

THE CRITICAL DECADE



**NURSULTAN
NAZARBAYEV**

PUBLISHED IN
ASSOCIATION WITH

FIRST
BOOKS

THE CRITICAL DECADE

THE CRITICAL DECADE

by

**NURSULTAN
NAZARBAYEV**

PUBLISHED IN
ASSOCIATION WITH

FIRST

BOOKS

First published in the United Kingdom by FIRST, 56 Haymarket, London, SW1Y 4RN, United Kingdom, in 2003.

© Text: Nursultan Nazarbayev 2003

The right of Nursultan Nazarbayev to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of the publisher, nor be otherwise circulated in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

ISBN: 0-9546409-0-X

Printed in the United Kingdom

© English Translation: FIRST 2003

Initial translation from the original Russian by the staff of The Kazakh Ablai Khan University of International Relations and World Languages. Revised by Professor S.S. Kunanbayeva and Professor G.N. Okraku. This edition revised by the Editorial Department of FIRST.

The Publishers would like to acknowledge the assistance of H.E. Erlan Idrissov, Ambassador of Kazakhstan to the Court of St. James's.



56 Haymarket, London, SW1Y 4RN, UK.

Tel: +44 20 7389 9650 Fax: +44 20 7389 9644 Email: publisher@firstmagazine.com URL: www.firstmagazine.com

Chairman Rupert Goodman, **Chief Operating Officer** Eamonn Daly,
International President Sir Patrick Cormack FSA MP, **Non-Executive Directors** Timothy Bunting,
Hon Alexander Hambro, **Head of Corporate Business** Andrew Tweedie, **Executive Publisher** Alastair Harris,
Regional Publisher Colin Kilkelly, **Editorial Consultant** Jonathan Gregson, **Production Manager** Zoe Griffin,
PA - Chairman's Office Lasa Bryant, **PA** Aurélie Prevot, **Secretariat** Gil Pearson, **Design Consultant** Stanley Glazer,
Special Adviser, Russia Sir Andrew Wood **GCMG Award advisory panel** Lord Dahrendorf KBE (Chairman),
Rt. Hon. Lord Howe of Aberavon CH, QC, Hon. Raymond Setz, Lord Plant of Highfield, Chief Emeka Anyaoku
GCVO, TC, CON, Lord Browne of Madingley, Marilyn Carlson Nelson, Sir Robert Wilson KCMG

ALL INFORMATION IN THIS PUBLICATION IS VERIFIED TO THE BEST OF THE AUTHORS' AND PUBLISHERS' ABILITY,
BUT NO RESPONSIBILITY CAN BE ACCEPTED FOR LOSS ARISING FROM DECISIONS BASED ON THIS MATERIAL.
WHERE OPINION IS EXPRESSED IT IS THAT OF THE AUTHOR

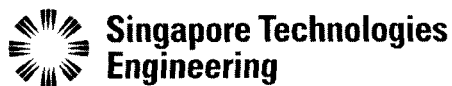
“A closed society can be likened to flight in a cage, however big the cage might be. An open society is the possibility of flight in open sky. Given our history and free spirit, the last allegory is closer to us. That is an eagle soaring under the bright sun in the endless steppe sky.”

N. Nazarbayev

The Publishers wish to acknowledge the assistance and support of the following organisations in the preparation of this book:



CJSC, 473000, Astana, 20, Kabanbai batyr ave., Kazakhstan
Email: office@kaztransoil.kz Website: www.kaztransoil.kz



51, Cuppage Road, #09-08 StarHub Centre, Singapore 229469
Telephone: (65) 6722 1818 Fax: (65) 6720 2293
Email: comms@stengg.com Website: www.stengg.com

NURSULTAN NAZARBAYEV

Nursultan Nazarbayev was born on July 6th 1940 in the village of Chemolgan. He started his career in 1960 at the construction directorate under the Kazmetallurgstroy Trust. He then worked as an iron founder at the Karagandy Metallurgical Works. He progressed through the Party Apparatus becoming Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan in 1979 and First Secretary in 1989. He became President of Kazakhstan in April 1990.

Nursultan Nazarbayev has received numerous awards and honours. His academic appointments include; Academician of the International Engineering Academy, Academician of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Russian Federation, Academician of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Honourary Professor of the Al-Farabi Kazakh State National University; Honourary Member of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences and Honourary Professor of the M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University. His doctoral thesis at the Russian Academy of Management (Moscow) was 'Strategy of resource saving in condition of formation and development of market relations'.

Also by NURSULTAN NAZARBAYEV

Steel Profile of Kazakhstan

With Neither the Right nor the Left

Strategy of Resource Saving and Market Transition

Strategy of Formation and Development of Kazakhstan as a Sovereign State

Market and Social and Economic Development

On the Threshold of the XXI Century

Eurasian Union: ideas, practice, prospects, 1994-1997

In the flood of history

The Epicenter of Peace

and others

Nursultan Nazarbayev is also the author of a wide range of articles and papers.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	
MEMORY OF FIRE.....	14
CHAPTER 1	
EMPIRE OF FEAR AND THE RHETORIC OF TERROR.....	27
CHAPTER 2	
THERE IS NO EXTREMISM IN RELIGION.....	49
CHAPTER 3	
SPECIAL ATTENTION ZONE.....	72
CHAPTER 4	
THE CASPIAN BETWEEN THE MILLENNIA.....	92
CHAPTER 5	
SAFETY CHANNELS.....	123
CHAPTER 6	
CONCLUSION.....	149

PHOTOGRAPHS

New York. September 11, 2001. Innocent people suffer everywhere	97
New York. September 11, 2001. The culmination of fear.....	98
The strategic B-2 Stealth bomber in the skies of Afghanistan.....	99
New York. September 11, 2001. Terrorists attack the Symbol of America	100
Washington. The Pentagon. September 11, 2001. A blow to one of the most well defended places.....	101
President Nazarbayev meets with Pope John Paul II.....	102
Kazakhstan. The land of peaceful space exploration	103
The leaders of countries participating in The Shanghai Organisation on Cooperation, St. Petersburg, June 7, 2002	104
The heads of delegations of countries participating in The Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA), Almaty, June 3, 2002.....	105
Almaty, June 3, 2002. At the CICA summit	106
Almaty, June 3, 2002. At the CICA summit	107
Almaty, June 3, 2002. At the CICA summit	108
President Nursultan Nazarbayev visits Russia. A meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin. Moscow, December 19, 2002	109
The Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic Ziang Zemin meets President Nursultan Nazarbayev.....	110
Astana, December 20, 2002. A summit of the Eurasian Economic Union	111
President Nursultan Nazarbayev speaks at the CICA summit.....	112

PREFACE
MEMORY OF FIRE

Through a thick veil of dust and smoke I see the dazzling white sheaves of sparks exploding in all directions like a sparkling firework. I pierce open the tap-hole of the blast-furnace with an iron rod, and through the veil of brown fumes, the sun's rays suddenly bathe me in light. In fact it is light from the molten metal that runs from its vessel in a bright golden river along the trough to tumble over the edge in a downpour of sparks. The hot air hits me in the face. The heat is so strong that tears sting the eyes and, for a moment, breathing becomes difficult due to the lack of air.

Some thirty years ago, while still an inexperienced apprentice, I stood by a huge furnace containing a maelstrom of fire and metal, and worked within earshot of the deafening strikes of a rolling-mill. I was overcome by the desire to break free into the fresh, crisp air of the expanses of the steppes to experience again the smell of feather-grass and the penetrating silence of the plains at the onset of evening. What remains particularly vivid in my mind is the feeling of fear and apprehension, which is characteristic of every newcomer, as he realises that just a few metres separate him from the thousand degree sea of molten metal. One is wary of any careless movement or the unpredictable eventuality that is part and parcel of every complex metallurgical process.

The comparisons and symbolism of fire are not always apt and are, as a rule, subjective... But all the same, analogies exert their influence over us,

even if they do so subconsciously: the nature and strength of fire are universal, be they in the smelting of metals in a blast-furnace, in converters, or like the squall of human emotions - emotions, which if not controlled, always become destructive and catastrophic.

Safety in a blast-workshop is guaranteed, by the most meticulous adherence to the rules which govern a complicated technical process. Unfortunately, in the interaction between people and communities, there are no such strict rules to mitigate the destructive after-effects.

The great Kazakh thinker Abai once said: "Enmity is not a struggle to uphold the truth, but the result of envy and the inability to live in harmony." It is difficult to say what degree of envy underpins the real causes of the political and social problems that have engulfed our planet. But one thing is indisputable - at the heart of the many conflicts and confrontations which are flaring at different latitudes across the globe lies the "inability to live in harmony". To be more specific, the inability to reach agreement, the lack of belief in the possibility of global compromise, and the lack of skill on the part of the negotiators. These are major impediments to progress.

Modern history is running on a very tight time schedule. What used to take decades and centuries now occurs in a split second. Today, Heads of States and Presidents meet on a daily basis, whereas in the past, even rulers of adjoining powers seldom met. Their meetings often marked the beginning or end of the tenure of a state ruler. Today, new states and unions are emerging almost by the month, but years are needed for their complete formation.

The repercussions of a stock market crash or a natural disaster of catastrophic proportions, spread across the planet with such speed that one can now identify a unified nervous system of humanity. As philosophers say,

today we are gaining ground in space but are losing it with respect to time.

This kaleidoscope of events and processes is changing with such terrific speed that we have no time to examine in detail or fully comprehend certain trends in many regions and societies.

Figuratively speaking, pictures of our world and the world order are metamorphosing so fast that the artists and connoisseurs lack the time to blend the political and sociological colours. And in order to enlarge the palette, we often have to introduce new euphemisms and neologisms, among which the most significant and widespread are 'globalisation' and 'international terrorism'.

For some, globalisation is a kind of New Babylon that will divide nations even further and bury its architects and engineers in debris. For others, globalisation is a Common Field Theory that will allow the unification of all powers and interest groups - powers that reflect the interests of socio-cultural societies and state associations.

For the opponents of globalisation, this is just new terminology to describe the old phenomena of neo-colonialism, neo-westernisation and neo-modernisation.

Supporters of globalisation wield weighty arguments and present illustrative evidence that the concept promotes significant scientific, technical and social progress in undeveloped regions.

Each side has its own evidence and arguments. However, the truth is always somewhere in-between. Globalisation will indeed drive some back to 'the stone age' period, while endowing others with vital energy and prosperity.

The manner by which globalisation enters our life, whether in a positive

or negative way, depends not only on ourselves, but also on our deliberate and intuitive aspiration for harmony and well-being. Much also depends on other factors such as a nation's cultural potential, its historical traditionalism, economic stature, resource base and attitude towards, or perception of, global issues, which are not necessary logical or built on constructive principles.

The same can be said of so-called international terrorism, extremism and separatism, which have entered our everyday speech and in the language of interaction between states.

Terror, separatism and extremism in their violent forms are like chronic diseases plaguing our world, which itself has been infected with political, social and economic inequality. It is incorrect to suggest that the disease has more geopolitical symptoms than social ones. And it is not right to assert that it is the result of economics rather than acts of civil disobedience or political protest. It is a mixture of all these ingredients.

Terrorism, separatism and extremism are forms of war. And as in any war, the anti-terrorist coalition and countries of goodwill, cannot refrain from using weapons. However, it is impossible to destroy terrorism while the catastrophic chasm between the rich and the poor still exists. The world community cannot make declarations of peace with associated deliveries of weapons, and cannot profiteer from the addiction of millions of people to drugs, and must cap the geopolitical ambitions and egotistic interests that spur some nations.

But weapons, even the most lethal, are ineffective in this context. In driving countries and nations back into the 'stone age' in the heat of battle, we will exacerbate terrorist tendencies rather than letting them decay into oblivion.

It is only through an understanding that 'international terrorism' is not a

discreet phenomenon, but the visible tip of the ice-berg, that we can sever the 'mushrooms of terrorism' that thrive on the fertile grounds of socio-economic deprivation, and reduce their chances of re-emergence and regrowth.

In our outburst of self righteousness, and our proclamation of an uncompromising war against international and regional terrorism, we have to answer this straight-forward question: "With whom, with what instruments, and in what manner should we fight to extinguish this universal 'horror'?"

Only by finding the correct and impartial answer will we forget those terrifying words - 'terrorism', 'separatism' and 'extremism'.

Today, after sensing and realising what danger is, humanity can address the divide between affluence and destitution, between 'peace-loving' wealth and 'aggressive' indignity.

A further question then arises: How much will it cost to take the first step towards diffusing global tensions that are connected with terrorism, extremism and separatism? Do we really need a superhuman flexing of muscles or the exertion of excessive effort?

There is only one example - not the most impressive - but quite an illustrative one. Ten years ago at the United Nations General Assembly, I put forward the simple proposal to the organisation's member-states: "let us exert a concerted effort of goodwill and set aside one per cent of our respective military budgets for the solution of the problems in crisis-ridden regions and developing countries." This could reduce confrontations and, possibly, avert emerging ones. Even at that time, rapid globalisation and the uncertainty of the world's imbalance of power were creating future trouble. Kazakhs like to say: "When a man hears the clatter of danger, he becomes deaf; when he sees a shadow of danger, he becomes blind". My appeal for mutual compro-

mise was not heeded to. Was the appeal untimely? Perhaps. Was it groundless? As it turned out - no.

At that time, everybody was too concerned about the collapse of the Soviet totalitarian system and was fascinated by hopes of the global unification based on the principles of liberalism. Everyone seemed to believe that total liberalism was the panacea. The assumption was that the end of the Cold War would result in the end of the arms race.

More than ten years have passed, and the world has changed. "...I would like to repeat the appeal I made 10 years ago, to the day, at the United Nations General Assembly on the reduction of all countries' military expenditure by 1% and diverting this money to the development of the poorest countries". I reiterated these words not long ago - in September 2002 - at the Summit in Johannesburg, almost a year after the tragedy of September 11, 2001.

In stating that the world has changed, we have to analyse exactly what has changed. Unfortunately, however, the facts and chronology of the global situation before and after the American tragedy clearly show that nothing, or almost nothing, has really changed.

On the positive side the world is now rid of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and anti-terrorist activity have been strengthened in most states. But terrorism is not limited to the Taliban.

The world still lives in threat of a major terrorist outrage and I would argue that most sources of terrorism still remain.

Has poverty on our planet decreased? No!

Has the production and use of drugs declined? No!

Has aggression and intolerance between leading religious denominations decreased? No!

Do not forget the bloody terrorist acts in Bali and the hostage taking in Moscow. And there is a further threat;

...the leading terrorist organisation Al-Qaeda still exists. Whether 'Terrorist No. 1' Osama Bin Laden is dead or alive, we cannot tell but his invisible presence can still be felt everywhere.

This malignant influence can be seen in trivial matters. I understand for example that leading airlines are starting to serve their passengers with metal knives and forks during flights once again. The number of passengers has increased but the increase in numbers of security officers is not sufficient to control the situation and provide absolute safety during flights. The perceived danger is gone and man has become blind once again.

Life is not stationary. There are signs today that the prudence, understanding, and atmosphere of trust, which were prevalent during those anxious days will, once again, give way to carelessness, misunderstanding and mistrust.

In order to extinguish danger, it is vital not to forget about danger or turn a blind eye to it. It is essential that we confront it and combat it together, reducing geopolitical selfishness, inter-denominational prejudice and political ambition. These are chronic diseases that result in terrorism, very often in its extreme forms.

I believe that for the sake of global security, international and collective law should replace the power of the state. Intergovernmental relations are regulated by International Law and appealing to International Law has become both the tradition and a 'peaceful' weapon for many countries.

The authority of International Law should be paramount. It receives its legitimacy from its clear-cut provenance and the unconditional recognition from an overwhelming number of countries.

By 1648, a divided Europe craved peace, worn out by the many years of brutal wars. But Europe could not be satisfied with any peace, which can be delicate or unstable. Europe demanded more - including guarantees and constructive measures - to avert future wars and conflicts. The long-awaited peace accord between the warring parties was finally signed in the building of the Munster Gothic Cathedral and Osnabrucke Town Hall in Westphalia. As a result, religious interests were replaced by state interests. The Westphalian Peace Treaty that gave Europe the chance for survival and future security was based on the new concepts of 'sovereignty' and 'national interests'.

A new and peaceful world order emerged - internicine, feudal and religious wars were replaced by peaceful interstate treaties, based on the rights of autonomy and sovereignty. A new system of international relations based on the Westphalian Treaty resulted in the reform that gave rise to a progressive and purposeful United Europe. This system of European security eventually collapsed however with the outbreak of World War I.

By 1919, this system of European security based on the 1648 treaty came to a bitter end with World War I whose origins lay in the Napoleonic conquests. The principles of border inviolability and stable sovereignty did not guarantee peace. Weightier and more reliable guarantees were needed to prevent a new world war particularly in the context of a new danger - the threat of communism - which was closing in on Europe from the East. Soviet Russia did not recognise the European peace order that was based on border inviolability and upholding national interests. It pursued a global revolution that acknowledged neither frontier nor sovereignty. On June 28 in Versailles, the residence of the French monarchs, the treaty between the

countries of the Entente and Germany was signed. The Treaty of Versailles established new rules for a geopolitical game based on the Versailles System of Postwar Arrangement. It also introduced a new concept - the concept of 'Guarantor of Peace'.

Established principles of national sovereignty gave way to the universal fear of aggressors attacking the collective Guarantor of Peace.

The intention of those establishing a new world system was that peace could be secured by deterring the possibility of war. The first cracks in this global system, established in the Treaty of Versailles, were caused by Soviet Russia which effectively threatened the Entente, by promoting the idea of global revolution.

The final blow to the Versailles peace plan was inflicted by those seeking revenge and the Fascists in Germany who wanted to redraw the map of Europe.

The defeat of the Versailles security system also resulted in the diminishing role of 'European centrism' in international affairs, and was replaced by the growing 'American centrism'.

The 1945 the Yalta Conference established geopolitical parity for a considerable period, but eventually collapsed in 1991.

By 2001, the world was threatened by 'asymmetric war'; a war between an extra-territorial organisation operating without a regular army, and a super-power with all the usual attributes of a nation state (the war between Al-Qaeda and the USA). A new geopolitical force, international terrorism, has made its monstrous presence felt. For the first time, the world's population faces an enemy bringing death and disaster; an enemy which doesn't recognise international laws or state borders. The enemy will not stop at, or

recognise, state borders, or be daunted by the 'guarantors of peace'. The monster of terrorism has always existed and inflicted damage on its enemies, but never so blatantly, or on such a large scale. The US, with its significant military resources and its well-trained army, sustained fewer casualties during the 'Desert Storm' war with Iraq than at the hands of the extra-territorial Al-Qaeda organisation.

International terrorism has completely destroyed the global and regional system of security. And the world, set to recover from the first shock, has still not responded to this new threat with effective security measures or the creation of a new world order. There is still no real change, be it the improvement or deterioration in the regional and global security systems. Just as the global security did not improve after the first World War, neither did it after the second. The resolution of the Cold War failed to improve security and the world has not benefitted or learned from the 'Asymmetric War' of September 11, 2001.

I believe that threats to global, regional and national security are not diminishing, but are metamorphosing and increasing in scale. The nature of the geopolitical conflict between stability and instability, and between order and chaos, has transfigured and acquired new and dangerous attributes.

But we have to understand that international terrorism, extremism and separatism are external manifestations of mankind's latent diseases, diseases that cannot be treated in isolation, but by the collective action of all countries and unions. This will require sacrifices by some, and the goodwill and conciliation of others. It is only via bilateral compromise between the 'rich' and 'poor' nations, and with a concerted effort to remove the root causes of aggression and armed conflict, that we will be able to identify the positive

trends of globalisation and the removal of terrorism in all its manifestations.

Today, it has become fashionable to talk about the Caspian Region and Central Asia as 'the Second Balkans'. But it seems to me that it is not worth dramatising the situation, or worth chasing cheap sensations.

In this context it is worth reviewing the short history of the independent development of Central Asian countries. Despite the chaos of the transitional period after the break up of the Soviet Union and the lack of any real experience in peacemaking at an international level, there are some impressive examples of state and social diplomacy, geared to stability and peace, which have considerably improved security in our region.

