



ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ  
БІЛІМ ЖӘНЕ ҒЫЛЫМ МИНИСТРЛІГІ  
МИНИСТЕРСТВО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ И НАУКИ  
РЕСПУБЛИКИ КАЗАХСТАН  
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN



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ЕУРАЗИЯ ҰЛТТЫҚ УНИВЕРСИТЕТІ  
ЕВРАЗИЙСКИЙ НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ  
УНИВЕРСИТЕТ ИМ. Л. Н. ГУМИЛЕВА  
GUMILYOV EURASIAN  
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY



Студенттер мен жас ғалымдардың  
«Ғылым және білім - 2015»  
атты X Халықаралық ғылыми конференциясының  
БАЯНДАМАЛАР ЖИНАҒЫ

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СБОРНИК МАТЕРИАЛОВ  
X Международной научной конференции  
студентов и молодых ученых  
«Наука и образование - 2015»

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PROCEEDINGS  
of the X International Scientific Conference  
for students and young scholars  
«Science and education - 2015»

**УДК 001:37.0**  
**ББК72+74.04**  
**Ғ 96**

Ғ96

«Ғылым және білім – 2015» атты студенттер мен жас ғалымдардың X Халық. ғыл. конф. = X Межд. науч. конф. студентов и молодых ученых «Наука и образование - 2015» = The X International Scientific Conference for students and young scholars «Science and education - 2015». – Астана: <http://www.eni.kz/ru/nauka/nauka-i-obrazovanie-2015/>, 2015. – 7419 стр. қазақша, орысша, ағылшынша.

ISBN 978-9965-31-695-1

Жинаққа студенттердің, магистранттардың, докторанттардың және жас ғалымдардың жаратылыстану-техникалық және гуманитарлық ғылымдардың өзекті мәселелері бойынша баяндамалары енгізілген.

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УДК 001:37.0  
ББК 72+74.04

ISBN 978-9965-31-695-1

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ұлттық университеті, 2015

УДК 777

## FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGIES OF CENTRAL ASIAN COUNTRIES

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This article discusses the foreign policy strategies of Central Asian countries. It emphasizes the interrelations between these 5 states and the relations of them with the global powers. At the end of the article a comparative analysis of foreign policy of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan is given.

State's foreign policy strategy is a long-term program and a goal to ensure national interests in the international arena, which provides optimum use of resources of the state in a changing system of international relations.

Foreign policy choice is often determined by internal factors, especially in emerging countries, who need to gain legitimacy, both international and domestic. Marlene Laruelle

**Kazakhstan.** The concept of foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2014-2020 was published in January 2014. It contains the fundamental goals and objectives of the priorities and mechanisms of their decision. The multi-vector principle of the foreign policy concept, as the basis of foreign policy of Kazakhstan, is developing in the direction of balance, pragmatism, mutual benefit, solid defense of the national interests of the country [1]. Kazakhstan's "multi-vector" foreign policy aimed at balancing relations with its large neighbors, Russia and China, as well as with the global superpower, the United States. 1 In the early years following the country's 1991 independence, Kazakhstan's main goal was to use Russia and China to balance each other in an effort to strengthen Kazakhstan's own sovereignty. Kazakhstan gradually sought closer ties with the United States in order to provide additional balance. Then Foreign Minister Kassymzhomart Tokayev outlined these principles in his 1997 book, *Pod Styagom Nezavisimosti* (Under the Banner of Independence) [2]

Kazakhstan's foreign policy strategy defined the desire to achieve recognition of the special regional and even global role of the country in recent years. The presidency in 2010 in Kazakhstan in the OSCE in the international forum called the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Measures in Asia (CICA), the SCO, and in 2011 - and in the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions, Astana EXPO-2017, Chairmanship in the CIS in 2015 [3].

According to the latest foreign policy concept, the first priorities of Kazakhstan is cooperation with Russia in all spheres of political, economic, trade and cultural cooperation on the basis of the Treaty on Good-neighborliness and alliance in the XXI century. [1] In the view of the increased tasks of strengthening regional stability and security as well as joint steps to counteract the effects of the global financial and economic crisis, Kazakhstan and Russia interacted with various international organizations, including the EEU, CIS, CSTO, EurAsEC and SCO [4].

