 02, 2009, see [fride.org/.../EUCAM\\_WP2\\_EU\\_Central\\_Asia\\_Energy\\_Eng\\_jul09.pdf](http://fride.org/.../EUCAM_WP2_EU_Central_Asia_Energy_Eng_jul09.pdf)

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## 5 ■ Geopolitics of the Caspian Sea in the Civilisational Dimension: The Factor of Religion (Buddhism)

*Baatr U. Kitinov*

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It is believed that the world story is a story of local civilisations, which are the local variations of the global (or world) civilisation. According to the Russian scholar Eugeny Cherniak, the indicators of local civilisation are: the single compact territory, common culture and religion; the difference of the political system, legal norms and even the gap in social development are not an obstacle to the unity of civilisation.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the local civilisation is a socio-cultural community, with its specific characteristics of lifestyle, behaviour, which special and distinct from the other (neighbouring) spiritual, religious and socio-political communities and systems. In the case of developments in a new environment, the previous patterns, as a rule, retain their identity. The sum of local civilisations in a specific geographical environment, at a specific location, allows us to define them as a regional civilisation.

The number of local civilisations varies, depending on different perspectives. The author considers that it not necessary to define their number, but believes that the most important ones include Christian-Orthodox (Russian), Confucian (Chinese or Confucian-Buddhist), Indo-Buddhist (Indian), Christian (the Euro-Atlantic), Turko-Islamic, Arab-Islamic, Latin American and African civilisations.

The local civilisations are of two kinds – the first include those that develop in places where they were founded one established; they can also be defined as the core or rod civilisations, and the second type is their regional variations, that is, they represent the first kind of civilisations, but at a certain distance from them, in other regions of the continent and the world.

Usually, scholars have two main approaches to the characterisation of local civilisations to determine of their basis – in the first approach, the local civilisations are integrated systems, whose structural elements are represented by the different degrees of manifestation of their constituents: the type of economy, religion, form of government, economic development, etc. This approach is represented by the monographs of Nikolai Danilevski, Leo Karsavin, Nikolai Trubetskoi and the representatives of the Annales School.

The second approach emphasises elements such as religion (Oswald Spengler, Max Weber, Arnold Toynbee, Konstantin Leontiev etc.). O. Spengler distinguishes nine local cultures, which have created their own political entities (states, associations of tribes). A. Toynbee initially counted twenty-one, then thirteen regional civilisations, whose struggle was the essence of world politics and history. K. Jaspers believed spirituality in general and religion in particular as the starting point for the modern man and the modern world. He formulated the concept of ‘Axial Age’, to include the interval from 800 to 200 BC. During this period, the

mythological era was over, the human being was spiritualised, and a genuine man appeared. This transformation has influenced the way of life, 'a new spiritual world corresponds to a certain social order'.<sup>2</sup> But before famous K. Jaspers' work, Max Weber singled out this special period – 8th-5th century BC, as corresponding to the 'time of the Jewish, Persian and Indian prophecy, and probably also not known to us the provisions of pre-Confucius ethics'.<sup>3</sup>

O. Spengler, A. Toynbee and K. Jaspers came to the conclusion that all civilisations, in the process of birth, development, prosperity, decline and extinction, have a deep, often implicit impact on the economic, political processes and construction of the state, laying the basic foundation for the future of society. Based on the methodology developed during the study of local and world history, they have developed certain formal laws and regulations, which allow, to some extent, prediction of future events, processes and trends. Scientists believed that not only ideological, religious and spiritual elements exert their influence over the global and local actors, but more archaic layers of culture have their hidden impact. In this connection it is interesting to note Max Weber's opinion: he noted the importance of 'religious rumor' that affects 'religious qualifications', 'virtuoso religiosity', passed on from generation to generation.<sup>4</sup> John Hall pointed out that Weber's comparative civilisational analysis and work on inner austerity and modernity are centered on religion as a basis for distinguishing between the alternative meanings of the social organisation's structures.<sup>5</sup>

Among modern scholars, who emphasise the role of religion and spirituality in the history of civilisations, we should mention Shintaro Ito, Vytautas Kavolis and Shmuel Eisenstadt. Boris Yerasov emphasised the role of religion as a basis for socio-cultural integration, for the relationship of spiritual and social structures and processes.<sup>6</sup>

Religion is a cultural foundation of any society. Today, every study of origin, growth and interaction of peoples, cultures and civilisations, necessarily affect the religious foundation of respective nation, culture and civilisation. Modern civilisation is rooted in the world religions – the religious values are established in the heart of any civilisation.<sup>7</sup> These religions arose during the Axial Age, at the time of Buddha in India, Confucius and Lao-tzu in China, the Greek philosophers of Ionia, the Jewish leaders. It was the time of development of Zoroaster teaching in Persia, too.

Samuel Huntington wrote that the revival of religion reinforces cultural differences; the nature of the influence of religion on political processes differs in various historical periods. He points to the urgent need of some 'simplified map of reality, which would reveal the role of culture in international politics and relations between the countries and peoples. He rejects a map of the Cold War – the new cards must organise and compile the reality, to identify causal relationships between phenomena, and on this basis to predict future events and show the way to move.<sup>8</sup> This should be a map with no extra information, but it should help to understand reality. Having considered several options for those cards (the end of history, East–West dichotomy, the dependence of states' power on its geopolitical aspirations,

etc.), Huntington concludes that the most important is the civilisational model. He distinguishes it this way: It is necessary to develop a paradigm that will ... give a better understanding of trends than the other paradigm, remaining at the same level of abstraction.<sup>9</sup>

S. Huntington's accent on interaction among civilisations as a possible sphere of collision of cultures and peoples, and the development of theory of cultural and civilisational fault from the perspective of geopolitics and geostrategy, caused a wave of political publications on the interaction between civilisations. At present, there is virtually no work on political science, which would not have raised the civilisational aspect, especially in the important area such as religion.

Civilisation is a special manifestation of social life and its worldview. Nowadays, the mechanisms of translation and adaptation of spiritual values have become imbalanced all over the world, especially in the vast region of the Caspian Sea and Central Asia. It takes them decades, not years, to enter to the regular 'working' state. Their credibility has been undermined by rigidity, which appeared as a result of restrictions or lack of interaction for a long time through the specific parameters of civilisations.

The problem of predicting the interaction of civilisations in the Caspian region and their role in the geopolitics of region has not been sufficiently studied in contemporary political science. On the one hand, there is a substantial body of publications on the theory and practice of interaction between civilisations, but they actually do not apply to the Caspian region. On the other hand, there are many publications studying the political situation in the region, the geopolitics of the Caspian Sea, but they are often full of the same information, study the political culture of Christianity and Islam, and do not go beyond the dichotomy of the East (usually Islamic) and the West, and the concept of dialogue between civilisations. Thereby the promising field of civilisational studies in the context of political science is unreasonably narrowed.

Actually, inter-civilisation cooperation in the Caspian region is considered in a very limited number of publications and they are characterised by a general approach: it is Christian-Islamic frontier, where feed-stocks, fundamentalist attitudes and safety issues restrict the introduction of the fruits of Western civilisation in the form of democracy, freedom of conscience, etc.<sup>10</sup>

In political science, a consistent theme is that of the so-called 'geopolitical resources' – the special features, which, because of their natural specificity cannot be limited to administrative, political and other boundaries. The likelihood of conflict rises with the growth of its consumption (or actualisation). The civilisation can be considered as the same resource, because its borders and areas, in many cases, can not be clearly limited, delineated.

The ability to control the ideological and spiritual environment of other countries, where religion plays an important role, has become the most important indicator of the modern state in the region and world, the specific expression of its geo-political culture.

The theories and ideas developed to ensure leadership or certain dominance in the world or region, have been rising and developed in world politics over last 15-20 years in different forms. Thus, the new theories of Atlanticism re-interpret the relationship between such parties of the West, as America and Europe;<sup>11</sup> the Empire also has been advised on the limitations of the preventive action (humanitarian intervention or mild pressure).<sup>12</sup> The world again is witnessing three-group division, but now it sounds different: the pre-modern world, modern and post-modern world.<sup>13</sup> The new definitions of countries and regions sometimes are paradoxical and controversial: for example, there are the terms 'Eurabia' or 'Londonistan', they proceed from the obvious danger of demographic changes and collisions in Europe.<sup>14</sup>

In order to avoid different reincarnations of theory of 'clash of civilisations', it is important to change the wordings and shift the notions: in contemporary political science, where the civilisational component is largely represented, further exploration of the phenomenon of religions and their integrative capacity is preferable. That should be done in the context of past and present events and processes; in some cases it is necessary to adjust the focus and to conduct historical reconstruction.

S. Eisenstadt's analysis of European civilisation is based on the study of cultural orientations and their relations with the authorities. It is logical to assume that current analysis also is possible by the study of these factors: the increased number of transformative and interaction models of cultural trends, which allocate the new cultural patterns associated with the growing political dynamics. Historical progress is the hallmark of modern society and it leads to a sharp increase of politics' role.<sup>15</sup> Politicians either intend to support a progressive trend, or to conserve the past. Difficulty in the short term to balance the universal processes and phenomena on the one hand, and search for innovative ways to develop local civilisation, on the other, result in attempts to undertake coercive action against internal and external challenges in some countries and societies. In this case, civilisation proves its exclusivity, or it emphasises its own religious specificity, which means, sometimes, the recourse to related civilisations for help: In time of identity's crisis, for people is important the value of blood and faith, religion and family... People unite with those who have the same roots, church, language, values and institutions.<sup>16</sup> But in fact, in both cases manifestations of violent confrontation are possible – a process that often accompanies the modern interactions among civilisations.

Ethnic and religious issues in contemporary politics, their influence on the behaviour of political actors, and consequently, on the political process constitute a theme that has received considerable attention in modern Western political science.<sup>17</sup> Understanding the involvement of religion in politics as a standard combination of means, motives and opportunities, it is believed as possible and necessary to investigate the phenomenon of religious activity, using the usual tools of political science – those which are proper for the study of secular politics.<sup>18</sup> However, this approach is incorrect because it does not take into account the particularities of religious consciousness and behaviour that have different manifestations than an individual's reaction to a particular political situation. Correlating religious activity



and political activity, Western scholars, as it seems, confuse tools which are suitable for the Western society with the tools that are necessary for studying the Eastern communities. Indeed, Euro-American society became ethnically, culturally and civilisationally different for the last two or three decades.

There are three main theories of civilisational discourses: the discourse of expansion and acquisitions (time is linear, space is prolonged and perspective), the discourse of frontier resistance (time is cyclic, space is prospective and retrospective), and the discourse of dialogue and interaction (time and space united together in time-space, in European science Spengler-Hegel's theory on cyclical development begins to give way to the apocalyptic-force model of Huntington). Different methodological approaches assess the situation and forecast developments. Some scholars (historians, political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, ecologists) study the heuristic and methodological potential of comparative analysis of evolutionary and/or environmental approaches. For example, they focused on identifying the climatic conditions of social evolution, the general stages of emergence, development and crisis of civilisations based on their co-evolution, competition, and contacts, as well as their resource potential and, in particular, the factor of raw materials. Sometimes it highlights the role of project-based thinking and the role of pan-ideas (nationalism in the form of pan-Turkism is the field of many case-studies concerning the Caspian region). Others (mostly theologians and religious scholars) are exploring the role and specificity of the world's religions (mostly religions of the Revelation).

In political science, the study of civilisations had, as a rule, the geopolitical orientation and reflected the dominant ideology. Perhaps the beginning of interest on the geographical aspects of life of peoples and nations as important for security and cooperation issues should be attributed to ancient times, such as the period of Antiquity. These searches were tied, likely, with some changes in the religious consciousness and understanding of the world. The same can be noted concerning our time. No wonder that the works of such scientists in the field of civilisations, as A. Toynbee, F. Braudel, I. Wallerstein and others were very much in tune with the geopolitical studies.

In terms of methodology of civilisational studies, it is not enough to define geopolitics as a science that deals with the influence of geography on politics (external, internal) of the states and their unions. Specific modeling of regional, interstate, civilisational processes and patterns in the context of long-term trends can, as a result, be used to predict the differentiation between the stated objectives and real intentions of regional and world actors.

Prediction of inter-civilisational interaction requires a special approach. The uniqueness of the Caspian region is that here all the world civilisations interact in various forms, at a time when the religious and political structures of the region are passing through significant transformations.

The methodology of studying the interaction of local civilisations (including the context of forecasting of policy processes) is still in its first stages and is still developing. There aren't unsettled even the key definitions and there is a wide variation

in the conceptual approaches. Besides, the specificity of the regional civilisation usually is not highlighted in the published works, and this happens due the several reasons. First, different religious cultures and systems that historically appeared in the Caspian region have been in existence up to now. The phenomenon of traditional local lifestyle impedes critical rethinking of the specifics of the region. Second, the local (geo) political processes are under the larger impact of civilisations, cultures, and devices (social and political institutions) that have emerged and developed away from the region. Third, the limited sources don't allow undertaking reliable studies and derive proper conclusions. Fourth, there is a lack of fundamental research works. Fifthly, the development of the main provisions of the modern civilisational studies and theoretical political science, as applied to the Caspian region, is carried out under conditions of a complex political, social and economic situation; besides, the situation becomes more difficult due the use of culture and civilisation as the resource or a tool in carrying out policies. Such situations can be fraught with some deliberate disregard for certain manifestations and the cult for other manifestations of 'native' civilisation (and the same – in relation to other, primarily the 'unfriendly' civilisations).

Currently, the complex interaction of civilisations is the most obvious and dramatic throughout the Middle East, or, as it is now interpreted, extendable to 'Greater Middle East', where the Caspian Sea region is becoming the central one. According to John Agnew, modern states try, in conditions of instability, not only to maintain control over their territories, but also to have an impact on the neighbours, 'take care' of the weaker state, if necessary, to be more powerful than their actual or likely opponents.<sup>19</sup> Their means include a large arsenal of political, economic, social and other features and tools, including civilisational component, for example, in the form of religious identity, which is one of the most important. The need to achieve the best results with the least expenses demands new approaches and opportunities for studying the interaction among civilisations.

The local civilisational determinants that have had an impact on a unique inter-civilisation cooperation prevailing in the Caspian Sea region are:

- Cultural and historical, namely, the religious and political factors, which act under the influence of interaction of peoples, represented in the region
- Local geographic (landscape, living conditions), which influence the life style, type of economy, the means and methods of communication, resources, etc.
- Ethno-specific (origin and history of the people, their spirituality), which impacted on the formation of the essential characteristics of the people

The interaction of civilisations from the beginning of last century went on in the context of conflict and confrontation. For the region it is possible to point out the existence of the 'clash of civilisations', or their interaction and dialogue, as well as the tensions within civilisations, which happen due to the revitalisation processes in the local civilisations.

The situation is influenced by increasing activity of radical movements (extremist and pseudo-religious ones) around the Caspian Sea, war and terrorist activity in its

southern (Afghanistan), northern (North Caucasus) parts, also a feature of modern Iran. All the issues in terms of production and transportation of hydrocarbons from the region to world markets are not resolved. The evolving regional situation is often defined as an inevitable 'clash of civilisations' – the Christian and Islamic.

In the Caspian Sea, except the Islamic activism, a new factor is the activity of Protestant communities: Baptists, Adventists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Lutherans. Impressive successes have been achieved by Pentecostal Church, which has a large number of followers in all countries of the Caspian Sea. How far can the activity of these churches be considered positive? As scholars note, the geopolitical identity among the various Christian denominations are fundamentally different. If the Russian Orthodox Church in its actions is consistent with the interests of state authorities, the Protestants are more focused on general democratic values; they are 'generally involved in the creation of many modern stable democratic societies ... Their political values often correspond to the general principles of American democracy. Moreover, the Pentecostal churches are often focused on supporting the US foreign policy'.<sup>20</sup> The press has already noted the role of Pentecostals in 'colour' revolutions in Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan.