The peacemaking potential of Central Asia is sufficiently strong not to be tempted by extremity. In spite of some crises, I truly believe that our peoples have a genuine peace-loving attitude and no inclination towards aggression. Even in Tadzhikistan, where civil war flared, disaster was avoided by social accord - the peaceful process of self regulation. There are complicated and delicate problems of border delimitation between CIS countries, a problem which arose after the collapse of the USSR. In Kazakhstan, the border delimitation process has proceeded exceptionally peacefully - through formal procedures and diplomatic negotiations.

Kazakhstan is one of the few CIS and Central Asian countries that did not experience the horrors of a civil war or the chaos of social disorder. Terrorism, extremism and separatism have not yet been visited upon us. Thankfully all the gloomy predictions made after we attained our sovereignty did not become reality.

We have solved our internal and external problems in a peaceful manner. We have come to realise that states can always find common ground, if they

build their relationships on a foundation of trust. If at the heart of a policy lies a sincere striving for peace, that policy will result in peace.

An example of this is Kazakhstan's relentless effort to resolve conflict peacefully; we hosted the first Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia - the largest peace forum in our region for the unification of Eurasian countries, which took place in Almaty.

The most recent example of our peaceful approach was the signing of the Border Delimitation Treaty between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The international and regional press stressed the high volatility of this border describing it as a 'stumbling block' and even predicting a clash between the two states. But this did not occur. The conflict was resolved peacefully.

It is my hope that peaceful negotiation will resolve the remaining interstate and inter-communal claims and conflicts. This kind of tolerant behaviour displayed by many leaders in our region has been replicated in the resolution of many other disputes and conflicts. I have every reason to be dubious of the 'Second Balkans' theory but there is no place for euphoria or over confidence.

There are many threats to our regional and national security. I think that it is only via a policy of peace based on mutual compromise and trust that we will preserve the integrity of the global system in which Kazakhstan wishes to continue to play its part.

CHAPTER 1

EMPIRE OF FEAR AND THE RHETORIC OF TERROR

It does not seem extraordinary to us as adults, that little children fear the darkness and gloom of the night. It is not just that we remember our own childhood feelings, but we ourselves retain some of that fear.

It is easy for morbid imagination and fantasy to set in. We have become all too aware of the danger that terrorism, separatism, extremism and intolerance pose. Almost on a daily basis, the mass media inform us of the dangers of terrorism. This mass coverage in the media can instill irrational fears. The imagination and fantasy deployed by the mass media raise the spectre of unimaginable terrorist acts. Our imagination complements reality. Film scripts, book genres, articles on particular subjects and reviews all present possible and far-fetched nightmares - from invasions by real terrorists to nuclear Armageddon perpetrated by some maniacal terrorist. Some plots have already come to life; others are seen by people in daydreams and nightmares.

Let us pose this simple question: How powerful is terrorism in reality? Most would answer this question in a simple way: "Terrorism is a rare occurrence". It is more probable for people to lose their lives in motor accidents, street brawls or illness than in a terrorist act.

Why then is a human being so overcome with panic when faced with terrorism? We are only slightly concerned when presented with far more sombre statistics on accident victims. Most peoples knowledge of terrorism is gained through the mass media and not practical experience.

The answer is simple. We fear unpredictable and unexpected threats

coming from terrorist action, in the same way children fear the unknown and the unfamiliar.

Terrorism with all its unpredictability, engenders that real sense of fear that grips everyone and leaves in each human being the feeling of an inevitable and fatal threat. Terrorism is unpredictable which is why it creates such an impact.

So, what is terrorism? Who harbours terrorist tendencies? What is the objective of terrorism? There are many definitions for terrorism. One cannot understand terrorism without attempting to characterise or classify this phenomenon.

Terrorism is based on the ideology of using violence to achieve certain aims and fulfil certain tasks. Terrorism is a system of actions, not of ideas or opinions; it is not carried out for its own sake. In itself, it does not have much social significance, but as a form of activity, it has significant consequences.

Terrorism exists as a companion of ideology. It exists in two situations; when violence forms the backbone of an ideology, and when an ideology is so weak that it requires violence to achieve its objectives.

A prerequisite for the spread of terrorism is the existence of racism and nationalism. There is no doubt that any form of nationalism creates a favourable breeding ground for the dissemination of terrorism. Nationalists can deploy terrorism as a weapon to consolidate the superiority of one nationality over another.

As a rule, nationalism fans the flames of separatism. In this case, the propagators of nationalism could be ethnic groups eager to attain sovereignty or those determined to prevent it.

The spread of terrorism in our modern world is often blamed on religious fundamentalism. In its literal definition, fundamentalism means the aspira-

tion to adhere to the original principles of a doctrine and rectify any digressions that occur in its development.

It is impossible to ignore the fact that today, terms such as 'Islamic extremism' and 'terrorism' have become synonymous with each other, although there is no aggression in the teachings of Islam itself.

Political radicalism may form another basis for the growth of terrorism. Any radicalisation of the public mood will bring about the radicalisation of both the methods and means to achieve objectives.

In this context, terrorism is a phenomenon of both 'right-wing' and 'left-wing' radicalism. Since terrorism has already shown itself to be wholly destructive and an extreme expression of political radicalism, its consequences will not be dependent on which flank of the political spectrum a faction occupies. We can say that political radicalism criticises but terrorism kills.

It is self evident that whatever the geopolitical origins of individual terrorists or terrorist groups, terrorism has broken free from the influence of regional and global powers.

In other words, increasing conflict between states and groups of states weakens the very institutions that could take on the task of coordinating the fight against terrorism.

In the modern world, the challenge of providing global and regional security is taking centre-stage. It may be the case that we therefore have to create new agencies to deal with threats to the international community.

One cannot turn a blind eye to the fact that terrorism itself can be the result of armed conflict between states. For instance, terrorism today may be the result of an armed conflict or indeed vice-versa.

I would particularly like to emphasise that terrorism increases in conditions

of poorly-controlled human migration. So, for example, extremist groups in the guise of refugees can migrate to peaceful territories with the aim of carrying out subversive activities. This problem is becoming increasingly acute because of the 'transparency' of borders.

It is no secret either that there is an increasing differential in economic development between the regions of the world, nor is it a secret that in under-developed countries, this trend produces a fertile ground for social tension.

There is no doubt that a key factor in the emergence and spread of terrorism is social insecurity. It is obvious, too, that high unemployment levels, low income and a bleak future, provide social tensions in society.

The increasing sophistication and organisation of terrorist groups also contributes to the spread of terrorism. Their organisational efficiency and manipulation of the media gives their activities greater impact. This also contributes to the more efficient recruitment of supporters. In addition, terrorist organisations have the ability to train their members in the skills of armed combatants. It is well known that terrorist groups have significant financial sponsors which gives them enormous advantages.

The globalisation of terrorism therefore leads to the formation of specialist groups that are engaged in terrorism on a permanent and professional basis. They have become experts bent on carrying out subversive activities. Having gained experience in local armed conflicts, such as those of Kosovo, Serbia, and Afghanistan, these hardened combatants are filling the ranks of terrorist groups. It has become clear that the huge financial resources at their disposal enables these organisations to hire professional killers. In addition they finance their activities from the drug and arms trafficking trade, racketeering, prostitution, illicit human trafficking, smuggling and gambling.

Furthermore, terrorist organisations have developed a complex banking infrastructure, which allows them to control the circulation of their financial resources, legalise their finances, and support regional branches and other organisations. These are just a number of reasons for the spread of both terrorism and other forms of armed struggle.

Terrorism is therefore the result of many factors, and it is difficult to rank them by importance. We should embrace the idea that the factors contributing to terrorist activity vary according to region. At the same time, we cannot overlook the importance of the purely political or geopolitical factors in the emergence and spread of terrorism. Current disputes and conflicts between states increase the temptation of these states to sponsor terrorism in order to weaken their opponents.

A simple analysis of the processes that took place between the end of 2001 and the first half of 2002, shows that there is a systemic tendency for the growth of terrorist activity. For the year 2002, the total number of terrorist acts exceeded the total figure for the preceding 10 years.

During a period of eight months in 2002 alone, there were 390 terrorist acts in the world, ten times more than those documented for the whole of 2001. The index of terrorist activity during the eight months of 2002 also exceeded the totals for 1992, 1994, 1996 and 1997. After the tragic events of 11th September 2001, the USA undertook unprecedented measures to combat terrorism. Nearly every country spoke out against the threat of the spread of this cancer. The intervening year revealed that the power of terrorism was so great that even with the active mobilisation of both military and diplomatic channels, the problem could not be solved. During eight months of 2002 alone, terrorists killed 4776 people, more than the figure for the

whole of 2001. The figures show the unfortunate increase in terrorist activity despite the global anti-terrorist measures. The events in Indonesia have unexpectedly added to the gloom of these statistics.

This tragic drama continued in the Moscow hostage crisis of October 2002. Today, many people say that the root cause of terrorism is poverty. However, we must not distil this most complicated problem into one single factor. Education and value systems also play an important role.

Some experts are talking about 'cultural cycles', when for example a person is in no condition to break loose from the fetters of tight restrictions. Millions of people have been caught in this trap, a sort of incubator for aggression and xenophobia.

Terrorism is not a child of the last century. Its breath has always poisoned the history of mankind, but it was at the turn of the last millennium that it first assumed such monstrous proportions. In some ways, terrorism reminds us of the old territorial wars; territorial expansion and the creation of enclaves of instability have become a distinctive feature of today's world. The assertion that the roots of terrorism are embedded in one particular religion cannot stand up to any scrutiny because terrorism can thrive in any ideology. Terrorism is not the preserve of any one religion.

There is however a deep psychological basis for terrorism. This explains the many shootings of schoolchildren in the United States and the shooting of envoys in peaceful Switzerland.

So contemporary terrorism benefits from an organised structure, its own financial system, as well as extra-territorial command and control to coordinate the activities of its terrorist outposts, which may well be operating under the guise of a charity or business. It is clear that if we understand the cross-

border nature of present-day terrorism and extremism, we must fight this menace with an effective, international strategy since it threatens regional and global security. Coordinating the struggle against terrorism has a long history and the world must benefit from this experience. We can identify a number of key strategies in the global community's struggle with this problem.

Combatting terrorism and other negative social phenomena would be helped by the creation of a unified security zone, built on socio-economic and political integration, and the establishment of special continental security institutions. It is through the creation of a comprehensive and interop-eral security system that terrorism will be destroyed.

Success lies in the formation of stable forms of dialogue between countries. This strategy is the most difficult to implement and we are only beginning the process of forming of such structures. The Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) is an important precedent in this context.

It seems to me that the most effective institution to combat the threat of terrorism on a global scale is the anti-terrorist coalition.

By March-April 2002, the United States had received 46 different declarations of support for this coalition. Declarations included those from the UN, NATO, the OAS and ANZUS. Some 17 countries sent more than 16,500 soldiers to trouble spots, around the world, under the US Central Command. Another 136 countries offered other forms of military back-up; 142 enacted laws and decrees freezing the assets of organisations suspected of supporting terrorism, while 190 expressed readiness to do this. Since September 11, 2001, almost 1000 Al-Qaeda agents have been arrested in more than 60 countries. The military tactics of the anti-terrorist coalition in

Afghanistan were based on high-precision missile attacks on terrorist bases. It is clear that the key strategy of the US has been to avoid a protracted and all-out military campaign. The emphasis has been on meticulously planned, short, sharp offensive operations.

The military forces of NATO, as expected, became the main body of the anti-terrorist coalition. The terrorist attacks on the 11th of September 2001 were deemed a military attack on the whole alliance.

For the first time in history, references to Article 5 of the Provision of Collective Security of the 1949 Treaty were invoked, whereby an attack on any one member of NATO obliges other members of the alliance to take action against the aggressor.

Real assistance came in the deployment of seven NATO air-control defence systems, a NATO naval fleet to the Eastern Mediterranean, and the participation of the allies, and partners of NATO in military operations against the Taliban. NATO and its partners also made a huge contribution to the reconstruction of the economy and security of Afghanistan.

A Security Council Resolution legitimised the conduct of military operations by the anti-terrorist coalition in Afghanistan, under the leadership of the USA, under the Charter of the UN. In accordance with Article 51 of the charter, each state has the right to individual or collective defence if a member state of the UN comes under military attack.

In the period between September and November 2001, the UN Security Council adopted two more resolutions that streamlined certain aspects of the United Nations anti-terrorist policy.

In accordance with one resolution, which was passed on September 28, 2001, the United Nations has made it incumbent upon member states to

take all possible measures to preclude the financing of acts of terrorism or any other activity promoting it. In order for the United Nations Security Council to exercise control over the implementation of this resolution, the Counter-Terrorist Committee was formed.

It is impossible to overlook the fact that today, the OSCE has made it a priority to continue the struggle against terrorism by improving cooperation between international and regional organisations.

A result of this is the agreement to hold an informal forum with a view to coordinate this process on a regular basis. The adoption of the OSCE Charter on the Prevention and Combat of Potential Terrorism was organised at the end of 2002. The timely formation of the OSCE as an institution can be seen as a major contribution to continental security in Asia.

I am pleased to note that the first Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building (CICA) Summit held in Kazakhstan has marked a considerable break-through in the formation of an efficient anti-terrorist system on the Asian continent. Its international remit is of special significance.

If we are to use the symbolic language, the CICA Summit can be seen as the embodiment of the Eurasian coalition against terrorism. At this high level summit, Asian countries again re-affirmed their support, and adherence to, the principles of the struggle against terrorism. Thus, the concluding document of the Summit, The Almaty Act, stated: "CICA Member States unconditionally and unequivocally condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, as well as any support or acquiescence to it or the failure to condemn it directly".

In accordance with the stipulations of the Almaty Summit Act, the fight against terrorism must become global, comprehensive and uniform in its

nature, but not selective or discriminating. It is pleasing that support was expressed for a comprehensive Convention Against International Terrorism.

A number of other positive results arose from this meeting which took place at a time of increasing tension between India and Pakistan. It is worth noting that after the Almaty meeting, the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India, considerably reduced the bellicose tone of their rhetoric.

An analysis of international efforts to combat terrorism would not be complete without looking at anti-terrorist measures taken at the regional level. It is important in this context to stress the activities of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Shanghai Organisation on Cooperation, and the Collective Security Treaty. Although none of these organisations has yet become a fully-fledged international institution, Kazakhstan does play a full part in their activities. All these organisations have taken concrete steps to reinforce their anti-terrorist credentials.

The problem of terrorism has become one of the main areas of cooperation among CIS countries. At the Moscow summit in June 2000, heads of CIS countries, ratified the Programme of CIS Member-Countries on Combatting International Terrorism and Other Forms of Extremism. A Resolution on the Creation of an Anti-terrorist Centre was also adopted.

The CIS Anti-terrorist Centre (ATC) has now been established as a credible anti-terrorist institution that plays an effective role within the CIS. At present, it is focusing mainly on research and analysis. The organisational and operational component of the centre has not yet been fully established but under its aegis a number of important projects have already been carried out.

The Shanghai Organisation on Cooperation (SOC), has received a rather sceptical response to its prospects, following the suppression of the Taliban

in Afghanistan by the US military forces and their NATO and Coalition allies. Nevertheless, the June 2002 meeting in St. Petersburg has created a more positive attitude about its future. It is worth noting that shortly before the summit, India's Ambassador to Russia spoke about the possibility of his country joining the SOC. If India should join this organisation, the SOC will become the most powerful security structure on the Eurasian continent. This will see the expansion of the SOC towards Southeastern Asia where cooperation with other ASEAN countries would be a distinct possibility. As I see it, the strengthening of the SOC will create support for the organisation both in the Muslim and non-Muslim countries of the region.

It is vital to conduct a detailed and thorough examination of the chronology and current structure of international and regional security systems to show that the effective struggle against local, regional and international terrorism, extremism and fundamentalism can only be successful, at the international level, with coordinated and concerted action.

We must be pragmatic about the anti-terrorist struggle. If we attempt to combat terrorism in an uncoordinated way it will produce the ephemeral picture where the symbol of anti-terror is Don Quixote, while international terrorism will be likened to an unshakable and unapproachable windmill.

Political terrorism or confessional extremism are recurring themes in history. The history of Rome is a story of political terrorism based on the limitless claims of Patricians and the personal ambitions of Consuls. The campaigns of Alexander the Great began with a terrorist act - the murder of Philip, King of Macedonia in the ancient city of Egi. In 1914 the Serbian terrorists Gabrilovich and Printsip shot Archduke Ferdinand, thus triggering

the start of World War I. To put it in a nutshell, everything, from traditional regicide to common piracy, the conquistadors, Greek history, the Asian empires - the great historical tapestry - is interwoven with outbreaks, or just single incidents, of terrorism and extremism.

The history of Central Asia is similarly shot through with acts of terrorism. The history of the Great Silk Route is marked by terrorists attacking the caravans which plied the trade routes and robbing the merchants and peaceful nomads. In short, they terrorised the local populations and travelling tradesmen in every imaginable way.

History can be interpreted in many ways, but the fact remains that the Central Asian region is a territory with both the legacy and the potential for terrorism. All the republics of the region have been touched with the problem of extremism and terrorism, during the course of their formation as independent and sovereign states.

This terrorist threat is not the result of a single factor. It emanates from a wide range of problems which contribute to the regional terrorist threat. These problems are diverse; the proximity of extremely unstable regions (Afghanistan, Kashmir, the Northern Caucasus), the transparency of borders, drug trafficking, the growth of religious extremism, the conflicting interests of the super powers and, to crown it all, conflicts between the constituent states.

The result of these problems has led to the formation of at least three organisations that we can characterise as terrorist and extremist groups.

The first is the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan whose objective is to overthrow the ruling regime in Uzbekistan and establish a religious state. The other two organisations have grown from the separatist movement in the

Uighur Autonomous Region of Xinjiang. They are the 'International Committee for the Liberation of Eastern Turkestan' and the 'Uighurstan Liberation Organisation'. The activities of these two organisations have been identified within Kazakhstan, too.

The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) is the most active terrorist organisation in Central Asia. It has constantly attempted to destabilise the political situation in Uzbekistan, and even tried to assassinate the legitimate president of the country. Although the Taliban regime in Kabul, which is supported by IMU combatants, has been defeated, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan is still very much at large. Moreover, intelligence suggests that this movement, as well as the other extremist organisations, are gradually restoring their paramilitary capability and command and control systems. According to some sources, active military training is currently being carried out in inaccessible mountainous areas. This training involves the combatants of a number of terrorist organisations that have supposedly been defeated in the anti-terrorist campaign.

I would also like to mention that terrorism is a serious threat for the so-called 'transit countries' which include the states of Central Asia. In comparison with countries with stable political systems, the transit states are less able to withstand political terror. Attempts on the lives of Heads of States, and single successful terrorist attacks can seriously destabilise whole societies. This is especially true in Central Asia where the political systems are regarded as relatively new.

Terrorism in the region is also linked to attempts to impair the territorial integrity of states, whether this is carried out in the name of secession or in ethnic separatism. That is why, apart from the common threats in Central

Asia, it is necessary to identify clearly these disturbing manifestations of terrorism.

In the case of Kazakhstan, we have certain advantages, in comparison to other Central Asian republics, in the fight against terrorism. For example the Central Asian Republics serve as a buffer zone between Kazakhstan and the areas of high terrorist activity. In addition, Kazakhstan's political and economic stability has discouraged the growth of extremism and terrorism, and has helped preserve the status quo. The wide spectrum of religious denominations and the atmosphere of inter-ethnic accord is, also, a sort of barrier to the spread of religious extremism and separatism. In this context, we can say that the "unity in diversity" formula is working.

Despite this, Kazakhstan still has problems with terrorism, separatism and extremism. The threat of terrorism is not hypothetical, but real, especially when one understands the 'globalisation' of international terrorism which results from the inter-linkages between the political, social and economic problems of the international community.

A number of separatist-related activities have been identified within Kazakhstan. The Committee for the Liberation of Eastern Turkestan and the Organisation for the Liberation of Uighurstan have, for example, tried to make their presence felt. Several Kazakhstani citizens have been injured or killed by Uighur separatists.

These criminals, who were members of the Organisation for the Liberation of Uighurstan, were liquidated in a counter-terrorist operation. This is an exceptional case but there is no doubt that members of these extremist organisations are trying to enter Kazakhstan.

