



INTRODUCTION

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This book summarizes interim results of the collaborative research project “Patterns of Regional and Interregional Cooperation: Central Asia, its Neighboring Countries, and Europe” (2012-2015) conducted by Bielefeld University/Germany, TU Dortmund University/Germany, and Giessen University/Germany funded by Volkswagen-Foundation/Germany and directed by Prof. Dr. Christoph Schuck, Prof. ret. Dr. Reimund Seidelmann, and Prof. Dr. Andreas Vasilache in cooperation with Prof. Dr. Sunatullo Jonboboev (University of Central Asia, Dushanbe/Tajikistan) and Dr. Mirzokhid Rakhimov (Academy of Sciences, Tashkent/Uzbekistan). The project aims at analyzing the political, economic, and social dynamics in Central Asia from a comparative and an inclusive regional perspective and continues Central Asian political studies in Giessen from 2004 onward and later in Bielefeld and Dortmund as well. Taking governance, transformation, and regionalization studies into account the project’s focus is on the dynamics of governance in Central Asia including its perspectives in the ongoing decade. In contrast to other studies on Central Asia this projects understands Central Asia not as an isolated region but as interdependent with its neighbors, transregional organizations, and global politics. Therefore the research covers not only the five Central Asian countries but their neighbors such as Xinjiang/China, Kashmir/India, and Russia – plus EU–Central Asian relations – as well. In addition to the broadening of the geographical scope the project understands governance in a wider sense, i.e. as a multidimensional concept combining political, economic, socio-cultural, and ecological dimensions. And following a multi-actor approach the project interrelates the state with non-state actors and subscribing to a multilevel approach it combines intra- with inter-state, regional with transregional, and transregional with global patterns and dynamics.

Following the line of earlier research and former cooperation projects about Central Asia and neighboring Xinjiang etc.¹ and in contrast to many other studies on Central Asia in the West this project and this book gives special room for scholars from Central Asian countries and their neighbors, who have been raised after independence and after the beginning of transformation processes in the region and in its neighborhood. Understandably, their views and their identification with their countries and region might differ from projections of norms, models, and political priorities, which can be found in studies done from outside the region and sometimes imply unreflected interests of the development aid industry or conceptual colonialism. Adding contributions from scholars, who have been involved in politics and diplomacy of Central Asian countries, supplement the picture. Thus, describing countries and

¹ See for example Reimund Seidelmann/Ernst Giese (eds.), *Cooperation and Conflict Management in Central Asia*, Peter Lang Frankfurt etc. 2004.



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developments and pointing to their and the region's problems is based on views from the countries and the region under study this book aims to encourage a dialogue of equal partnership between scholars from different regions, academic schools, and political views, which seems necessary and fruitful.

The book is organized in three parts. The first part includes country studies with special reference to the country-region relations, which is regarded as a necessary condition to understand the region and regionalization processes. The contributions of Serik Raushan, Aijan Sharshenova, Goolbahor Iskandarova/Sunatullo Jonboboev, Merjen Esenova, and Mizokhid Rakhimov/Oybek Abdimuminov on the countries of Central Asia demonstrate both the common features and problems as well as the structural heterogeneity of the region. In addition, these studies introduce the intraregional conflicts and their structural conditions. The second part describes the relation between the Central Asian region and its countries to the three most influential and important neighbors – China, India, and Russia. Including such studies results from the understanding of Central Asia as not an isolated region but an interrelated – historically, geographically, economically, ethnically, etc. – many-states actor, which is interrelated with its neighbors in general and object of their cooperation and power projection strategies in particular. It is needless to say that the contributions by Yuyu Zhang, Suhail Ahmed, and Sergey Yun present an outside view and differ in their approach and evaluation from those in the first part. But it has to be reminded that the basis of all international politics is to understand, respect, and then to talk to the others in the spirit of constructive partnership. The third part looks at the regionalization and transregionalization process from different angles and highlights specific problems, dynamics, and shortcomings. It is a general agreement under all book contributors that the Central Asian region and its neighbors need more bilateral cooperation as well as the widening and deepening of their regionalization and transregionalization processes. Although this view can refer both to the historic Silk Road structures and to the idea of creating a “New Silk Road” this is not easy to implement in view of diverging and sometimes conflicting interests, past and ongoing nation-centered nation-building dynamics, and the heterogeneity of political, economic, and socio-cultural structures, which are described in the book's different country studies but constitute a condition for further self-determined progress. In the center of the third part is the debate with contributions of Serik Beimenbetov, Nazira Momosheva, Sadridin Rahimov/Mirzokhid Rakhimov, Enrico Fels, and Khudoberdi Kholiknazarov about perspectives, possibilities, and limits of regionalization and transregionalization through multilateralism, supra-nationalism, and integration. These studies are complemented by Steve Schlegel's analysis of the influence of the OSCE in stabilizing weak states. In addition – and to contribute to the debate on Islamism – Mush-taq Kaw presents a Muslim view view on today's Islamization or re-Islamization of Central Asia, while Sunatullo Jonboboev comments it from a different angle. Both are not only illustrating the broad range of views about such issues – and the necessity for a constructive debate about it – but as well might be helpful to understand the revitalization of religion in



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Central Asia after years of Soviet secularization as well as the role of the Soviets in the history of Central Asia's modernization and transformation. And more important Kaw's and Jonbobojev's contribution help to reopen the debate on fundamental values and their consequences for political concepts, structures, and behavioral patterns.