One of the most important partners of Kazakhstan is China. The founding document of the Kazakh-Chinese relations is the Treaty on Good-neighborliness, friendship and cooperation between Kazakhstan and China on December 23, 2002. Kazakh-Chinese relations are characterized by high intensity of political contacts. In 2011, Kazakhstan and China have reached new level of cooperation - the comprehensive strategic partnership. In 2012 marked the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations. Works effectively Kazakh-Chinese Cooperation Committee. Maintained close cooperation in various international organizations, including the UN and the SCO. China supports the CICA initiative to hold the Congress of Leaders of World and

Traditional Religions [1]. According to the concept the Republic of Kazakhstan will deepen the comprehensive strategic partnership with China in the framework of the political dialogue at the highest levels and will develop energy, investment and technology, trade and economic, cultural and humanitarian cooperation, cooperation in transit transport sector, the agricultural sector, in the sharing of transboundary water resources and the environment [1].

Regard to regional cooperation, Kazakhstan is interested in political, economic stability and safe development of Central Asia. Aware of its responsibility and role in the region, Kazakhstan is making efforts to ensure regional stability and security, confronting new challenges and threats, including those stemming from the adjacent territories. Kazakhstan seek to promote regional integration in Central Asia in order to reduce conflict potential, solving social and economic problems and other contradictions. Also, long-term goal is seen the transformation of the region into a single integrated subject of international politics and economics [1].

According to the foreign policy strategy, the Republic of Kazakhstan will continue to strengthen the strategic partnership with the United States, aimed at the development of political, trade-economic, investment, energy, scientific-technical and humanitarian cooperation, addressing topical issues on the international agenda. [1] In recent years, the Kazakh-American cooperation arrangements determined following the meeting between the President of Kazakhstan NursultanNazarbayev and US President Barack Obama in Washington in 2010. As well as in the course of their negotiations on the "margins" Nuclear Security Summit in Seoul in 2012., Summit «G20»in St. Petersburg in 2013. and the Nuclear Security Summit in The Hague in 2014.The leaders of Kazakhstan and the United States have identified the following priority areas of cooperation: regional security; stabilization of Afghanistan; non-proliferation; cooperation in the field of economy and trade, investment, energy, science and technology, and others. In general, between Kazakhstan and the US each year activate contacts at the highest political level.

Kazakhstan as well as other countries of Central Asia became a member of NATO's "Partnership for Peace" signed in 1994. Its cooperation with NATO is based on this document. Kazakhstan became a member of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, later transformed into the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), and to the same party to the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. Kazakhstan became the first country in the region that has signed Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) with NATO, which includes the issues of political reform and cooperation in the fight against corruption, human rights, science and other fields on January 31, 2006.The second cycle of IPAP was agreed upon and accepted for execution during a meeting in the format "NATO plus Kazakhstan" on January 19, 2010 in Brussels. Because of this, the task of adaptation of the Kazakhstan to NATO army's standards was accelerated [4].

It is evident that the multi-vectored foreign policy of Kazakhstan creates new opportunities for fruitful partnership with the countries of the West and the East. This will allow Kazakhstan to not only withstand the turbulence of change in world politics, but also to strengthen the independence and pursue a more active policy at the regional and global level.

**Uzbekistan.** Modern Uzbekistan's foreign policy is built taking into account the rapidly changing international political realities of the XXI century, that require the implementation of a proactive and pragmatic foreign policy, timely and adequate response to emerging challenges. It is based on the Constitution and the laws "On the Concept of foreign policy activity", "On international treaties" and other legal acts of the state, policy statements and reports to the President Islam Karimov, as well as international conventions and treaties in which the country is involved[5].

According to the Concept of Foreign Policy of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the main priority of Uzbekistan's foreign policy activity is the Central Asian region, with which the vital interests of the country are linked [5]. Uzbekistan, which has, like Kazakhstan, powerful local standards, economic, demographic and military potential, claims to regional leadership and is a major competitor for Kazakhstan in the struggle for leadership in the region.

President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov spoke of the need for regional unity through the revival of the historic names «Turkestan» (which was used in the works of Russian and Western

orientalists in the XIX century and refer to the territory of modern post-Soviet Central Asia and Xinjiang) and supported the formation of identity based on the Turkic and Muslim values which he called Turanism. Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, on the other hand, put forward the concept of Eurasia, according to which Central Asia is located at the crossroads of Europe and Asia and its regional identity to a lesser extent Turkic and Muslim, is more open to Russian heritage and focus more on Asian modernity; a combination which is obviously ideal for Kazakhstan. Both these concepts became the ideological basis for foreign policy strategies: Uzbekistan strives to distance itself from Russia, while Kazakhstan chose to reveal one of the main examples of the post-Soviet regional development. The same concepts were used in personal rivalry, in which both the presidents were involved in the battle for public opinion in their countries [3].