In the multi-confessional region, as the Caspian, religion is an indicator of society's identity in the case of certain areas (such as the national Republics or districts), which may be assumed as the second feature of the local civilisation (the first is called a way of life, that is, the features of traditional way of life). It is noteworthy that in the first case, the policy moves from the national level to international one, but in the second one, the national level descends to a specific local one, where the dominant feature is the civilisational aspect. As it has been noted above, the main structure-constructing element of every civilisation is religion, and it is actively used by the state to achieve its explicit and implicit goals.

Now, religion stands as one of the most effective tools against the unification trends of modernism. Only religion resists the leveling of spiritual and other values to Western standards, keeps followers from the loss of identity and from negative impact on interpersonal and interethnic intercourse, because these conditions cause the disintegration of bonds in the structures of religion, and its further transformation under the influence of the above-mentioned actors – states, pseudo-religions, etc.

Russia is a country that is able to give, or rather, to return the characters of inclusive region to the Caspian regional processes, where people, having their special intra-regional, Caspian self-consciousness, would have been able to identify with the interests and prospects of all ethnic groups living in the region. This approach is consistent with the opinion of such prominent constructivists as Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, Luk Van Langenhove.<sup>21</sup> In particular, Barry Buzan and Ole Waever mark a significant and responsible role of Russia in the region, since the security of a country, in their opinion, has two distinct aspects – internal and external, which are interrelated and cannot be considered separately.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the cross-civilisational processes will have their reasonable implementation and balancing in their manifestations and phenomena. They create a special socio-cultural space, based on

an understanding of common interests of peoples and countries of the region, where variations of civilisational, economic and other characteristics, being a product of the past, in fact, shall construct a zone of security and prosperity.

First of all, Russia, taking into account the specificities of the interaction of cultures and civilisations in its territory, should postulate their equal development as the traditional elements of its culture and civilisation. Such an approach would, among other things, optimise the interaction with the states in which a certain civilisation, represented in Russia, has a significant influence. However, it must be remembered that the fact of neighbourhood with states such as Iran or China shall not justify an arbitrary union of our cultures and civilisations.

Under existing conditions it is important to use the new features and approaches that previously could not look so important. Among them - the factor of civilisation has been and still is traditional for the Caspian region. For example, the Buddhist civilisation, presented here as part of the Russian civilisation and mainly in the territory of the Republic of Kalmykia in Russian Caucasus.

The situation of Buddhism in Caspian Kalmykia clearly defines the emerging trend towards the integration of the Sangha (monastic community) and public policy, as well as the impact of secular power on the activities of the Buddhist clergy. These processes are accompanied by increased activity in the country of various external Buddhist organisations.

The Republic has a certain civilisational potential, which, because of political and economic reasons, has not been relevant. A thoughtful, reasoned, balanced approach is required for its actualisation, taking into account the specifics of civilisational situation of the region. According our opinion, the revitalisational processes in the Caspian local Buddhist civilisation will lay further foundation for close cooperation among the states of Buddhist civilisation with Russia, for a stable regional interaction among civilisations.

The author suggests two possible scenarios of interaction between civilisations in the Caspian Sea region: local level cross-cultural interaction that keeps changing and interaction based on local inertia. The urgency of these scenarios has increased due to the fact that civilisations at the beginning of the 21st century have entered into a period of closer cooperation and transformations. Besides, the definition of evolutionary cycles in the development of local civilisation can help to conceptualise a methodology for predicting the development of civilisation and its interaction with the same systems. Heuristic potential of theory of waves (S. Kuznets, N. Kondratyev) gives the basic theoretical foundation for the development of a model of the historical dynamics of Buddhist civilisation and justify the concept of its revitalisation.

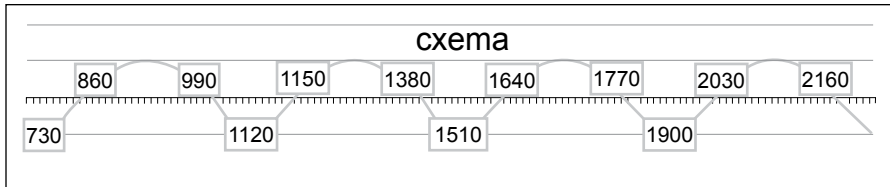
Since the century is also influenced by social factors, deeply rooted in the civilisation, we take a heuristic methodological position of M. Melko – to consider as the duration of the century, the years, correlated with the central or middle years of the centuries. He considers it possible to compare the present period to the past times, which is predicted by analogy, since we, as the contemporaries, can not be sure that something is impossible in our time.<sup>23</sup>

In our view, the period of 1640-1770 (lasting 130 years, defined as a period of stabilisation, with possible fluctuations in 5-10-15 years) connected with the Oirat (Kalmyk) people be considered as the starting point to determine the third wave<sup>24</sup> of Buddhist civilisation in the Caspian region and its interaction with other local civilisations,.

The same 130 years can be counted in the period of recession (the time of crisis, the main feature – the conservatism because of influence of different civilisation) and period of revitalisation of civilisation (rise, the main feature – innovation and rebirth). Thus, the foundations of civilisation are tested twice – during an upward (revitalisation) and downward (recession) periods, converging in one year (or short time), while the period of stabilisation (the controversial cooperation of a new ideological and power structures) divides the completion of revitalisational period, and beginning of decline of civilisation (recession). The start and end of the period are characterised by the decrease and the growth processes inherent in the previous and the next periods. Each of the periods can have the relapse of other periods, which, however, does not affect the overall directions of the dominant trends (see Figure 1).

The indicated period was fundamental for the world history – in European civilisation the foundations of a new Axial age have been layed, the important events have transformed the boundaries and contents of the Buddhist and Islamic civilisations.

**Figure 1:**



Within 1640 (1636) -1770 (1771), there were the establishment and the collapse of three Oirat states: Jungar Khanate in Central Asia, Khoshout Khanate in Northern Tibet, and Kalmyk (Torgout) Khanate in the North part of Caspian Sea region. The political context of the Central Asian and Far Eastern regions was also characterised by the dynamic changes: in Tibet, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama came to power (1642); in China the authority of the Manchu Qing Dynasty (1644) was established. The Oirats attempted to get the political subjugation of Tibet (1717-20) and the violent spread of Buddhism among the southern Kazakh tribes (1681-83). Strengthening of the Buddhist civilisation in the Caspian Sea region made adjustments in the regional geopolitical order, and probably stimulated the creativity of the local ideological periphery of the Christian and Islamic civilisations. Further interaction of these civilisations in the region developed with the complicity of the Buddhist one.

This turbulent period was preceded by a period of revitalisation of 1510-1640, when the influence of Geluk’s teaching of Tibetan Buddhism (1578) surpassed the doctrines of the Kagyu and Sakya (other two important Tibetan Buddhist schools)

among the Mongolian-speaking peoples. The end of the 16th century, when the Oirat people migrated to Russia, also should be recognized as the part of the revitalisational process – the religion ‘returned’ the Buddhist context to the Caspian civilisational interaction.

The recession of 1770-1900 was characterised by a weakening of the Caspian local Buddhist civilisation, which began with the exodus of a large part of the Kalmyks back to China (1771) and the prohibition from the Russian authorities of any communication between those who decided to reside near the Caspian sea and Tibetan spiritual leaders. In Kalmyk society, the religious context of social and political interaction within the society became oppositional to the structural changes and cultural entropy.

The previous stages of Buddhism among Oirats confirm our conceptual thesis: 1380-1510 were the recession years, mainly characterised by the pressure from the Chinese civilisation, the confrontation between the Oirats and the Ming Dynasty, the involvement of Buddhist clergy in politics. Those years were preceded by a period of stability (1250-1380). It was a time of the second wave of Buddhism in the Caspian region (due to the establishment of Il-Khan Dynasty in Persia), the crisis period in Tibetan and Chinese history, and the time of fall of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty, which supported Tibetan Buddhism (1368). The revitalisational period of 1120-1250 was full of cultural and civilisational processes and changes: with the establishment of the Mongolian rule in Central Asia the religious context of the vast region experienced a lot of transformations; the leading schools of Tibetan Buddhism, such as Sakya and Kagyu, have formulated their teachings.

The study of the dynamics of the constructed abstract model shows its functional nature – there is a steady sequence of events and processes, operating in the logic of revitalisational, mixed and conservative tendencies. We do not use the integral estimates and so on in the scheme – the emphasis is made on the identification of the most important events in the history of a regional civilisation (klimetric measurement), which significantly reduces the subjective factor and contributes to the elucidation of its further dynamics.

Now it is the time of the final part of revitalisational period (1900-2030): 1920s were marked by the Renovationist movement among Russian Buddhists. There was the construction of the first Buddhist high schools in the North Caspian steppes. The last two decades (1988-2010) are also characterised by certain renaissance processes and significant updating of the prominence of the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan high lamas in the structure of the interaction of society and civilisational context. For Russia, in the remaining 20 years (2011-30) until completion of the current cycle, it is important to develop and implement certain programmes, with appropriate capacities, with India and China, as well as other countries in the Indo-Buddhist civilisation (Mongolia, Japan, Thailand, etc.), basing on the concept of revitalisation. The present paradigm of the waves and periods of Buddhist civilisation in the local area (Caspian region) generally coincides with revitalisational processes in the regions where Buddhism is spread.

Thus, in the case of local-inertia scenario, there will prevail the tendencies inherent in or capable to contribute to the development of pseudo-civilisation and pseudo-religious phenomena. The revitalisation of the local Buddhist civilisation, that is, implementation of the locally-changing cross-cultural scenario, is available with the participation of ‘core states’ (S. Huntington's term) of this civilisation. This approach has the potential to reveal the positive potential of trends and developments, considered as insignificant in inter-civilisational interaction of our countries, which help to find the new approaches and solutions to existing or potential problems. The Buddhist civilisational basis will give a new impetus to regional geopolitics, because the proper interaction of civilisations will balance the cooperation of regional and outer states for a stable regional security.

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Section VI

Neighbours and External Relations

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# 1 ■ Turko-Russian Relations in the Post-Soviet Era: Opportunities and Obstacles

*Cüneyt Akalın*

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## **Introduction**

Turkey and Russia, being neighbouring countries, share a common history. The formation of the Republic of Turkey and the Soviet Union right after the First World War was a sign for a new international era: The Soviet Union as the bastion of a new ideology and system and Turkey as a new modern Republic formed out of the ashes of an old empire.

The Republic of Turkey and the Soviet Union were closely connected during the 1920s and 1930s; even though they had different systems, they shared the same problems and had the same enemies up to the Second World War. Turkey even represented the Soviet Union in the international arena until the latter's acceptance into the Committee of Nations in 1934.

The very specific relationship between the two countries changed its nature after Turkey's orientation and mobilisation towards the West after Atatürk's death in 1938. In the Cold War years, old friends joined opposite sides, Turkey participating in the NATO in spite of Russian pressures and the two countries became antagonistic.

During the Cold War years, a huge anti-communist propaganda created hatred and fear for the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union was positively received by the public opinion and the state of Turkey and as Soviet Union's neighbours, Turks observed the collapse of the Soviet system very closely.

Turko-Russian relations are multi-sided relations pertaining to geopolitics, economics, politics and culture. Pan-Turkism, which has always scared Russia, can no longer be a serious threat to Russia due to the decline of the imperialist powers favouring it.

Pan-Islamism or radical Islam has become a threat to Russia. However, the Islamist world is not a mono-bloc entity; it is divided into different beliefs and political fractions. Russia has an important Muslim population and a big experience to put into use. Cooperative dynamics are gaining strength in Turko-Russian relations, which will be more important in the future and will contribute to the formation of a new Eurasia.

This paper which intends to cover the post-Soviet era has two dimensions:

- Turko-Russian relations in the post-Soviet era
- The Russian Federation and the Republic of Turkey positioning within the Eurasian geography

In the process, the paper examines in detail:

- a. The relationship between the Republic of Turkey and the Russian Federation.
  - The perspectives of different Turkish governments and institutions towards a ‘non- communist’ or ‘capitalist Russia’
  - Stepping of Turkish businessmen into the Russian market
- b. Relationship between Turkey and the newly independent Turkic Republics of Central Asia
- Problems produced by Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism within Russia and

Turkey in the Post-Soviet era

### **Russia/Turkey in History**

Extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, Russia is the biggest country in the world. Turkey is located in strategically important Asia Minor, and it is the most populated country among the Turkish-speaking peoples. Turkey has inherited the Ottoman legacy which has represented and protected the Sunni Muslims for the last five centuries.

These two countries had territorial borders in the Soviet era which they do not share anymore but they are connected to each other with the Black Sea. Turkey and Russia share a long history full of conflicts and common interests.

Both sides were in conflict with each other throughout 18th and 19th century. In other words, Ottoman history of 18th and 19th century was formed by armed conflicts against Russia, which expanded her territory to the detriment of Turkish territories and became the protector of the orthodox population living on Ottoman territory.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that for the last three centuries, periods of peace and cooperation between the two counties have brought progress and success to Turkey.

### **Importance of Soviet Legacy**

The formation of the Republic of Turkey and the Soviet Union right after the First World War was a sign for a new international era: The Soviet Union as the bastion of a new ideology and system and Turkey as a new modern Republic formed out of the ashes of an old empire. They backed each other; without one, the other would risk existence problems. The Soviet Union was the second state which recognised the Turkish Republic (a few days after Afghanistan) on March 16, 1921.

The Republic of Turkey and the Soviet Union were closely connected during the 1920s and 1930s; even though having different systems; they shared the same economic and political problems up to the Second World War. Both were kept out of the ‘Committee of Nations’ at the beginning; then Turkey got Soviet’s approval before applying for membership. Turkey represented the Soviet Union on international platforms until the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was accepted

to the Committee of Nations on September 16, 1934. Turkey began and realised her industrial development with Soviet aids.<sup>1</sup>

The specific relationship between the two countries changed nature after Turkey's orientation and mobilisation towards the West after Atatürk's death in 1938. In the Second World War, Turkey stayed neutral but the real winner of the war was the Soviet Union. The historical friendship of the two neighbours led by Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov Lenin and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk came to an end after the Second World War. During the Cold War years, old friends joined opposite sides. Turkey took part in the NATO in spite of Russian pressures and the two countries became antagonistic. During the Cold War years a huge anti-communist propaganda created hatred and fear against the Soviet Union in Turkey. To be a friend of Russians could easily result in a serious accusation of being a 'Russian spy'. The motto used against any progressive activity by conservative, Islamist and anti-communist sections of the Turkish society was 'Go to Moscow'!

### **Mutual Practical Approach during Detente' Years**

Even though positioned in antagonistic camps during the Cold War years, pragmatic (mostly anti-communist) Turkish politicians and intelligent Russian leaders made serious efforts to ameliorate the relationship between the two neighbours. Turkey became more open to the Soviet world during the 'detente' years. However, it must be underlined that the main dimension promoted by both parties was the economic. Primarily interested in developing trade, they both discovered the advantages of being neighbours. On the one hand, the Soviet Union extended loans to Turkey in the construction of heavy industry branches such as refineries and iron-steel plants, and on the other hand, Turkey took the first steps to get into the Soviet market. Although the progress in economic relations did bring a softening in general, the political distance remained.<sup>2</sup>

### **Turkey's Vision in Recognition of the Former Soviet Republics**

The collapse of the Soviet Union was welcomed by the Turkish ruling classes. The transition to what is called 'democracy, market economy, human rights and the state of law' was welcomed by Turkish political and intellectual circles as well as Western powers. The general hope around the world as well as in Turkey was that a new international order based on 'freedom and welfare' would be built around the world step by step with the cooperation of a liberal Russia. However, liberal expectations came to an end soon. The First Gulf Operation of the US-led coalition was full of hints about the new policies of the US, which was now both the sole hegemonistic power and had the initiative to shape the world by itself.

Though the conflicts between the Baltic republics and Russia could be solved, new crises concerning Central Asia appeared on the agenda. Even though it was an emotional issue for anti-communist, pan-Turkist elements, responsible 'statesmen' were active to ameliorate mutual relations through the activities of different institutions on different levels who mutually began to invite cultural, scientific, medical groups to their respective countries.