Once again – this book aims to contribute to an ongoing debate, which has to take the views of the countries of and around Central Asia adequately and seriously into account and which reflects the multitude of historic, geographic, economic, ethnic, and political factors and their dynamics. Such a debate about the past, the present, and the future of Central Asia from a Central Asian perspective is not only interesting for transformation, nation-building, and regionalization studies but as well a necessity to define the concepts and strategies for developing self-determined Central Asia further.

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Part I

The Countries of the Region





KAZAKHSTAN AND CENTRAL ASIA

RAUSHAN SERIK

0 ABSTRACT

This contribution provides first an overview about the history, the political geography, the economy, and the political system of Kazakhstan and second a detailed description of its foreign policy. As one of the largest and most efficient economy in Central Asia, Kazakhstan's economy is based on the extraction and export of mineral products with Russia and China as its main trading partner. Its presidential political system has undergone recent reforms to improve governance and democratic structures. Its foreign policy can be considered as a multi-vector policy with mainly the neighbourhood countries, Russia and China, and international organisations. Main issues are water security, economic stability, ethnic peace, effective border protection, and the continuation of its non-nuclear policies.

1 INTRODUCTION

The following description and analysis of Kazakhstan in Central Asia is divided into two sections. The first and more informational section gives a general idea of the geographical location, natural resources, history, and development of independent Kazakhstan. Also shown is the life activity of Kazakhstan, its internal socio-economic development, as well as the foreign policy of the country. The second section is devoted to the analysis of contemporary trends and features of development of the Central Asian region and looks at the role of Kazakhstan in ensuring security and sustainable development of both the country and the whole region. The purpose of the proposed research is to show an objective picture of the development of today's Kazakhstan and to examine the challenges, risks, and threats to regional security in the context of the current geopolitical and economic situation in Central Asia with a focus on economic and water security as well as an analysis of the impact of the processes on the sustainable development of the region and the role of Kazakhstan in ensuring a stable mutually beneficial cooperation in the region.

In the following special attention is given to the problem of ensuring security in the region in two dimensions – economic and water plus energy. This study is based on official documents, statistical data, scientific, and practical experience of experts from Kazakhstan, Russia, and Central Asia. It has to be underlined that mostly Kazakh sources are used deliberately to show the vision of the scientists of Kazakhstan and the position of national experts. The uniqueness of this study is that verbal primary sources were used, i.e. presentation of the views of experts and senior leaders, that have been heard while attending international and regional conferences on important security issues in Central Asia. In



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particular, speeches and quoted opinion (partly published in the press) of authorized officials are taken into account such as the Assistant to the President – Secretary of Security Council of the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK) M. Tazhin, Head of the Analytical Department of the Security Council of Kazakhstan, E. Tukumov, director of *Institute for World Economy and Politics* (IWEPP) under the *Foundation* of the *First President* S. Akimbekov, director of KazISS under the President B. Sultanov, as well as CSTO General Secretary N. Bordyuzha and others. In my opinion, exploring the views of competent individuals in this area allows to present an objective picture of the existing threats and challenges, to realize its importance for Kazakhstan and for the entire region, and to understand the strategic goals for the country and mid-term plans.

Concerning the methods of research this study is based on the general methodological principles, which allow more fully and objectively examine the problems of the Central Asian region. In particular, the following methods were used: Content analysis of documents and research materials, systematic and historical approach, benchmarking analysis, monitoring of the current situation, expert evaluation, and forecasting to determine the broad outlines of prospects for the development of the situation in the region.

2 HISTORY OF THE FORMATION, INTERNAL POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

2.1 Kazakhstan at the Present Stage: General Information

Kazakhstan occupies an area located in the heart of the Eurasian continent; therefore it is rightly considered as an Eurasian country. In territorial terms, Kazakhstan is on the 9th of the largest country in the world – with a territory of 2.724.9 square kilometers. The Republic of Kazakhstan has borders with five countries: Russia in the East, North and North-West (a border of 6.477 km), Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan in the South (Uzbekistan 2.300 km, Kyrgyzstan 980 km, Turkmenistan 380 km), and China in the South-East (1.460 km).

Kazakhstan with its vast territory is one of the relatively sparsely populated countries in the world – a population of approximately 6 person per 1 sq. km. The country's population for 2013 is 17.053 thousand [1]. Over recent years there has been population growth due to natural increase, increased immigration, and decreased emigration. Also one of the important facts in the field of population increase is the policy pursued by Kazakhstan from 1992 onwards to support the re-immigration of ethnical Kazakhs, who were forced to leave the country and expressed a desire to return back to their motherland.