The relatively stable situation in Kazakhstan clearly shows that there are no

obvious extremist movements which can seriously threaten the territorial integrity of our state, or our inter-ethnic accord.

However, there is no doubt that separatist ideologies can present themselves in unpredictable ways should internal political or social problems arise. No bordering state questions Kazakhstan's territorial integrity but this is no reason to be complacent about the real threat that the different strands of separatism pose, be they from individuals or from organised extremist groups. And even if they are not active today and have restricted themselves to public statements and wretched declarations, no one should doubt that the situation could change dramatically with the practical realisation of their destructive ideas.

In any event, it is clear that the politicisation of ethnic groups, even if expressed at a symbolic level, creates a dangerous extremist threat in Kazakhstan. It does not necessarily need a party or movement to proclaim violent objectives for violence to occur.

Kazakhstan also faces a number of indirect threats to its national and state security from extremism, the drugs business, international terrorism and separatism. These challenges have forced us to develop strategies and policies for the further development of Kazakhstan as a sovereign and independent entity and have confirmed the importance of our international relations.

It should be stated that countering the threat of terrorism today is one of our priority objects. The protection of Kazakhstan's national security is vital. Despite the fact that terrorist activity is not a problem in Kazakhstan, this does not exclude the presence of factors which could encourage terrorist activity in the future.

It stands to reason that it would be absurd to wait for terrorism to find a

foothold in the territory of Kazakhstan. Preventative measures must be taken, by responding to emerging areas of social friction, which may spark terrorism and its spread within Kazakhstan. Observing inter-denominational accord and the repudiation of anything that might damage relations between ethnic groups is our main guarantee against terrorism and extremism.

In this regard, the new 'Law on Political Parties' bans the formation of political parties on the basis of ethnicity and religion.

In addition, some Central Asian republics have been penetrated by religious extremists and radical political elements that call for the overthrow of the existing authorities. They call for the establishment of archaic regimes, or the creation of autonomous regions within the country.

A certain number of religious communities come under the influence of missionaries from foreign Islamic centres who propagate ideas of religious intolerance. This is being seen in the southern regions of Kazakhstan. In South Kazakhstan and Zhambyl oblasts, agitation by the foreign radical movement, 'Tabligi Dzhamaat', which has an underground network of cells has been identified. The organisation 'Hizbut-Tahrir' is also stepping up its activities.

It is of paramount importance to conduct legal monitoring of the missionary activities of foreign clergymen. This includes the screening of religious literature, especially non-classical interpretations of the Koran and the Shariat.

Ever since our independence and the creation of the Republic of Kazakhstan, we have become part of the Central Asian integration process. We have emerged as one of the main initiators of the idea of a union of countries that would safeguard regional security. Kazakhstan was the initiator of the creation of the CICA, and is playing a key role in the formation of the Shanghai Organisation on Cooperation.

Kazakhstan worked on improving the Collective Security Treaty and helped transform it into an active instrument for multilateral cooperation in the area of security. At present, Kazakhstan actively backs the resolutions of the Anti-terrorist Coalition while playing an active role in other unions.

In this context, in accordance with the provisions of the 'State Programme on the Struggle Against Terrorism and Other Forms of Extremism and Separatism in the Republic of Kazakhstan in 2000-2003', Kazakhstan is cooperating with CIS and overseas countries in the fight against international terrorism and extremism, and in the implementation of joint preventative measures. Among these measures is the second stage of the complex strategic training programme called 'South-Anti-terror-2002', which was held in Almaty in April 2002 under the auspices of the CIS Anti-terrorist Centre.

In May 2002, in Astana, a meeting of the 'Bishkek Group' under the Shanghai Organisation on Cooperation, was held. At this meeting the establishment of a regional anti-terrorist structure was agreed upon. In June 2002, the Dabyl Training Exercise on the suppression of air terrorist attacks was conducted, and in August of the same year, the joint Kazakhstan-American training, 'Balance-Bars', was organised in Kapchagai. I should also mention the large scale military exercises called 'The Sea of Peace - 2002' held in the Caspian region, which were conducted jointly by Kazakhstani and Russian Military Forces in the Mangistau Region.

On June 13, 1999, the Republic of Kazakhstan adopted the Anti-terrorism Law. This law gave direction to the legal and institutional foundation for confronting possible terrorism in the republic.

This special law, the counter measure to emerging terrorism in Kazakhstan, is based on other laws including the Criminal Code. In February 2002,

amendments to the Criminal Code were adopted. In accordance with these amendments, more severe punishment will be issued for terrorist acts and any activities leading to it. We are also looking at the adoption of the necessary legal and regulatory acts to be used in emergencies and other situations where the security of the state is threatened.

A serious threat to the development of modern societies is the spread of drug abuse and drug trafficking. The latter is a key source of finance for terrorists. Today, Kazakhstan is used as a transit route for drugs rather than a centre for drug production. According to data released by the Ministry of Health of Kazakhstan, the level of drug addiction among the population in 2002 was 334.6 per 100,000 of the population. We are concerned that this figure will grow due to the reduction in the price of some types of drugs. This has also resulted in the wider availability of drugs and we are taking pre-emptive emergency measures in this area.

In order to restrict channels of illegal migration, as well as drug smuggling and the trade in contraband products, we have temporarily suspended the issue of Kazakhstani educational visas to citizens from high risk countries. New measures to regulate the international exchange of students and teachers by educational institutions, were also imposed.

There was also some facts with criminals and members of terrorist and extremist organisations on international wanted lists attempting to find refuge in Kazakhstan. They cross our borders in the guise of immigrants and refugees from the Northern Caucasus. The process of delimitation of our borders has a great impact on the stabilisation of our state frontiers.

The year 2002 saw the successful border delimitation of Kazakhstan with adjoining states and measures were implemented to place border areas under

surveillance. The southern sector of our border had been bolstered by additional units of the Border-Guard Service of the National Security Committee and two extra border-guard detachments. More than ten new passport control points and additional check-posts have been built. At the moment, 30 new customs posts are being constructed in South Kazakhstan, Zhambyl, Kzyl-Orda and Mangystau regions. In addition, remote districts adjoining border regions will undergo regular aerial patrols aimed at catching armed extremists groups arriving from trouble spots. Additional measures have also been taken to reinforce the southern borders. Most attention was given to the fortification of the southern borders given the threat from militant activities in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

In accordance with the strategic 2002-2005 National Security Realisation Plan, continual joint training of the Border-Guard Service of National Security Committee and units of the Ministries of Defence and Interior will be carried out to confront international terrorism and religious extremism. Kazakhstan is thus paying special attention to terrorist-related issues and its causes. There is a need to carry out these anti-terrorist measures without the hindrance of bureaucracy.

It should be mentioned that the political situation in Afghanistan, the Middle East, the Indo-Pakistani border and the Northern Caucasus is still unstable. The activities of religious and extremists groups is raising concern in all Central Asian countries. We have to understand that Kazakhstan is surrounded by zones of conflict. In the near future, we aim to create effective anti-terrorism institutions, both through our political efforts and the mobilisation of domestic resources. So today, Kazakhstan has established a battery of anti-terrorism countermeasures.

There is also a concurrent need for the constant monitoring and analysis of Kazakhstan's anti-terrorist capacity. Today, areas of high terrorist activity lie relatively close to Kazakhstan. Which is why the rise of terrorism in Kazakhstan cannot be completely ruled out. So what measures and action should be taken not merely to strengthen our security system but to ensure its effectiveness?

If no precise definitions are given for 'extremism', and restraints on extremist activities are not placed on the legislative agenda, the government will be powerless in dealing with phenomena that constitute the prerequisites of terrorism. We are particularly worried about the growth of drug abuse in our society, the use of drug trafficking routes via Kazakhstan and the endless influx of illegal immigrants as a result of poor customs control in the south, south-east and south-west parts of the country. The development of efficient customs control has received significant financial and managerial support. The state is providing huge amounts of money not only for the physical control of the borders but also for the acquisition of modern information control systems.

The spread of drug addiction and the drugs business pose one of the greatest threats to the security of the country. Kazakhstan is primarily a transit route for the drugs trade. The production and trafficking of drugs ultimately helps finance terrorism and there is therefore the danger of the transit of terrorists through the country. Both types of transit are fraught with anarchic tendencies and the destruction of our social and economic achievements. Tackling drug abuse is to become a national priority for Kazakhstan in the near future.

Migration policy is based on giving prime consideration to the interests of our own citizens. Today, the world is giving serious thought to migration

policies. The protection of our nation's labour market, its economic interests, and the observance of human rights is an important task when set against a background of expanding external labour and economic migration. A priority will be given to the initiation and active participation in security institutions and integration processes both in nearby regions and also in a wider context. The idea is to create a system that would prevent terrorism and other threats to international security on the Eurasian continent. The Anti-terrorist Centre of the CIS, the Organisation for Collective Security Treaty and the Shanghai Organisation on Cooperation form the linking system for security in this region. We are discussing the possibility of creating comprehensive security institutions within the Caspian regional framework.

It should be noted that the threat of the export of terrorism to Kazakhstan is becoming more acute in spite of the measures being taken. To a great extent, this is due to the formation of permanent terrorist breeding grounds in the territories directly bordering the Central Asian region in general, and Kazakhstan in particular. Today, no one can guarantee that the system of state security will not be tested in the near future.

Kazakhstan is undoubtedly in a favourable position, for we do have time for the careful analysis of factors linked to the expansion of global terrorism and the experience of counteraction. At the same time, the existing level of terrorist activity in regions of close proximity, compels us to keep our security system on high alert.

CHAPTER 2

THERE IS NO EXTREMISM IN RELIGION

Today, when the volume of available information is too much for the human brain to process or comprehend, a new danger is emerging - the lack of critical thinking. For many people it is convenient and customary to perceive in stereotypes. Bold and extraordinary thinking of an individual is giving way to so-called mass perception - the perception or mentality on which entire societies build their lifestyle; hence people are motivated by a comparatively limited range of stereotypes and slogans. Undoubtedly, that makes life easier - just submit to an idea that appears robust due to its simplicity and reason. Today mankind is far better educated than our ancestors but is, at the same time, more apathetic, impressionable, and more inclined to stereotypical thinking.

Especially, it is typical to those cases, when we see a complete distortion of perceptions which in their turn lead, or may lead, to unpredictable consequences to all the humanity. Thus, for example, there is an entire academic system and solid theoretical base, which is propagated by certain political experts who argue that the world is currently at the stage where the so-called “clash of civilisations” or “war of worlds” are emerging. They assert that due to a number of historical pre-requisites and modern trends aggressive confrontation between the major religions (Christianity and Islam, for example) is as inevitable as the sunrise or the phases of the moon.

But at the same time there also exists a school of thought and set of theoretical views which views the war between civilisations as, by no means, a fatal

phenomenon or is a rather absurd formulation which has nothing to do with existing reality or the future.

Let us take note - whether the above views have the right to exist or not, they depend entirely on the tasks we place before ourselves. If because of quite unrelated causes it is expedient to consider that the clash of civilisations is inevitable and it yields certain dividends, then it is easy to form the opinion, which becomes that of the public - the opinion of the majority of citizens, pinning its hopes on the supremacy of the nation's democratically expressed will over justice.

Relatively recently terms such as 'Islamic radicalism' have been in use. These terms or formulations have been helpful in separating this religious thought - peaceful Islam, from those of its apologists who try to distort and corrupt this great spiritual thought and human faith.

However, recently these terms which try to define various phenomena have undergone change and obtained new colours. In the modern Mass Media and even in the statements of certain politicians a new notion - the so called 'Islamic threat' is becoming more frequent and obvious.

It is quite obvious that the direct meaning of this notion or phrase contains a new content and a certain global perception. Now you see that the talk is not of separate incidents of religious extremism, separatism or terrorism, but of a threat coming directly from Islam as a religious doctrine.

A threat coming not from a separate religious fanatic or group of extremists, but from an entire religion which is followed by more than a billion inhabitants from many countries in Asia, Europe, North America and other continents. The wording has been changed and a new dangerous and frightening meaning with unpredictable consequences has been interwoven into a new idea.

The concept of an 'Islamic threat' has become a 'buzz' word and acquired a threatening scale and it is now time to protect Islam from this all encompassing slur.

It is important to remind ourselves that religion, for all the peoples of the world, is not the means or motive for conquest, but for survival. Religion is a uniting spiritual idea which becomes more apparent in the political and public domain of a country when the concept of statehood or national identity is undergoing a period of crisis. In many cases it is commonness of faith that helps a nation to endure the harsh twists of fate. But sometimes it happens when a state is crushed or its role is insignificant.

The supremacy of religion in all aspects of life acquires not only a grotesque, but a frightening form and becomes a menace and threat not only for an individual and nation, but also to other nations or even the whole of humanity. This was the case in the Christian 'crusades' and 'jihads' of some Muslim countries, and other aggressive behaviour rooted in quasi-religious soil.

But it is evident that the aggressive state of mind, expressed in certain forms, has nothing to do with the peaceful and creative doctrine of religion, which fosters the concepts of humanity and kindness.

It is the case that there are some distortions of the main canons of Islam and attempts to revise it to please some aggressive interests and political stances.

Islam, like many other world religions, is not restricted to the purely religious sphere which includes religious teaching and other elements. Islam is a balanced system which regulates and stipulates a code of behaviour, style of living and a set of moral values and psychological directives.

Islam is monotheistic, which means the indivisibility and undivided authority of God. God as the Creator forms the basis of the Muslim's view of the creation of the world. This form of monotheism is typical of all other major world religious denominations. The dogma of monotheism is characteristic of most religions today; not only does it assert what the only true faith is, but it also influences the attitude towards other religions in the form of direct or indirect mistrust of other forms of monotheism. And Christianity is no exception.

So-called religious fundamentalism is really one form of intolerance to other religions. Here I have to note that the concept of 'fundamentalism' is equally relevant to distortions in Islam, Christianity or Judaism.

The origin of the word 'fundamentalism' in its contemporary sense has nothing to do with Islam.

In the early 20th century the representatives of communities such as Calvinists, Presbyterians and Baptists used to be termed 'fundamentalists'.

Those religious groups were active in appealing for the restoration of Christianity in its original form via the principles of civilised religious unity and the original canons of the high priests.

Christian communities following fundamentalism interpreted the Holy Scriptures in a fanatical and literal sense and advocated the formation of religious and political principles based on the eternal scriptures of the Bible. Here we have to note that the basis for the concept of 'fundamentalism' represents a sincere desire of its apologists to re-introduce the ideals of morality lying at the foundations of religion into every aspect of the lives of ordinary people. It was argued that the moral standards embedded in the sources such as the Old Testament or the Koran must rule us by day and by night. It is

impossible to disagree that the spirit of each religion bears the stamp of high moral standards. Unfortunately, the demand to abide strictly by religious principles in everyday life is elevated, by the advocates of religious fundamentalism, to the level of categorical imperatives. The upholders of fundamentalism demand the spread of religious principles among all levels of society and this flies in the face of political pluralism. Moreover, unfortunately, so-called fundamentalists have been spreading or trying to spread their ideas in a rather harsh fashion, at times resorting to aggressive behaviour to achieve their goals.

Of course, we have to realise that the demands on the supremacy of religious norms in full accordance with founding religious sources, cannot be accepted in a secular, democratic and civil society, and the methodology by which people are coerced to meet the demands of the fundamentalists is not acceptable.

If we take into consideration that all religions contain an element of fundamentalism, then we have to understand the dangers associated with the anti-social nature of fundamentalism which may jeopardise any society, regardless of its religious beliefs.

In this context, to focus on, or talk of the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism alone does not make sense. Especially, given that in the contemporary world fundamentalism is revealing itself in all the parts of the world - the USA, Europe, South-East and Central Asia, North Africa and Middle East - as well as in almost all of the major religions.

Diversity of religious organisations, building their activities on the principles of fundamentalism, shows that an active conversion to civilised religious unity as a source of self-identity is one of the important worldwide trends of social evolution.

Here I would like to stress that one should not see in these trends only those things which are destructive to a civil society - no one has the right to deprive believers of their natural and moral right to follow the original canons of their faith, without violating the law and order.

Clearly any secular society has the right to build and shape social relations and life on non-religious principles but without encroaching upon citizens' personal rights to freedom of conscience.

But it is a different case when the advocates of fundamentalism attempt to spread their views to an entire society. In these circumstances when a society does not accept the modernisation of its life that relies solely on the dogmas of a certain religion a tension in the society appears; confrontation between religious radicals on the one hand and the entire civil society on the other. None the less there are examples when the ideas of fundamentalism find fertile soil among certain strata of the society.

Today, in the era of globalisation, humanity, in all its diversity, is at the irreversible crossroads of economic, political, cultural and spiritual life. This process of involuntary integration is irreversible. Some societies would rather stand aloof from the process, but they cannot resist it. Other societies, given their advanced development, see no serious obstacles to their programmes of global expansion.

Many countries are overcome by the irresistible craving for civilised and technical development, thus further accelerating the pace of globalisation. While expanding the zone of their economic and political influence and increasing access to potential markets, the developed countries clearly understand the advantages of the globalisation processes which are not only to maintain, but also to secure the unhindered growth of their citizens' welfare.

At the same time the process of globalisation will carry out an additional and parallel task - the spread of a unified consumer culture and the introduction of mass standards among potential consumers in other countries. It is one thing entering a new market as a result of global integration, but quite another to impose cultural values.

One accepts that becoming familiar with the new technological culture and the unified standards should not necessarily lead to the loss of national identity. From the middle of the 20th century most soothsayers have been predicting serious problems as a result of the spread of the Western 'consumer culture'. The critical limits - environmental above all - of the model are obvious.

The need for a 'third way' i.e. a fusion of the Western technological culture and Eastern culture is gradually emerging from a theoretical hypothesis into a practical imperative. This may sound paradoxical, but the modern information network is beginning to overlap with traditional institutions in South-East Asia.

The process of globalisation in Japan, for example, has not resulted in a loss of their national identity. Indeed, the Japanese have managed to obtain a balanced blend of their own rich ancient culture and conservative traditionalism with the latest achievements in technical advancement. They have also integrated scientific and technical progress into their society without losing their cultural traditionalism. The same situation is characteristic of China. The country is successfully combining rapid scientific and technical modernisation with centuries-long customs and traditions to a unique model of a political establishment. But even here, some cultural concessions to globalisation are taking place.

None the less, do the conservative elements of society readily agree to make such concessions for the sake of globalisation's benefits? Of course, not. There is always the danger that some features of national heritage might be lost in the process of globalisation and this has always to be taken into account.

This is particularly true of societies whose way of life is built on religion. In these cases, the process of technical and technological modernisation of a society is sometimes viewed as giving into the 'religion of capitalism'.

Certainly conservative elements of society will be more favourable to political or economic modernisation which is conceived and generated from within their own society. This is especially so when they realise that such modernisation is not detrimental to their cultural traditionalism, for the carriers of the modernisation ideas are the members of the same society. Another scenario exists when modernisation is promoted by outsiders with their strange, possibly hostile, culture. In this situation, the reaction of cultural and religious conservatism is unambiguously sceptical since modernisation generated externally will never be accepted.

Exactly this force is nourished with a strong source of spiritual power - the ideology of fundamentalism. The power of fundamentalism lies in its ability to feed the powerful layer of a certain religious thought, even in secular states. Fundamentalism today can be sufficiently powerful to determine the social and economic life and even the pillars of a country.

Major confrontations between governments and religious fundamentalists are increasingly prevalent in modern societies. Some states are opposing Islam as a 'power play'. I do not believe this strategy of outlawing religious movements and persecuting citizens on the basis of their religious convictions is

effective. Indeed fanning the flames of passion in relation to the issues of religion, in this way, is bound to result in a backlash by the religious sections of society.

One does not want 'to throw the baby out with the bath water'. I think it is absurd and senseless to pursue a tough policy on religion, on Islam, because of the fear of extremism and aggressive fundamentalism.

It is worth noting that contemporary history provides a number of good examples where religion and secular authority not only co-exist but also blend harmoniously the canons of Islam with secular statehood in the management of the country. Thus in Malaysia, Jordan, Morocco and Mauritania modern constitutions, which encompass the international relations of the state, banking system, etc., as well as the Sharia law, regulate peoples' everyday life live in a harmonious way.

The Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt reads: "Islam is the state religion. The Arabic language is the official language of the state. The principles of Islamic law, the Sharia, form the basis of the legislation". In this respect, it is incorrect to talk about any principal incompatibility between Islam and civil society.