Some striking examples of the Uzbekistan's desire to distance themselves from Russia are Uzbekistan's withdrawal from the Eurasian Economic Community, the freezing of his participation in the Collective Security Treaty Organization, refusal to accede to the Collective Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) were the results of the negative attitude of the Uzbek ruling circles to the CIS to the problem of deepening military and political integration in Central Asia under the auspices of Russia, mistrusting it [2]. Perhaps this is due to the fact that Tashkent fears that Russian security structures using the CIS may strengthen its position in the region, in which Uzbekistan, claiming to regional leadership, is not interested.

Uzbekistan's position in relation to the SCO has a fickle character. In recent years, Uzbekistan has systematically refused to participate almost all activities carried out under the auspices of the CIS, including here and military exercises within the CSTO and the SCO [4]. Tashkent passed a law prohibiting the stationing of foreign bases on its territory, as well as membership in the military alliance in August 2012. The law reserves the right to withdraw the country's leadership from any interstate group [5].

According to Uzbekistan's foreign policy at this stage, one of the main objectives is to preserve and strengthen peace and stability in Central Asia, turning the region into a zone of security and sustainable development and to promote peace and stability in Afghanistan [5]. The US invasion of Afghanistan in late 2001 was originally approved by Tashkent, which took a military solution to the problem of the Taliban and al-Qaeda through the prism of overcoming threats from religious opposition within their own country [2]. Ground shipping to US non-military supplies was permitted through its territory in Afghanistan contingent in February 2009. An agreement was signed with NATO on providing transit material resources of the alliance through the territory of Uzbekistan to the border junction Termez- Hairatan.

Joint activities were planned for the implementation of the initiatives of Uzbekistan in the sphere of regional security and the establishment under the auspices of the UN Contact Group "6 + 3" on Afghanistan (as part of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Pakistan, China, Iran, on the one hand and the United States, Russia and NATO - on the other). Just Uzbekistan is a supplier of electricity to the northern regions of Afghanistan.

State Company of Uzbekistan "Uzbekistan Railways" and the Afghan Ministry of Public Works signed a contract for construction of the railway in northern Afghanistan on site Hairatan - Mazar-i-Sharif [2]. This is a clear example of warming relations between Uzbekistan and the EU, the US and NATO.

**Kyrgyzstan.** According to the National Sustainable Development Strategy of the Kyrgyz Republic for the period 2013-2017 years, the foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan aims to search for its international identity, which should be based on national interests and foreign policy resources and an effective mechanism to implement them [6]. Thus the government is committed to ensuring that its foreign policy would have been completely subordinated to the interests of their people.

Today Kyrgyzstan aims to get an effective and active foreign policy directed at creating favorable conditions for the development of foreign policy of the country [6]. The country has succeeded in its multi-vectored policy, one example can be said about the state of their territories for military bases, as the US / NATO and Russia / CSTO. In this regard, the ties with China can be emphasized and strengthened, which began to build in Kyrgyzstan roads and railways, in return for

access to natural resources of the country [2].

In 2010, when Kyrgyzstan experienced a second revolution in his country, Russia shouldered the responsibility for maintaining order in Central Asia. September 20, 2010 in consequence of the bilateral negotiations with Russia it was decided to combine existing in the country, Russian military installations, such as torpedo-testing site in Karakol, Kant airbase, naval communications center in the village of Kara-Balta and seismological station near Maili-Suu in one base on September 20, 2010 [2]. In this event, the role of Russia in Kyrgyzstan can be determined, it is not only one of the donors of the State but also an important partner in the field of security. According to the foreign policies, one of the priorities of Kyrgyzstan is a new level of strategic cooperation with Russian Federation, being a major player in the turnover of the integration processes within the CIS [6]. Also, Kyrgyzstan sets the task of providing a reliable system of collective security in the CSTO, maintaining the country's integration into the economy of the EurAsEC countries through Kyrgyzstan's entry into the Customs Union, simplification of border and customs procedures [6]. And it promotes rapprochement in relations with the Russian Federation.