Turkey's current foreign policy concerning Russia is based on two main factors:

- A cautious positioning towards Russia
- Opening to Turkic Central Asian republics

Developing a new policy was a sensitive issue because Turkey needed to take into account the sensitivities of Russians; in other words, to avoid provocative steps. Turkey and the Russian Federation signed, on March 12, 1991, an 'Economic, Commercial, Scientific and Technological Cooperation Agreement' and a 'Friendship, Good Neighbourhood and Cooperation' Agreement during Turkish Prime-Minister's official visit to Moscow.

Turkey, closely following the process of Soviet disintegration, nevertheless did act patiently without taking any provocative initiative towards Moscow. Turkey's decision to recognise these countries was taken after careful observations about Moscow's attitudes. The process hastened after the Moscow Coup. The Central-Asian states (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan) following the inevitable disintegration of the Soviet Union, declared independence after the Moscow coup of August 1991.

The declaration of independence of Azerbaijan on August 31, followed by Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, was recognised. In May 1991, the visit by the Kyrgyz president to Turkey was followed by the Tajik leader. The Kazakh leader Nazarbayev's visit to Turkey in September 1991 was planned as a visit of courtesy but under the new circumstances a communiqué of 'Aims and Intentions' was signed. Turkey gave Kazakhstan US\$ 10 mn in loans. These were the first steps.

### **Turkey's First Steps in Recognition of the New Republics**

Turkey, on her part, noting the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, decided to change its attitude. The Turkish government recognised the ex-Soviet countries including Armenia as independent states on December 16, 1991, and declared that it was ready to establish diplomatic relations with all these countries.

Turkish extreme nationalist circles have always dreamt of ignoring Russia and getting directly in touch with the Turkic republics. Although there was no longer a Soviet obstacle, neither was there a big wave of sympathy for the Pan-Turkists. The newly independent republics were searching for Turkish cooperation but not Turkish patronage.

A new process of diplomatic contacts and cultural openings was becoming active. In the first year of independence, more than 1,200 Turkish delegations visited the Central Asian republics. Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency was formed to coordinate Turkish investments and activities in the newly established republics (TİKA). As the Turkish State was adopting this new perspective, the problem of the Turkish diaspora started to become a hot issue on the agenda. Some authorities tended to confuse foreign policy issues and ideological-cultural approaches.

### **West's Turkish Model in Asia/Central Asia**

The US/ West were carefully watching the disintegration process of the Soviet Union. Two alternative models were competing in Central Asia for the newly independent republics:

- Turkish secular democratic model
- Iran's Islamic model.

Though it was not declared openly, Turkey had the advantage of having a mostly Sunni population like most of the central Asian countries. The UK's 'The Economist Review' of September 1991 began pronouncing 'Turkic societies from the Adriatic Sea to the Chinese wall' within the boundaries of the old Soviet geography. The West backed the Turkish model against the Iranian model.

Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel met with the Russian president Boris Yeltsin in May 1992 at which occasion they called each other 'friend' and signed a framework agreement in which they confirmed that

- Turkey and Russia are the only real Eurasian states
- New pages should be opened after the Cold War

During his visit to the Central Asian countries in 1992, Prime Minister Demirel gave the first signs of the new Foreign Policy. Furthermore, Turkey started to give military training to the military personnel of the Central Asian countries and started to develop new projects for the transportation of Central Asian petroleum and gas to the West via the pipe lines and other means on Turkish territory. On their part some of the Turkic Republics adopted the Latin alphabet and established new communication centres by which they intended to communicate with the rest of the world without the aid of Russia. Turkey and the Central Asian countries mutually organised flights to and from their respective countries which started in 1992. Turkey opened Turkish cultural centres in the Turkic countries for which purpose Turkish teachers and educators were sent over in due course.

### **Economic Cooperation**

Economic relations have proved to be very constructive ever since the beginning. Once again both sides initiated cooperation by increasing economic ties. After some time, the errors committed due to insufficient experience and hesitations gave way to realism and pragmatism while Moscow on its part had also gained a certain experience and left behind the first years of confusion.

In 1992, Turkey and Russia, having left the hesitant years behind, began to take steps for a wider economic cooperation. Russia had big resources but insufficient experience in the capitalist system while Turkey had a market economy experience since 1950s and had a developed a light industry sector (textile). Turkey used its proximity to the Russian market for its exports. All kinds of consumer goods, from blue-jeans to t-shirts were among Turkey's exported goods to Russia. A huge wave of Russian consumers arrived in Istanbul and in other ports of Turkey to buy these

goods. On the other hand, the opening of the borders offered new chances to 'young and crazy' Turkish entrepreneurs. They went to the deepest points of Russia to discover what goods can be transformed to money. The event was comparable to the 'Gold Rush' in American history.

Economic cooperation began with small business but after a while, both sides searched for bigger cooperation. Economic cooperation in the Black Sea was the first step for regional cooperation. The Turko-Russian Business Council was founded and the Turko-Russian Businessmen Union was established. The big economic projects were about transporting Caucasian and Central Asian petroleum to the West.

The Baku-Tblisi-Ceyhan project which Turkey fully supported had to overcome the objections of the multi-national corporations. The obstacles were overcome and construction began in September 2003.<sup>3</sup> The 1,750 km long pipe-line was opened in 2005. The Baku-Ceyhan pipe-line transports 50 MT of crude petroleum a year.

Another area for economic cooperation was tourism. The opening of the borders between Turkey and Russia brought big waves of Russian tourists to Turkish shores. Turkey became the main destination for Russian tourists. By the end of 2000, Russian tourists visiting Turkey were second in number, after German tourists.

The volume of trade between the two countries rose to US\$ 40 billion and the Russian Federation has become the main trade partner of Turkey in this century. The two countries have declared their objective to reach a US\$ 50 billion level very soon. Energy and transportation are the main fields of cooperation. The investments of Turkish businessmen in the field of construction have reached US\$ 3 bn. 50,000 Turks are currently working around the Moscow area.<sup>4</sup>

### **Russian Federation and Republic of Turkey Positioning within the Eurasian Geography**

Turko-Russian multi-sided relations concern a large geography starting from the Atlantic, passing by the Balkans, the Black Sea, the Caucasus and Central Asia. Called 'heartland' by some thinkers, Central Asia, next to the Caucasus, is the critical area in the relationship of both countries.

The globalisation of Russia and her periphery in tandem with the world economy, opening rich energy resources of Central Asia and Caucasia, and the means and ways of transportation of these resources to the Western markets created a new atmosphere. Russia had realised its unity over the past centuries but the Central Asia was essentially incorporated to the Russian world after Soviet revolution. One of the main political issues in 1989 was the future of the Central Asia. Would the fall of the Soviet Union create a political vacuum and if so, would Turkey and the Western World be interested in taking advantage of the situation?

### **A Brief history of Central Asia**

Central Asia has been historically the motherland of the Turkish speaking peoples. Turkish tribes penetrated *en masse* to Central Asia in the 8th century. This was not an invasion but a tribal mobilisation which gave birth to different kingdoms



or 'Khanates' (Emirates, sultanates) from Transoxiana to Sinkiang (Xinjiang). The area became known as Türkistan.

Turkish speaking peoples had the control of the 'Silk Road' from the beginning (since the Hun dynasty that started the Road) up to the 19th Century. Russian-English rivalry in Central Asia broke-up the Silk Road. The 19th century saw Russian expansionism in the Caucasus and Central Asia. British were also moving towards north from the Indian sub-continent and Russian-British rivalry became more antagonistic at the end of the 19th century.

The end of the century coincided with the search of identity and political program of the local peoples. Christian Russians and Shia Iran were outsiders; the élites of Central Asia, while searching for a new identity, discovered Turkish culture, but conserved a strict Sunni Muslim identity and pronounced political reforms.<sup>5</sup> But it was too late. The Khalif's Ottoman empire was about to give way to the Kemalist Turkey that would leave aside Sunni Islamic ideologies to be able to form a nation-state.

Following the Civil-War (1918-20), Bolsheviks reached Bukhara in 1920 and took control of the Turkish speaking Central Asia. Divided into different nation-states, Central Asian republics became part of the Soviet Union between 1924 and 1929, and stayed there up to the Soviet disintegration.

The international relations of the countries are shaped by different factors - economic, cultural etc. Besides political relations, ideological-political currents played very critical roles in the approach of both Turkey and Russia: Turkism (Pan-Turkism), İslam (pan-Islamism), the moderate Islam of the Turkish side, Orthodoxy and Slavism (Pan-Slavism) of the Russian side.

Pan-Turkism was born in the chaotic years of the First World War when Ottoman disintegration was on the agenda. It weakened during the Republican period and made some progress during the Second World War. During the Soviet time, many Turkish Pan-Turkists believed that the Turkish-speaking world would easily unite once the 'Soviet barrier' or the 'Iron Curtain' was eliminated. The Turkish people shared the same origin, the same language and a similar background. There was no reason to exist separately.

After mutual experiences of first few years, both Turkey and Turkish Republics found out that the reality was different from what they had expected. The new republics were looking for cooperation but not for a new patronage. They had produced their own way of living and behaviour. During the last 60 years, many things have happened. The old traditional societies had been pushed away; the Soviets had created big modern cities with factories, universities, schools, hospitals etc. In short, a new way of life had come to Central Asia.

There was also another big factor which completed the picture. Indeed the Soviets had gone but Russia and Russians were there. They lived next-door. It was not easy and preferable to forget about all the contacts that they had formed in years with Russia.

### **Discussions on the ‘Turkish Model’**

Central Asian republics were in search of new models for themselves. Turkey and the West proposed or even imposed the ‘Turkish Model’. The model was formed of secularism, human rights, market economy and cultural autonomy. During Prime Minister Demirel’s visit to the US in February 1992, George W. Bush said that his country was supporting the Turkish model against Iran’s Islamic model.<sup>6</sup>

The ‘Turkish model, which had met with a great deal of interest and was accepted with sympathy at the beginning, lost its charm in the following years. It was discovered soon that the model was in fact a specific way imposed by the West against Iranians. The expression, the ‘Turkish model’ also produced reaction within the Turkic world. The words by President Nazarbayev reflected the sentiments of the other Central Asian states as well:

It is true that we have common origins but I demanded respect from other countries to the sovereignty that we had newly obtained and I proposed the restoration of our old ties. And I declared that we refuse to get into unequal contacts no matter who the other party is. In the First Summit of the Leaders of Turkic Nations (*October 1992*) our cooperation was expected on the basis of our common historical background, common language, and culture. But I announced that I only favoured economic, political and human relations. It is true that we share the same origin, but it is also true that we have been apart. I proposed the rectification of the broken ties between us with a consideration to the sovereignty of all the countries. However, I stated that we were determined not to break our ties with other countries and not indulge in any unequal relations with other countries.<sup>7</sup>

Turkey began taking more realistic steps from 1994 onwards. Searching for economic-cultural cooperation with Central Asia was well accepted by both the parties. Turkey offered her free market experience to Central Asian countries and sent its trade experts in search of raw materials.

On the other hand, the destruction brought by the Iraq and Afghan wars created big reaction against US aggression. In other words, Eurasianism was a search for an alternative world composed of Russia, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Azerbaijan and finally China and India is being wildly discussed among Turkish intelligentsia.<sup>8</sup> Parallel discussions have been held in Russia as well. Russian Federation’s ex-prime minister and one of the pioneers of the Eurasia project, Sergei Primakov, had underlined in 2003 in Istanbul that ‘Turkey-Russia-Iran formed the heartland of Eurasia’.<sup>9</sup>

### **Pan-Turkism and Russia**

Central Asia is far away from the Russian core areas. Russians stepped in the Central Asia during the 19th century. Soviet experience created a new system and new networks. The Russian Federation has important ethnic Turkish groups or Turkish speaking groups (7 per cent of the population). Modern Russian history has witnessed many conflicts with Turkish peoples.

Russia suffered from Pan-Turkism on two critical occasions. During or just after the Civil War following the Bolshevik Revolution; Basmachi Revolt in Kyrgyzstan led by famous Enver Pasha who fought against the Red Army.

The second Pan-Turkish adventure was even bloodier. Germans provoked Turkish and Muslim elements of Turkey and the Caucasus while preparing for an attack in the 'Eastern front' in the 1940s. Directing its focus on the Baku energy resources, the Nazi army, while getting in the depths of Russia and Ukraine recruited in its ranks many Turco-Muslim fighters by promising autonomy to Crimean Tatars and to the Caucasian peoples. There are many witnesses of this bloody event. The French researcher E. Copeaux notes:

The Nazis, in 1943, organised a Turkistan legion among Crimean and Dobruca Tatars, in the eastern front. The operation called the Prometheus Movement was integrated to the Atlantic Pact and it became a tool of the anti-Bolshevik forces. After the war, in 1950, the movement was transformed to a Research Institute for USSR with the support of the American Committee for Liberation from the Bolsheviks.<sup>10</sup>

These two examples are challenging. It is clear that Pan-Turkism has been a threat to Russia and to the security of the whole region. Taking this into consideration, many western writers confuse (most of them deliberately) Turkish Kemalist nationalism with Pan-Turkism and intend to undermine Kemalism. The Turkish constructive nationalism has a different character. Pan-Turkism is indeed a threat to Russia, to Iran, to China and even to India.

### **Turkish Nationalism and Pan-Turkism**

Turkish nationalism is the ideology of the Turkish nation-state and the Turkish Republic. It is the same ideology that gave birth to all the modern Western nations. Turkey's predecessor, the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic feudal Ottoman Empire was dissolved by the rising capitalism, by new nation-states born in Europe and by the nationalist ideas brought up by the French Revolution. Ottoman Empire was partitioned at the end of the First World War. The existence of Turkish nation could only be realised by Turkish nationalism. This is what Mustafa Kemal did in the 1920s.

Turkish nationalism is relatively a new ideology. Published in Cairo in 1904, Yusuf Akçura's booklet on 'Three Ways of Governing' is the Manifesto of Turkish nationalism. Akçura defended that 'Islamism' and 'Ottomanism' cannot be of use to Turkey and the unique solution for the Turkish people is Turkish nationalism.

- Turkish nationalism is not aggressive and expansionist
- Turkish nationalism is the formation of the nation-state against the will of the Western big powers and against the resistance of Islamist traditionalists.
- It is progressive and secular

Commenting on the positive character of Turkish nationalism, Iranian writer Muhammed Rıza Celili points to the Iranian Islamic Republic about Kemalism and Turkey:

The authorities of the Islamic Republic that are inclined to condemn Kemalism, should bear in mind that the only nationalism that Iranian Islamic Republic can reconcile is the Turkish nationalism defined by Mustafa Kemal. This nationalism limits itself with the legal borders of Turkey and totally rejects all kinds of Pan-Turkist adventures.<sup>11</sup>

In other words, while Pan-Turkism is indeed a threat to the unity and stability of the Russia, Turkish Kemalist nationalism is not against the interests of Russians and Iranians.

### **Islam and Islamism**

Russia has an important Muslim population. By 2009 Russia had 17 million Muslims, who constitute 1.5 per cent of the total world Muslim population and more than 10 per cent of the Russian population.<sup>12</sup> Russia's Muslim minorities, mainly Tatars, have deep roots in Russian history.

Islamism as an ideology flourished in the 20th century as a reaction to the globalist capitalism and imperialism. Salafis advocated a return to the Prophet's time. Indeed, according to the Islamists, the capitalist civilisation of the West had progressed rapidly but it was a deviation from the civilisation of the mankind. The materialistic approach of the West was bound to end with corruption. Muslims should go back to the Prophet's time (Asr-ı Saadet) and take Muhammed and the first four Khalifs (Hulefa-i Raşidun) as the unique model. Hasan al Banna in Alexandria formed the Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan-ı Musalmin) and Abu Ala al Mahdudi in Lahore formed Zamaat i Muslimin and developed and organised Islamist ideas and projects in the 1930s-1940s in colonised Egypt and India.