One should not confuse religion, as a whole, with the activities of extreme religious radicals who resort to death and cruelty in fighting regimes that proscribe religious activities. Essentially they are pretending to defend both their theological views and the concept of Faith itself.

I think Faith, as a spiritual symbol of society, unites many more people than its interpretations. The situation becomes dangerous when people fail to differentiate between 'The Interpretation of Faith' and 'Faith itself'. As a result of this failure, there is an alarming tendency for the representatives of

Muslim communities to be unfairly persecuted in some countries.

The rallying cry of religious extremism, especially in the Asian part of Eurasia, is forcing us to analyse the factors behind its origin, consequences, methods and modes of operation, in order to prevent it.

Religious extremism in Kazakhstan has never been obvious on a large scale, but there is a danger that denominational destabilisation will appear if we do not understand and prevent its potential threat.

The possibility of a religious extremism on our territory is no longer a mythical threat to our national and state security as a secular nation. We are moving along the path towards democracy and civil society. Even if recent events do not directly prove the existence of 'a clash of civilisations', they at least clearly point to an alarming tendency towards worsening religious conflicts across the world.

This is why it is extremely dangerous to overlook religious extremism in our multinational and multi-denominational society.

I do not want to aggravate the situation concerning religious extremism in Central Asia, especially in Kazakhstan. Unfortunately however, the current situation, in the region, is far from ideal, bearing in mind the birth of extremist religious movements. The roots of the danger should not necessarily be sought within the framework of historical perspective. But it should be noted that the decades of religious suppression during the Soviet period have left a legacy. The negative impact of anti-religious policies of the last century are still felt today.

The long years of communism were accompanied by the destruction of mosques, churches, holy sites and other religious buildings, as well as active

anti-religious propaganda, and the extermination of clergymen of all denominations including the Islamic clergy. The situation worsened since Muslims in Central Asia, including Kazakhstan, saw the persecution of the Faith as an onslaught against their national culture, traditions and customs, which were formed on a religious basis.

That is why the speedy politicisation of Islam, which we are currently observing, is not surprising. Islam, as a religion, is at the stage of revival, not only to restore its traditions among the adult population, but also to capture the minds of the younger generations.

The cultural renaissance of spiritual traditions and the restoration of the traditional legacy left by our ancestors is undoubtedly an uplifting and positive process. But when we talk of this gracious process of religious revival we must also note some negative tendencies connected with the appearance of radical religious movements, which nourish extremism.

There is little merit in discussing the historical reasons behind the discrepancies between the economic and political development of different countries. It is a fact which we already accept on the basis of statistical data. Here I do not aim to analyse the methods and mechanisms of achieving a certain balance between countries and regions as a result of globalisation. The issue is too complicated to be studied from a close range.

We should, however, pay attention to the other side of the problem, namely, the psychological perception of the actual social disparity by the poor and the intelligentsia in Third World countries. It is worth noting that people in 'poor' countries often see the modern world not as imperfect but as unfair. We have to recognise that the reasons for such feelings of injustice by the masses have accumulated over the centuries. It is based on the historical

memories of the colonisation of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Colonial wars, slavery, the annexation of territories, predatory trade methods or the siphoning of wealth from these colonies - have had an accumulative effect over time. These are now serving as a means of justifying backwardness, and a motive for 'poor' countries to hate wealthy and developed states.

In the atmosphere of an ideological vacuum left after the 'global confrontation', many Muslim states (the republics of the former USSR among them) woke up to the rapid politicisation of Islam. The triumph of Western liberal values followed by a growing divergence in the economic development of industrial countries and underdeveloped nations has rooted in the minds of the masses the perception of an unjust modern world order.

In many countries, this feeling is combined with the fear of losing their national and religious identity to the so-called Western way of life. Many Asian countries that have suffered from colonisation to a great extent are particularly hostile to the 'westernisation' of their societies.

Any political decision born of political will serves to deal with a certain task. And it is obvious that any task is limited not by its objective and space, but also by the time frame.

Here lies the essence and problem of any programme to bring this situation under full control or full management, especially if it is designed to solve problems associated with geopolitics.

It is not fashionable today to refer to the past while keeping in mind today's problems. But the fact remains - the overwhelming majority of modern global and regional problems are directly the result of the 'cold war' - the bipolar confrontation between the two superpowers.

The superpowers in order to warm up 'the cold confrontation' fanned the

flames of regional hotspots in an attempt to establish influence or counteract the influence of the enemy. But the end result was a smouldering fire which may, or may not, have achieved its objective. This has become quite a separate flashpoint, which may flare out of control with devastating consequences.

I do not wish to draw parallels, but we have to acknowledge, that the modern fight with terrorism is suffering from a certain one-sidedness since causal relationships between the various events have not been taken into account.

We have to acknowledge the activities of extremists are becoming possible, due to wide financial support from public organisations and funds from many countries of the world.

The significant growth in the number of recruits has been boosted by the protracted civil war in Afghanistan. The extremist organisations, set up in many different countries, used to render financial and technical support as well as volunteers to the Afghan Mojahedeen.

After the war and the withdrawal of Soviet troops, large groups of foreign mercenaries were dissolved. Many of these fighters, mainly of Arab origin, returned home to become members of extremist groups and organisations that preach 'Jihad'. According to various estimates these 'Warriors of Allah' who fought in the Afghan war number between eight and fifteen thousand. Many of them, at various times, took part in military operations in Kashmir, Palestine, Algeria, the Balkans and the Northern Caucasus.

It is these experienced Mojaheds who now comprise the militarised core of almost all the influential extremist and fundamentalist organisations. By the way, a considerable number of terrorists and militants today are also from the remnants of Taliban military, the regime that lost power in Kabul, but nev-

ertheless was able to preserve its organisational structure and a great number of its combatants.

One should not think that the threat posed by today's extremist organisations is limited to their operational capabilities. Whatever their armaments, ammunitions and organisational ability, their existence poses far less threat than the ideas and ideology which they attempt to realise. There is a fine line between the potential menace they can pose as a group of armed combatants and the actual threat that is determined by their world-wide agenda.

For the extremists of all types the terror is a universal panacea for all their problems. Often terrorists themselves do not clearly understand the consequences of terrorist acts. But what they have learnt is that terror destabilises the situation, provokes revenge aggression, gives birth to resentment in society, leading to social chaos and civic violence, which in turn creates a fertile environment to attract the minds and capture political power or put pressure on governments to accept certain demands.

The threat to the Central Asian region from international extremists and terrorist groups is obvious today. It is difficult not to notice the recent swift formation of international terrorist organisations in the Republics of Central Asia. Their propaganda is a danger to political stability in these countries.

Thus it becomes evident that there are both internal and external prerequisites in the region encouraging the growth of extremist activity which may contribute to the destabilisation of society as well as lead to armed conflicts between those who advocate forcible change of existing political regimes and those who adhere to the principles of non-violence, inter-religious accord and political stability in the region.

Peace-keeping is not just the suppression of a conflict, destruction of the enemy, or imposed pacifism. Peacekeeping is an entire system of preventive measures rendering conflict impossible or less probable.

That is why my understanding of 'religious security' in the broadest sense is a system of state guarantees and support for the spiritual potential of peoples and nations alongside counteractive measures to threats posed to the freedom of religious beliefs and the accord existing between denominations.

First we need state guarantees and state support in order to ensure freedom of religious beliefs for each citizen of Kazakhstan, irrespective of their ethnicity, for practicing their faith and performing their rites in accordance with the canons of their religions.

Secondly, Kazakhstan, as a secular state, undertakes measures to counteract religious conflicts. This touches upon domestic political decisions as well as legislative initiatives which exclude the articles of laws and legal acts which lead to the supremacy of a certain religion at the expense of other faiths and beliefs.

Thirdly, the state combats all forms of religious extremism which threaten the national security and the lives and well-being of Kazakhstani citizens.

So Kazakhstan, being a secular state, adheres to the principles of non-interference in religious matters and, in the same manner, non-interference of religion in the executive powers of the state.

This, however, does not mean that the government remains or should remain indifferent to the problems of the religious life of the nation as well as to the development of the state. This also does not mean that the believers or religion should not, or do not, play any significant social or even political role in the life of the society and state.

Without belittling the civil rights of believers, we have to acknowledge that religious security may undergo tests if a certain religion or belief is over-politicised. The ideal model which can, and should, ensure the secular status of the state and inter-denominational balance in the society is very simple: the believers, undoubtedly, have civil rights and enjoy democratic freedoms. In its turn, religion as the spiritual source and opportunity to practice faith does not have, and should not possess, political rights and opportunities to influence the political will of the state.

The dangers of politicising religion are manifold and they should not be written off. In fact no state in Central Asia could avoid such a tendency, and this tendency determines the politics and social life of many countries in many regions of the world.

That is why for a relatively stable Kazakhstan, which is not an importer of destructive ideas, the export of religious extremism is seen as the greatest threat to inter-denominational accord of the country.

Moreover, radical and extremist organisations attempt and are attempting to establish foothold in Kazakhstan by exerting their influence amongst our Muslim community.

Fundamentalists and extremists are mainly counting on the Muslim population of Kazakhstan. But here we have to realise that religious fundamentalism may threaten other faiths; we have almost forty other denominations, which account for approximately three thousand religious organisations and movements, in Kazakhstan. Despite the successful measures we have undertaken to avert this problem, the menace still remains. Despite their persistent efforts to politicise religion in Kazakhstan, the extremists have failed for a number of reasons.

Why is this? Why has the potential threat of religious extremism in Kazakhstan not transformed into a real danger?

Undoubtedly, the restoration of religion as an important and integral part of our cultural heritage has served as a powerful stimulus for the revival of spirituality amongst the Kazakh people. We Kazakhs view Islam as a lofty ideal, a factor defining our global outlook and a symbol enabling us to pay our respects to our ancestry and our rich Muslim culture, which at one time was on the brink of fading into oblivion.

First of all, we see Islam as an opportunity for individual self-expression. The Kazakh people's respect for other faiths is the vital deterrent in keeping religious extremism at bay.

It is not only our political will that suppresses any serious chance of extremism surfacing in the country, but also the nature of the Kazakh tolerance to all religions.

In this sense, Kazakhstan is a secular state on both practical and ideological grounds. This is due to the nature and spirit of all the people of Kazakhstan whose vision of the world is formed in terms of historical tolerance to other religions.

We are, as they say, a society in transition and we are moving to a society whose ultimate objective is not the creation of a theocratic state, but a democratic and civil society based on the market economy and freedom of choice. Freedom of worship is not the basic creed, but one of the vital ingredients for the fully fledged development of the society. And here religion cannot be the ultimate goal of the progress; it is just one of the aspects of Kazakhstan's social and political development.

The threat of religious extremism, however, is not just a hypothesis. The

main threat, in my view, lies in the destructive influences lurking outside our borders. It may originate from neighbouring regions in Eurasia where the threat is real and where elements of extremism already exist.

Extremist activities in the adjacent countries and the desire of extremists to regain their position lost as a result of anti-terrorist activities, may become a factor destabilising the religious accord in the country, especially in its southern regions.

It does not necessarily mean that we should be complacent and believe that the current stable and peaceful situation in Kazakhstan, which exists due to inter-religious accord, will not require any preventive measures to preserve religious tolerance and loyalty.

Confronting religious extremism should be viewed as a system of measures which are connected with the face-to-face struggle with these phenomena as well as indirect measures designed to consolidate the regime of inter-denominational accord and inter-ethnic stability. Special attention should be paid, in my view, to preventive measures without resorting to measures which require the use of force. The information policy has to serve as the main tool in this predominantly invisible fight.

Kazakhstan is a part of the Islamic culture which stretches over a vast geographical area. The Kazakhs have practiced Islam for centuries. Atheist propaganda over the past century tried to break the faith of the people but owing to the strength of religious teachings and the spiritual resilience of past generations, this attempt failed.

After Kazakhstan gained independence it was natural for the people to wish to return to their spiritual foundations. This religious revival has been supported by the state. Hundreds of mosques have been built all over the

country and many Kazakhstanis have been educated at the well-known centres of the Islamic culture. The great humanitarian and moral role of Islam has become evident in modern Kazakhstan.

The Muslim community and clergy of our country value highly the position of the state and the majority practice the traditional Sunni Islam. The attempts by extremists to foist their ideas on the Kazakhstani people have not received much support.

The information policy has to include elements of religious education, which is focused on providing knowledge on the world religions as sources of peace and loyalty.

It is also about debunking the image of Islam as 'an aggressive' religion. This information policy will include analysis of the intellectual and spiritual works of such outstanding representatives of the Islamic civilisation as alFarabi, Avicenna (Ibn Sina), Ibn Rushdie and Firdousi.

Clearly, one cannot do without the high standard of religious education from institutions like the medrese and spiritual academies. There is no contradiction that only Kazakhstani clergymen and theologians will be able to reveal the true meaning of the basic dogmas and cult of Islam, which have been expounded in the sacred Koran. Only they will be able to expound them effectively to the believer. This is a vital task that should be implemented by the intelligentsia and the clergy, who have a clear vision of both Islam itself and its history.

These initiatives should come from the Muslim clergy themselves, on the basis of the non-interference of the State in religious matters.

The sacred book of the Muslims - the Koran is an extremely complex text. The true meaning of Islam has always been the same, but its text has under-

gone a variety of interpretations by different people over different time periods.

In Kazakhstan, Islam was based on the ideology of the so-called Knanafit religious school and the study of Sufism.

One of the significant features of Sufism lies in its spiritual flexibility, which allows the adaptation of Islamic dogmas to a variety of conditions and social relationships.

Due to this loyalty to Sufism, Kazakhs, who accepted Islam, have practised, in a peaceful way, the tenets of the Koran and the traditional pre-Islamic rituals. The Kazakh people, having taken up the new Islamic religion, have not deserted the spiritual heritage of their ancestors - the Turkic nomadic tribes.

An outstanding representative and founder of the Turkic tradition of Sufism in Kazakhstan was Hodja Ahmed Yassawi, whose mausoleum is located in the historic town of Turkestan. It was thanks to his relentless efforts that harmony was established between Islamic teachings and the pagan customs of Kazakh tribes.

Kazakh people still hold his name in high esteem, especially when on pilgrimage to his mausoleum, which has become known by many Turkic-speaking Muslims as 'The second Mecca'. It is significant that the second Kurultai (i.e. congress) of Kazakhs, from around the world, took place in Turkestan in October 2002. Turkestan still preserves the sacred spirit of Hodja Ahmed Yassawi - the symbol of religious unity of the Kazakh people.

In this way, the different interpretations of Islam were always present in the creation and development of Islam. There is nothing that contradicted or can contradict the spirit and letter of the Koran and the Shariat. In this sense, I

believe that the variant of Islamic dogma, which gained a foothold in Kazakhstan, will undergo further ideological development. It will require the input of the Islamic heritage from our theologians in a form suitable for the modern life of the Muslim community in our country.

In some countries, Islam is certainly developing in the form of 'enlightened' Islam. It plays the role of a spiritual mediator between the believers, on the one hand, the secular authorities on the other, in promoting the stabilisation of social and political life.

In such a peacemaking and socially significant form, Islam can be reformed as well in Kazakhstan.

We should of course not forget the direct fight against extremism. This involves the reinforcement of our armed units to prevent the ingress of ideological extremists or armed groups of terrorists.

It is also necessary to maintain traditional measures including police supervision of the activities of religious organisations and charity funds, as well as preventing the rise of extremist groups. The main emphasis should be on combating regional and international extremist movements.

In this regard, there is an urgent need for regional and international cooperation between Kazakhstani and foreign intelligence services on identifying the centres of extremists and their financial networks as well as taking measures to counteract drug trafficking via Central Asia.

We should take an active role in the international anti-terrorist coalition. In Central Asia, regional political structures such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, the Treaty on Collective Security can play their part. In the future, we should consider the importance of forming a continental coalition on the basis of the Convention on Interaction and Confidence

Building Measures in Asia (CICA) for combating extremism that, apart from Central Asia, will include the crisis regions of South Asia and the Middle East.

CHAPTER 3
AREA OF SPECIAL ATTENTION

Is there any similarity between the feelings of a man who is suffering from a physical ailment and the effect of social problems in the society that he inhabits? One can give a categoric answer - Yes! The similarity is pain, whether physical or moral. In every case, a man always craves tranquillity or any other state that can soothe a permanent feeling of mental or physical pain.

Many people who are living in a state of physical or moral discomfort believe that the universal remedy lies in drugs. Drug-addiction, whether of individuals or through mass abuse, has become the hallmark of 'risk groups'.

In ancient times, one finds references to substances which caused intoxication or 'some sensations'. In these ancient times, the Aztecs and the Incas (which were Siberian tribes) and the people of the Far East used opium, hashish and other substances. These were naturally produced for medical and sanitary purposes and for the performance of pagan cult rituals. It was also a privileged way of passing the time among important castes and elite groups.

In those times there were strict controls that dictated the spread and use of drugs. But the last century has experienced a new approach and the use of chemical substances which threatens mankind's moral and physical well-being and which inflicts a permanent social threat to the national security of many states.

The mass usage of hallucinogenic substances which threatens sustainable development inevitably leads to social apathy and social regression.

Ironically, the development of international markets and trade relations has led to the wide dissemination and consumption of drugs. Originally a means of entertainment for the elite and a medical pain-killer, drugs have now become mass market. Drugs, which are produced in large quantities via industrial technologies and production, have become commodities that are now easily available and cheap.

The level of mass consumption and the financial rewards from drug manufacturing and trafficking has, in the past, led to a string of large-scale conflicts - the so-called 'opium wars' of 1840-42 and 1856-60, between the suppliers and consumers of 'narcotic poisons'; Great Britain, France and Imperial China. This was the origin of the drugs business as a new and popular crime.

The combination of medical needs and market demand led to the launch of new semi-synthetic and synthetic narcotic substances. In the last two centuries, chemists started to synthesise new types of drugs such as heroin, cocaine, amphetamines, metamphetamines and other drugs producing hallucinogenic effects. This resulted from scientific and technical progress in the synthesis of a range of substances. The market demand for drugs led to the creation of an entire drug industry. High production and mass consumption encouraged drug-dealers to create drug trade routes, which facilitated the rise in the volumes being transported and a consequent reduction in unit transport costs.

The greed of criminal gangs and syndicates has resulted in the extraction of enormous profits from the drug business. This business operates outside the tax system and relies on corrupt police officials to gratify man's most base instincts.

One of the most dismal aspects of the 20th century is the flourishing drugs business. Today, at the beginning of the third millennium, 142 million people regularly and actively smoke marijuana. Some 30.5 million people poison themselves with amphetamines and synthetic drugs. 13.4 million people use cocaine; another eight million people have lost their human appearance, having been caught in the web of heroin and opiates. We can add to these dreadful figures those who are on the verge of drug addiction, and those one who take so-called soft drugs such as ecstasy.

We can also add those who use the plethora of new or upgraded illicit drugs, which originate from the 'healthy and practical' imagination of pseudo-scientists in their clandestine quasi-scientific laboratories. How many more people will die from new drugs that supplement those already known about - 130 types of narcotic substances, 120 hallucinogenic substances and 18 types of precursor chemicals?

The negative social and political consequences of drug abuse and the drug industry have reached such alarming global proportions that the United Nations General Assembly, at its 20th Special Session, considered it necessary to make a statement on the particular dangers that illicit drugs pose to humanity both now and in the future. The Political Declaration of 8 -10 June 1998 reads: "... Drugs break people's lives, destroy communities, subvert the uninterrupted development of a person and is a cause of crime. Drugs affect all sectors of every community in every nation. Illicit drug abuse causes damage to the freedom and development of young people in particular, who are the world's most valuable asset. Drugs pose a serious threat to the health and well-being of humanity as a whole, as well as to the independence of countries, democracy, the stability of nations, all social structures, and the

pride and hope of millions of people and their families”.

Hidden behind these lines are the following phenomena; tragedy and pain for humanity, poverty, ‘dirty’ riches, wars, extremism and terrorism.

The illicit drug industry is really a state within a state. It is a global empire with its own laws, rules, army, police, management and citizens; the millions of people stupefied by opium fumes and who pay exorbitant taxes to their ‘drug’ state as they get trapped in the abyss of poverty and the social cul-de-sac.