Another priority of Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy is a deep restart of relations with neighboring states, Kazakhstan, China, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan [6]. With China, Kyrgyzstan has a border stretching for more than 800 kilometers. Kyrgyzstan is a bridge connecting China with Central Asia and Eurasia. According to statistics, Chinese goods contained 70% of Kyrgyz imports, the level of bilateral Sino-Kyrgyz trade reached the level of 10 billion. Dollars. US, amounts, which are huge for such a poor country like Kyrgyzstan, with its 5 million inhabitants [2]. Here we can see the role played by Kyrgyzstan to China.

After the second «revolution» in April 2010, the presidency of Roza Otunbayeva and the creation of a parliamentary Kyrgyz Republic continues to position itself as the most democratic country in the region, and the US State Department really accepts it this way [3].

According to the concept of foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan, one of his goals is to find new forms of effective economic and political cooperation with the United States, the European Union, the countries of Southeast Asia and the Arab region [6]. The intentions of the United States to build the counterterrorism center in Kyrgyzstan, cooperation with the United States in the field of Security, located on the territory of Kyrgyzstan military bases. It shows the interaction of Kyrgyzstan with the US.

Thus multi-vectored foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan demonstrates openness, willingness to cooperate with a variety of external forces.

**Tajikistan.** According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan, Republic pays very close attention to the issues of foreign policy, the implementation of the relations with other states and international actors [7]. In the years when Tajikistan gained independence, the country turned to the basics of their statehood, and in primarily to the conduct of foreign policy, which was faced with world politics which seemed too different. In the early days of its independence, the republic was engulfed in civil war, and in these difficult conditions formed a balanced policy, which was to ensure the inviolability of the state and the unity of the nation, a strong political position in the international arena. According to the results of long negotiations, the civil war came to an end, so after five years of armed confrontation, the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan was signed, which was a national achievement since independence [7].

The difference of Tajikistan among the Central Asian states is the fact that four Turkic-speaking countries indicate their linguistic affinity with the Turkish authorities and organizations such as «TURKSOY» (International Organization of Turkic Culture), while Tajikistan is a Persian-speaking unity with Iran [3]. In this area, Tajikistan is the founder of a new format of dialogue Persian-speaking countries (triple Tajikistan-Afghanistan-Iran) and education 'Dushanbe Four "with the countries of Russia, Afghanistan and Pakistan [7].

If we talk about the internal politics, Tajikistan's one of the aggravating problems is its proximity to the turbulent Afghanistan. In essence, Tajikistan, having the longest border (1,400 km)

with Afghanistan, has been associated with its problems since the establishment of Taliban government there. And until now, Tajikistan is in the center adjacent to the Central Asian conflict zone [2]. For this reason, a number of policy initiatives in Tajikistan is the solution of the internal conflict through negotiations, assistance in solving political and economic problems in Afghanistan, cooperation in the fight against terrorism, extremism and drug trafficking [7].

One of the most important partners of Tajikistan is the Russian Federation. Russia was among the first countries to recognize the independence and sovereignty of Tajikistan. The basis for the establishment of a new type of relationship between the Republic of Tajikistan and the Russian Federation in the conditions of independent development served as a protocol on establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries, signed on April 8, 1992 in Dushanbe [7]. In the economic sphere, Tajikistan is dependent on Russian aid. Most of the migrant workers from Tajikistan (up to 85% of the total number of emigrants from this country to work) settled in Russia. Remittances came from there mitigating the process of adaptation to the conditions of the people of Tajikistan, began in 2008, the global economic crisis and to ensure almost half of the total annual budget of Tajikistan in 2009 [2]. Russia has played a significant role in maintaining the security of the republic: the Russian military presence here has been a significant deterrent to possible extremist or terrorist attacks from neighboring Afghanistan.

Regard to relations between Tajikistan and the United States, it is evidently shown here by US and NATO military and political structures of interest in Tajikistan. It is due to this capability Central Asian republic become transit for the transfer of large military contingents in Afghanistan. The cooperation between NATO and Tajikistan was initiated in February 2002 when Tajikistan joined the program "Partnership for Peace", and in 2009-2010. Tajikistan has become an important transport corridor for the supply of coalition forces in Afghanistan [2].