Sociologically, Islamist cadres are different than mullahs educated in traditional 'madrasahs'. Islamist intellectuals had a Western type of modern education (Hasan Al Banna was a French teacher, Mahdudi was journalist, Algerian FIS leaders were engineers). They have in common the goal to promote the re-Islamisation strategy from the top which can come by obtaining political power and formation of a 'Muslim state', which would apply 'Sharia' to get into the depths of a society. The fall of the Soviet Union gave a big boost to Arab nationalism and left the political arena to Islamists ideas.

### **Turkey and Islamists**

The birth of Islamism as an ideology went parallel with colonialism. Egypt and India (Muslims) were the main bases of Islamism. Turkey had a different experience. Turkey had never been colonised and had not found capitalism imposed from outside but had invited liberalism/capitalism on its own in 1839 to modernise the country.

Secondly, Turks had lived side by side with Christians in the Balkans and in the Caucasus and had important Christian and Jewish minorities in Ottoman territory. In other words Turks had the tradition of living together with 'non-Muslims'. Thirdly, the secular republic established by Atatürk had brought hard rules against Islamists, who had to live in their enclaves.

But there is the other side of the medallion too. Turkey's joining the Atlantic system in 1952 deformed the values of the Republic and anti-communist, anti-Russian and anti-Christian discourses became dominant. 'Containment' produced 'green belt' policies. This meant to contain Soviet influence by uniting three big Muslim populated countries (Turkey, Iran and Pakistan) and by augmenting the Muslim's anti-communist sensitivities. 'Green belt policies' promoted Islamism and ended up by augmenting Islamists' manoeuvring area within the secular republic. In other words, the US opened the door to Muslim Brothers' and Mahdudi's ideas and to the financial backing of the Islamists by the Saudis.

### **Russia and Islamism**

After the fall of the Soviet Union, Islamists took big leaps forward to join the 'Muslims left without beliefs' by the communists. Many Turkish institutions and militants rushed to different spots of Russia, restored the old mosques and built new ones, opened schools there. It is interesting to note that the big Turkish Islamisation operation did not create waves of emotions. The only exception is Chechnya.

### **Chechnya and Russia**

The Caucasus has an old Islamic tradition of resistance against Russian colonialism. Muslim Chechens declared independence in 1991. Chechen leader Dudayev visited Turkey many times and was even officially received by the Turkish Prime Minister. Certain sympathy grew in favour of the Chechen movement among the people.<sup>13</sup> However, Chechen radicalism was mainly supported not by Turks but by Saudis and Americans. The radicalisation of the Chechen movement by Basayev was the result of Western strategic (anti-Russian) objectives. Turkey has distanced itself since 2000 mainly because of Russian sensibilities. However, Chechen radical elements use Istanbul as a logistic base and plot against anti-Wahabi forces.<sup>14</sup>

### **Russia and Muslims**

Vladimir Putin attended in 2003 an annual meeting of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC). And he said, Russians have a right to feel part of the Muslim world, Putin was the first Russian leader to attend the Conference which represents 57 nations with Muslim populations or large Muslim minorities. Russia applied to have official observer status at the organisation.<sup>15</sup>

The term 'moderate Islam' has become popular after 9/11 following the terrorist attacks on the twin towers in New York. The term means a sort of Islam that distances itself from radicalism; it is a product of political calculations and alliances of the Post-Soviet world.

Moderate Islamists have distanced themselves from the radical elements and have good contacts with the West in general and even with Israel. They have never considered themselves anti-West or anti-Christian. Their appearance is different from the traditional elements of Muslim societies; in other words, they are dressed in the Western style but their mentality reminds one of Salafis on many occasions. Most of them are old anti-communist elements and had deep hatred against communists, but as communism lost ground they have mainly become hostile to secular and nationalist forces.

Turkish ‘moderate Islamists’ backed by different Western resources opened many schools in Russia, China and in other Central Asian countries and in Africa they formed companies to make money for their respective groups. Their style of work is comparable to Christian Jesuit missionaries. Though this is not a sect, it is not a ‘confrerie’ either. They say they distance themselves from actual politics but this is not the case. It is a ‘sui generis’ model. They have globalised perspectives and cooperate largely with the US. On the other hand, afraid of radical Islam, West and the US do their best to back moderate Islamists. Some Central Asian countries and Russian authorities have either stopped or limited the activities of the so-called Turkish ‘moderate Islamists’ because of their affiliation with Western institutions.

### Conclusion

Russians and Turks are neighbours. They share a big geography. The Soviet era was years of peace and security for Turkey. Many Western writers claim the contrary but these are essentially Cold War black propaganda. The fall of the Soviets created a big political vacuum and augmented the US aggression and hegemony in the region. Turkey, having a romantic perspective towards Central Asian republics, began to form realistic policies and developed cultural and economic cooperation with the Central Asian countries. Russian Federation has become the main economic partner of Turkey.

On the other hand, Turkey which was one of the main allies of the US in the region has become, with the backing of ‘moderate Islamists’, even more attached to the Western policies. Turkish airplanes and fleets took an active role in the destruction of the Gaddafi regime and bombed Libya with the instructions of ‘moderate Islamist’ Erdoğan government.

At the same time, Pan-Turkism which has always scared Russia can no longer be a serious threat to Russia due to the decline of the imperialist powers favouring it. The US and the EU do not favour Pan-Turkism. Turko-Russian relations are of vital importance for the region. They are progressing in spite of obstructions.

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## 2 ■ Cross-Border Cooperation of Russia and Kazakhstan: Problem Area and/or Bridge to the Common Future?

*Evgeny Vodichev*

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Twenty years have passed since the collapse of the USSR, and during this time, the Russian Federation (RF) and the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK) have been coexisting as friendly but independent states. Apparently, due to geopolitical, strategic, economic and socio-cultural reasons, the future development of these two countries can hardly be considered in isolation from each other. The two countries are not just neighbours; the length of their surface border line is some 7,500 km. Their economic complexes depend on each other, and are in many respects complementary as they previously developed as components of one integrated economic space. Some 30 mn people reside in the provinces which have a common interstate border. According to official data, there are more than 6,50,000 ethnic Kazakhs residing in Russia. Unofficial estimations suggest that this figure is twice as big. There are some 4 mn ethnic Russians in ethnically diverse population of Kazakhstan.

Many international experts agree that RK has reached substantial progress since 1991 as an independent state. It demonstrates economic growth and social stability as well as religious and ethnic tolerance which is a good example for many others Post-Soviet states including Russia. This resulted in the acceptance of the principle of 'unity in diversity' that is officially proclaimed as one of the key slogans of Kazakhstan's internal policy.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the fact that the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has had limited progress as a successor to the Soviet Union and in spite of some complications in the beginning of 1990s, Russia and Kazakhstan relationship is now seen as possibly the best in the Post-Soviet scene. However, there are still a lot of challenges to the relations between the two countries though a lot of possibilities exist in the years to come. Undoubtedly, Cross-Border Cooperation (CBC) belongs to the most important fields for mutual work in future.

In a contemporary situation when interdependence of states is rapidly growing in the contemporary world, understanding of the true role of the two countries and their border territories in the Post-Soviet and global space constitutes both theoretical and practical problems. We believe that when applied to the border regions of Russia and Kazakhstan it means conceptualizing of such territories as a 'Summa Summarum' of cross-border regions in the framework of global Eurasian space.

At first, we shall address the theory. It is correctly underlined in the literature that understanding of a region's role in global space is always combined with consideration of how a certain region is positioned in intellectual, economic and geopolitical space. Representation of a region is always connected with theoretical and practical self-identification of a territorial entity. For a region it is not enough to

have specifics and peculiarities, it is necessary to conceptualise them. According to such viewpoint, any kind of regionalism is based on differentiation of natural and economic conditions, but it appears on the scene when it is shaped by the economic interests of some political and social groups.<sup>2</sup>

However, we believe that the economic factors are a bit exaggerated although they are clear and easy to comprehend. To identify the ‘window of capabilities’, one should assess a number of indicators of different kinds starting from unique geo-systems such regions have and finishing with the population’s identity. Of them the factors related to regional identity should be taken into consideration.

In this respect, the existing concepts of regional identities are very important. They give rise to many discussions and debates but certainly belong to those instruments which enable shaping of different regions.<sup>3</sup> Two factors should be taken into consideration, however. On the one hand, regional identity is not natural but artificially generated phenomenon. It is a product of intellectual work and exists as an image which is a rectifiable and manageable entity.

On the other hand, regional identity is always a synthesis of the two concepts at least: of history and culture, and territory. If there is an understanding or feeling spread out in the society that ethnic, religious, cultural, and other such integrity exists and embraces territories across the state borders, the factor of regional identity can actively impact the region as a whole, even if it is divided by the borders. One can assume in this respect that the context and role of the region’s image has some similarities in the mechanism of interpretation with the concept of ‘the imaginary economics’ widespread in the economists’ and political scientists’ milieu.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, selection of cross-border regions and identification of their functionality is a matter of discussions. Very often these two terms – cross-border and border regions – are used synonymously. Methodologically it is not correct as these two types of regions have different qualities and perform different functions.

It is much easier to characterise border regions. Evidently, these are territories adjoining to the state border. They clearly have their own specifics determined by the functional duality of the state border which is always constituted by a combination of barrier and contact functions.<sup>5</sup> The concept of the border regions typically incorporates such indicators as a space, communities and groups, as well as relations existing between them which can be blocked or interrupted by the borders.<sup>6</sup>

The task to identify of cross-border regions is much more difficult. We assume that if border territories and in a certain sense, border regions, can be presented as an objective reality dependant of the very fact of the border, cross-border regions are always the outputs of the political will and political designing. The key difference of cross-border regions from the cross-border territories which also exist in the framework of the integrated geo-systems is a joint participation of representatives of these regions in setting up the aims for cross-regional development and in their drive for cooperation.

It is underlined in the expert community that cross-border region is a non-natural, artificial entity. It can adhere those qualities which are planned and designed, and

develop in accordance with the scheme elaborated by the cross-border communities. However, being born as a political project, a cross-border region can acquire real economic sense. According to the classical metaphor of Denis De Rougemont, the author of the 'Europe of Regions' concept, cross-border region is a 'potential region' with its geography, history, environment, ethnic groups, economic capabilities, etc., which despite its visible integrity is divided by the sovereignty of governments operating behind both sides of the state border.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, the key parameter which is a marker for considering a territory as a cross-border region is the factor of cooperation and the depth of mutual integration of border territories. Respectively, CBC is seen as a component of the state policy of the neighbouring countries implemented by the central authorities and regional and local administrations within the limits of their competences. Thus, it may be concluded that not all border regions are in fact cross-border regions but all of them potentially have a possibility for evolution in this direction.

Now we are going to apply some theoretical assumptions to the RF-RK border cooperation. As mentioned above, the border territories of Russia and Kazakhstan are unique because of their scale. 12 Russian and 7 of 14 Kazakhstani provinces adjoin to the border line. The key theoretical question when addressing this fact which has a clear practical dimension is how these border territories are to be considered? Are they just border territories or are they border regions or cross-border regions? Application of cluster approach that includes such criteria as geographical integrity, economic profile, closeness of historical fates of people and their cultural archetypes to Russia-Kazakhstan border brings us to select several major cross-border regions rather than consider the whole border between the two countries as one integrated cross-border region. Due to historical traditions, economic profiles, and markers of regional identity their configuration does not correspond to current administrative and territorial division of the two countries, and in a way resembles administrative borders of major economic regions of Russia and Kazakhstan as parts of the former USSR. In other words, these are such territories as Western Siberia, Urals, Volga, and Kazakhstan Economic Regions.

When marking out these regions, the economic criteria was not just the factor taken into consideration. Other factors also proved to be meaningful and important. They included time and basic matrixes of development of these of those territories. In the Imperial epoch, their development policy was based on a combination of political methods together with spontaneous colonisation. But for different territories, it was done in different periods with some specifics applicable to concrete regions. In the Soviet period, it proceeded by the means of economic policy and setting up specific economic profiles and proportions for different economic regions. We believe that the factor of regional identity also works here. Regional identity for different parts of Russia-Kazakhstan border territories is strongly impacted by such phenomena as the Altai Mountains and closeness to China in Western Siberia, by the Ural Mountains and the factor of the Ural River as a frontier line on the Urals, by the Caspian Sea and the delta of the Volga River. This general scheme, however, suffers from some

simplification and is in a way depends on certain conditions that is typical for all theoretical schemes. It embraces territories which have some substantial internal differences. For example, in Western Siberia territories adjoining the Altai Mountains, on the one hand, and Russian-Kazakhstan border regions along the Omsk, Tyumen and Kurgan provinces on the other hand, in some respects do not look like referring first of all to their economic profiles and regional identity factors.

It is clear that there are some important factors of strategic character which determines appropriateness of Cross Border Cooperation (CBC) development along Russia-Kazakhstan border. This is first of all the potential of natural resource deposits on the border territories, which is really huge in the case of Russia-Kazakhstan border. Issues like cross-border rivers, water regulation and utilisation, and environment pollution also play a very peculiar role in such cooperation. For Russia and Kazakhstan these are related to such rivers as Irtysh and Ural. The resource potential is stimulating cooperation and restoration of earlier existing industrial and production links and connections. On the opposite side, it is also contributing to illegal cross-border activity. CBC on these territories is facilitated by the mixed ethnic composition of population, cultural traditions, historical memory about previous life in one country, etc.

Typically, regions which are located along Russia-Kazakhstan border are not isolated and not 'co-existing' but cooperative regions. These are territories, which are extensively cooperating in economic, social and cultural spheres. Serious political meaning has been given to the border regions since the middle of the first decade of 2000s. The First Russia-Kazakhstan Forum on border cooperation with participation of the presidents of the two countries took place in 2003. Later, such forums were subsequently held in the centres of different provinces of the two neighbouring countries. The border cooperation was presented as an important factor of economic integration and the tool for building common economic space. The leaders of both the countries underlined that acute socio-economic and socio-cultural issues for which need for action exists crystallise in the border regions, and they also felt that border cooperation is becoming the instrument of testing and solving such issues at the nationwide levels.<sup>8</sup>

Russia and Kazakhstan possess huge potential of CBC. At the moment, 70 per cent of RF-RK turnover is being done within the framework of CBC. But CBC is not limited to trade operations. There are a lot of other possibilities for CBC development. Through CBC in last two decades, especially since the beginning of 2000s, a number of important interstate problems were tackled. They include the issue of updating of economic legislation in the two countries, setting up coordination institutions, elimination of obstacles for interregional trade, stimulating investments into economies of the neighbouring regions, setting up joint ventures, exchange of information, mutual actions in environment protection activity, stimulating contacts among educational and cultural institutions, expanding tourism, etc.

All these issues are at least mentioned in RF-RK treaties and agreements. However, not all of them are properly addressed as priorities since core principles of

CBC were outlined in the 1990s and focused mostly on getting fast commercial gains for participating regions. Conceptualisation of CBC is clearly lagging behind other priorities of Russian and Kazakhstan policy, and rapidly developing international experience in this field has not been duly taken into consideration.

Some of the explanations for it are rooted in the fact that together with possibilities there are a lot of obstacles for CBC development which hamper the process and diminish the opportunities theoretically achievable through CBC. They include poor communication, transportation infrastructure and big distances between the centres of RF and RK provinces, which vary from 270 to 870 km on a railroad; lack of or very limited development of interregional aviation routes; bad quality and scarcity of automobile roads; administrative barriers (the process of decision-making regarding CBC is highly centralised in both counties and vertical hierarchy in decision-making dominates over horizontal links); limited development of institutional mechanisms for managing CBC at the operational level (local institutions possess only minor responsibilities and need referring to the central institutions for instructions); high level of corruption; asymmetry in national legislations of the RF and RK; problems related to national currencies; fears that CBC will stimulate drug trafficking, illegal migration and smuggling, etc.<sup>9</sup>

These doubts explain alternative vision of CBC, which is also widespread in the experts' community. Some experts believe that rapid and uncontrolled development of CBC along Russia-Kazakhstan border should be assessed as a reflection of a lack of clear attitude from the Russian government side towards their neighbours in the CIS countries, especially the Central Asian ones. Respectively, border cooperation is seen as an instrument of settling questions which appeared after collapse of the USSR but were not tackled at the central level. In the meantime, effectiveness of such an approach is considered doubtful. These experts are of view that spontaneous development of CBC is resulting in the economic asymmetry in Russia as a whole and in Siberia, in particular.<sup>10</sup> We believe that this approach, although of some relevance in the 1990s and the beginning of 2000s, is not appropriate to current realities.