The management system of the illicit drug industry has evolved into a coordinated and stable structure. There are separate areas that deal with production and sales. Both are in constant motion and development - new drugs, new production capacities, new markets and new customers.

This illicit global empire called ‘the drugs business’ has three ‘golden’ capitals: ‘The Golden Triangle’ involving Myanmar, Thailand and Laos; ‘The Golden Crescent’ comprising Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, and the ‘Andean Triangle’ in South and Central America. While the golden triangle and crescent operate heroin and opiates, the South and Central American Andean area controls the cocaine business.

The world’s cocaine production capacity today stands at almost 1000 tonnes per year. Coca plantations cover vast territories in South and Central America, Mexico and the southern states of the USA. Colombia is the world’s leading producer of cocaine with two-thirds of the global coca-leaf cultivation, thereby exceeding the production volumes of countries such as Peru and Bolivia that were former leaders in the cultivation of this component of cocaine production. Tonnes of cocaine, via a number of routes, reach markets in the USA, Western Europe, Japan, Australia and other countries.

The development of the illicit drug business has become a real tragedy both for the main suppliers and the consumers. Colombia has to spend approximately one billion dollars annually to halt coca and opium poppy production. This is having a devastating effect on its economy. Regardless of the fact that the Colombian government destroys 52 million dozes of cocaine and three million dozes of heroin every year, Colombian drug dealers are still earning enormous profits from illicit drug plantations, which cover a total area of some 500,000 hectares.

The drugs business never sleeps. Nigerian organised criminal gangs are an additional source of cocaine and heroin supply and they are wielding a great deal of power. The circulation of illicit drugs from Nigeria has reached enormous proportions. This country is becoming the new centre for the drug trade. In 1997 the Committee of National Security of the Republic of Kazakhstan, together with a number of foreign special agents, exposed and eliminated one of the channels of illicit drug supply from Nigeria, which used Kazakhstan as a transit route to reach markets in Eastern Europe.

Our country faces significant threats as a result of attempts to use Kazakhstan as a transit route. Transit routes aggravate the illegal drug situation in our country because a portion of the drugs 'settle' along the entire route. That is why the volume of the drugs being trafficked via Kazakhstan constitutes a greater potential threat than the level of consumption of illegal drugs by our people. Strict measures against drug trafficking will enable us to at least reduce, if not stop, the volume of drug-related crimes.

The main threat is from the bulk of drugs which come from Afghanistan en-route to Europe.

According to data released by the United Nations International Drug

Control Programme, Afghanistan is the leading opiate cultivating country. Afghan fields of opiate cultivation, which include opium and heroin, account for up to 75-80% of the world's illegally-produced opiates. Between 2800 and 4800 tonnes of opium are being produced annually.

The geographical location of the Central Asian and Caspian regions, which are situated between the main opium producer, Afghanistan, and the largest drug consumers markets of Eastern and Western Europe, complicates the situation in our country.

So, the main trafficking route lies through our region, creating the enormous potential for destabilisation. Unfortunately, Central Asia is not only a trans-shipping point for drug trafficking. Cannabis, one of the most widespread illicit drugs, poses a great danger to our region. Cannabis is a wild plant that grows in large quantities in the southern regions of Central Asia. The worldwide production of Cannabis has topped 30,000 tonnes. This drug is widely spread over some 120 countries. On the global drugs market, the demand for hashish and marijuana, which are produced from cannabis, is growing.

It seems to me that the threat lies not only in the spread of drugs, or in the emergence or trafficking of new ones, but also in the qualitative improvement in the organisation of the drug business, which is becoming increasingly transnational in nature. There is no point in defining the illicit drug industry along territorial or national lines because all drug syndicates are closely connected to each other and coordinate their activities.

In this context, we can say that the drug business has reached a new level; it has both globalised and has overtaken many industries in its rate of industrialisation and new technological development.

These disturbing new tendencies compel us to talk not of separate drugs criminal groups, but of united transnational narcotic corporations consisting of mobile networks which are territorial and are built on the basis of national cells.

Without doubt, this globalised high-tech drug empire poses a real danger both to the national security of countries and also to the world at large. The global community today is vulnerable to the negative influences of the illegal drug trade, which undermines the demographic, social, economic, scientific and cultural potential of society.

The global community is desperately concentrating its efforts to fight this vice. The methods and character of these initiatives differ from one country to another.

Some countries use strict measures against this evil. For example, in countries such as Malaysia, Iran and Pakistan, capital punishment is the penalty for drug traffickers. The legislation in these countries is notable for the harshest measures against these crimes. One cannot say, for sure, how effective such severe methods are but it is a fact that the number of drug-related crimes in those countries is increasing at an annual rate of 2-3%.

On the other side of the coin, countries such as the United States, Great Britain and France have milder forms of punishment and resort to other measures to curb illegal drugs, including carrying out counter measures against the narcomafia. So in the USA, where damage from drug abuse amounts to approximately 150 billion dollars a year, most American States punish not only traffickers, but also citizens conspiring to possess illegal drugs. In England and France, drug addicts are forced by law to undergo compulsory treatment.

Finally, in a number of countries, the attitude towards drug users is quite liberal and addicts suffer only mild penalties. In Holland, for example, the use of so-called 'mild' drugs has been legalised.

However, simple descriptions and statements about the global drug trade, and the quoting of facts about the reaction of the global community to this extremely dangerous problem is meaningless unless we comprehensively analyse them. This will allow the correct response to the threat of the drug business to the national security of Central Asia and the Caspian region. Analysis and comparison of the facts shows an extremely dramatic situation that threatens the safety and stability of our State.

The United States and Western Europe are still the global leaders in the consumption of natural and synthetic drugs. However, from the second half of the 1990s, the consumption of drugs in western Europe declined while the consumption of drugs along the trade routes soared. For example, the level of drug consumption in Central Asia - a transit region - rose. This is an alarming trend, to which we need to pay attention. The consequences for Central Asia, in general, and Kazakhstan in particular may be unpredictable. Another danger related to the situation in Afghanistan is the significant volume of unsold drugs currently being stored by Afghan opium producers.

According to UN experts, in 2002, there was a repetition of the 1999 raw opium record harvest - between 3.5 and 4.5 thousand tonnes. In addition, the main reserve - some 10,000 tonnes of opium produced in the last 3-4 years, which has not been sold, still remains undiscovered.

Today, the level of trafficking through Central Asia and the Caspian area has increased and the momentum for further illicit trafficking along this

route is growing. This trend is significantly complicating the situation in our region.

Therefore, Central Asia, including Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, has become the main transit route for the flow of drugs from the primary manufacturers to the primary consumers. Our region borders one of the centres of the Drug Empire - the 'Golden Crescent' comprising Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran. Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan share the same border with Afghanistan, and Turkmenistan also has Iran as a neighbour.

These particular geographic conditions and the fact that Kazakhstan along with other countries of Central Asia are contiguous with the world markets for the manufacture and sale of dangerous drugs means that the region has become a 'transit corridor' for intercontinental drug movements. This transit role has been exacerbated further by the growth in synthetic drugs (Ecstasy, LSD, amphetamines) and their precursors. Kazakhstan has been dragged into this global drug web.

The drugs situation in our country is connected to the narcotics business based on the Eurasian continent. Our chances of ameliorating the situation (or at least minimising the risks) depends on the successful prosecution of the drug trade, internationally.

Of late, the drug situation in Kazakhstan has become complicated and in the short term, it will certainly become one of the most serious problems confronting our national security. The drug business in Kazakhstan has already become a social problem which is having a destructive effect on both the civil conditions of society and the prospects for its economic development and progress.

According to statistics, in Kazakhstan today, there are 45,505 people including 1927 adolescents and 4420 women who have been registered for drug abuse. Among the drug abusers, there are 28,913 drug addicts.

In spite of this, the annual consumption of substances derived from poppy seeds in Kazakhstan, excluding those 'in transit', amounts to over 29 tonnes, while that of cannabis is between 500 and 700 tonnes. Unfortunately the number of drug addicts is constantly rising. Despite the fact that according to both comparative and absolute indices of the number of drug addicts in society, Kazakhstan is well behind the developed countries (who are the main consumers of hallucinogenic substances), the steady growth in drug users is causing serious concern.

The growth in the number of drug-users goes hand in hand with drug-related crimes. For example, between 1991 and 2001, the percentage of drug-related crimes in Kazakhstan rose by a multiple of four, from 2.8% to 11.6%. In 2001, the figure was 17,700. Over the last few years, more than 10 tonnes per annum of narcotics and hallucinogenic substances have been confiscated in Kazakhstan. This is Kazakhstan's current picture of drug abuse and crime.

The situation is worsening significantly and Kazakhstan's position on the main drug route of the Eurasian continent is not the only factor.

Currently, trade volumes are rising in Kazakhstan. The programme of transport infrastructure development, for both passenger and freight is producing results. In the future, Kazakhstan may well become the main transport corridor linking Asia with Russia and the other countries of Europe. Unfortunately, Kazakhstan's transport capabilities are being exploited by the drug syndicates which are transporting natural drugs from Asia to Europe and synthetic ones back to Asia.

Few States can effectively combat illicit drug trafficking and crime, on their own. We are taking, and will continue to take, strict measures both individually and in cooperation with international counter-terrorist organisations, to avert this hazardous trend.

Taking account of the seriousness of the situation and the potential threat posed by the international drug trade to Kazakhstan, the way of fighting the drug trade is of paramount importance. There is no doubt that existing and new methods must be deployed in the struggle against drug abuse.

Kazakhstan has already implemented a number of systematic anti-drug measures within the framework of international rights and cooperative coordination. Kazakhstan has been coopted into the international system of drug control. Basic conventions of the United Nations on drug control (of 1961, 1971 and 1988) have been ratified and Kazakhstan has become a full member of the key anti-drug body of the UN - the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. We are also active participants in a number of prestigious international organisations including the SOC, CAEC, CICA, and TCSO which make a priority of combating drug trafficking.

Kazakhstan has already gained the reputation as a consistent activist against the global drug problem. As representatives of the state and people of Kazakhstan, we, the leaders of the country, have consistently produced policies and measures to stabilise the 'drug' situation in Central Asia and in the world as a whole.

In my September 2, 2002 report at the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, I paid special attention to the fact that Afghanistan still remains a source of extremism and drugs, and called

upon the United Nations to implement urgently a programme for the systematic destruction of the drug business in the region. It is clear that the war against international terrorism will lose all meaning if the roots of this phenomenon continue to be fed from outside.

We have passed National Anti-Drug Legislation and have adopted, and are implementing, the proposals of strategic papers that set out the priority measures in this area. The following acts, for example, have been adopted: 'The Law on Narcotic and Hallucinogenic Substances, Their Precursors, and Counteractive Measures Against their Trafficking and Abuse', 'The Law on Medical and Social Rehabilitation of Drug Addicts', 'The Strategy for Struggle Against Drug Addiction and the Drug Business for 2001-2005' and 'The Programme for the Struggle Against Drug Addiction and the Drug Business for 2002-2003'. I would like to add, that the latter documents, 'The Strategy for Struggle Against Drug Addiction and the Drug Business for 2001-2005' and 'The Programme for Struggle Against Drug Addiction and the Drug Business for 2002-2003', are unique documents of their kind in CIS countries.

The practical side of the struggle against drug addiction and the drug trade in Kazakhstan over the period of 2001-2005, has involved the formation of a full-scale national anti-drug system. These include the Republican Scientific and Practical Centre for the Medical and Social Problems of Drug Addiction in Pavlodar, Cynologic Centres of the Customs Committee of the Ministry of State Revenues and the Ministry of Interior Affairs of Kazakhstan (MIA) in Almaty, The Educational Centre for the Training, Re-training and Upgrading of the Qualification of Specialists of law-enforcement organs and other state bodies on issues relating to drug trafficking under the MIA Acad-

emy in Almaty, and the National Information and Analytical Centre for the Study and Evaluation of the Drugs Problem under the Chief Prosecutor's Office in Astana. These measures are necessary but insufficient for the effective and successful struggle against the drug trade and drug-related crime.

A systematic approach is required for this problem, including a thorough analysis of current events and the preventative steps needed to minimise the potential threat to the State.

To some degree, this concerns both the State and Society itself. Social and community action should be taken such as 'The Youth Against Drugs' or other similar mass movements. The Kazakh Mass Media is a major contributor to the fight against the drug trade, but I should note that the drugs problem is often sensationalised. As a result, reporting on drugs is sometimes seen as a kind of advertisement for this illegal trade.

State organisations entrusted with the fight against the spread of drugs (and their abuse) are also failing to achieve their objectives and failing to prevent drug-related crimes in the so-called 'risk-groups' - the marginal and antisocial elements. It is of particular concern that a number of citizens are not included in the list of 'the socially ill', who nevertheless are drug-addicts.

It is necessary to increase expenditure to strengthen the material and technical base of the special departments involved in the struggle against drug cartels and give them the power and authority to carry out full-scale operations to remove drugs transiting Kazakhstan, and organise a broad network of agencies to track down the chief drug-dealers.

In 2001 for instance, only 172.9 kg of opium and heroin were removed from circulation, which is half the evaluated drug trafficking volume of these hallucinogenic substances. We should take into account that by United

Nations standards, under the normal functioning of the state apparatus, at least one -tenth of the drugs must be removed from illegal circulation, including the bulk of transit transfers.

Without analysing the current situation with an objective assessment of drug-related crimes in the State, it is impossible to construct optimal and effective programmes to combat the narcomafia and drug addiction.

There is no reason to over-dramatise the situation. But, it should be noted that the current trends in drug trafficking and production in Kazakhstan do not give cause for optimism. What is of little significance today, at least in comparison to other countries, may eventually turn out to be the factor that will have the greatest influence, both hypothetically and in real terms, on the level of state and regional security.

That is why the inculcation of a systematic approach and a more rational attitude to the problem is one of the most pressing aspects in the implementation of preventive measures to safeguard our national security. In this regard, we are talking not only about global consolidation in the struggle against the drug business, but also about new conceptual approaches for the sake of the present and future security of Kazakhstan.

In analysing the conceptual methodology for the solution of these problems, we can distinguish two stages of the anti-drug programme which are differentiated from each other not only chronologically, but also conceptually.

Firstly, in the initial stage, which will run into the mid-term, measures to stabilise the 'drug' situation in the country are to be undertaken. Secondly, if this objective is successfully achieved, we will build a programme to reduce the amount of illegal drugs in circulation and the level of their abuse.

Of course, the lead in the struggle against drug-related crimes is taken by State and local executive bodies. But to achieve maximum effect these agencies must implement measures in strict accordance with the adopted strategy.

The drug situation in the state must be controlled, and measures to combat the drug trade must be implemented. This will require the extra provision of personnel and technical equipment for the use of law-enforcement agencies and the other relevant state bodies.

No doubt the selection procedures for employees in the departments in the Interior Ministry, National Security and Customs that deal with the drugs business and drug smuggling must be toughened. Correspondingly tough measures for tracking down those involved in drug trafficking should also be undertaken.

Special attention should also be given to measures to prevent the smuggling and trafficking of 'hard' drugs such as heroin and opium in accordance with the relevant legislation and through enhanced cooperation with partner countries and international organisations and their technical assistance. It is important to distinguish and toughen penalties for dealing in heroin, opium and other hard drugs.

It is also important starting from the 2003-2004 academic year, that educational institutions concerned with law-enforcement revise their programmes on the training and retraining of specialists involved in combatting drug trafficking. At higher medical educational establishments, a new speciality - 'Drug Addict Rehabilitation Psychiatrist' - must be introduced.

Proper modern measures are also required for the drug-addict rehabilitation service, which has a remit to provide full medical and social rehabilita-

tion services to drug-addicts. The National Scientific and Practical Centre on the medical and social problems of drug addiction has an important role to play in this.

The main thrust of activity is via preventive measures against drug addiction aimed at creating a social immunity to drugs. For this, it is necessary to launch a step-by-step programme for teaching these values to students of secondary, specialist and higher education establishments for the 2003-2004 academic year.

An effective tool to stabilise the drug situation is to plan and launch a system of league tables indicating the anti-drug effectiveness of all the relevant state bodies. The achievement for all these important objectives is possible by maintaining a constant and comprehensive scientific monitoring of the drug situation.

The regional committees created to combat drug addiction and the drug trade have great potential. The main task of these committees is to receive feedback from the leaders of corresponding bodies and to take the necessary steps.

Analysis of international practice reveals that countries pay particular attention to the activities of anti-drug bodies. These bodies have an independent role to investigate and expose drug-related crimes. They have a focused objective. In maintaining the anti-drug functions of customs, border-guards and National Security services, who have limited powers, these important responsibilities are to be delegated to the relevant units of the Home Affairs Ministry and the Police.

The experience of most countries is that the functions of the coordinating body are delegated to a governmental Committee on Drug Control. The

increasing drug situation in Tadjikistan has forced that country's leadership to create a special agency for drug control, under the President of Tadjikistan, who has the right to crack down on drug-related crimes, and has ordered other law-enforcement organs to do so too.

In general, international experience shows the need to observe the principle of separation in the functions of the 'Coordinator' and the 'Special Body'.

Analysis of a breadth of international experience proves that an anti-drug system should not be focused at the unattainable elimination of the drugs problem, but at its stabilisation and containment within a framework that minimises the negative influences on national security and the country's genetic fund.

Without such a system, all measures to prevent the sale of drugs, drug addiction, and to coordinate the treatment/rehabilitation of drug addicts, will not yield the desirable results.

Therefore, at the next stage, it is necessary to carry out the following set of urgent measures:

1. Legal measures aimed at bringing the national standards of different branches of the Law (the civil, family and labour codes, the administrative law, the criminal act, etc.) which combats drug addiction and the drug trade into line with each other;
2. Administrative measures. The effective implementation of a unified 'National Coordinator' with the appropriate status to fight drug addiction and the drug trade;
3. Material and technical measures including the provision of proper personnel and finance to the relevant state bodies;

4. Measures aimed at the prevention of drug addiction and the drug trade; a system of medical and social rehabilitation of drug addicts that coordinates the efforts of society as a whole;
5. Measures to evaluate the activities of state agencies that fight drug addiction and the drug trade;
6. Measures aimed at the consolidation and development of international cooperation and interrelations between the competent agencies of the region, and cooperation between states, the territories which are connected by common drug trafficking routes; the widening of regional political and other structures of cooperation (The Shanghai Organisation on Cooperation, The Central Asian Economic Union, The Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia, The Treaty for Collective Security Organisation, etc.);
7. Measures aimed at attracting technical aid from the international community - while implementing specific anti-drug projects and meeting the interests of Kazakhstan.

It is difficult today to predict how effective all these preventive measures and methods will be in averting the threat of the global drugs business and drug addiction. We must realise that the domestic fight against the drug business, which is in its embryonic stage in Kazakhstan, will not yield positive results unless it is rationally solved at the international level. The Drug trade must also be suppressed in the fertile surroundings of the main manufacturing and consuming countries. At present, one thing is clear - there is an extraordinary danger from the international drug trade, for both the present and future, of a sovereign and progressive Kazakhstan.

Awareness of the degree of this international threat as well as future threats from the cross-border drug trade can only be described as a *causa belli* for us to fight decisively and uncompromisingly the menace of drug trafficking. Any possibility of Kazakhstan becoming a major hallucinogenic drugs production centre must be stamped out.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASPIAN BETWEEN THE MILLENNIA

If one delves into the history of the Caspian sea one notices that the historical chronicles, mythology and legends of the same people treated the Caspian in diametrically contradictory ways. One moment extolling its virtues only to disparage it at the next. The description and characteristics of the Caspian Sea were invariably coloured by certain mythical 'half-tints'.

The ancient Greeks, for instance, simultaneously considered The Caspian region their ancient motherland, the Centre of the Earth, and at the same time, the End of the Earth. It was in this very place that Prometheus informed the ancient Greeks of an invigorating bonfire, and it was also where he was chained to the Caucasian Mountains as a punishment. Some researchers even suggest that there existed, on the shores of the Caspian, an ancient civilisation whose towns were washed away by a great flood caused by changing sea levels. This evidence accords with the bible story of Noah's Ark coming to rest on Mount Ararat.