The following table gives an overview about the main socio-economic indicators:

Table 1: Main socio-economic indicators

Population (1.10.2013, thsd., person)	17 099
Rate of unemployment (October 2013, % estimated data)	5,2
Average monthly wages and salary (September 2013., tenge)	105 905
Inflation: (October 2013, per December 2012, %) (October 2013, per September 2013, %)	3,6
	0,3
GDP (January-june2013 %)	105,1
Short-term economic indicator (January- September 2013 to January- September 2012)	104,6

Source: The Agency of Statistics of the RK

Kazakhstan's population is multiethnic; the country is inhabited by 131 ethnic groups. The census shows the following shares:

Table 2: Ethnic composition (in % of total population) [2]

	currently	In 1999
Kazakhs	63,1	53,4
Russians	23,7	30,0
Uzbeks	2,8	2,5
Ukrainians	2,1	1,4
Uyghur	1,4	1,4
Tartars	1,3	1,7
Germans	1,1	2,4
Others	4,5	5,0

Basically, inter-ethnic relations in the country are characterized by stability and favorable dynamics.

The role and place of religion in the contemporary Kazakh society is fundamentally changing. Today, religion is playing an increasingly important role – particularly in the social and public processes – due to the fact that a large part of the population is eager to recover traditional



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values and moral principles. Currently, religious groups in Kazakhstan show the following composition:

Table 3: Composition of confessions

	In 1000's	In %
Muslims	11.237,9	70,2
Christians	4.190,1	26,2
Jews	5,3	Near 0,0
Buddhists	14,6	0,1
Others	30,1	0,2

Table 4: Oil and gas potentials (in million tons):

Resource	Explored re-sources	Probable re-sources	Predicted time frames of production, years*
Oil, billion tons	about 5	9,3	Up to 70
Gas, trillion m ³	2—3	6	Over 70
Condensate, billion tons	0,31	1,8	-

* predicted terms of production depend on the final size of stocks, production level, world prices and other conditions

Source: Committee of geology and MINT RK subsoil use

Kazakhstan has high potential in natural resources; they play an important – if not dominant – role in the dynamic economic development of the country. Among 110 Mendeleev elements in a subsoil of the Republic of Kazakhstan 99 are revealed, 70 have been explored, 60 elements extracted and in use. On the territory of Kazakhstan, with a population of only about 0,25 % of the world population, there are more than 50 % of the world reserves of tungsten, 21 % stocks of uranium, 23 % of chromium ore, 19 % lead, 13 % zinc, and 10 % copper and iron. In terms of proven reserves of natural resources Kazakhstan holds the following positions in the world: 1st place in reserves of zinc, chromium, tungsten and vanadium ores, 2nd place in the reserves of uranium, 3rd place in the reserves of asbestos, wollastonite, rhenium, manganese, 4th place in the reserves of lead; 6th place in the reserves of phosphate ore and gas; 7th place in the reserves of iron ore, silver and oil, and 9th place in the reserves of coal, copper, and gold. Kazakhstan belongs to the first ten countries in the world on explored reserves of hydrocarbons. Among CIS countries, Kazakhstan holds the 2nd place (after Russia) on oil and the 3rd place (after Russia and Turkmenistan) for gas. Prospective oil-and-gas areas makes more than 62 % of the territory of the republic. Today the state balance



of RK considered stocks on 256 oil, gas, oil and gas and oil-gas condensate fields; 2/3 of the taken stocks fall to the share of 6 fields/deposits; of these, more than half belong to the giant Kashagan and Tengiz deposits [3]. It should be noted that the exploitation of production at Kashagan started in September 2013. Kazakh share of world reserves of oil consists amount to 3,2 % and of gas to 1,5 % (see table 4). However, it is necessary to understand that these given estimates are very conditional and in addition they constantly change; every year updated data appear, forcing in a new way to look at a situation with stocks of hydrocarbons around the world as well as in Kazakhstan, in particular.

2.2 The history of Kazakhstan's Statehood

2.2.1 Kazakh Khanate (15th – 18th century)

The reference point in the establishment of Kazakh statehood is believed to be the emergence of the Kazakh Khanate in 1456. The formation of the Kazakh Khanate was closely linked to the history of both the Golden Horde and Mogulistan. In the period of the 15th - 18th century most of present-day Kazakhstan was part of the Golden Horde. The South (Zhetysu of today's Kazakhstan) was part of Mogul Stan – the state of Chagatais which was established in 1370 after Tamerlane seized power in Central Asia. From the second half of the 14th century, the processes of splitting and later of disintegration of the Golden Horde began. Many different independent khanates emerged in the territory of Kazakhstan, among which the formation named the State of Nomadic Uzbeks by historians was distinguished. This khanate reached its zenith under Khan Abulhair (1429-1468). The population of this khanate were Uzbek-Kazakhs. In the late 1450's Sultan Dzhaniyev and Sultan Kerei, with tribes of Alshyns, Argyns, Kereis, Kypchaks, and Zhalairst, moved to the territory of Mogulistan. In 1456 Sultan Kerei was elected khan in the territory of present-day Southern Kazakhstan as the supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, which constituted the beginning of the history of the establishment of Kazakh statehood [4].