However, the question still exists: which border territories are truly cross-border regions and what kind of contacts are truly cross-border cooperation? In our view, the processes which have been ongoing on the border territories of Russia and Kazakhstan since the beginning of 2000s are leading to step-by-step and steady transformation of the border regions into the cross-border regions. The crucial role for finalising the trend is to be played by the activities of political, economic and other actors including the presidents of the two countries. The focal point is mutual decision-making with respect to the border territories and border interactions. Increasing scale of such contacts and moves to setting up institutional structures for CBC are preconditions for development of cross-border cooperation in the true sense of the word.

CBC as a phenomenon of international practices is 'an aggregate of bilateral and multilateral links between administrations, economic actors, civil society

structures and population of the border regions of one or several border states'.<sup>11</sup> Integrating efforts of the state agencies and civil society institutions, CBC is becoming an important factor of regional development harmonising the processes of globalisation and regionalisation. We assume that the logic of processes ongoing on Russia–Kazakhstan border is oriented in this direction. These processes are not complete, however. The border territories of Russia and Kazakhstan are still potential aggregate of cross-border regions.

The level of their interdependence and real integrity is increasing, however. The indicators are the degree of freedom for transfer of ideas, people, goods and services, as well as finances. As mentioned above, at the moment it is still limited by numerous barriers of political, legislative and institutional character. The introduction of the common customs legislation has become the most recent step in a positive direction. It has been the major interstate action, which has a lot of impact on border regions. The next step in relations between the two countries is supposed to be the introduction of the common economic space that will greatly impact CBC.

However, European experience indicates that heavy economic determinism should be rejected when setting up strategy for CBC. It should be equally focused at stimulating social and cultural contacts including extensive communication among ordinary people. Intensity of such contacts will raise the level of mutual trust and effectiveness of cooperation in the economic sphere.<sup>12</sup> It can be a decisive factor for setting up a network of interaction between cooperating actors and building hubs of cross-border networks which are considered by many experts as the most important steps towards building the type of CBC corresponding to the current level of economic globalisation.<sup>13</sup> The experience of Euro-regions confirms such supposition, as similar network of structures appeared in the most successful of them. But even if this development is successful, the cross-border regions, which may materialise out of that, will be 'Eurasian regions' in their typology rather than 'Euro-regions' developed in Western and Eastern Europe.

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### 3 ■ Transformation of Central Asia and European Union Relations

*Mirzokhid Rakhimov*

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#### **Main Stages of Political Cooperation**

The EU-CA (Central Asia) partnership was established in the beginning and the middle of the 1990s. Since then, the EU-CA relations have passed several stages. In the first stage, Europe had no interest in the region and Europe's policies had no clear vision and strategy. At this time, the EU aimed to encourage regional integration in CA, though, the process of disintegration unequivocally developed. In the second half of the 1990s, Europe (especially Germany) was about to understand that in the geopolitical context the EU considerably lagged behind other external players in the Caspian Sea and CA region. The most active member of the EU, Germany, was confronted with certain problems, especially, the expansion and formation of the EU by common foreign and security policy.

The second stage of the EU and CA relations started when Europe began to pay more attention on CA in 2000. The growing interest of Europe in CA was caused by various threads concerning Central Asia – drug trafficking, illegal migration, growth of social intensity, stopping democratic processes, and lowering economic collapse in some republics. Furthermore, the emergence of radical and military Islam, supported by interested forces from the outside and by internal instability and social despair, is a threat. The EU's interest in CA is part of an advancing European role in international affairs. The EU's interest in projecting its political model towards a politically and economically 'emerging' actor in global affairs is an important component of the EU's global strategy.

At the same time, in 2001, the Central Asian nations (Uzbekistan and The European Union and Central Asia: Challenges and Prospects of Cooperation Kazakhstan) accepted a more active European policy. During President Karimov's and President Nazarbayev's visits to Germany, several agreements for cooperation with Germany were signed. On the other hand, 2001 became critical for Germany's policy concerning CA as well as mutual relations between the states of the region and Germany. The meeting of the German government, under the presidency chancellor G. Schroeder, which was held in November 2001, has called all interested departments 'to turn face to Central Asia'. This means that the Afghani policy of Germany and the EU should consider the context of European's concern at security of the CA region. Therefore, the region is of strategic and geopolitical interests of the EU. After September 11, 2001, a serious search for alternative energy sources has been initiated. The 2001 crisis brought the issue of stopping Europe's dependence on Arab oil to the European agenda. Caspian oil seems to be good alternative in these

respects. This fact will determine the development of relations between CA nations (especially Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan), certain European states as well as with the EU in general, as a political and economic entity. On November 13, 2004 at the 1st EU, Caspian and Black Sea countries Energy Ministerial Conference in Baku, Azerbaijan, the 'Baku Initiative', an enhanced energy and transport cooperation between the EU, Black Sea and Caspian region was agreed. On November 30, 2006 at the 2nd Energy Ministerial meeting in Astana, Kazakhstan, a new energy road map was agreed.

Its implementation will pave the way for a comprehensive legal and regulatory governing and integrated EU-Black Sea-Caspian Sea common energy market based on the EU Community *acquis*. The road map was agreed by the European Commission and governments of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkey, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Russian Federation (to act as an observer). In October 2006, the EU Commissioner for External relations, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, held a speech at the Eurasian National University in Kazakhstan. He mentioned that energy cooperation is one of the priorities of the EU relations with CA. In December 2006, during President Nazarbayev's visit to Brussels, a memorandum on strategic energy cooperation between the EU and Kazakhstan was signed.

The third stage in the EU and CA relations started in 2007, when at the EU presidency programme 2007, Germany initiated a new programme on increase political partnership with Central Asia. It was accepted new EU strategy toward Central Asia in 2007-13 with emphasising to increasing political and economic partnership and the strategy was welcomed by Central Asian nations.<sup>1</sup>

The Strategy provides an overall framework for the EU relations with Central Asia and builds on the results of the implementation of various agreements, the EU assistance programmes and other initiatives taken by the EU to engage with countries of Central Asia. The Strategy defines EU priorities for its cooperation with the region as a whole, including in the fields of human rights, rule of law, good governance and democracy, education, economic development, trade and investment, energy and transport, environmental policies, common threats and inter-cultural dialogue.

The Strategy also calls for intensification of political dialogue with all five countries of Central Asia, including holding of regular meetings at Foreign Ministers level and convening annual meetings of EU Heads of Mission in the region. Overall, the progress on implementing the EU Central Asia Strategy has been encouraging. After the lapse of only one year, a new quality of cooperation has evolved between Central Asia and the EU. The new EU-CA partnership for the 21st century is making a difference.<sup>2</sup> On the side of the Central Asian countries, there is a strongly increased interest in enhanced cooperation with the EU in all levels and areas of interests. Concrete actions have been mutually agreed upon and are being implemented or are under preparation, both bilaterally with the five Central Asian republics, and with all on key regional issues as education, Rule of Law, water and environment. All Central Asian states have agreed to engage in or continue a structured Human

Rights Dialogue with the EU. National Coordinators for the Strategy have been appointed by all Central Asian states, demonstrating that Central Asian partners assume ownership and fully engage in cooperation. High-level political dialogue has visibly intensified.<sup>3</sup>

But, following years, it was some changes in the European priority strategies toward Central Asia, for instance, Czech Presidency and French programme did not mention Central Asia as a key interest; however, each presidency did organise at least one or two key events that should bolster the growing ties. For example, the French Presidency organised in September 2008 the EU-CA Forum on Security Issues was convened in Paris. The aim of the Paris Security Forum was to reaffirm the EU's commitment to strengthening relations between the EU and Central Asia, and to establish lasting cooperation between the two regions on security issues. The meeting attended by many politicians and officials including the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the five Central Asian countries, the European Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy, Benita Ferrero-Waldner, and the Council Secretary-General of the Council/High Representative for CFSP, Javier Solana. The discussions focused on three main issues at the top of the agenda: terrorist threats, the fight against human and drug trafficking, and energy and environmental security. An EU-CA Ministerial Conference, co-organised by the French Presidency and Germany, entitled 'Rule of Law – Cornerstone of Development' was held in Brussels on November 27-28, 2008. This was the launch of the European Union's Rule of Law Initiative for Central Asia within the framework of the EU Strategy for a New Partnership with Central Asia adopted by the European Council on June 21, 2007. High representatives from the judicial and political institutions of the EU and Central Asia expressed their determination to strengthen the rule of law through the support for and cooperation on the modernisation of constitutional courts and other legal institutes, professional training for law students and young lawyers, and the overall progress in the legal, judicial and administrative reforms. The participants agreed to organise regional thematic conferences in Central Asia in the course of 2009, and to convene again in CA in 2010 to discuss the progress and shape future steps in the development of the EU's Rule of Law Initiative for Central Asia.<sup>4</sup>

The Czech Presidency devoted attention to the region through the energy security priority it has set and its aim to inject new life into the Nabucco gas transport project. Meanwhile, on a more modest scale, the EUCAM team has been in discussion with Prague about a meeting on EU-CA relations and energy security, to take place in mid-April 2008.

The Third EU-CA High Level Conference on Environment and Water took place in Rome on November 2009. Combating climate change and minimizing its impact has been recognized as a priority for cooperation between EU and Central Asian countries. In this regard, the conference dealt with both mitigation and adaptation issues, taking into account the run up to the UNFCCC CoP in Copenhagen in December 2009. The discussion, supported by conference papers presented by Italy and the European Commission, touched upon the concept of low carbon economy,

implementation of the Kyoto Environmental integration and governance where also discussed as key issues in tackling environmental problems and sustainable management of natural resources.

In order to effectively address and cooperate on the two above issues, EU and CA representatives decided to establish a new Working Group on Environmental Governance and Climate Change, coordinated by Italy with the support of the European Commission.

At present, the EU is guided more by pragmatic interest of mutually beneficiary economic cooperation with the states having good economic prospects and rich natural resources.

In 2010, the Spanish EU Presidency announced to pay a great deal of attention to Central Asia. That attention is fully justified by a number of factors, such as the geo-strategic importance of the region, energy security, Afghanistan, etc.

The basic priorities of the Spanish EU Presidency with respect to CA are to:

- Re-energise and assess the implementation of the EU Strategy for Central Asia, which is multidisciplinary in nature
- Devote special attention to coordination with the Kazakh OSCE Chairmanship and the Uzbek SCO Chairmanship
- Stimulate contacts with civil society in the countries of the region. In particular, one idea is to organise an encounter between European think-tanks and their counterparts from Central Asia

Spain planned to re-energise this Strategy during the Spanish EU Presidency. The Spanish EU Presidency will further promote political dialogue between foreign ministers of the European Union and the Central Asian states.

It was well known that after the May 13, 2005 Andijan tragic event, the EU imposed sanctions against Uzbekistan (by the Common Position 2005/792/CFSP of the Council of the EU adopted on November 14, 2005). These measures started to be eased two years later in November 2007 and October 2009 where fully take down. This decision was very positive for the EU and Central Asia relations.

Although the beginning of the 21st century finds a heightened interest of Europe in Central Asia and the region to the EU, but still the EU does not yet have a unified strategy toward the region. The economic and political interests of the large European states in Central Asia differ and diverge. This is both to the internal peculiarities of European politics and to the general geopolitical states situation, including the relations of the EU with the US and Russia. Central Asia also need developed more common regional approaches in the European policy.<sup>5</sup>

The EU integration experience could very useful for future regional integration in Central Asia. My interview and sociological survey among experts and official from Central Asian republics, Russia, the UK, the majority of specialists (95 per cent) consider the EU, ASEAN and others as good models for regional integration in Central Asia but with local peculiarities.<sup>6</sup> My resent interview in France and Germany supported this conclusion.

## **Bilateral Partnership**

### ***The EU-Kazakhstan***

In 1996, the EU and Kazakhstan signed the 'Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation'. The main thrust of this enhanced engagement has been a steady intensification of political contacts. The EU and Kazakhstan have established a Cooperation Council that had many meetings in 2008-09. In July 2005, the EU appointed the first European Union Special Representative for Central Asia, including Kazakhstan. In 2007, the EU relations with Kazakhstan were integrated and strengthened within the context of 'The EU and Central Asia: Strategy for a New Partnership' initiative and through the subsequently agreed national priority document adopted early in 2008. Under the framework of the Strategy, Kazakhstan and the EU have also initiated a regular human rights dialogue.

During the last decades, Kazakhstan has become one of leading oil producing and exporting nation in CIS countries. There are also significant prospects for gas exports. At the present, Kazakhstan is keen to diversify its exports routes and the EU is anxious to diversify its energy supplies and is looking for energy transit routes across the South Caucasus and Caspian Sea. There is, thus, a common interest between Brussels and Astana to develop closer ties around energy. Against this background, it will be important for both sides to find a common approach and understanding in respect to political, social and cultural issues to reinforce the energy relationship.<sup>7</sup>

The number one European manufacturing power, the second-largest exporter in the world in terms of volume, and the fourth-largest economic power in the world, Germany is the key partner driving EU relations with Central Asia. The German-Kazakhstani partnership is conceived both by Berlin and Astana as a long-term one. In terms of Germany's trade with the CIS countries, Kazakhstan is in the third position after Russia and the Ukraine; Kazakhstan is second behind Russia for imports and is in fourth position for exports, behind Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. Bilateral trade reached a value of € 2.9 bn in 2004, but then went up to € 5.6 bn in 2007.<sup>8</sup> But in 2008 trade declined to € 3 bn.<sup>9</sup> The EU-Kazakhstan cooperation also developed in the framework of OSCE, NATO and multilateral format.

The Kazakhstan Chairmanship of the OSCE in 2010 will be an important event for the emerging relationship between the European Union, OSCE and Central Asia. It could be noted that Kazakhstan nomination was officially supported by the CIS and other regional organizations. The OSCE, however, currently faces almost overwhelming difficulties resulting from the lack of consensus among participating states about the nature and direction of the organisation, some countries opposition to key elements of the organisation's 'human dimension' activities (especially election monitoring). It is essential, therefore, for the future of the OSCE that 2010 is a year marked by the consolidation and development of the organisation rather than one in which disunity is further magnified.<sup>10</sup>

### ***The EU-Kyrgyzstan***

Contacts between European and Kyrgyz official bodies have been growing for last decades. In 1991-2006 in the framework TASIC programme, the EU assistance to Kirgizstan reached € 107.95 mn. In the context of the EU's New Central Asia strategy assistance to the Kyrgyz Republic during the 2007-2010 period with 55 mn Euro.

In October 2007, the General Secretary of the European Council, High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana visited Kyrgyzstan for the first time. The visit of the Director General of Directorate General for External Relations of the European Commission Eneko Landaburu took place in June 2007. The meetings of Cooperation Councils and Committees, Trade and Investment Subcommittee are conducted on an annual basis. In June 2008, the Minister for Foreign Affairs Ednan Katabaev visited the EU institutions in Brussels. In October 2008, a delegation of the European Parliament visited Kyrgyzstan and participated in the work of a regular session of the Kyrgyz Republic-EU Committee of parliamentary cooperation. The Special Representative of the EU Pierre Morel regularly visits Central Asia, including Kyrgyzstan. Also, in the framework of the EU Strategy for Central Asia in 2008 were the first Forum on Security in Central Asia on a level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs in Paris in September, the first meeting of EU-Kyrgyz Republic Human Rights Dialogue in Bishkek in October, the first meeting on Rule of Law with participation of Ministers of Justice of EU and Central Asia in Brussels in November.