At one time, Alexander the Great, came upon the lowlands of the Caspian area, and considering the Caspian Sea some kind of marsh thought that it did not deserve any attention. He formed the same impression of the northern rim of the sea, the oikumen, beyond which there were deserts and uninhabited lands.

Despite this, the history, mythology and culture of many countries and people describes the Caspian area as a significant territory, symbolising either the beginning or the end of a microcosm.

The Caspian area was considered a place where the world's civilisations and religions met. Velimir Khlebnikov's graphic description of the place is worth quoting: "The Caspian is the triangle of Christ, Muhammed and Buddha."

Another point of view described the Caspian as the remnant of the large Tethys Ocean located in the very centre of the prehistoric continent of Gondwana. Today, this relic of a prehistoric epoch is the largest landlocked body of water on the planet.

Until recently, the Caspian area (or region) was considered to be on the geopolitical periphery. Some estimates of the potential energy reserves of the Caspian shelf and the continental 'Caspian Region' created a Caspian mythology which was thought by some to be an unconvincing and unreliable attempt to raise the prestige of the Caspian. What is the Caspian region like today? For a more complete understanding, let us consider if the term 'geopolitical region' is applicable to the Caspian area, and if we can characterise it as self-sufficient.

This question produces a number of responses, each presenting a definite view of the Caspian area. According to one group of experts, the Caspian area, with its peculiar ecosystem, is a unique depository of power and bio-resources. As a place that satisfies global economic, ecological and bio-economic interests, it looks like an isolated geopolitical region, capable of becoming a unified community. This concept is supported by the fact that the sea is shared by all the surrounding countries. This is why the Caspian area is seen as a strategic location and as an important element in the geopolitical situation of Central Asia.

The second point of view considers the Caspian area to be a constituent part of the northern segment of the so-called 'global arc of instability'

extending from Algeria to South-Eastern Asia, across the Balkans, the Middle East, the Caucasus, Afghanistan and Kashmir.

A third group of experts describe the Caspian region as an area located at the crossroads of the Caucasus, the Middle East, Russia and Central Asia. A region adjoining Christian, Islamic and Buddhist civilisations. Some experts have coined the term 'Greater Central Asia' to describe the landlocked areas of Eurasia, as well as the Caspian and Aral Seas, the region in the heart of the continent and the mountain ranges that surround them, including their western boundaries - Khorasan (Eastern Iran), the Caucasus and the Volga-Caspian water bodies.

Political geographers consider the Caspian Sea to be on the periphery of a large system stretching from the Atlantic Ocean and embracing several regions through the Mediterranean and Black seas.

This 'macro-region' includes many large maritime centres that form a kind of hierarchy of importance. Essentially, the seas can be likened to a piece of material that binds together the separate pieces of a single geopolitical space spreading from the North-Western Atlantic in the West as far as Kazakhstan, Russia and Caucasus in the East. The Caspian Sea can therefore be described as an entrance or the gates to the system. In this hierarchy, the Caspian is, to some extent, a peripheral area.

As the Caspian region, today, is a potential zone of instability, some experts call it a geopolitical 'black hole' analogous to the Middle East. This situation has been created by a number of factors connected to the presence of huge hydrocarbon reserves, which are creating conflicts of interests between a number of global and regional powers.

Also important is the unresolved legal status of the Caspian Sea and exist-

ing discord among a number of the Caspian states (those states that border on the Caspian sea). These disputes relate to the rights of ownership to some shelf deposits, and the direction of priority routes for the transport of Caspian oil and gas.

It is obvious that the wealth of the Caspian Sea will only be successfully exploited if the Caspian states respect each other's interests.

Unfortunately, it is not currently possible to call the situation in this vast region, absolutely safe more so given its proximity to Afghanistan. In order to improve the situation, it is necessary to concentrate efforts to find common solutions.

Geopolitical regionalism is closely connected to a regional geopolitical paradigm that is the result of the most significant historical event that has taken place in recent history. Namely the disintegration of the USSR which has given greater geographical significance to the Caspian region.

The significance of the Caspian region for Western countries increased sharply after the events of September 11, 2001 when the international counter-terrorist campaign began. This is particularly evident at present. Why is this happening? Let us define some key trends.

Firstly, the global geopolitical situation has changed dramatically following the terrorist outrage in the United States. This event meant that Western countries wish to reduce their energy dependence on the Middle East.

Secondly, the global energy market is generally unstable and competition among the key suppliers of oil to global markets is intensifying.

Thirdly, the full exploration of the Caspian's energy reserves is drawing closer. Oil prospecting in the Caspian area is entering its final stage and the map of caspian energy resources is becoming more widely available and the

most attractive oilfields have already been earmarked. This process is leading to the reinforcement of the geopolitical struggle for the Caspian region.

Given the importance of these circumstances, a number of countries have become entangled in the process. Most critically, there has become a clash of interests among a number of powers, namely: the US, Russia, China, the EU, Turkey, Iran and the Persian Gulf countries.

This, undoubtedly, is also conditioned by an upsurge in Western diplomacy that is stretching out its hand for counter-terrorist collaboration in the Caucasus. An example is the largest Russian-Kazakhstani naval exercise in a decade, which took place in August 2002, and the US's inclusion of Iran, a Caspian state, in the so-called 'Axis of Evil'.

In this regard, it seems to me that the Caspian region may be characterised as the 'geopolitical gates' to the North-South and East-West pathways.

I should draw attention, at this juncture, to the fact that on the whole, the Caspian's strategic stability in the mid-term will depend not on hydrocarbon or ecological factors, but on a change in the geopolitical situation around it.

It is a fact that the geopolitical significance of the Caspian Sea and the continental Caspian Region is steadily rising. This elevated geopolitical recognition is the result of both the discovery and estimate of hydrocarbons and natural gas reserves on the Caspian shelf, as well as in the continental Caspian Region. Some believe that these reserves give the region more prominence than it deserves.

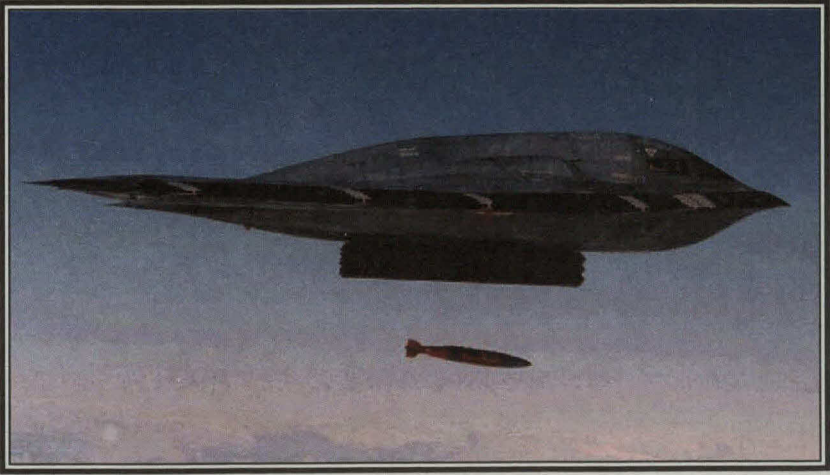
We can look at the situation from another standpoint. In comparison with other regional players in the global 'black gold' market such as the Persian Gulf, the hydrocarbon resources of the Caspian appear modest. But the overwhelming majority of Caspian states are major oil and gas suppliers to the



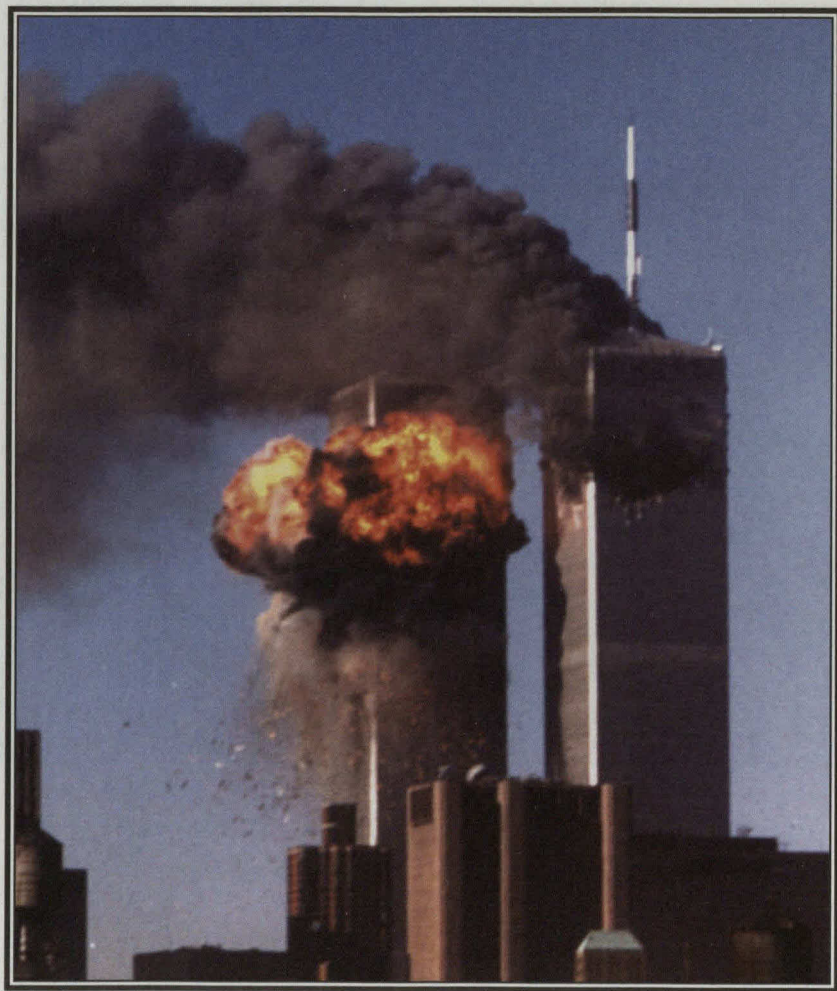
New York. September 11, 2001.
Innocent people suffer everywhere.



New York. September 11, 2001.
The culmination of fear.



The strategic B-2 Stealth bomber in the skies of Afghanistan.



New York. September 11, 2001.
Terrorists attack the Symbol of America.



Washington. The Pentagon. September 11, 2001.
A blow to one of the most well defended places.



President Nazarbayev meets Pope John Paul II.



Kazakhstan - the land of peaceful space exploration.



The leaders of countries participating in The Shanghai Organisation on Cooperation, St. Petersburg, June 7, 2002.



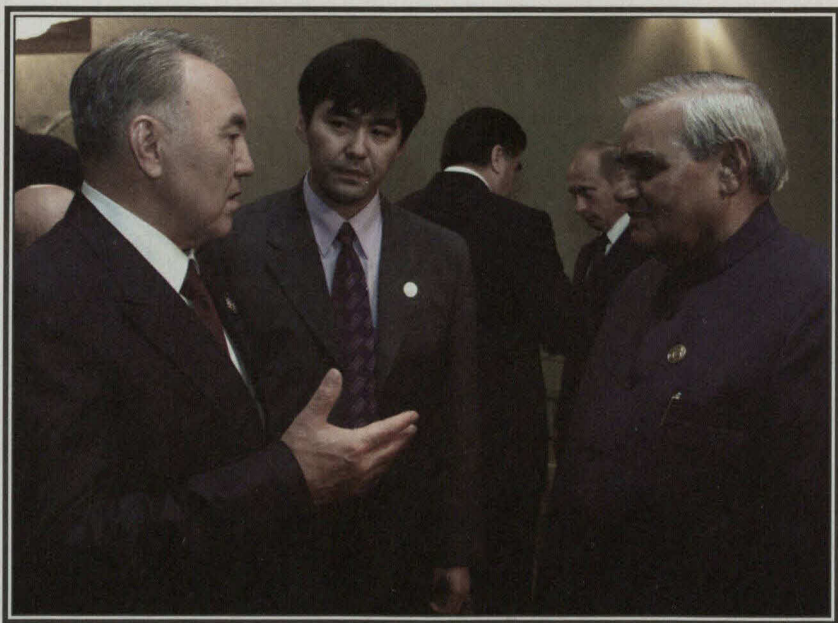
The heads of delegations of countries participating in The Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA), Almaty, June 3, 2002.



Almaty, June 3, 2002.
At the CICA summit.



Almaty, June 3, 2002.
At the CICA summit.



Almaty, June 3, 2002.
At the CICA summit.



President Nursultan Nazarbayev visits Russia. A meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin. Moscow, December 19, 2002.



The Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic
Ziang Zemin meets President Nursultan Nazarbayev.



Astana, December 20, 2002.
A summit of the Eurasian Economic Union.



President Nursultan Nazarbayev speaks at the CICA summit.

world market. Russia and Iran are considered to be among the world's top five oil and gas suppliers and according to some, Russia is the biggest oil exporting country, while Iran is in third place behind Saudi Arabia.

This is why Caspian hydrocarbon reserves may become the makeweight that will bring qualitative change to the world oil and gas market. It is thanks to the Caspian Sea that some states have risen up the hierarchy of major oil exporters. And it must be borne in mind that it is precisely the position in this ranking that plays an important part in the geopolitical prestige of oil exporting countries.

Alongside this informal competition, further intrigue is emerging in the Caspian geopolitical situation. This is Russia's increasingly significant role in the region. Today, all the major Caspian transport corridors lead to Russia. And it is only through Russia that Caspian oil gets into Western markets. Gas from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan is exported via Russia.

The Caspian Pipeline Consortium (CPC) has resumed the construction of trunk pipelines. The state company 'Trans Neft' launched the Baku-Novorossyisk oil pipeline through Dagestan and bypassing Chechnya. This project was finished in the spring of 2000 and facilitated the unhindered delivery of Azerbaijani oil to the Novorossyisk terminal.

In the year 2000, two more priority trunk pipeline routes were established: the Baltic pipeline system and the Suhodolnaya-Rodionovskya trunk oil pipeline circumventing Ukraine to Novorossyisk.

Through the Baltic pipeline system, Ural and Siberian oil will take a shorter and cheaper route to the terminals under construction at the Russian port of Primorsk on the Baltic Sea and not to Latvian and Lithuanian ports.

The initial annual carrying capacity of the Baltic pipeline system is 12

million tonnes. This network comprises a 270 km long oil pipeline, an oil terminal, and storage tanks. Completion of the second phase will increase the system's annual carrying capacity by 17 million tonnes with the prospect of raising this to some 32 million tonnes.

The total length of the Sukhodolnaya - Rodionovskaya oil pipeline is 250 km, which is 100 km shorter than the present route through Ukraine and whose annual carrying capacity is 26 million tonnes. This project which will cost \$180 million, is to be completed very soon.

With the growth in the volume of oil extraction on the Kazakhstan part of the Caspian shelf, the need to construct another oil pipeline along the Caspian Pipeline Consortium (CPC) route could arise by 2010.

Apart from these projects that are being realised, there is a plan to lay an oil pipeline through the territories of some European countries to the Croatian port of Omishal on the Adriatic Sea within the framework of the 'Druzhba - Adria' project.

Gazprom Company's export policy must also be considered, particularly, in the laying of the first section of the Yamal-Europe oil pipeline which is underway through Belarus, circumventing Ukraine, as well as the big 'Blue Stream' project to Turkey along the Black Sea bed. Having completed the oil and gas distribution network within Russia, Gazprom is actively developing its business in the Caspian region.

Of course, the United States has directed its attention to the Caspian region. The significance of this area in the policies of the present White House administration is very evident. The role of the region as the part of the US energy strategy is growing. This is evidenced by the US backing for the Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline project, and the increasing US interest as a result

of the discovery of substantial hydrocarbons deposits in the Kashagan Field.

This intensified US's activity, has attracted further European investors to the Kazakhstani market. All the parties concerned are well aware of the potential riches of the Caspian Sea.

Prospected oil reserves are estimated at between 4 and 6 billion tonnes, or 3% of the world's total. Today, the volume of extraction of Caspian oil is 1.5% of the world's extraction total, and 4 % of that of Middle Eastern countries. The production potential of the Caspian Sea is estimated to reach 150 - 200 million tonnes by 2010. This is 12 % of the overall production capacity of Middle Eastern countries predicted for the same year.

Furthermore, the Caspian's mineral resources are sufficient for the launch of a number of highly efficient industries. The Caspian states, including Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Russia and Iran, are attempting to solve their economic problems by supplying their energy resources to the world market. I have to stress that the strategy of the Caspian states is built on the broad attraction of foreign investment into the development of the energy sector. The following number of companies from the respective countries which are already developing Caspian oil and gas include: the USA - 11 companies; Japan - 5, England - 4, France and Turkey - 3 each, Norway - 2, Italy, Germany, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, Finland, Argentina, Singapore, Malaysia, Australia and others - 1 apiece.

Apart from this, we must not forget the fact that the Caspian region is situated in the very heart of a new communications system. Transport links of international significance lie across the region, namely: the TRACECA, 'North-South' corridor and TAE fibre-optic line, as well as air routes which, in the future, will play an important role in transportation and communi-

cation across the Eurasian continent. The region's East-West and North-South transit significance is growing and transport times are being considerably reduced compared to the current sea route.

The Caspian region is a new part of the Eurasian economy which is currently being created. It has significant economic potential given the development of regional cooperation.

Europe is interested in the diversification of oil and gas imports and in reducing dependency on Middle East countries. For Turkey, which is experiencing an acute shortage of hydrocarbons, the building of an oil pipeline from the Caspian Sea is potentially profitable. Turkey is competing with both Russia and Iran for this oil pipeline route.

Iran's interests in the transportation of hydrocarbons southwards is making it Russia's competitor. Looking eastwards, China is the main player interested in hydrocarbons. Over the last 10 years, its dependency on imports has been growing steadily and China obtains a considerable part of its energy resources from the Persian Gulf and South-East Asia. That is why its need for Siberian and Caspian energy resources is inevitable.

There is the possibility of China becoming an important part in both the North-South and East-West transcontinental transportation systems. However, in the mid-term, rapid development in this direction is not expected.

The economic situation today does not allow Caspian countries to implement such large-scale projects as the construction of railways and roads, which are of international importance. This is due to the protracted procedures required to conclude interstate agreements. These involve the creation of the organisational and legal framework for the facilitation of transits, the unification of transportation and customs systems, etc.

At present, a number of major international financial groups are engaged in fierce competition over spheres of influence in the Caspian region.

The influence of the biggest transnational corporations (TNCs) centres on the geopolitical issues related to the new pipeline routes and the right to develop oil and gas fields in the Caspian Sea. Pipeline issues are particularly complicated, given the instability of the Caucasus.

The Kazakhstani sector of the Caspian shelf is considered the most prospective. Over a dozen leading TNCs, among which are such giants as Chevron-Texaco, BP, Shell and ExxonMobil are operating in the Kazakhstani sector of the Caspian shelf. The most active TNC's in the Caspian region are from the United States. American capital controls AMOC, the principal coordinator of work in the Azerbaijani sector of the Caspian shelf. AMOC also plays an important role in defining the trunk pipeline route for the Caspian Pipeline Consortium (CPC).

Chevron-Texaco has played, and is playing, an independent and active role in the Caspian region. It is important to emphasise that Kazakhstan and Chevron-Texaco have mutual interests. Having invested heavily in the preparatory and initial stages of production in Western Kazakhstan, the corporation is planning long-term investments in the future.

Western experts linked the increase in Chevron-Texaco's share price to the conclusion of the Tengiz contract. Kazakhstan has promoted such contracts given the country's economic priorities and the fact that the presence of Chevron-Texaco is a reliable guarantee for most foreign private investors.

In addition to US oil companies, TNCs of other Western countries, including those from France, Italy and Great Britain are also developing the Caspian area.

The interest from leading TNCs in the Caspian region is the result not only of rich reserves of hydrocarbons, but also the accessibility (as compared to Iran or Iraq, for instance) of Kazakhstan's Caspian oil and gas sector to Western countries. The decision of Caspian states to give foreign companies free access to develop the oil and gas sector is related primarily to the focus of their foreign economic policies. These policies, which include the expansion of foreign trade and the development of transit routes for the transportation of oil and gas.

For us, one of the main reasons for attracting big international companies to develop the Caspian Sea was the use of the latest technologies. It has been known since the Soviet era that we have enormous oil reserves in the Caspian. But the Soviet oil industry lacked the experience in dealing with such high pressures - over 800 atmospheres - as well as with such a high sulphur content in the oil. Western technology was an important trump card for the transnational corporations. To reach our goals, new production capacity and new pipelines are required and only foreign investors can provide us with the necessary capital to achieve these.