Ever since the emergence of the Kazakh Khanate on Central Asia's map the word Kazakh has become an ethnonym – the name of a people. From the emergence of the Kazakh Khanate the gradual process of its expansion started because of various Kazakh tribes voluntarily joining. Under Khan Yesim the process of uniting Kazakh tribes into one state was completed. That period included the division of the Kazakh people into three Zhuzes¹ – Great (Uly), Middle (Orta) and Little (Kishi). Despite the relative distinctiveness, representatives of

¹ Zhuz is an economically and geographically specific district inhabited by a group of communities which, until the formation of the Kazakh ethnos, was the territory of a tribal union. The word Zhuz means "part" or "side". The foundations of the formation of Zhuzes were a merger of certain tribes into tribal unions.



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all three Zhuzes spoke one language. There were tiny differences in dialects but they could understand one another perfectly. There were also differences in everyday life, dresses, furniture and utensils and folklore.

The social relations of the Kazakhs were conditioned by the nomadic lifestyle – domestication of livestock and grazing it on pastures, and the consecutive processing of products of economic activity. One of the earliest forms of ownership was the ownership of livestock, and this phenomenon helped to deepen property and social differentiation. At the same time, some scientists believe, there was no private ownership of land, in contrast to sedentary societies. Land belonged to a community or tribe. Routes of roaming had been developed by centuries-long experience. Kazakhs grazed their livestock on hills in the summer and on the plains in winter. Crafts and household trades related to the processing of animal products – tanning, blacksmith and shoe-making – also played a particular role in the economy of Kazakhs. Carpentry and jewellery also developed at that time.

The Kazakh Khanate was not a centralised state and its political and administrative system was influenced by the nomadic lifestyle and living conditions of the population. The khanate consisted of feudal possessions (uluses), which were headed by sultans, who were descendants of Genghis Khan. The head of state was the khan, who combined supreme powers (civil, military, and administrative). The Kazakh Khanate reached its highest level of development in the 17th century under Khan Tauke (1687-1817). Scientists credit his rule with the establishment of the legal basis of Kazakh society – the Zheti Zhargy (Seven Principles) code of laws. This code regulated land, military, judicial, and family relations; it also detailed punishment for criminal offences.

After the death of Khan Tauke feudal internal fights worsened, as a result of which the Kazakh Khanate was politically divisive. In that period the foreign political situation also worsened. Volga Kalmyks and Yaitsk Cossacks raided the Kazakh Khanate from the West, Siberian Cossack and Bashkirs from the North and Bukhara and Khiva troops from the South. However, the chief enemy were the Dzungars or Western Mongolian tribes, which were united by the Dzungarian Khanate. Dzungars advanced into the steppe gradually: Fierce fights interchanged with truces and therefore raids stopped for some time, but peaceful periods were short-lived. The Dzungarian Khanate strengthened and grew, demanding new resources [5]. In spring 1723, Dzungars launched a large-scale assault on the Kazakh Khanate. This war was remembered as years of great disaster. Kazakhs had to retreat and moved away to Khiva, Samarkand, and Bukhara. After receiving a temporary respite, and, with a desire for revenge the Kazakh people managed to consolidate and offer armed resistance. A year later Kazakhs, led by Khan Abulhair, achieved a number of victories and relieved the Dzungars of Otrar, Shymkent, Turkestan, and Sairam. In 1726 the tribal leaders of all three Kazakh Zhuzes held a congress and elected a sardar – the supreme commander-in-chief of united Kazakh troops. Little Zhuz Khan Abulhair became the sardar and led the Kazakh militia to several victories, including the well-known battle at Bulanty in the Ulytau foo-



thills in Central Kazakhstan and the Anrakay battle near Lake Alakol. But despite the victories Khan Abulhair called his numerous troops back and returned to his tribal lands in Western Kazakhstan. This was prompted by an agreement that he, as a victor over the Dzungars, was to occupy the throne of the Kazakh khan, but Sultan Abilmambet was elected khan, which seriously offended Abulhair. This started another fight for power and the Kazakh Khanate was split, as a result of which the Little and Middle Zhuzes adopted Russian citizenship. From that time on Kazakhstan's history was linked to that of the Russian Empire.