### ***The EU-Tajikistan***

Relations between the EU and Tajikistan are still based on the legal framework of Trade and Cooperation Agreement and an Interim Agreement of Trade-related matter, pending ratification of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement signed in 2004, but not yet ratified. Accordingly, Tajik side Agreement will foster a more comprehensive political and economic cooperation.<sup>11</sup>

With the adoption of a new EU Strategy for Central Asia in June 2007, the EU's political dialogue with the region and Tajikistan has increased significantly across key areas, such as human rights, the rule of law and good governance, energy and transport, water and environment, education, trade and economic cooperation, and combating regional threats.<sup>12</sup>

In April 2008, Commissioner Benita Ferrero-Waldner visited Tajikistan before heading to the EU-CA Ministerial Troika meeting in Ashgabat. The EU Special Representative Pierre Morel has visited Tajikistan on several occasions, one of these being the Dushanbe Ministerial Conference on Border Management and Drug Control in Central Asia in October 2008. Tajikistan has participated actively in all EU initiatives on the Rule of Law, Education and Water/Environment, and notably hosted in Dushanbe the first meeting of the EU-Tajikistan Human Rights Dialogue which took place in October 2008. At the same time the Tajik President Imomali Rahmon paid a visit to Brussels in February 2009. In May 29, 2009 Tajikistan hosted Ministerial regional political dialoge Troyka EU and Central Asia. The European

Community's assistance to Tajikistan has also increased and is carried out at different levels. At a bilateral level (€ 66 mn for 2007-10), the focus is on sector support for social protection, public finance management, trade-related and private sector development technical assistance, enhancing living standards in rural areas and other NGO projects (EIDHR, NSA). More support is given through regular thematic programmes, but also ad hoc initiatives like the Global Food facility, from which Tajikistan will benefit for support to social safety nets and development of agriculture (€ 15.5 mn). Tajikistan also benefits from activities carried out at the regional level in areas including education, environment, energy, border management, and drug control (BOMCA/CADAP). Currently, the Delegation is managing more than 100 programmes and projects, which are all in line with the scope and objectives of the EU Strategy for Central Asia.

### *The EU-Turkmenistan*

The EU and Turkmenistan signed a Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation with Turkmenistan in 1998, and its ratified by the EU only in 2009. The EU-Turkmen relations intensified with new Turkmen President G. Berdumuhamedov in 2007. The same year, it was joint session of the 'EU-Turkmenistan' cooperation, also first the EU-Turkmenistan 'ad hoc' discussion on human rights. In October 2007, High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana visited Ashgabat. In November 05-06, 2007, the new Turkmen President paid a visit to Brussels and had a meeting with The EU president J. Barroso, President of EU Parliament H. Poettering, and other senior officials. But, during the visit there were not signed agreements, but we could evaluate it as platform for future partnership. The new Turkmen leadership expressed willingness to cooperate with EU on the different issues including human rights, democracy, economic partnership and others. This new tendency in the Turkmen foreign policy adequate to relations with other countries too.

The EU-Turkmenistan trade turnover is 711 mn in 2007. Turkmenistan's main European trade partner is Germany and mutual trade in 2008 was more than 190 mn. In Turkmenistan, the German companies essentially work in the medical, textile, transport and communication industries, as well as in agriculture.<sup>13</sup>

It is clear that the main EU interest is Turkmenistan participation at the NABICCO Project and one of goal of the visit of the EU Energy Commissioner Andris Piebalgs in November 14-15, 2007 to the high level international oil and Gas forum in Ashgabat. In May 2008, the Turkmen President and EU Energy Commissioner signed Memorandum of Understanding on Energy Cooperation between Turkmenistan and the European Union. The memorandum gives hopes to the EU more energy partnership and development of Central Asia-EU energy cooperation.

Turkmenistan is like other Central Asia countries trying develop alternative pipelines for export his natural gas. Turkmenistan has gas pipeline to Iran and also in the stage of completing Turkmenistan-China one. In beginning of April 2009

Russian main energy monopole Gazprom suddenly decreased receiving Turmen gas and in the Turkmen-Uzbek boundary territory there was explosion. Turkmen side demanded compensation from Gazprom. The accident brought tension between the Turkmenistan and Russia.

In July 2009, the Turkmen President Berdimuhamedov expressed that his country could participate at the NABUCCO projects, which gives some hope on the future Turkmen-the EU energy partnership.

### *The EU-Uzbekistan*

In 1996 the European Union initialed the Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation Uzbekistan and partnership was in the framework of the TASIC Programme. The EU and Uzbekistan also signed different agreements, including Agreements between Evroatom and Uzbek government from 2003 on cooperation on the peaceful using atom energy Evraatom

After the May 13, 2005 Andijan tragic event, the EU imposed sanctions against Uzbekistan (by the Common Position 2005/792/CFSP of the Council of the EU adopted on November 14, 2005). The Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the EU and Uzbekistan was suspended and visa restrictions on key individuals were imposed, as well as an embargo on arms supplies. These measures, started to be eased two years later in November 2007 and October 2009, were fully take down. The sanction caused strong debates at the academic and political level on the sanction and it's unproductively for both side – the EU and Uzbekistan.

Several the EU countries, in particular Germany, have been pushing for an easing of sanctions and greater dialogue, backing the view that sanctions have done little to improve the human rights situation in Uzbekistan and simply pushed the country closer to Russia. In October 2006, German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier visited to five Central Asian nations, the German government said in a statement. Steinmeier's visit was meant to explore the possibility of striking a unified European Union policy for the region, which includes Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. Steinmeier's talks with Central Asian leaders will focus on energy, the fight against Islamic extremism and the region's role as a transit point for drug smuggling from Afghanistan to Europe.

At the EU presidency programme 2007, Germany a new programme to increase the political partnership with Central Asia, which means first of all with Uzbekistan. It was accepted a new the EU strategy toward Central Asia for period 2007-13 with emphasising on incising political and economic partnership.

The EU-Uzbekistan dialogue was all the time difficult for many reasons, including also the EU problem. For instance, according EUCAM watch observations to European diplomats working in Uzbekistan not only had difficulties working with the Uzbek authorities, but also in working with their peers in Brussels, who often have only a vague picture of realities in Central Asia. The message in Tashkent is to be more realistic about the EU Strategy for Central Asia, and to accept that not all the aspirations of the strategy are fully implementable in the near future.<sup>14</sup>



According to German and other European diplomats during the last few years, Tashkent made progress in the domestic democratic processes, including the introduction on January 2008 of the institute of habeas corpus – meant to safeguard individuals from state-ordered detention – into the national criminal justice system. In February 2009, Uzbekistan adopted a law ‘on guarantees of the rights of the child’. In addition, the country has ratified two international Conventions of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), which prohibit the worst forms of child labour and set a minimum age for employment.

In autumn 2007, the EU sanction toward Uzbekistan was stopped and in January 2008 Special Representative of EU in Central Asia Pier Morel visited Tashkent and met with the Uzbek President. Mr. Morel expressed that the EU consider Uzbekistan as an important partner and supports future strengthening and increasing partnership with the country. Without any doubt strong partnership between the EU and Uzbekistan is very important for bilateral and multilateral cooperation in Central Asia. In the framework of INOGATE (Baku Initiative) and TRACECA (funded through DCI and ENPI), the EU plan promote the development and expansion of the regional infrastructure in the fields of transport, energy and trade in order to make better use of Central Asia’s economic potential, not least through improved regional cooperation. As an important trade corridor between East and South Asia and Europe, Central Asia can benefit from increasing trade.<sup>15</sup> The EU can provide a European dimension by supporting initiatives to develop trade corridors such as the E40 Tashkent–Berlin road, which for hundreds of kilometres is little more than a dirt track through the desert.

Uzbekistan main trade partner in Europe is Germany, and Uzbekistan Berlin’s second-largest partner in the region. The volume of trade between the two countries was US\$ 329 mn in 2007.<sup>16</sup> Areas of cooperation stretch from light industry and transport-related services to the production of medical goods and pharmaceuticals and the transformation of agricultural products. Germany using Termiz airport in the participation ISAF operation in Afghanistan.

### **Economic, Energy and Educational Relations**

The EU is the main trading partner of the Central Asian region, accounting for almost a third of its total foreign trade (29.1 per cent in 2007), and amounting to € 22.9 bn in 2007. However, if one looks at bilateral trade figures for individual states, Russian–Central Asian trade and Sino–Central Asian trade dwarf all other states.<sup>17</sup> In 2007, Russia and China dominated the foreign economic relations with Central Asian states, with trade worth US\$ 21 bn with Moscow and US\$ 14 bn with Beijing, whilst Germany – Central Asia’s main European trading partner – came to less than € 7 bn for the same year.

The EU–CA trade is marked by the paramount position of the energy sector. About 80 per cent of the EU’s imports from Kazakhstan are oil products, while for Turkmenistan the figure is 90 per cent. For Uzbekistan, the figure drops to 30 per cent, although it remains in the top product grouping in terms of value. An area of

special importance to the national economies, the energy sector is subject to its own set of geopolitical volatilities and can lead to very paradoxical results in the social sphere. Therefore, it cannot be taken into consideration in terms of a classic business pattern.<sup>18</sup>

Geographical remoteness of Central Asia from the main seaports is a serious disadvantage to the region's wildly fledged participation in the world trade. The Central Asian republics inherit common post-Soviet system of rail, road transport communications, and gas and oil pipelines. And this communication went through European part of former Soviet Union. But in the post-Soviet area, the Central Asia republics consider development of alternative regional transport communications as important of the national regional strategy and in results, it was developed new transport communication to the East and South and link it with the transport systems of neighboring countries China, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey.

At present, the Central Asian Republics – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, as well as China, Iran, Pakistan, and the Caucasian republics – Georgia and Azerbaijan are involved in the process of organisation and harmonisation of the transport arteries and communications connecting Europe and Asia, the West and the East. Including famous Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia (TRACECA), it has received serious support from the EU in an effort to rebuilding sea, road and railway links. From the point of view of the regions of Europe, South Asia and North-East Asia, Central Asia is a crucial linkage area of interregional contact, which can either result in division and conflict, as in the Cold War and the hot conflict in Afghanistan, or in a new series of connections which allow more positive relationships.

During last few years EU launched several programme in the partnership with Central Asia nations, including the EU-UNDP Border Management Programme in Central Asia (BOMCA), which was focused too much on restricting the drugs trade, but now play a big role in improving border management and facilitating trade. Around 1,500 customs officials and police officers from Central Asian countries have been trained thanks to this programme.

It is also grooving the EU interest to Central Asia in the energy partnership, at the same time Central Asian nations also try to found an alternative corridor for the export of energy resources and economic relations could be one of the important aspects of mutual cooperation in coming years.

At present, the EU imported 50 per cent energy and after several years, the EU dependence on the import will increase on 70 per cent. Main provider of this energy is Russia, but after the Gas conflict between Russia and Ukraine, Brussels tries to decrees dispenses on Russian delivery of energy and active finding alternative sources and Central Asia and Caspian region have huge potential of it. At the Joint Declaration of the Participants in the EU Central Asia Forum on Security Issues in Paris in September 18, 2008 was also confirmed the importance of active cooperation in the development of different hydrocarbon transport corridors that aim to ensure a guaranteed and reliable supply for European markets and other

international markets.<sup>19</sup> In the coming years in the EU-CA partnership in the energy field will be dominated.

In the EU-CA relations, special attention was given to educational partnership. Preventatives of universities and research institutes from Central Asian nations participated at the EU 'Tempus', 'Erasmus Mundus', 'Erasmus Mundus/Outside window partnership' and other programmes.

The EU countries are active in Central Asia at national level, for instance German humanitarian foundation DAAD, Adenaur, Gete Institute. German universities are very active in the intuitional partnership with the universities, research centers and governmental institutions. Among the successful projects could mention several institutional projects on the EU and Central Asia educational partnership project funded by Volkswagen-Foundation.<sup>20</sup> Within and in addition to these projects many academics, young scholars, public service from Central Asia have participated at joint conferences in Central Asia and in Germany, also number young scholar had opportunity visit to the University of Giessen and to know more on history and current of process in the EU, the EU-CA relations.

It is well known that the majority of the Central Asian population represent the young generation and education and professional development of them should be key priority of the EU-CA bilateral and multilateral partnership relations. In future, the EU and the member countries need to have more active educational partnership like Germany.

### **Security Challenges**

The problem of reconstruction and peace in Afghanistan are critical aspects for interest of the US, Russia, China, the EU and also for neighbouring countries including the Central Asian nations. It is also necessary to include to the meeting the EU, CSTO, SCO and India, whose economy is grooving and expending support to Afghanistan. Only in boarder cooperation and with active participation of Central Asian nations could be solving the problem in Afghanistan. Secure and economic stable Afghanistan is very important for the future of Central Asia.

The EU, the OSCE and the NATO declared that both have a clear interest in stable, prosperous and democratic states in Central Asia. Both also have a major need to cooperate with these states in terms of security (regional and global) and energy. At the same time, the NATO and the EU are facing common challenges in their relations with these states. The NATO and the EU have also been faced with the difficulty of finding a suitable balance between, on the one hand, the strategic and economic interests of their member states and, on the other, the long-term objective of promoting fundamental political reform in the states of the region. Furthermore, they have had to reconcile regional and bilateral approaches to take into account the highly divergent interests of very different states. Also it is growing competition from other actors, notably Russia and China, emerging India. More specifically, with regard to the promotion of democracy and human rights in the region, it appears particularly important for the EU and NATO to have clear and transparent objectives

in order to avoid misunderstandings or suspicions. The West's action in this sphere is often perceived in the states of the region as an aggressive policy, which seeks to bring about regime change. According to the NATO report, the EU and the NATO should avoid listing non-negotiable demands; rather, they place emphasis on a step-by-step, flexible approach, developing at the same time, if possible, a dialogue both with the authorities and with independent groups and the civil society. It would also be useful to re-evaluate the impact of conditionality and sanctions, and to adopt a coordinated, consistent policy.<sup>21</sup>

Central Asia partnership with the EU, NATO and other international organisation is important for promotion the stability and security of the Central Asia nations and to assist in their pursuit of sustainable economic development and poverty reduction. At the same time, stabilising and restoring the economy of Afghanistan is the key objective.

### **Conclusion**

The EU-CA partnership in the political, economic, energy, transport and educational fields should continue because it will contribute to the maintenance stability, cooperation and modernisations. The EU and Central Asia are important strong bilateral and multilateral cooperation in a new technology, which are needed for economic reform and attracting foreign aid and direct investment. At the same time the EU and Central Asia needs to develop a concrete long range partnership strategy.

Regional cooperation in Central Asia and Eurasia can become an important factor in the maintenance of peace and security in the region, which are necessary for a stable economic growth and development. Regional organizations need concentrate first of all on further regional integration in Central Asia itself and it is important study experience of EU, ASEAN and other experiences and develops with them bilateral and multilateral relations.

Central Asian republics consider the development of alternative regional transport communications as important of the national, regional and international strategy and in results it was developed a new transport communication connection Asia and Europe.

The EU partnership with Central Asian countries is important for promoting the stability and security of the Central Asian nations, and assisting in their pursuit of sustainable economic development and poverty reduction. At the same time, stabilising and restoring the economy of Afghanistan is the key objective.

There are many problems among different actors in Afghanistan, including NATO, the EU, OSCE and other international and regional organisations, because their different approaches and understanding of the situation.

For future, the cooperation between Central Asia nations with the EU and other international and regional organisations following could suggested:

Firstly, It is necessary to enlarge educational partnership and joint research initiatives between Central Asia and the EU universities and research centres.

Secondly, the EU and Central Asian nation necessary continue partnership on the alternative transport corridors and pipelines and cooperation in the solving wind range problem, including ecological one.

Thirdly, the EU, NATO, and OSCE need to have a regular consultation and joint projects in Central Asia and Afghanistan in partnership with regional and neighbouring countries.