A rapid development of relations between Tajikistan and China is continuing. China is a strategic partner of the Republic of Tajikistan. In 2009, the Republic has concluded with Chinese party billion contract for the construction of Nurabad HPP-1 and Dushanbe CHP [2]. The strengthening and development of bilateral relations of friendship and cooperation with this country is one of the priorities of the foreign policy of Tajikistan. According to statistical data, the total volume of trade between the two countries in 2012 amounted to US \$ 2 billion. China is among the three largest trade partners of Tajikistan [7].

Policy Tajikistan maintains its multi-vectored direction, like other countries in the Central Asian region. Tajikistan uses it as a means of exit from the complex crisis situations in which a republic was created. The Republic of Tajikistan, due to its low prospects in economic terms, is characterized as one of the weakest countries in the region. In its foreign policy with rather limited autonomy it has a more realistic discourse and more located to ensure the involvement of external actors and international organizations in the life of the region.

**Turkmenistan.** The foreign policy is based on the Constitutional Law on the permanent neutrality of Turkmenistan, Foreign Policy Concept of Turkmenistan as a neutral state, other legislative acts. Turkmenistan's foreign policy is a logical extension of domestic policy and is determined by the international legal status of permanent neutrality, recognized by the United Nations [8]. The factor which distinguishes the country from the rest of Central Asia. In 2003, given the status of a neutral state used its central authorities mainly for the isolation of the population from the outside world.

The policy of neutrality facilitates withdrawal from Russian influence, before opening the Turkmen diplomacy opportunities for additional maneuver between the major world powers, which is important in an uncertain regional neighborhood. One of the tasks of Turkmenistan's foreign policy is to ensure the safety of Turkmenistan's political, diplomatic means [8]. For example, in 2007 in Ashgabat opened the new headquarters of the experimental structure of the United Nations, Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy. This structure, designed to solve actual problems for the region, such as the achievement of civil peace and stability in Afghanistan, the settlement of the issue of water resources, to promote disarmament in Central Asia. Turkmenistan has also become a party to a number of important international conventions and treaties disarmament character [4].

A distinctive feature of Turkmenistan's foreign policy lies in the use of the energy factor to attract international attention to the country, to create an environment in which external forces (Russia, China, EU, USA) would compete with each other for the right to import the main asset of Turkmenistan, its natural gas. The authorities of the republic were successfully disposed capabilities to become the main hub of transport and communication infrastructure in the region, its energy sector. This made it possible to normalize relations with neighbors in the region, with major gas producers like Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Regard to relations with Russia, in April 2003, Turkmenistan signed an agreement with it on cooperation in the gas industry, calculated up to 2028, and later a number of additional agreements, specifying volumes and prices for the supplied Turkmen gas to Russia. The talks of presidents Berdimukhammedov and Dmitry Medvedev were held with the participation of Gazprom's management on December 22, 2009. It decided to continue the Russian-Turkmen projects on construction of the Caspian gas pipeline and gas pipeline "East-West", from which the gas can go as planned in the Caspian gas pipeline (with the participation of Russia, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan), and in the Trans-Caspian, connects Turkmenistan to the Russian alternative, European project Nabucco [2].

The government of Turkmenistan has made significant efforts to ensure that avoid dependency and from Russia and from the major Western powers. Neutral Turkmenistan simultaneously sends signals to all of them about its readiness to expand cooperation in a number of areas of interest of his world economy and politics. In an effort to diversify transport routes for its energy exports, Turkmenistan uses the traditional Russian market while courting foreign investors, China and other Asian countries that desperately in need of gas pumped out of state, occupying reserves of energy resources in fourth place in the world.

US and EU partners play an important role for Turkmenistan as well. They seek to attract Turkmenistan for closer partnership and to convince the authorities of Turkmenistan to the benefits of the policy of openness to the outside world. In August 2010, Turkmenistan for the first time provided the right to develop its gas fields to large American companies (Chevron, ConocoPhillips, and others.) This could pave the way for the realization of Trans-Caspian pipeline project, which would bypass Russia directly to Western markets [4].

Taking a firm distancing from Russia and the CIS, Turkmenistan haven't yet made a sensible choice in favor of the West. Due to favorable sales of strategic importance to the national economy of gas feedstock, Turkmenistan achieved relative stability in the coming years; and the power of the republic, while maintaining adherence to the status of neutrality, have managed to bring multi-directional elements in its diplomacy, which strengthened the role of Turkmenistan as a relatively independent player of both Central Asian and world politics.