2.2.2 Kazakhstan in the Russian Empire

Kazakhstan's accession into the Russian Empire was conducted in several phases, starting in the first half of the 18th century and lasting until the 1860's. Rapidly developing Russia was interested in relations with Kazakhstan in order to ensure security on traditional trade routes through the Kazakh Khanate to Central Asia and to build a buffer zone on the Southern borders of the empire. In the 16th century Russia was already close to Kazakh tribal lands; Russian towns had already emerged in the border areas – Tyumen, Tobolsk, and Tomsk. Trade was on the rise and the Russian Empire's influence grew in Kazakh lands. The Little Zhuz joining Russia was a historically forced step because by the middle of the 18th century, after China destroyed Dzungaria, there was the danger of the victor's expansion. In 1730 the Little Zhuz khan, Abulhair, proposed that the Russian government set up a military union. This was turned down and instead it was suggested that his khanate become a Russian protectorate. On February 19, 1731, Empress Anna Ioannovna signed a decree regarding the Little Zhuz voluntarily joining the Russian Empire. On October 10, 1731, Abulhair and a majority of tribal leaders of the Little Zhuz signed a treaty and took an oath on the inviolability of the treaty. It is worth noting that even though the Middle Zhuz, then ruled by Khan Ablai, was to a lesser extent linked to Russia, while the Great Zhuz was occupied by the Dzungars and the Kokand Khanate, Abulhair's separate treaty became the beginning of the constantly growing influence of Russia on the lives of Kazakhs [6]. In 1740 the Middle Zhuz also became a Russian protectorate. In 1741-1742, the Dzungars again raided the lands of the Middle and Little Zhuzes, but the involvement of Russian troops forced them to withdraw. Khan Ablai himself was captured by the Dzungars but was released a year later following mediation by the Orenburg Governor. As a result of the weakening of the Kazakh khans' power and the remoteness of this new region of Russia, part of the lands of the Middle Zhuz, which formally became a Russian protectorate, and the lands of the Great Zhuz fell under the Kokand Khanate. In 1787, some Kazakh tribes of the Little Zhuz, which were pressed by the Khiva Khanate, were allowed to cross the Ural River and settle in trans-Volga regions. This decision was officially fixed by Emperor Paul I in 1801, when 7.500 Kazakh households set up the vassal Bukei (Interior) Horde, headed by Sultan Bukei. This period was also signified by the emergence of the national liberation movement of Kazakhs. The movement, led by Srym Datov, was directly linked to the tsarist government's attempts to regulate the internal lives of



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dependent Kazakh tribes. After adopting the Russian protectorate the significance of the khan power declined, and the vertical power pyramid – khan-sultans-tribal leaders – fell into pieces because each tribal leader tried to independently agree with border and central authorities. As a result, this increased internal confrontation and open disobedience to the Russian administration and increased the number of attacks on border posts, which then froze the trade with Central Asia in the 1790's. Only by 1797 had Russia managed to pacify the majority of Kazakh tribes and the rebellion subsided. Srym Datov had to move to lands governed by the Khiva Khanate. In 1818, several tribes of the Great Zhuz announced the adoption of Russian protectorate. In the following 30 years – sometimes under pressure, sometimes voluntarily – most tribes of the Great Zhuz became Russian subjects. In 1822, Emperor Alexander II signed a number of additional documents: The Statute on Governing the Zhetysu and Syrdarya Oblasts and the Statute on Governing Turgai, Ural, Akmola, and Semipalatinsk Oblasts. Bukei Horde became part of Astrakhan Province. The Semirechiye Cossack Troops were established from Cossacks moved from Siberia in the territory of Zhetysu which was regained from the Kokand Khanate.

The continued incorporation of Kazakhstan into the Russian Empire was not conducted without conflict. The longest and largest rebellion in the 19th century was the one led by Khan Kenesary Kasymov between 1837 and 1844 and covered the entire territory of the Middle Zhuz and parts of the Little and Great Zhuzes. It was caused by discontent against the rapid colonization of lands and the strengthening and expansion of military border lines and the shrinking life expanses of nomads, who lost the last remnants of independence. This discontent helped Khan Kenesary unite a great number of Kazakh tribes. Military actions started in spring 1838 with the siege and burning of the Akmola fort and then rebels moved towards the Turgai River. In September 1841 the leaders of the three Kazakh zhuzes elected Kenesary Kasymov khan and declared the revival of the One-Kazakh Khanate. In August 1841 rebels laid siege on Kokand fortresses in Sozak, Zhana-Kurgan, Ak-Mechet, and Zhulek. Some victories over the Kokand Khanate helped to expand Kenesary's army and the situation in the steppe stabilised in that period. Aiming to improve the khanate's economic situation, Kenesary banned obstacles to and raids on trade caravans, which paid good taxes. Diplomatic correspondence was established and Russian, Bukharan, and Khivan envoys were received. As a result, some Russian officials responsible for relations with Asia – Orenburg Governor-General Perovsky in particular – started advocating talks and proposing a semi-autonomous unit similar to the Bukei Horde. Tsar Nicholas I's response to these projects ("there will not be two monarchies in one kingdom") was straightforward and the conflict was solved militarily in 1843: Kenesary and the remnants of troops loyal to him were destroyed in a battle on Lake Issyk-Kul. Meanwhile, the administrative management of Kazakh lands by the tsarist government continued and in 1850 Kazakhstan was divided into four regions with capitals in Uralsk, Turgai, Akmolinsk, and Semipalatinsk. It should be noted that the governance of vast



territories of Central Asia was complicated because there were shortages of resources for the establishment of administrations and of skilled bureaucrats.