Globalisation and security challenges require a broader partnership and cooperation. It is necessary to enlarge of the Central Asian-the EU relations and future strong partnership would promote stability, and economic progress in Central Asia and Europe. It is it is worthy of note that it is the time when necessary to develop a new concept which can be conventionally entitled 'The Concept of Broad Partnership' between the EU and Central Asia. That concept will be the basis for intercontinental space of trust, and a wider range of cooperation among the European and Asian countries.

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## 4 ■ The Main Directions of Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan

*Saniya Nurdavletova*

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### **Kazakhstan's Multi-Vector Foreign Policy**

Since independence, Kazakhstan's foreign policy has been based on a principle of multi-vector relations that was declared by Nurislam Nazarbayev as soon as he was elected the country's president on December 01, 1991.

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

In order to solve the security system problem in Central Asia (international terrorism, religious extremism, drug trafficking and illegal migration), Kazakhstan focus on the following priority foreign policy aspects:

- Strategic cooperation with Russia and China
- Constructive cooperation with the US, and the EU countries

### **Kazakhstan and Russia**

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

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

The legislative basis for Kazakh-Russian relations is the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, signed by Kazakhstan and Russia on May 25, 1992. The treaty establishes that Kazakhstan and Russia, starting from the base of the historically developed close relations between the two states, will build their friendly relations on the principles of mutual respect for state sovereignty, territorial

integrity and the inviolability of the existing borders. The treaty's provisions on the peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-application of force or the threat of force, including economic and other pressure, equality and non-interference in internal affairs, human rights and fundamental liberties, and the voluntary observance of obligations is particularly important.<sup>2</sup>

The logical element of the development of bilateral documents in the political, economic and cultural and humanitarian spheres became the Declaration on Eternal Friendship and Allied Relations, signed on July 06, 1998. This declaration is aimed at the 21st century context.

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

The quick pace of Kazakh-Russian relations was continued by the current Russian president, D. Medvedev, who paid his first foreign visit to Kazakhstan on May 22 to May 23, 2008. During the visit, the heads of the two countries, signed a joint statement and inter-governmental agreements on cooperation in the space sphere and on the GLONASS satellite navigation system. President Medvedev paid his second visit to Kazakhstan on July 05 to July 06, 2008, and took part in the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the Kazakh capital, Astana. The presidents held talks on bilateral cooperation in the fuel energy, transport, cultural and humanitarian spheres and discussed the problems with ensuring national security and countering modern threats and challenges at the forum.

President Medvedev's fourth visit to Kazakhstan took place on December 19 to December 21, 2008. An informal summit of the heads of state of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan was held in the settlement of Burabai. This meeting discussed breakthrough projects to boost the efficiency of cooperation between the regional organisations of the EAEC and the CSTO that were endorsed at these organisations' summit in Moscow on February 04, 2009.

Describing the state of bilateral relations at the Russian Federal Assembly's State – Duma on April 05, 2005, Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev said: Despite the well-known formula of eternal friends and eternal interests, Kazakhstan and Russia are countries that are destined to be eternal friends through their histories.<sup>3</sup>

This view is shared by the Russian President Medvedev, who said at the presentation of credentials by the Kazakh ambassador to Russia on February 27, 2009, Russia highly values its friendship with our strategic ally, Kazakhstan; from year to year our partnership is reaching a larger scale and is bolstered by major projects.<sup>4</sup>

The effectiveness of bilateral cooperation is shown by a growth in trade between Kazakhstan and Russia that is greater than Russia's trade with all other countries in the region put together. In 2008, the bilateral trade reached US\$ 20 bn (against US\$ 4.6 bn in 2001) and it grows by an average of 30 per cent per year.<sup>5</sup>



The cooperation between the border regions of the two countries has good prospects. The 6th forum of interregional cooperation was held in Orenburg in 2009, and it has given a new impetus to interaction between the border regions of the two countries. Kazakhstan and Russia have agreed to create a joint venture to process gas from Kazakhstan's Karachaganak gas condensate field at the Orenburg Gas Processing Plant. This agreement was ratified by the Kazakh Parliament Senate in January 2008 and by the Russian State Duma in July 2008. Both countries are working on the expansion of the Caspian Pipeline Consortium pipeline (in which Kazakhstan owns a 19 per cent stake) and the Atyrau-Samara oil pipeline.

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

Continuing attempts by international terrorist organisations, for example, the banned Hizb-ut Tahrir Islamic party, to create combat cells in Kazakhstan and Russia prompts active counter-action to terrorism and extremism, including as part of cooperation with Russian intelligence services. The Kazakh and Russian intelligence services are actively cooperating in fighting the drug traffic from Afghanistan to Russia and Europe, and creating a drug-free belt around Afghanistan.

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

Kazakhstan and Russia have now increased cooperation to develop Kazakhstan's navy in the Caspian Sea. In particular, Russia agreed to hand over battleships and train crews, as well as build navy infrastructure on the Caspian.<sup>6</sup>

One of the main priorities in bilateral relations is cooperation in tapping the natural resources in the Caspian Sea. Kazakhstan was the first Caspian-littoral country to manage to settle all conflicts with Russia, above all, on the issue of the status and division of the sea floor. The Kazakh-Russian statement, signed in January 1998, stipulated a provision: A consensus should be achieved based on the fair division of the Caspian Sea floor while the common use of the water surface, including ensuring free navigation and coordinated rules for fishery and environmental protection, should be preserved.<sup>7</sup>

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

Kazakhstan and Russia are cooperating most closely within the Eurasian Economic Community (one of the founding members is Kazakhstan). The community aims at economic integration with the creation of a free trade zone and a customs union. In the socio-humanitarian sphere, the country plans to conduct joint research on the priority aspects of science and technology and harmonise the national systems of education, science and culture. At the summit of the heads of EAEC member states in Dushanbe on October 06, 2007, the leaders of Belarus, Kazakhstan and

Russia signed documents to set up a single customs zone and a Customs Union. The legislative basis of the Customs Union was expected to be finalised in 2010.

Particular attention has been given to Kazakh-Russian cooperation within the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, which was established in 1996. The member states of the organisation are China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Bilateral relations within the SCO include a wide range of interaction in the economic, military and political and humanitarian spheres.

As a result, despite the global financial crisis, relations between Kazakhstan and Russia in all main aspects – the economic, political and cultural and humanitarian spheres – are developing well. The Plan of the Joint Actions of Kazakhstan and Russia for 2009-10, signed by the two heads of state, has particular significance for this process.

Another synchronisation on the main issues of bilateral relations took place at a meeting of the Russian and Kazakh ministers of foreign affairs in Moscow on March 14, 2009. This meeting praised bilateral cooperation in all the spheres and expressed the hope for ‘close interaction between brotherly people of Kazakhstan and Russia’ both bilaterally and on the international stage.

The ministers stressed the need to expand cooperation in boosting economic security, countering international terrorism, drug trafficking and organised crime and dealing with the consequences of natural disasters within the CIS, the CSTO and the EAEC.

### **Kazakhstan and China**

Developing relations with China – both bilaterally and multilaterally – occupies an important place in Kazakhstan’s foreign policy strategy.

Ancient historical ties, geographical closeness and common interests in the spheres of security and economic cooperation meant that interaction between Kazakhstan and China was defined by the Kazakh leadership as priority.

After Kazakhstan declared its independence, both countries showed interest in building stable and good neighbourly relations at a new level. As early as on January 03, 1992, the countries established diplomatic relations. The subsequent official visit by Kazakh President Nazarbayev to China in October 1993 started regular meetings between the two countries at the highest level.

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

Based on this document both sides immediately started solving the problems inherited from Soviet-Chinese relations. During the several years that followed one of delicate topics of bilateral relations regarding the delimitation of the state border had been discussed. As a result of signing several agreements (1996 – Shanghai, 1997 – Moscow, and 1998 – Almaty) within the Shanghai-Five organisation, border

problems were mostly solved and the delimitation and demarcation of all sectors of the Kazakh-Chinese border have now been completed. Remarkably, Kazakhstan was one of the first in Central Asia to solve this type of important issue in bilateral relations.

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

Beijing irreversibly regards the preservation of stability and order on the country's borders and its domestic stability as a very important aspect of the development of cooperation with Kazakhstan.

Following the adoption of a joint declaration by the country's leaders during Chinese President J. Zemin's visit to Kazakhstan in 1996, Kazakh-Chinese relations rose to a new level of strategic partnership. Jiang Zemin stressed that not only did friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between Kazakhstan and China correspond to the fundamental interests of the two countries, but also benefited peace, stability and development in Asia and the whole world.

One of the key moments in cooperation between the two countries was the adoption of the Joint Declaration between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China on the further development of all-round cooperation in the 21st century during President Nazarbayev's official visit to China in 1999.

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

Bilaterally and multilaterally, Kazakhstan and China are conducting many strategic projects in several spheres such as energy, telecommunications, transport, and agriculture. An important aspect of bilateral economic trade is the energy sphere. China's economy is growing with unprecedented paces and is encountering acute shortages of hydrocarbons. As a consequence, the intensification of foreign energy ties with energy supplier-countries is becoming increasingly important for Beijing. In this respect Kazakhstan, as one of the major exporters of mineral resources is of particular interest to China.

The cooperation in the oil and gas sector is developing rapidly between China and Kazakhstan. The Chinese companies' active involvement in the Kazakh oil and gas sector started with China National Petroleum Corporation's (CNPC) purchase of

a 60 per cent stake in Kazakhstan's Aktobe Unaigas Oil and Gas Company in 1997.

In 2003, under bilateral inter-governmental agreements in the oil and gas sector signed in 1997, the enterprises in the two countries started the implementation of a major project to build an oil pipeline from Kazakhstan and China.

The first phase of the Atyrau-Kenkiyak oil pipeline has already been completed, and the Atasu-Alashankou oil pipeline was completed and commissioned in 2005, and it shipped about 6 mn of oil to China in 2008.<sup>9</sup>

Over the course of Kazakh-Chinese economic cooperation, with the steady growth in trade and freight shipment, the importance of transport links has been growing constantly. Kazakhstan and China have huge, untapped opportunities to cooperate in the transit transport sphere.

As a result, the Kazakh government is taking active measures to expand the country's transit potential. Kazakhstan is an active member of the UN ESCATO, SPEC and TRACECA. In order to boost transit of freight, Kazakhstan has initiated the construction of the Western Europe-Western China transport corridor.

It is worth noting the new fourth generation of Chinese leaders, led by President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao, who came to power in autumn 2002, demonstrated consistency in Chinese policy towards Kazakhstan.<sup>10</sup>

In turn, President Nazarbayev stressed in his 2004 state-of-the-nation address that Beijing was one of the chief political and economic partners of Astana, and that the continuing strengthening of relations with China served as the clear and important course of Kazakhstan's foreign policy, and also, the development of good-neighbourly and friendly relations between Beijing and Astana were Kazakhstan's foreign policy priorities.<sup>11</sup>

In August 2007, ahead of the 15th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Kazakhstan and China, President Nazarbayev invited President Hu Jintao to pay an official visit to Astana. During the visit, he met the country's leaders and signed a joint statement.

The cooperation between Kazakhstan and China is not limited to the bilateral format: the countries also maintain relations within international organisations: the UN, the SCO and the CICA. China attaches a particular significance and offers all-round support to the Kazakh president's initiative – the CICA and takes an active part in all meetings of this organisation.

As a result, the backbone of cooperation between Kazakhstan and China is the development of multilateral and long-term cooperation. In the security sphere, Kazakhstan and China are maintaining a wide consensus and interaction, both countries making significant contributions to maintaining peace and stability.

### **Kazakhstan and the US Relations**

The US is one of the global actors that can exert significant influence on the development of political and economic processes. This fact explains why one of Kazakhstan's priority foreign policy directions is the development of relations with the US.

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

Since Kazakhstan's independence, President Nazarbayev has paid six official visits to the US, which have resulted in a number of bilateral agreements and laid the foundation for the development of the further fruitful cooperation between the two countries.

In particular, in May 1992, during President Nazarbayev's visit to the US, the Agreement on Trade Relations, the Treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of Kazakhstan concerning the reciprocal encouragement and protection of investment, and the joint declaration on the adoption of a treaty on the avoidance of double taxation were signed.<sup>12</sup>

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

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

As a result, on October 03, 2002, the Houston initiative was launched and this was announced by the then Kazakh ex-minister of foreign affairs, K. Tokayev, and the then US ambassador to Kazakhstan, Larry Napper. At the first stage of the implementation of this initiative, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) allocated US\$ 300 mn to Kazakh financial institutions as technical assistance. The second phase of the Houston initiative provided funds for social programmes in Kazakhstan.

On January 30, 2004, Tokayev met the former coordinator for the US assistance to Europe and Eurasia, Carlos Pasqual, and noted the effectiveness of bilateral cooperation in the implementation of the first phase of the Houston initiative which aimed to bring the two countries' business circles together, conduct various joint projects and to develop the middle class in Kazakhstan.

One of the most important events to have influenced the development of Kazakh-US relations was a visit by the former US secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice, to Astana in October 2005.

In May 2006, during an official visit to Astana by the former US Vice-President, Dick Cheney a memorandum on mutual understanding between the two governments

was signed as part of the Kazakh-US economic development programme. The programme's budget now totals US\$ 40 mn over four years and includes the following components: finance and investment, the development of human capital, boosting entrepreneurship and competitiveness, improving the investment climate and global integration.

In September 2006, President Nazarbayev paid his 6th official visit to Washington where he met US high-ranking officials. This visit resulted in the adoption of a joint Kazakh-US statement in which Washington showed its support for Kazakhstan's strategy to join the world's 50 most competitive countries, its leadership in regional integration processes and its desire to join the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The visit was very effective for Kazakhstan, as the level of trust between the US and Kazakhstan has since increased.

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

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

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

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

Between January 30 and February 01, 2008, the scheduled bilateral consultations were held in Astana between the defense structures of Kazakhstan and the US led by Kazakh Deputy Minister of Defense Lt-Gen B. Sembinov and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Mitchell Shivers. As a result, in February 2008, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed by the Kazakh Ministry of Defense and the US Department of Defense regarding a five-year plan of cooperation for 2008-12.

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

In January 2009, at a meeting with the US Ambassador to Kazakhstan Richard

Hoagland, Speaker of the Kazakh parliament's Mazhilis, U. Mukhamedzhanov expressed the hope to preserve the continuity of the US foreign policy towards Central Asian countries after the election of Barack Obama as America's president.

### **Kazakhstan and the EU**

The cooperation with the EU is one of the major aspects of Kazakhstan's foreign policy. The need to develop these relations for Kazakhstan is determined by the EU's international role in the modern world. In addition, the EU is an important trade and economic partner for Kazakhstan and a major investor in its economy.

The chronology of Kazakhstan's relations with the EU involves singling out several stages of bilateral cooperation. The initial phase (1992-95) was characterised as the period of the establishment of official political contacts and the formation of the contractual and legislative and institutional basis for interstate relations between the sides.

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

It is worth noting that the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement became the primary bilateral document, aimed at developing political, economic and cultural links between Kazakhstan and the EU. The agreement created the foundation for a constructive political dialogue and an open trade and investment regime between the parties and envisaged cooperation in 27 directions: from transport to education and from energy to fighting crime.

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

At the same time, initiatives to create bilateral cooperation structures were developed in practice. In particular, on April 29, 1996, the Kazakh government set up a joint Kazakhstan-European Union cooperation committee. In May 1997, an EU delegation on issues of justice and internal affairs paid a visit to Kazakhstan. With the aim of bringing closer, modifying and harmonizing EU and Kazakh legislation, the EU politicians proposed the creation of an advisory centre for strategic and legal issues in Kazakhstan.