### **Conclusion**

The favorable geographical position of Central Asian countries gives them an opportunity to take advantage of a variety cooperation vectors. States face the task to strike a balance between the major players, the US, EU, Russia and China. It is also important to emphasize that the country's foreign policy, pays great attention to the development of regional cooperation. Foreign policy plays a key role in legitimizing the new states and national goals. Foreign policy objectives of the Central Asian states have some common features, but in general expressed their individuality in the strategy and goals. Authorities bring greater value to the sovereignty. They consider foreign policy as essential element of their national state and insist on strict adherence to certain principles: Kazakhstan - a Eurasian integration, supported by Eurasian discourse in the internal public space; Turkmenistan - a «permanent neutrality»; Tajikistan - a Persian identity and post-Soviet integration that addresses the issue of bad relations with neighboring Uzbekistan; and Kyrgyzstan - a strategy of openness in all directions. The situation in Uzbekistan is probably the most difficult. When in the early 1990s Uzbekistan saw himself as the undisputed leader in Central Asia, he lobbied for only intraregional cooperation. Having failed in his bid to take the place of a regional leader, the country has ceased to position itself as a potential center of the regional community and moved to a policy emphasized strict protection of its borders, adhering to the policies of isolationism in the field of

regional economic exchanges.

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УДК 192.35.3

### **ШАНХАЙ ЫНТЫМАҚТАСТЫҚ ҰЙЫМЫ ҚЫЗМЕТІНДЕГІ АЙМАҚТЫҚ ҚАУІПСІЗДІК САЯСАТЫНЫҢ ДАМУЫ**

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Ғылыми жетекші – А.К. Альпеисов

Кеңес Одағының ыдырауы Орталық Азия аймағындағы жағдайды түбегейлі өзгертті. Бұрынғы Кеңес республикаларының орнына тәуелсіз Қазақстан, Қырғызстан, Тәжікстан, Түркменстан және Өзбекстан мемлекеттері құрылды.

1991 ж. тәуелсіздік алғанан кейін әлемдік қауымдастық пен мемлекеттің ішкі жағдайын бекіту және заңды ету үшін белсенді ішкі және сыртқы іс-шараларды жүргізу қажет болды. Белсенді сыртқы саясат пен халықаралық қауымдастыққа ену үрдісі жаңа тәуелсіз мемлекеттерінің құрылуынан соң пайда болған территориялық мәселені шешуді талап етті.

Территориялық мәселелердің қалыптасуын екі деңгейге бөлуге болады. Біріншісі, бұрынғы КСРО мемлекеттерінің арасындағы территориялық даумен байланысты болды. Мұның күрделілігі бұрынғы КСРО әкімшілік бірліктерінің арасындағы шекара халықаралық келісімдерде бекітілмегендігіне байланысты еді. Шекаралық даудың екінші деңгейі КСРО ыдырауынан кейін пайда болған жаңа республикалар мен Қытайдың арасында көрінді. Егер бірінші деңгейдегі шекаралық дауды сол кезеңде кейінге қалдыруға болатын болса, Қытаймен байланысты территориялық дауды тез арада шешу қажет болды. Қытаймен тұрақты қарым-қатынас орнату және қуатты экономикалық ресурстары аймақ мемлекеттерінің қалыптасуы мен дамуы үшін өте маңызды болды. Осындай жағдайда, 1992 ж. қыркүйекте Мәскеудің бастамасы бойынша, Минск қаласында құрамына Ресей, Қазақстан, Қырғызстан, Тәжікстан және Қытай делегациялары кірген «4+1 формуласы» бойынша жұмысшы тобы құрылды [1, 102]. Ортақ делегацияның басшысы болып Ресей сыртқы істер министрінің орынбасары Г.Ф. Кунадзе тағайындалды. Бұл келісімнің негізінде шекараны белгілеу келесідегідей тәртіпте қарастырылды: Ресей, Қазақстан Қырғызстан және Тәжікстан – Алтайдан Памирге дейін. Бұл топтың алдына қойылған негізгі міндет – бұрынғы КСРО республикалары мен Қытай арасындағы шекаралық дауды шешудің механизмін өңдеу болды.

1991-1997 жж. аралығында өткен көпжақты және екі жақты үлгіде өткен