In the late 19th century peasants from Russian and Ukrainian provinces were moved to Turkestan. According to the Statute on Governing the Turkestan Territory only “Russian subjects of Christian faith from the rural folk” were allowed to settle. Migrant peasants were offered over 3 million sq m of land each. This process was sped up during famines and with the start of the Stolypin reforms. Shortages of farmland in the European part of Russia and the possibility of receiving free land encouraged Russian peasants to move to the Urals region, Siberia and Turkestan [4]. The census conducted in 1897 showed that out of 8 million people living in Turkestan, Russians numbered about 700.000 people. Over a half of them lived in Semirechiye and Syrdarya Oblasts. By 1916 Russians accounted for a quarter and a tenth of the local population respectively. Between migrant peasants and local population there was some distribution of labour: The local population was involved in animal husbandry and grew cotton and watermelons, melons and gourds and crafts, while Russian settlers supplied bread, vegetables and were involved in dairy production. Famines in central regions of Russia prompted new waves of migration. Tens of thousands moved to the Turkestan territory in 1905-1906 and in December 1910 the tsarist government allowed the Migration Directorate to seize the nomads’ lands and hand them over to the Russian migrants. Migration bureaucrats used this right to seize not only pastures from Kazakhs but also winter grounds with cultivated land. This land confiscations heavily damaged the nomadic lifestyle of Kazakhs because under the disguise of excess land the government seized pastures. All this combined with other factors led to the greatest rebellion in Kazakhstan’s history – a national liberation rebellion led by Amangeldy Imanov in 1916. The rebellion was more organised in Turgai Oblast where large-scale military actions covered the entire central Kazakhstan. Rebels laid siege to the regional capital – Turgai. The tsarist government was forced to send regular troops to rebel areas and the rebellion was crushed by spring 1917.

Industrial production in the region started to take roots at the beginning of the 20th century. The mining in the gold and coal sectors developed rapidly. At the turn of the centuries the construction of railways helped develop trade both in Kazakhstan and abroad. The development of capitalist production formed multiethnic working classes, 60 % to 70 % of which were Kazakhs. Within the empire, Kazakhstan and Russia formed a single administrative and economic entity. Russian settlers and local Kazakhs were actively involved in economic and cultural relations that grew into friendship between the peoples. As a result, the fates of the Kazakh and Russian peoples were intertwined. Today it is precisely these two ethnic groups that constitute a reliable foundation for stability in Kazakhstan’s multiethnic society.



2.2.3 Kazakhstan in the USSR

The next stage in the development of Kazakh statehood started during 1917, a critical year for the country. By that time Kazakhstan already had its national cultural elite, who put forward ideas for independent development. The Kazakh public, led by Alikhan Bukeikhanov at the beginning of the 20th century, tried to re-establish the Kazakh statehood in 1917 as the Alash autonomy [6]. In July 1917 the party Alash mainly made up of representatives of national intelligentsia was created; Alash's main idea was to achieve Kazakhstan's economic and political independence and adopt a capitalistic system in the country. Alash members fought for Kazakhstan's independence using legitimate political methods. The main ideological difference between the Alash party and Bolsheviks concerned issues surrounding the class-repressive nature of the state. Alash members had consistent views on issues of democratizing the government system. In their platform they advocated the presidential form of government that was the most advanced at the time and a democratic nature of elections to ensure the participation of all people regardless of their origin in the election processes; Alash spoke in favour of personal immunity, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly. But after the Soviet government established its power throughout Kazakhstan, the leaders of the Alash party had to recognise it as the central government of all ethnic minorities of Russia. Nevertheless, despite this, they set a number of demands for the central Soviet government to ensure the independence of the Alash autonomy to a certain extent. Their chief demand was to unite all lands of the Kazakh people within the Alash (Kazakh) autonomy, or restore the territorial integrity that was destroyed during colonisation. A significant role in the consolidation of Kazakh lands (governed by the Kazakh Revolutionary Committee (Kazrevcom) and other administrative-territorial units) and the future uniting of the Kazakh republic was put forward at an expanded meeting of Kazrevcom on October 27, 1919. This meeting discussed the issue of convening an All-Kazakh Congress of Soviets to solve the problem of uniting the Kazakh people into one Soviet autonomous state, which would have great political significance. One of ideologists and Alash's heads, Akhmet Baitursynov, made a number of proposals: First the Soviet government should give the Kazakh people the right to self-government and second the residents of some regions, which earlier opposed the Soviet government, should be pardoned. The expanded Kazrevcom meeting decided to convene an All-Kazakh Conference of Soviets to discuss the problem of uniting the Kazakh people. This conference was held in Aktobe on January 3 – 11, 1920, and gathered 250 delegates from Turgai, Ural, Akmola, Syrdarya, Semirechiye, Fergana and Trans-Caspian Oblasts, and Alash party members. The conference's resolution *On the Union of Kazakh Oblasts* stressed the need to unite all Kazakh oblasts into the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), which would join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Based on this draft, the chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars (SPC) of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), Vladimir Lenin, and the chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets (ACEC), Mikhail Kalinin, signed in the



following the decree *On the Establishment of the Kyrgyz (Kazakh) Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic*. According to official statistics from 1920, the Kazakh ASSR covered an area of 1.871.239 sq km and its population amounted to 5.046.000 people. Ethnic Kazakhs accounted for over 46 % of the total population.