We have to admit that the ecological balance of the Caspian Sea has been disturbed. Man's activities have led to such a disturbance of the balance of the ecological system that decades are needed for its restoration. This is an unrealistic time period given the total development of the Caspian's hydrocarbon-rich shelf and the possible construction of a submarine pipeline.

Taking this into consideration, the exploration and exploitation of mineral sources on the shelf must be linked to a fundamental agreement between the Caspian states on environmental protection issues. It is obvious that the strategic interests of the Caspian states must be in accordance with a detailed

plan for their development activities with the compulsory observance of all ecological norms, and the absolute preservation of the Caspian eco- and bio systems.

In the light of modern geo-economic prospects, and an ever-increasing global consumption of traditional energy sources, the mid-term geopolitical significance of the Caspian region will grow. A number of factors point to this.

The first factor is connected to global trends in the energy market and the world's hydrocarbon reserves. In spite of the fact that a number of companies, including Shell and BP, are trying to construct their own strategic model and are making every effort to develop alternative power sources, the general outlook for oil exporters remains bright.

It is important to note that ExxonMobil, which is the World's largest oil company, is focusing on oil and gas, and is paying less attention to new alternative sources of energy and non-traditional environmental protection methods.

That is why there is no point talking about any real possibility of substituting non-renewable energy sources for renewable ones on an international scale in the near future. As a matter of fact, this issue will take centre-stage only when natural energy sources have been exhausted. I stress that both ExxonMobil and most Russian oil companies back this viewpoint.

So, as far as I can see, there are two possible scenarios for a change in global energy consumption patterns in the future. The first one is very probable; the second much less so.

First, the conservative scenario. In this scenario, there will be a hydrocarbon shift from coal and oil to gas, then to renewable energy sources and, possibly, even to nuclear energy.

Second, the revolutionary scenario. This variation supposes that in the coming decades, the prospects of developing hydrogen-oriented economies will evolve. These economies will run on fuel cells and highly developed 'hydrogen' technologies which will allow the production of electricity from hydrogen without polluting the environment.

If a breakthrough in these hydrogen technologies takes place, traditional energy sources will lose their significance. In such an eventuality, from the year 2025, there will be a significant drop in the consumption of oil, which will possibly only have some 20 - 30 years as the principal source of energy on our planet.

With this in mind, oil companies in the mid-term will be even more interested in developing prospective oil deposits. In this regard, Caspian reserves will be of even greater significance.

There is no doubt whatsoever that our efforts to create a security zone in the Caspian must include a range of adequate measures against potential threats. In general, the geopolitical dynamics of the past few years testifies to the unstable geopolitical situation in the region.

With the international anti-terrorist campaign, the region has become of even greater significance. Certainly the region's dependence on the successes and failures of the anti-terrorist campaign will become more acute. In any case, the reality of the Caspian's problems and its regional significance will both increase.

It is known that tension in the region is growing. Key factors are the Iranian - Azerbaijan incident of 2001, the existence of territorial disputes between Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan, and American sanctions against states that cooperate with Iran in the military and economic spheres.

All this shows that without an active peace initiative, the process of regional rapprochement is practically impossible. In this connection, Kazakhstan must assume a constructive and peaceful stance and hope for an increasing level of trust in the region. In the future, it will be imperative to give Caspian problems due consideration at the CICA.

A Caspian Stability Pact, containing a declaration on the abstinence from the use of military force in the Caspian region, demands serious consideration. Such a declaration could be signed by all Caspian states, first bilaterally, then multilaterally. The creation of a Caspian regional anti-terrorist structure is also ripe for discussion.

In addition to the Caspian's ecological woes, there is the problem of using the so-called 'ecological pressure factor' as leverage. This involves the use of inaccurate information about the ecological situation in the region for political goals.

It is obvious that a solution to the Caspian's ecological problems will not be possible without the active participation of both state institutions and international corporations. The region's security will be strictly determined by the ecological factors. Therefore we must define the term 'security' as referring not only to military and political structures, but also protection of the environment on behalf of the region's inhabitants.

CHAPTER 5

SAFETY CHANNELS

These days, the idea of 'collective security' has become a widely used term with reference to the foreign policies of sovereign states. The number of unions and organisations which are based on collective security in different regions is growing in proportion to the number of threats to their national securities. However, the term 'collective security' itself is very often interpreted quite loosely, or in a rather narrow context.

The time has come when the need for collective security has put a spotlight on the existence and further development of the newly independent states. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact as a geopolitical security systems, the storm clouds of conflict began to gather.

At various places in the former Soviet Union, centres of conflict still exist. Border instability, nationalism, disputes on inheritance rights from the Soviet Union and attempts to exert influence could and still may turn the former Soviet territory into one enormous melting pot with dire and far-reaching consequences for states, peoples and nations.

It is against this tense atmosphere that steps towards a common reconciliation and a search for collective security have been taken. Such a system would prevent the vast Eurasian region from turning into a second Balkans.

The difficult and long-lasting search for such a security system in the CIS is already promoting a non-violent atmosphere among CIS-member countries. It is also ensuring the integrity of sovereignty of states that have not yet developed fully.

Such systems of collective security, however imperfect, exist. They do not solve modern problems; but at least they serve as an impetus and incentive in the search for a more effective system of mutual security among CIS countries.

The issue of how to prevent domestic conflicts over the mutual claims of former republics and how to develop interstate relations was of paramount importance in the early development of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). We are now faced with creating a collective response to the external menace which is threatening to destabilise the whole territory of the CIS. This is of particular significance for those CIS countries which are threatened by geopolitical destabilisation (such as Afghanistan) or aggressive forms of religious extremism.

One cannot say that the situation has fully stabilised. New threats are sprouting where old ones have not yet been completely uprooted. It would be a mistake to argue that the process of geopolitical normalisation in Afghanistan has reduced the need to form a system of collective security in Central Asia.

Given the complicated and uncertain situation in Afghanistan, which is characterised by relentless fighting between different factions, it is impossible to exclude the possibility of a relapse.

We are now faced with the challenge of how to build an improved system of collective security in the region. This must go hand-in-hand with the current system of collective security, and publically endorsed by members of the CIS and other regional countries.

The first concrete step to contain potential conflict was made in Tashkent, Uzbekistan on March 15, 1992 when Armenia, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tadjikistan and Uzbekistan signed the Collective

Security Treaty (CST), which came into force for a period of 5 years from its ratification on April 20, 1994.

For the first time ever, a military and political alliance of states was formed on the basis of a new and voluntary wish to suppress conflicts on the territories of participating states.

At the preliminary stage of adopting and concluding the treaty, a military-style alliance of the CST was formed. In Minsk, in December 1992, treaties on the joint cooperation of military forces and border guards of CIS countries were signed. The military nature of the reformed alliance gave new hope to the national securities of a number of CIS countries.

Azerbaijan and Georgia have been facing serious military and political crises related to the Karabakh and Abkhasian conflicts and in September 1993, Azerbaijan (and Byelorussia) applied for CST membership. A little later, Georgia also joined the Treaty.

Work on strengthening the Treaty has been ongoing. On February 10, 1995 an agreement to form a united system of anti-aircraft defences within the framework of the CST was signed. The concept of collective security for CST participants was also approved.

The security model created within the framework of the CST was far from ideal. It merely demonstrated the possibility of peaceful dialogue between participants and acknowledged that a breach of the political border of an individual state threatened the existence of the whole CIS.

Regrettably, the text and spirit of the Treaty itself makes no mention of measures to be used in cases of conflict between member states. The focus is mainly on protecting the external borders of the CIS, a move that cannot solve the more probable internal conflicts between member states.

From the viewpoint of CIS interstate security, many people were of the opinion that bilateral treaties in such cases would be more effective than the CST.

These arguments and other geopolitical issues prevented a number of states, including Azerbaijan, Georgia and Uzbekistan, from signing the Protocol on the Extension of the CST in 1999 and therefore, formally signified their exit from the Treaty.

Sometime later, after a temporary crisis, the CST was given new impetus for development and the active integration of more participants. In a short period - from 2000 to 2001 - a great deal of work was done, and many items in the Treaty were defined more precisely and conceptually.

Today, the proper legal basis for an effective and fully functioning CST has been created. The 'Memorandum on Improving the Effectiveness of the CST' and 'The Act on the Order of Adoption and Implementation of Collective Resolutions on the Use of Force, and Means of Collective Security' have been approved and a Committee of Secretaries of National Security Councils has been formed. Also approved is the Resolution for the Creation of a Unified Quick-Reaction Force in Central Asia. In 2000-2001, we were able to improve the effectiveness of the Treaty by upgrading its functioning mechanisms.

Among the documents that form the core-part of the 'legal basis' are 'The Memorandum on Improving the Effectiveness of the CST', 'The Resolution on the Formation of a Committee of Secretaries of National Security Councils', 'The Act on the Order of Adoption and Carrying Out of Collective Resolutions on the Use of Force and Means of Collective Security', 'The Agreement on Forces Mobilisation Status and Means of Collective Security'

and 'The Protocol on The Order of Formation and Functioning of Forces and Means of Collective Security'.

At the session of the Security Council of the CST in May 2001, a Unified Central Asian Quick-Reaction Force was formed. The level of instability has risen in the southern regions of Central Asia and armed fighters from Afghanistan and Tadjikistan have entered Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. That is why I can say with some confidence that these measures were very timely.

Organisational issues were therefore resolved, conceptual aspects streamlined and the activities of the CST itself have become a reality. Annual command-staff and field training within the framework of the Agreement is now the norm. This involves member-countries of the CST and the militarised subdivisions of Uzbekistan and Ukraine. Full-scale exercises such as 'the Southern Shield of Commonwealth', 'Combat Brotherhood' and 'South Anti-terror' along with the special Quick-Reaction Force subdivisions have been successfully conducted.

The reinforcement of the CST's capability is evidence of its peacekeeping potential since military cooperation allows planning for external threats and schemes for suppressing domestic conflicts including the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking.

The history of the CST, however, has been marked by a serious crisis linked to events in Afghanistan. The CST did not react sufficiently quickly to the situation in Afghanistan and thereby, lost the initiative. The CST lost its authority as a force to provide and maintain collective security. This situation was the result of a lack of structure organisation, and the proper assessment of its capabilities.

At any rate, the CST's organisational structure was further revamped in

2002. On the 14th of May 2002, the Agreement on the Creation of the CST as an Organisation was signed in Moscow. The main emphasis, as in the first variant of the CST, focused on cooperation in military equipment, which in some cases, has been more constructive. For example, the level of expenditure on weapons from Russia, was considerably reduced due to discounts. This enabled the effective implementation of modernisation programmes for the Armed Forces and the improvement in CST's defence potential.

We are still developing a general military and political space that embraces all CST participants. In many areas, we have not yet reached military and political integration - a point at which we can claim a fully functioning collective system of security in CIS countries. We, the countries of the CST, are unified by many things, and at the same time, separated by many things.

It is impossible to reduce the threat of internal conflict by the use of force alone. It is not only a military issue. It is also an issue of economic, social and cultural integration, when the walls of confrontation are torn down, and when the extent of common ground becomes such a force for unification that the use of force for peacekeeping becomes superfluous.

The Shanghai Organisation on Cooperation (SOC) that was created on June 15, 2001 on the basis of 'The Shanghai Five' has great potential for peacekeeping and security. The SOC comprises six countries, namely: Kazakhstan, China, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tadzhikistan and Uzbekistan.

In terms of the organisational issues, I would like to emphasise that since the momentum of the SOC (known before as the 'Shanghai Five'), seven top-level meetings have been held with the participation of the Presidents from participating countries, and a number of official documents have been signed.

The summit meeting in Saint Petersburg on 7 June 2002 was perhaps the most important one as the SOC's Charter, its basic document, was signed there thus formally hitting this military-political grouping off the ground.

It is worth mentioning that SOC has already helped in addressing a number of issues: reduce certain tensions between its participants, settle some border issues and provide a forum for continued discussions and development of relations.

Against this backdrop the appearance of the Anti-terrorist Coalition in the regional security context and its effective measures to stabilise the situation should not be viewed as a mere coincidence. In fact the Coalition has filled the gaps in the regional security system which existing military-political groupings of the region couldn't fill.

I want to point out that the reasons for these developments in the political, military and security structure are numerous, and most lie in the geopolitical, economic, internal political and military development of the countries of the region and indeed globally.

The evaluation and definition of the prospects for regional political and military groupings such as the CST and SOC must know that Central Asia is a newly-emerging geopolitical area.

It can be seen that Central Asia is still in the process of forming its internal architecture and is searching for its own role in the global structure. The region is not self-sufficient and not yet a geopolitical entity in its own right. This is the reason for so many unresolved problems and controversies which are preventing the stable development of a fully operational CST and SOC and a system of regional security as a whole.

As part of the former USSR which had its own political, economic, mili-

tary and socio-cultural system, the Central Asian region, is taking time to adjust to a very difficult situation.

I would like to point out the key fundamental problem, which may create a geographical split within the former united geopolitical area.

As a result of the collapse of the USSR, there is a tendency towards attempting to restore the geopolitical union of several associated regions - Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Middle East and South Asia.

In my opinion, it is better to confine oneself to the 'Greater Central Asia', which includes Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tadjikistan and part of the Caucasus. This region covers a zone stretching from the river mouths of the Volga and Don, through the mountains connecting the Black and Caspian seas, Europe and Asia, up to the deserts of Mongolia and China. This region is called in the West 'The Southern Belt Zone' or 'The Great Silk Route Region'.

Although the components of 'Greater Central Asia' are very different, it is impossible to give any one of them autonomy because of their economic, military and geopolitical links. In addition, one must evaluate the role of these links within the context of the geopolitical interests of the basic centres of power including the West, Russia, Iran, Turkey, China, and to a lesser degree - India and Pakistan. Such an approach, it seems to me, will allow a full analysis of the growing potential of the region on the global scale.

In general, the heart of the problem associated with a geographical split are those Central Asian countries that have weak military and political integration. The member-countries of the CST and SOC today built the policy on the basis of a geopolitical and sub-regional arrangement. Therefore, the individual participating states do not wish to take up obligations that are not

appropriate to existing conditions.

The presence of the US has also had an impact on the region. But many other countries also have a role. The infiltration of international extremists, terrorist organisations and the drugs business in Central Asia has become a fact of life. They seemed to penetrate 'holes' in security systems.

General instability is exacerbated by a number of trouble spots near Central Asia - Afghanistan, the Indo-Pakistani conflict and the extremely volatile situation in the Caspian area.

The lack of common geopolitical interests amongst global and regional powers and the potential for geographic division make these structures ineffective.

It is worth examining an important obstacle in forming a unified military and political structure; the geo-economics of the region.

The current structure of the world economy (developed countries, developing and underdeveloped countries), the degradation of the USSR both economically and technologically and the collapse of the unified economy of the USSR have caused countries in Central Asia, including Russia to become close to marginalised Third World countries.

Globalisation and the process of regionalisation have divided the world into three large regional blocs that are in a state of strategic competition and interconnection. Each bloc is headed by one representative - the USA, Japan and Western Europe. The USA encompasses Central and South America in its geo-economic orbit (NAFTA, The FTAA), for Western Europe, it is Eastern, Central and Southern Europe (The EC, CEFTA), while for Japan, it is Eastern Asia (ASEAN+3). Within the framework of the Eastern Asian pole, China is now emerging as the 'second centre of gravity'.

The principal volume of world trade and investment flows are contained within this structure accounting for some 60-70% of the world trade and investment flows and about 90% of all technology transfers.

As a result, those at the edge of the globalised economic structure (Africa, South Asia and the former USSR) are heavily marginalised. But if India and Russia have prospects for growth and integration within the global community due to their large human, economic, scientific, technical, military and geo-strategical potential, Central Asia remains in a desperate position. It is close to the marginalised Third World, is falling behind Russia and is inexorably drawn into the gravity field of the South.

Central Asia's secluded geographical location makes it a hostage to economic developments in Russia and Southern Asia. The region, surrounded by the 'depressed' belt, does not have the opportunity to take independent strides towards economic growth through trade and investment ties with the tripolar trade blocs, compared to that achieved by countries in South-East Asia and South America.

The main asset of Central Asia - its geopolitical potential and the opportunity to become 'open' via transit and oil and gas trunk lines - could become an advantage.

The development dynamics of these transit and pipeline projects defines the strategic basis for the region's safety. At the same time, the economic situation of its population is the cause of many threats - the international drug business, political and religious extremism, terrorism, etc. It is also worth considering the value of economic integration and regionalisation as a means of tying up geo-strategic space and controlling it. This is how Europe is currently evolving.

Since the collapse of the USSR, both Russia and Kazakhstan have tried to include all the CIS member countries in a united Customs Union -a unified customs barrier against exporters from overseas surrounding the CIS - in order to maintain free trade within it. As a result, the Customs Union was formed. It was followed later by an agreement on the Pay Union which was the basis for the Eurasian Economic Union, established in 2000.

However the focus of Central Asian countries towards foreign economic partners and an acceptance of their exports has slowed down the process of integration within post soviet countries.

Economic integration, despite the establishment of integration organisations in the region (such as The Central Asian Economic Community, CAEC), and other measures taken by Kazakhstan, in particular, is proceeding rather slowly within Central Asia. Its sluggish nature is due to several factors, the main one being the differing speeds and models of economic reform.

However, despite slow progress, the process of integration is being stimulated within the framework of the Eurasian Economic Community and the CAEC.

In this respect, it is worth noting that during the sixth (and last) session of the Integration committee of the Eurasian Economic Community, which was held in Cholpon-Ata, apart from purely economic issues such as the introduction of unified customs duties and free financial flows, serious attention was paid to issues of illegal migration and border guarding in particular. Thus, given the similarity of membership of the CST and EAEC, these two will complement each other. Better economic relations will enhance social and economic aspects of internal stability of participating states. The SOC is also promoting economic issues high on its agenda. The

post-soviet space has witnessed the establishment of a number of integrational groupings - CIS, EAEC, CAEC, GUUAM - why this happened is not a rhetoric question.

First of all, the CIS itself was viewed by many from totally different positions. Indeed, the history of the CIS is a unique example of a strange mix of many objective and subjective developments in politics and in the destinies of millions of people. But this is another story...

Some countries have joined the CIS on the basis that it will become a close and integrated system like the European Community. Other countries regard the CIS as an organisation that was responsible for the peaceful collapse of the USSR and want only loose ties within the CIS.

When it became clear that there were many variants of the CIS model and before the organisation became a Presidents Club, a number of leaders wanting integration began to create closer regional unions. If we had agreed to create a common economic space or a free trade zone in the mid 1990's, there would certainly not have been the plethora of regional unions. The CIS itself, would also have undoubtedly become a more efficient and integrated union along the lines of the European model.

However, events have developed within the framework of disintegration, and today we need to restart the integration process. It is through mutual economic initiatives and interests that the partners in Central Asia will be best able to promote their own national interests.

Political and covert military factors lie behind economic interests. It is necessary therefore to consider all transport and transit projects within the framework of TRASECA or GUUAM.

I can only note that the economic development of the Caspian region is

dependent on the oil and gas pipeline routes in western, northern, southern and eastern directions. There are the key factors in creating a system of regional security. However, at the same time, these routes are a substantial source of threat. In general, the weak economic integration of CST and SOC states is still a restraining factor in the development of these structures.

I also point out that some political interests are collaborating with radical forces in a number of countries. For example, regional elites who have no access to the global political community may resort to dealing with radical extremist groups who work against the administrative authorities.

The 2002 Aksee events in Kyrgyzstan clearly showed the increasing tendency toward political extremism in conditions where political liberalism is fragile.

Extremist and criminal groups in Central Asian countries are involved in the highly lucrative drugs trade. As in Central and South America, and in South-East Asia, the illegal drug trade is leading to increasing violence in our region. Criminal gangs are fighting for territorial control and clashing with local police in order to obtain access for drug-traffickers from Afghanistan, in particular.

Finally, there is the potential for conflict of an ethnic nature. The difficult economic situation has aggravated inter-ethnic relations, especially in areas of mixed settlements. This is fanning the flames of separatism. The region's complex ethno-territorial structure is the cause. The potential for conflict, which arises from these regional peculiarities, can cause internal instability in one country leading to a domino effect.