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

On June 17-18, 1998, a European Commission delegation visited Astana

to discuss the political and organisational aspects of the implementation of the TACIS programme in Kazakhstan. In addition to the adoption of national indicative programmes and assistance programmes, the EU drafted interstate and regional programmes for partner countries such as INOGATE (assistance to Caspian-littoral countries in attracting investment in new pipelines), TRACECA (investment projects and assistance in developing a transport corridor between Europe and Central Asia), Eurocustoms (cooperation in the customs sphere) and the Eurostat (cooperation in the statistics sphere).<sup>17</sup>

A landmark event in this period was the enforcement of the 'Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the European Union' (July 01, 1999), which completed the official political formation of relations.<sup>18</sup>

New aspects of mutually beneficial cooperation became: the development of partner relations with European Space Agency enterprises for the creation and launch of a joint satellite and other projects in the hi-tech sphere. The first step in this direction was the successful launch of the Cluster 2 satellite using a Russian booster from the Baikonur space launching site in March 2000.

An inter-parliamentary dialogue between members of the Kazakh parliament and the European parliament is developing successfully. On May 23, 2000, a group of members of the European parliament, led by the then first deputy chairman of the Central Asia and Mongolia Delegation, Ioannis Koukiadis, visited Kazakhstan and discussed issues of cooperation between the parties with the heads of the Kazakh parliament and government and took part in the first sitting of the Kazakhstan-European Union Parliamentary Cooperation Committee.

Kazakh President Nazarbayev's official visits to the EU bodies in Brussels in June and November 2000 gave a significant impetus to the development and creation of favorable conditions for strengthening bilateral cooperation between Kazakhstan and the EU. The visits resulted in the signing of an agreement on amending the Kazakh-EU agreement on trade in textile products and the ratification of an agreement between the Kazakh government and the European Atomic Energy Community on cooperation in the sphere of controlled fusion.

Since 2002, relations between Kazakhstan and the EU have entered a new level of cooperation. This period is regarded as the period of the active implementation of the fundamental provisions of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, accompanied by the EU's increasing interest in cooperation with Central Asian countries. The latest global events have signified interaction in new spheres. Joint efforts are being put into drafting new projects to assist Kazakhstan in solving the problems facing the country's domestic development.<sup>19</sup>

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



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

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

Another important sphere for cooperation that developed qualitatively during this period is cooperation in the sphere of trade in textile products. In April 2004, Kazakhstan's then permanent representative in the European Communities, K. Zhigalov and the then permanent representative of Ireland that chaired the EU, Anderson, signed a Kazakh-EU intergovernmental agreement on trade in textile products, under which Kazakhstan received the opportunity to export over 150 textile items to the EU. Kazakh textile exports to EU countries (Belgium, the UK, Germany, Denmark and Italy) stood at US\$ 8.4 mn in 2004, while imports from the EU (the UK, Germany, Italy, France and the Netherlands) were US\$ 29.6 mn.<sup>20</sup>

Taking into the account that the EU acquired ten new members on May 01, 2004 and another two – Bulgaria and Romania – on January 01, 2007, Kazakhstan and the EU signed a protocol to the 'Partnership and Cooperation Protocol', which adapted the agreement to the expanded EU.

In 2007, trade increased to US\$ 27.5 bn (exports of US\$ 19.5 bn and imports US\$ 8 bn) and in 2008, trade reached US\$ 34.1 bn (exports of US\$ 26.9 bn and imports US\$ 7.1 bn).

In the first quarter 2009, trade between Kazakhstan and the EU totaled US\$ 4.7 bn, including exports of US\$ 3.3 bn and imports US\$ 1.4 bn.

President Nazarbayev's visit to Brussels on December 04-06, 2006 became a significant step in cooperation between Kazakhstan and the EU. The president visited the European Commission's headquarters and met the president of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso. The talks resulted in the signing of a memorandum on mutual understanding in the energy sphere.<sup>21</sup>

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

An important point in political cooperation is the involvement of Kazakh and EU leaders in meetings in the format of the EU Troika-Central Asian countries. During a meeting in Astana in March 2007 they discussed a draft EU Strategy for Central Asia in 2007-13, which was adopted at the EU summit on June 22, 2007 under the title 'The European Union and Central Asia: Strategy for a New Partnership'.

As a result, in the past 20 years, mutual cooperation between Kazakhstan and the EU has reached positive results almost in all spheres of interaction. Kazakhstan positively assesses the prospects for future cooperation and hopes for expanding a dialogue with the EU.

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## 5 ■ Azerbaijan-India Relations: History and Modernity

*Aliyev Bahman Fazil*

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In the era of globalisation, the interaction between states and people takes place in different forms and levels. Among some countries, there are more political, economic and energy cooperation, while other countries have more cultural and historical relations. As a successor of the first democratic republic in the East, the Republic of Azerbaijan inherited the values and developments of Europe. Relying on historical and cultural values, Azerbaijan tries to contribute to the dialogue between East and West. Building good relations with the East is not as important for Azerbaijan as building good relations with the West. The relations of Azerbaijan with the eastern countries are not new but recovered relations, as eastern nations are united by ancient historical and cultural closeness.

Like it has always been before, developing India has a special role in the modern world. As the largest democracy in the world, India is one of the locomotives of the globalising world for not only its rising political, economic, military power but also for its historically rooted culture. Therefore, today, Azerbaijan like other countries tries to improve its relations with India.

Historically, we can divide the relations between Azerbaijan and India into three periods. The first period beginning from ancient times till 1920; the second period that begins with the relations during Soviet times and the third period which begins after the collapse of Soviet Union and independence. These periods differ from each other not only in terms of time, but also in political and economic determinants which influence the essence of relations. Although the cultural relations between India and Azerbaijan weakened during some periods in the history, it has never been absent.

As a part of Turkic-Islamic world, Azerbaijan always had close relations with India. The South Azerbaijan (now the north-west part of the Islamic Republic of Iran) and West India were common parts of different empires and states in ancient and medieval periods. The Great Silk Route also played an important role in the development of relations between Azerbaijan and India. But two centuries ago, as a result of czarist Russia's expansionist policy, including the 'Turkmenchay' Treaty in 1828, Azerbaijan was divided between Russia and Iran. During the colonial times, the relations between India and Azerbaijan weakened. We should underline that the invasion of Azerbaijan by Russia and the invasion of India by Great Britain happened almost at the same time. Both invasion and colonialism seriously damaged the relations between Azerbaijan and India. After independence in 1991, Azerbaijan has built good relations with India and with other states on the historical territory of India.

Azerbaijan was not only a country on the Silk Route, but a bridge uniting East and West. Islam which came to Azerbaijan in 7th century was also an important element that facilitated relations amongst people of Azerbaijan and India historically. From the modern perspective, we can argue that there was a time when Islam played important role in uniting and globalising of the East. It is also interesting that Islam played an important role in strengthening of cultural relations between India and Azerbaijan.

Deep analysis of poetry of great Azerbaijan poet, Nizami Ganjavi (11th century) allow us to conclude that he, as well as other important thinkers of Azerbaijan, knew Indian philosophy very well. In his writings such as 'Isgandarnama', 'Xosrov' and 'Shirin', he paid special attention to India. The first part of Isgandarnama, which is 'Sherefname', is devoted to India's culture and philosophy. While writing his novel *Xosrov* and *Shirin*, N. Ganjavi used the motives of 'Panchantra', which was famous in the East then as 'Kelile' and 'Dimne'. The famous Indian poet of the 13th century, Amir Khusro (also Xosrov in Russian), Dehlevi (1252-1325) wrote 'Nezire' to 'Xamsa's' of N. Ganjavi and called Nizami his teacher and master. In Khaqani Shirvani's (12th century) 'Miretus-Sefa' poetry and M. Fuzuli's 'Enisul qelb' (16th century), Indian philosophy and culture are depicted.<sup>1</sup>

The rule of Turkic-Islamic dynasties in India also facilitated the relations between the two countries. During Mughal empire, especially during the rule of Akbar and his successors (end of 16th – beginning of 17th century), cultural relations widened.<sup>2</sup> The famous poets of Azerbaijan – Mesihi, Saib Tebrizi, Ibrahim Ordubadi, Mehmed Sadikh Tebrizi – lived in India for a long time. During the rule of Babur's son Nasiruddin Humayun, Mir Seyid Eli Tebrizi was the head of painters in the palace, and played a significant role in the development of the miniature art. The architect Aga Mirek played a significant role in the formation of Mughal architecture and participated in building Humayun's tomb. It is said that even the most famous Azerbaijani national mugham music 'Mahur hindi' was composed by Humayun when he was in Tebriz in Tehmasib shah's palace.<sup>3</sup>

Great Azerbaijani writer and thinker Mirze Feteli Akhundov was also familiar with Indian history and philosophy and protested against British colonialism. These protests were depicted in the letters of Indian Shah 'Kemaluldovle' to Iranian Shah 'Jalaluldovle' ('Kamaludovle letters').<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps the most famous sign of Indian and Azerbaijan relations is the Temple of Fire (Ateshgah) near the capital city of Azerbaijan, Baku. The manuscript of the 18th century in Surakhani Temple of Fire demonstrates that pilgrims in this temple were of Indian origins and Ateshgah which consisted of cells, 'karvansaray' (hotel for pilgrims) and the place for praying, was built in different times. On the arch of the north gate of the temple, there are Indian writings in 'Devnagari' and 'Gurmukhi' scripts. We should note that in 1970, the former Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, visited this temple during her official trip to Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijani travellers, Abdurrashid el-Bakuvi (16th century), and Hajji Zeynalabdin Shirvani (1780-1838) also contributed to the popularisation of India

in Turkic-Islamic world. The famous Azerbaijani traveller and geographer Hajji Zeynalabdin Shirvani spent eight years in India, and gave comprehensive descriptions of its people, cities, villages, economy, material and other values.<sup>5</sup>

The second stage in the Azerbaijan-Indian relations was in the 20th century. The purpose and mission of the relations in this stage was completely different from the previous period. During Soviet times in Azerbaijan-Indian relations, political motives played an important role. These relations were viewed as a tool for dissemination of Soviet ideology in the East. However these contacts facilitated building of cultural relations and communications.

In those times, on the pages of journal 'Molla Nesreddin', there were caricatures and articles criticising English colonialism in India. Later, 'Disaster' of Rabindranat Tagore was translated into Azerbaijani and the collection of Indian and Pakistani stories was published. In the tales of H. Javid's 'Azer', J. Jabbarli's 'Aydin', S. Vurgun's 'The Country of Oil Wells', 'Dreams of Negro' and M. Ibrahimov's 'Chandra's Revolt', the story of Indian national independence movement was depicted. In the poems of S. Rustam's Revolt and H. Arif's 'To My Indian Friend', the life of Indian people and struggle were reflected.<sup>6</sup>

Beginning from the middle of the 20th century, the popularisation of Indian movies and music in Azerbaijan played another significant role in restoration of spiritual and cultural relations between our countries. At the same time, the interests of Azerbaijanis on India were limited not only to music and movies. The struggle of Indian people for independence and gaining it were met with great interest and sympathy in Azerbaijan.

Within the auspices of Soviet-Indian cultural relations, the famous surgeon M.A. Topchubashov was in India, and under the supervision of Professor E.I. Tagiyev, the Soviet scientific oil drilling specialists worked in India (1955). Association of friendship and cultural relations with foreign countries developed relations with India systematically since 1947. In 1956, after listening to the performance of Azerbaijan singer, Elmira Rehimova in Indian music in Baku, the Vice-President of India, S. Radhakrishnan and the then ambassador of India to the USSR, invited her to continue her education in India. Later, Elmira Rehimova's activity in music contributed to cultural cooperation between the two countries. The famous Indian producers and actors – Raj Kapur, Surayya, Nargis, Kamini Kaushal, Abhi Bhattacharya visited Baku in 1956. Later, Raj Kapur and Nargis became close friends with famous singers of Azerbaijan, Rashid Behbudov and Shovket Elekberov, and they contributed to cultural exchanges between the two countries.<sup>7</sup>

In composer Sultan Hajibeyov's 'Romance on India', screenwriter Qeybullar Rasulov's novel 'Goodbye India', maestro Niyazi's 'Chitra' ballet and others creative works, there are great respect and love for the culture and history of the Indian people. For his 'Chitra' ballet and following works on Indian themes maestro Niyazi was awarded with Jawaharlal Nehru International Prize. In March 1968, there was a decade of Azerbaijani culture in the Gujarat state of India. On September 25, 1969, the Days of India culture started and its mission was to strengthen friendship and

cultural relation between India and Azerbaijan. The famous painter of Azerbaijan, M. Abdullayev's work 'Indira Gandhi's Portrait' was delivered to Indira Gandhi. Those years, a national writer of the USSR, and a member of the USSR Painting Academy, Tahir Salahov, and the national painters of Azerbaijan, Toghrul Narimanbeyov, Elbey Rzaquliyev and Asef Jafarov, had art works on India. Everybody is amazed by the carpet with the portrait of Indira Gandhi which was designed with sketch of the national painter Abdullayev. In 1970, the works of famous Indian painters, M.S. Huseyn, Biren De, B. Khakkar, Gulam Sheikh, A. Ramachandan and other's art works were demonstrated in Azerbaijan Art Gallery.<sup>8</sup>

Around the end of the 1980s and beginnings of the 1990s, Azerbaijan and Indian relations weakened considerably. The cultural relations of Soviet times were disrupted. But the traditions of cultural relations helped keep the spiritual ties alive between two countries after 1991. Indian movies, dances and music influenced the flavour of Azerbaijani life. Ethnographic surveys demonstrate that in the 1970s and 1980s, children were named Raj, Indira, Rajiv and other Indian names in Azerbaijan.

On December 26, 1991, India officially recognised the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan and on February 28, 1992, the official diplomatic relations began between the two countries. But, unfortunately, within the first ten years of independence, there were no significant developments in bilateral relations. However, there is a great tradition, heritage and potential in bilateral cultural relations which might cause envy for others.

In 2001, the former President and national leader of Azerbaijan, H. Aliyev noted the importance of restoration of cultural relations besides cooperation in other fields. In 2002, the famous Indian Oddisi dancer Aloka Kanun Chon had a performance, and a festival of Raj Kapur's movies was organised in Baku. All these facilitated the restorations of cultural relations between the two countries. On December 2003, the President of Azerbaijan met the Indian delegation under a senior official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of India, Rajindra Madhukar Abhyankar. This meeting of delegations accelerated bilateral relations in all fields. Both countries expressed their great willingness to participate in North-South transportation corridor. In June 2005, the Minister of Petroleum and Natural Gas of India, Mani Shankar Aiyar attended the 'Caspian oil, gas and industry – 2005' XII International Exhibition held in Baku. On March 13-15, the delegation under the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan Khalaf Kalafov paid an official visit to India to hold bilateral consultations on cooperation, trade, economy and scientific exchange. During this visit a bilateral working commission was established. On September 27, 2007 the Minister of Youth Affairs and Sport of India Mani Shankar visited Baku.

On December 03, 2009, with the support of the Embassy of India in Azerbaijan, a conference with four sessions on 'Azerbaijan and India: the perspectives of contemporary cooperation' was held in Baku. The second session was on 'The similarities of culture, traditions and history of people of Azerbaijan and India and the perspectives of cultural humanitarian relations'. Currently, trade turnover

between two countries is not so big but some serious attempts have been already made in this field. Within last two years trade turnover reached US\$ 335 mn. A large part of this trade includes oil since imports this from Azerbaijan. Indian exports to Azerbaijan include pharmaceutical products, tea and clothes. Recently, India has started to export information and communication technologies as well.

Azerbaijan and India have also started to build cooperation in science and education. Although there are no student exchange programmemes, Indian government offers two different scholarship programmemes for students of Azerbaijan to study in India. Beginning 2010, the academic year in Azerbaijan University of Languages launched a new programme/specialisation 'Indian studies'. On May 2011, the delegation from Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in Delhi visited Azerbaijan University of Languages. Currently an India-Azerbaijan Research Center is planned to be launched.<sup>9</sup> Currently, we live in the third period of Azerbaijan-India relations. Unlike in the second period, there is a great potential today to develop comprehensive and close cooperation in political, economic and social fields and to bring our historical and cultural relations to a new level.

## Notes

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