The declaration of the Kazakh ASSR became a major step in ensuring the territorial integrity of Kazakh Soviet statehood. At the same time, Southern regions, populated by Kazakhs, were still part of the Turkestan ASSR. Moreover, significant numbers of Kazakhs were dispersed in the territories of the Khorezm and Bukhara People's Republics: Kazakhs accounted for 19,3 % of the Turkestan ASSR, 1,5 % of the Bukhara People's Republic, and 3,5 % of the Khorezm People's Republic. The national-state demarcation of multiethnic Central Asia was conducted in 1924 and it focused on the Turkestan ASSR, the Khorezm, and the Bukhara People's Republics. It resulted in the establishment of the Uzbek SSR and Turkmen SSR; the Tajik ASSR as part of the Uzbek SSR; the Kyrgyz ASSR as part of the RSFSR, while the Kazakh districts of former Semirechiye and Syrdarya Oblasts which, which had been part of the Turkestan ASSR, were transferred to the Kazakh ASSR. Thus, the territory of the Kazakh ASSR increased by 700.000 sq km and its population by 1.468.000 people. The reform of the republic's administrative division had been completed by the beginning of 1925; after the capital city of the Kazakh ASSR was moved from Orenburg to Ak-Mechet (present day Kyzylorda), and Orenburg and the districts around it had been transferred to the RSFSR. Thus, by 1925 almost all Kazakh lands had been united into one republic and the task of ensuring its territorial integrity had been completed.

In 1936 the Kazakh ASSR was transformed into a Soviet republic and this was enshrined in the Soviet Constitution of 1936. Based on and in line with the Soviet Constitution, a new constitution was drafted for the Kazakh SSR. The 10th extraordinary All-Kazakh Congress of Soviets, held in late March 1937, adopted the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR, which consisted of 11 chapters. In accordance with this constitution, the Kazakh SSR was declared a socialist state of workers and peasants. It also declared that the entire power belonged to workers represented by the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. The economic basis of the Kazakh SSR was the socialist economic system and the socialist form of ownership of production tools and means. Socialist property had two forms – state and collective-cooperative. The small private holdings of peasants and craftsmen were allowed if they were based on personal labour and excluded the exploitation of someone else's labour. It was stated that the economic life of the Kazakh SSR was defined and directed by a state economic plan. The 1936 constitution also declared that the Kazakh SSR voluntarily united with other Soviet republics into the USSR – a union state and had the right to freely leave the USSR. The constitution also defined the republic's administrative-territorial organization and specified that the territory of the Kazakh SSR could not be changed without its consent. It also recognized single Soviet citizenship and citizenship of the Kazakh SSR. The spheres of powers of the Kazakh SSR and its supreme bodies of government system were clearly defined.



Part I: The Countries of the Region

The supreme body of government of the Kazakh SSR was the Supreme Soviet which was recognized as the only legislative body. Deputies of the Supreme Soviet were elected by popular vote for four years. The Supreme Soviet elected the presidium of the Supreme Soviet consisting of a chairman, two deputy chairmen, secretary, and 15 members. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet was given the right to issue legislative decrees and was delegated other powers. Deputies of the Supreme Soviet enjoyed parliamentary immunity. The constitution also defined the structure of the central bodies of government. The supreme executive body of government of the Kazakh SSR was the Soviet of People's Commissars, which was responsible for and accountable to the Supreme Soviet and its presidium. The Soviet of People's Commissars set up people's commissariats: Union-republican and republican. The local bodies of government were the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. At the end of 1936, the Kazakh SSR was divided into eight oblasts; by 1945 there were 16 regions in the Kazakh SSR.

On April 20, 1978, the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR adopted a new constitution. Its preamble stated that a society of genuinely free people of labour in which the prosperity and culture of people had been steadily improving had been created. It was claimed that the Kazakh SSR was an equal republic of the USSR, which united all peoples and ethnic groups. But these provisions of the constitution did not reflect the real state of Kazakh society in which discontent was brewing over the worsening living conditions, the Communist Party's diktat and the absence of any hope for the republic's sovereignty. This discontent was openly manifested in Almaty in December 1986. Legally the Supreme Soviet was able to solve all issues which fell under the jurisdiction of the Kazakh SSR. However, this was just a formal provision because all those issues were preliminarily solved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC CPSU) and only after that were they legally adopted.

In 1986 there was an event that was a harbinger of Kazakhstan's independence. On December 16, 1986, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan held its 5th plenum and discussed the sole organizational issue – the replacement of the political figure, who had governed the republic for no less than a quarter of a century: First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, Dinmukhamed Kunayev. Gennady Kolbin, who had previously been first secretary of the Ulyanovsk Oblast Committee of the Communist Party and who had won Mikhail Gorbachev's approval for actively pursuing an anti-alcohol campaign in Russia's Ulyanovsk Oblast, became the new head of Kazakhstan. No adviser of Gorbachev in the Kremlin, neither he himself, had analysed the situation at the time and could not predict people's reaction to an unknown person gaining power in Kazakhstan. Kremlin functionaries continued to regard Kazakhstan as their patrimony. Even the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan was not informed about the new appointment. On December 16, 1986, first a small group of working and student youth staged a protest action in Almaty against the Communist Party's decision. The rally was



peaceful and was of political nature, but it did not call for the overthrow of the constitutional system nor attack any other ethnic group. On the second day when the number of protesters reached several thousand – mainly students – Moscow ordered the Blizzard-86 operation, aimed at dispersing protesters using army units, special-task troops, police, and the KGB [7]. The December 1986 events, which shocked the entire world, proved that a new generation whose national consciousness was above all defined by the honour of its people had emerged in the Kazakh lands. It was the first time in 70 years the younger generation had delivered a worthy rebuff to all the hardships experienced by Kazakhstan because of the administrative-command and often simply violent policy of the central government in Moscow. This was the beginning of the movement towards democracy as part of perestroika across the entire Soviet Union.

Perestroika gave rise to some democratization in the society. For example, the election legislation was amended in 1989. With the aim of ensuring the representation of public organizations it was decided to allow them to elect a quarter of all members of the Supreme Soviet. Public organizations elected members of the Supreme Soviet at their congresses and republican conferences. Another novelty was that members of the Supreme Soviet were relieved of their jobs for the duration of their parliamentary mandate. This was the first, small step towards parliamentarianism. But from 1987 onward production fell in the USSR and, as a consequence, in Kazakhstan too. At the same time, the party-government system became increasingly paralyzed. In 1989 the 15th congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan relieved Gennady Kolbin of his post of first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and replaced him with Nursultan Nazarbayev, who then started to implement his own programme with the following priorities:

1. the strengthening of social stability, civil, and interethnic accord;
2. the drafting and conducting a programme of economic reforms; and
3. the carefully defining and dividing powers between republican and central government bodies.

In accordance with the Kazakh SSR Law *On the Adoption of the Post of the President of the Kazakh SSR and Making Amendments and Addenda to the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR* of April 24, 1990, the 1978 constitution included the new chapter “President of the Kazakh SSR”, which stipulated provisions on the status and powers of the president. That same day N. Nazarbayev was elected as the republic’s first President by a decision by the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan. And after the break-up of the Soviet Union and the emergence of new independent sovereign state in Central Asia, the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR ended corresponding to new political, economic, social and ideological realities and in October 1990 the *Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Kazakh SSR* was adopted. The Constitutional Law *On State Independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan*, adopted December 16, 1991, blocked the effect of the Constitution of the Kazakh SSR of 1978 without abolishing it legally,



because the basic provisions for the new independent state and the corresponding new conceptual ideas and principles required the adoption of a new constitution.

2.3 Political development

Thus, in 1990 the Republic of Kazakhstan appeared on the political map of the world as a new independent state. December events of 1986 became a forerunner of finding of independence of Kazakhstan, and in the subsequent such historical event as disintegration of the USSR preceded the latter also. The basic principles of independence and of the political system of Kazakhstan were set in the first Constitution (adopted in 1993 and later fixed in the new Constitution approved by a national referendum in August 1995. In 1998, 2007, and 2011 amendments to the Constitution were introduced, which led to formation of a new design of a state system in which the principle of constitutionalism (division and mutually control of branches of power) is accurately reflected; also the principle of people's sovereignty is significantly strengthened. The new architecture of the redistribution of power and responsibility led to the strengthening of role of the President in the state and the representative bodies and – which was an innovation for the political practice of Kazakhstan – of the institutes of civil society represented by the parties and the Assembly of the People of Kazakhstan. This new and optimal balance of power and responsibility answered the three main political tasks of development of the republic at the current stage:

1. to evolutionary advance to steady democracy,
2. to increase the reliability and stability of the political system, and
3. to strengthen of efficiency and transparency of public administration.

Kazakhstan is an unitary state with a presidential government. The supreme representative body with legislative functions is the Parliament of RK, which consists of two chambers: Senate and Mazhilis. The chief executive is the Prime Minister heading the government of the republic. For ensuring strict implementation of the Constitution of RK the Constitutional Council is created. In addition, the Supreme Court is the supreme legal authority.

Strengthening of national security is one of the necessary mechanisms to provide the stable and steady formation of any state. The basis of the system of the national security of Kazakhstan has a fundamental legal base: First, the law RK “About National Security” adopted in 1998, second the Strategy of National Security for 2006-2010, and third the Military Doctrine and the Concept of Military Reform. To ensure its national security Kazakhstan adheres to a multivector policy with the allocation of strategic partners. Now RK security rests on various systems of collective security – SCO, OSCE, CSTO and CICMA –, which allow to observe the balance of interests of leading powers of the world within Kazakh territory, and thus provides a durable base of national security of RK. Following independence and sovereignty