This underlines the importance of close cooperation and consensus-building for the resolution of security problems. However it is often difficult to

solve existing problems within a small circle and it may be necessary to bring in both third party arbitration and military support to protect countries which are the victims of aggression. This will stimulate peaceful interaction under the banner of the SOC and the CST.

Much depends, however, on the will of the political elite to hold bilateral or multilateral dialogues. Their political will and readiness to solve national and international conflict must be the main factor in providing regional security and deepening military and political collaboration.

Alongside the political and economic processes in sovereign countries in Central Asia, the region is faced with the challenge of preserving the military infrastructure, formerly part of the USSR military system. These are military problems associated with regional imbalance, obsolete air-defence systems, and border protection, poorly equipped armies, out-dated military equipment, derelict military industries, etc. The financial problems of armed forces, the theft of arms and equipment, and the destruction of military hardware has resulted in ineffective military forces.

Given the CIS's defensive policy today, it is therefore necessary to strengthen the infrastructure. To solve this problem, regional military and political structures, as well as the CST and the SOC have been created.

From the military point of view, the Collective Security Treaty was designed to reintegrate the former common strategic military space. The CST has enabled member-countries to preserve their common anti-aircraft defences and frontier protection systems although both areas have serious problems.

The Shanghai Organisation on Cooperation called for the elimination of frontier problems with China. The SOC made it possible to accomplish the

main objective of normalising relations with the Chinese People's Republic. However, the SOC turned out to be ineffective in the fight against other threats.

I would like to note that the most essential feature of the regional security system is the assymetric threat rather than the traditional military threat.

Given the geopolitical and economic characteristics of Central Asian development, these non-traditional threats will dominate the region, namely: terrorism, religious extremism and international drug trafficking, which were the cause of the acrimonious conflict in Tadzhikistan in the 1990s. In any event, it must be stressed that the region's domestic problems are the responsibility of the nations themselves.

The defence strategy should be based on the creation of highly professional armed forces, which cooperate effectively with the armed international military and political institutions, of which the Republic of Kazakhstan is a member or is aspiring to become one.

To safeguard homeland security, it is necessary to follow broad military and technical cooperation within the bounds of the CSTO (Collective Security Treaty Organisation). Its character and content should conform strictly to the modernisation goals of the Kazakhstan Armed Forces.

But the main priority should be the creation of highly effective armed forces including mobile units, an effective air force, anti-aircraft defence systems, precision weapons and the use of modern secret service techniques.

The need for such a dramatic modernisation is dictated by the nature of the threat and the low intensity of armed conflicts. The specific military features of the region - large territory, lengthy frontiers and low population density - also influence the requirements.

So there are many defence objectives in the Republic of Kazakhstan. It is impossible to solve any one of them in a day. It has to be acknowledged that the process will be hard and long. But to achieve all these objectives, or most of them, means one thing: only their successful solution will enable Kazakhstan to accomplish its main aim - maintaining homeland security on a permanent and long term basis.

There is a host of threats that jeopardise Kazakhstan's homeland security, its societal development and socio-economic progress. If these threats are not opposed, they will become more dangerous. Therefore, by simply identifying and analysing real and potential threats, we are only making the first step. Today, Kazakhstan stands out as permanent, stable and peaceful. But this status quo is only maintained by the relentless effort of our human, intellectual, cultural (spiritual) capital, combined with substantial political will.

The Kazakhstani society is in the final stages of a transitional economy. A new culture and new forms of social relations are emerging. Civil society is growing stronger, and a certain social and psychological climate is being formed in Kazakhstan and also in Central Asia. There are close ties between these phenomena and the security structure itself.

The character and pace of economic, cultural and political development are influenced by the level of security. Therefore, the chosen method of securing homeland security should be ultimately geared to furthering the political, social and economic development of Kazakhstan.

We must take account of the experience of countries and regions, which have successfully trodden the long and hard road to security and peace. It stands to reason that to build regional security, it is necessary to understand the nature of regional security, its place at home and abroad, and what role

it plays in national security.

The objective of national security is to guarantee the basic and vital interests of the country - national sovereignty, territorial integrity and the safety of its citizens. In this respect, national security plays the role of a life support system: no national security - no state.

Every period in the development of states and communities has witnessed specific threats, and every period has seen concrete systems of global and regional security. It is therefore worth noting the historical aspects of security measures between States.

The period before and during the thirty-year war in Europe, at the beginning of the 17th century, was a time of endless military operations. During this time of war and conflict, most European states were directly or indirectly involved in permanent military operations.

The strengths and resources of the warring countries were so exhausted, and the countries themselves grew so weak, that there was no sense in continuing the hostilities. The wars were disastrous for all the warring parties. The end of the thirty-years war which concluded with the Westphalia Peace Treaty in 1648 formed the new legal basis for international relations.

By signing the Westphalian Peace Treaty, progress in international relations was achieved. New ideas like 'national interest' and 'state sovereignty' emerged at that time. The Westphalian system of international relations became the first international legal system really guaranteeing international security. The new world order made it possible to define the role of a particular state on the international arena, and laid the foundations for an orderly system in international relations. The legacy of that period, and its formula for a new world order is still felt today - until today, the world has,

in many respects, lived by the laws of the international legal system first determined by the Westphalian Peace Treaty.

And the geopolitical alignment, formed by the Westphalian Peace Treaty, enabled Europe to exist without significant conflict until the Great French revolution. This is a factual example of the establishment of a fully-fledged system of regional security for a more or less peaceful period in European history.

The period of peace in Europe continued until a violent Corsican forced his way onto the historical stage. His ambitions had no respect for existing global and European borders, or the norms of international law. Napoleon's subsequent abdication and the collapse of the French Empire laid the historical foundations for a new geopolitical alignment validated in 1815 at the Vienna Congress. Vienna's world order was guaranteed by the military might of the Russian Empire, and the other victorious nations - Prussia, Austria and Great Britain, and was sealed by an international forum - the Holy Alliance.

Naturally, the victors, who then became the guarantors of peace in Europe, were not to lose anything. Prussia unified Germany under the auspices of the Prussian Kaiser, and annexed French Alsace and Lorraine. Austria expanded into Austria-Hungary - the Empire that united different countries and peoples. Great Britain became the largest world colonial power. Thereafter, only their 'might is right' policy was to guarantee peace and security.

Besides peacekeeping, the Holy Alliance fulfilled other tasks - playing the role of a restraining influence on national liberation and other revolutionary movements in the first half of the 19th century. Thus, the Holy Alliance became the first major forum guaranteeing a degree of stability in existing borders and public foundations.

The Vienna peace existed for more than fifty years and laid the foundation for regional security in Europe. It was only the appearance of new power blocs - a united Germany and Italy, along with the increasing might of Austria-Hungary (the 'Triple Alliance') which led to the final destabilisation of international relations, in which the counterbalancing players were Great Britain, France and Russia, who came together to form the 'Entente'. Friction between these two power blocs eventually sparked the First World War.

The end of the First World War marked the beginning of a new geopolitical alignment - the Versailles-Washington international security system. It was at this time that the term 'collective security', which later entered diplomatic and everyday speech, was coined. 'Collective security' has become a key term today. At that time, Great Britain, France and the USA became the main guarantors of peace and German revengeism and Russian bolshevism were considered to be the key threats to peace. In addition, the League of Nations was established as the first large, regularly-functioning international organisation, whose aims were to guarantee peace and international security. The Versailles-Washington System achieved consensus on the type and quantity of weapons to be allowed in different regions of the world. This was to the victors' advantage and the losers' dissatisfaction. Gradually, this dissatisfaction developed into German revengeism and Japanese militarism. The ensuing rapid growth of the German and Japanese economies made it possible for Germany and Japan, together with Italy, to create the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis that promised to change the global political and legal order. The ensuing power struggle led to the outbreak of World War II.

Hitler's Germany was defeated in 1945 and Mussolini was executed in the Square of Flowers in Rome. Imperial Japan signed the Act of Total and

Unconditional Capitulation. At the end of World War II a new geopolitical alignment - the Yalta International Political System - came into being. This new global structure ushered in a new era in the history of mankind - global confrontation, or, as it was then called - bipolarity. Over many years of competition between these two antagonistic systems, international relations became a confrontation between two global blocs - the Warsaw Pact headed by the USSR, and NATO (SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS) headed by the USA. The new geopolitical entity, the United Nations Organisation and its principal organ, the Security Council, was born at this time.

This global bilateral confrontation led to the outbreak of the cold war, an era in international relations when the confronting parties, without resorting to open military conflict, were involved in continual covert and overt ideological, economic and political warfare, and in the arms race. Under this geopolitical alignment, a new threat appeared - the threat of a nuclear war and the annihilation of mankind.

The concept of such a military conflict leading to the obliteration of the belligerent parties prompted an international effort to allay the tensions. The most significant political landmarks in this regard were the 'Helsinki Process' that came into being at the end of a Security Meeting of the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) and the signing of the Helsinki Act in 1975.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, and the end of the Cold War led to a new geopolitical balance and a new geopolitical paradigm - unipolarity. A new array of threats was born including terrorism, the drugs trade, and illegal migration. Talks on globalisation in different fora have become fashionable and a new concept of humanitarian intervention as a

modern doctrine of limited sovereignty has appeared. Key international forces have consolidated under the banner of the anti-terrorist coalition headed by the USA.

Opposition has divided into a number of splinter groups. This is a key characteristic of the modern era of unipolarity. States in different regions having lost the patronage of the super powers, have been left to themselves. They have been left to themselves to tackle the 'heritage' inherited from global confrontations.

Once more, international and global security has become the responsibility of super powers and international organisations, such as the United Nations, its Security Council and General Assembly and the International Atomic Energy Agency. The international anti-terrorist coalition under the leadership of the USA, has taken on the problem of terrorism and extremism. Besides NATO, the 'Big Eight' are attempting to tackle a series of problems. As a result of the USSR's disintegration, Central Asia has become independent from Moscow and has de facto become the region of competing interests.

The unipolar regional paradigm has metamorphosed into multipolarity. The USA, China, Turkey, the Islamic World and India wish to extend their influence over Central Asia.

It is necessary to consider these contemporary international trends and the impact of non-governmental players - transnational corporations, non-governmental and international organisations and cross-border crime - on the regional situation. It is necessary to define three levels in the regional geopolitical situation. The regional security of Central Asia, first of all, depends on good relations with the USA, China and Russia. Also, the

regional geopolitical situation is influenced by the EC, Turkey, the Islamic World and non-governmental players. So the following simple and correct conclusion can be drawn: the relations between the above-mentioned states determine the process of regional politics.

The second level concerns the geopolitics of adjoining regions of Russia, China, The Southern Caucasus, Southern Asia, and the Middle East.

The third level is represented by the dynamics of relations between the regional countries themselves - Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan.

I would like to highlight some of the threats to Central Asian stability.

The most serious problem is the tense socio-economic situation which has been aggravated by social divisions and high levels of poverty.

Infringements to the permanent stability of Central Asia lies in the problem of social development.

- water shortages will be the most critical factor in the long term.
- The future of the region will also be determined by the ecological situation.

Central Asia's international significance depends on its natural resources, and its central position on the transcontinental communications network linking China and Russia.

Central Asia is a very attractive proposition in the global struggle for natural and, particularly, energy resources.

Many States are interested in Central Asia's reserves of natural resources such as oil, gas, gold, silver, uranium, non-ferrous and rare-earth metals, for example. This region is therefore very important to the global economy.

Finally, the Caspian Sea, with its unique hydrocarbon reserves, is of special strategic importance.

Central Asia also borders areas of great instability, where drugs, weapons, smuggling and illegal migration are increasing every year. It is this trend that makes the world community focus on the region's problems and prospects.

Central Asia is also at the crossroads of the world's major civilisations including Islamic, Orthodox, Chinese-Confucius and Western. Thus, from the perspective of international politics, economics and security, Central Asia is a region of great significance.

The prospects for political development in the region, its shift one way or the other or the further strengthening of stability, should be considered as a means of increasing Central Asia's geopolitical significance.

Current assumptions of the future geopolitical situation and the dynamics of global strategic politics allow us to predict a period of relative stability. But, there are a number of unresolved issues and threats that make the current regional stability somewhat fragile. Constant monitoring and revaluation are required.

Confidence levels in the Central-Asian region are high. In the region, cultural, linguistic and historical research reveals a feeling of commonality and of 'axes drawing closer'. Most countries of Central Asia link themselves to Turkic culture, common to the majority of the peoples inhabiting the region. Sunnite Islam dominates here. Most of the population speak Russian and there are a many similarities in our histories.

Despite serious problems, the threats facing us are not fatal. Only inactivity and a complete reluctance to undertake preventive measures hints at fatalism. It is impossible to guarantee that threats to national and state security will not affect us. We must ensure that the measures and operations we undertake will enable us to limit these threats to a minimum.

What is the set of common measures, within the framework of a unified concept of safety, which will allow us to traverse the critical decade lying ahead without incurring severe losses? It seems to me that there are a number of avenues to explore;

First, we must develop the strategic structure of the unified Central Asia geopolitical bloc.

We should make progress on military cooperation, exchange experiences between the countries of the region, and conduct joint military exercises.

We should strengthen the axes of civilisation through cultural integration.

We should undertake to decrease tensions within the region and boost confidence. We must respect the development strategies of all the states in Central Asia and try to coordinate them.

We should create joint firms and organisations in Central Asia to solve problems particularly the shortages of water, power, and raw materials. We could create a water, cotton and rice union in Central Asia.

We should complete the process of border delimitation between all the countries of the region.

We must promote policies that attract large external players to cooperate with us.

We should strengthen cooperation with all the relevant regional centres.

We should continue to develop a regional security system.

It is important to intensify economic, political and cultural cooperation.

Finally, we must work to ensure the formation of concentric circles of stability around Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

As global experience demonstrates, we must develop state and regional security in a ring around the perimeter of the region.

The national security of Kazakhstan should be intimately connected to the security of the Central Asian region as a whole. The safety of Central Asia should be a component of Central Eurasian safety. The Central Euroasian region should be a part of the Euroasian security system and be part of a global security system. We need to create so-called 'safety belts' on all fronts against potential threats.

We should aim to form a collective security system with the involvement of all regional centres.

Undoubtedly, the key aspect of security is a system of multilateral co-operation between the Central Asia states. Our integration efforts are founded not only on economic pragmatism but also on security.

Nobody wishes instability for their economic and trade partners and therefore the stability of our neighbours in Central Asia is extremely important for Kazakhstan. This is an open and clear stance which explains Kazakhstan's quiet and meticulous external policy in the region.

In many respects the safety of Central Asia is determined by the will and maturity of the political elite. The level of mutual understanding between leaders, which has existed since independence, has allowed us to avoid the most pessimistic scenario predicted by many experts - the scenario of inter governmental conflict. I am absolutely certain that this scenario will never come to pass.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

We are quite capable of seeing and taking note of how the society in which we live is changing, but every now and again, we do not notice that we are ourselves changing. We say to ourselves, “Something new has appeared here, or something old has vanished from there.” But we seldom notice this tendency in ourselves. I used to think in this way but now I think and behave differently. But during a man’s life he evolves both physically and spiritually.

Now many are slow on the uptake. But as a rule, ideas can only be tested by actions. We learn from hindsight.

Paradoxically, if the decisions we made in years gone by were based on a knowledge of the future, the results would not necessarily have been better.

Democracy is not a horizontal but a vertical social process. And it not only the wise that circumvent mountains, but the unwise, too. The mountains can be subjugated only by the mind, reasonableness, experience and bravery. Two hundred years of the same American state system is not two hundred years of constant triumph of absolute democracy. Two hundred years of political and social trials and errors on the way to a democratic and open society is what has made the US what it is today.

Lynching, McCarthyism, social rebellions, racial segregation, limited suffrage - these are not two hundred years of historical trivia but times of gradual, inevitable building of the most democratic model of society.

We, the Kazakhstan people, lived in a completely closed society where a

specific hierarchy, inflexibility of opportunity and the predetermination of the future, ruled. But are we to blame for this?

We would be guilty if under these circumstances, we remained slaves to an imposed spirit, or if we had not been able to build our life in a new way, realising the imperfections of our former views and values.

The history of the formation of our state, or indeed of any state, is the history of social and political reorganisation. It is, to a considerable degree, the history of the personal growth of individuals. It is the history of the psychological re-evaluation of core values, and the sense of life itself. It is the history of returning to the bosom of global civilisation.

We need to determine the outline and picture of our ultimate objective to form the strategy of our return, and to keep going ahead, as we crosscheck our objective. Our ultimate objective is to reach out to the world and the world community.

What kind of world do we have today? Is it so small that one single destructive person can tear up the whole picture and the dynamics of human development? Is it so great that any global shock can be smoothed over time, and that after a short period of shock, everything returns to normal?

Is it so chaotic that future policies of politicians and political analysts are merely the result of reading the tea leaves?

Perhaps, the world is so absolutely focused on the machinations of different groups and the strategies of leading centres that we cannot distinguish the wood from the trees.

Man has explored the surface of the Moon, which is several hundred thousands kilometres away, but has explored just ten per cent of the sea-bed. Experts can only describe the parameters of the development of a planetary

galaxy and be convinced of their professional standing, but they cannot determine the true motivation and nature of an ordinary person's behaviour, only making predictions by the Buridan method.

As for a reliable prediction and foresight for the short term, only dilettante astrologers and numerous prophets feel confident in their work. We remember them if just one of their hundreds of predictions comes true or if the prediction comes close to what actually happens.

Contemporary political thinking is unable to 'feel' or comprehend fundamental trends in the socio-political evolution of the global community to produce a generalised model. It should be possible to chart a separate state's or region's development and consolidation, or of the whole of humanity.

Globalisation is a new and very fashionable concept that enjoys a variety of interpretations. Some see it as a rational theory based on the post modernist version of colonial domination and a form of conspiracy theory.

It is clear that the definition of globalisation is not completely clear. However it exists. It can and must radically change our lives but without any guarantee for a better future for all involved in the process. It is clear that globalisation is accompanied by a diminishing of the state's role in the economic structure of the world community. It will, however, lead to disproportionate rates of growth between its initiators and that of its followers.

There is no romantic optimism or gloomy philosophising in globalisation. But then, it is pure economic pragmatism and represents the reality of the world of technological progress and the standardisation of consumption and production. This is a world of constant conflicts. While globalisation is impracticable in its pure state, regionalism and separatism will die before the concepts of 'globalism' and 'statehood' are extinguished.

The 'deglobalisation' of the Soviet expanse (the so-called 'tenth wave') should not divert us from building an acceptable and optimal community for Kazakhstan within current geopolitics - a community inherited from the Soviet Union, which will meet the interests of the cultural, spatial, denominational, social, and ideological diversity of Kazakhstan.

The world is gradually globalising and is also moving away from one-sided models of human development.

Globalisation is advantageous and convenient for some, while for others, it isn't, at least in the short term.

The outlook for globalisation is particularly dangerous and uncertain under existing conditions where many centres of power are coexisting. They are pursuing their own global and local interests.

Globalisation is based on a certain perspective of the future; a concept of the future based on the collision of civilisations. There may be a positive side in that humanity is trying to achieve the optimal order of society in a dissimilar world.

But there can be other models - common goals, that can define the geopolitical development of individual states or state formations.

Only when a community defines its geo-strategic or geopolitical statutes can one form an optimal 'line of behaviour' for both the internalities and externalities of that State.

Given the inevitability and objectivity of globalisation, the tendencies to build an open society is the optimal way, based on the principles of sustainable development.

To avoid the reverse effect (exacerbating contradictions in the clash of civilisations), it is necessary to move away from relationships built on the nuances

of the quantitative or qualitative superiority of one State over another. We must not make value judgements such as “we are more democratic and have a higher standard of living. That is why you must follow our rules unconditionally and without a shadow of doubt.”

We in Kazakhstan, have our own ancient traditions and the richest philosophy and unique culture - we live by our own rules and we are free to decide to what extent to follow you, or whether to follow you at all. An ancient system of the first literary text in cuneiform appeared in the region which is now Iraq, in the Schumer kingdom. But traditions are by no means the guarantee of a harmoniously developed community today.

Also, each State whether the originator of an innovation or not, should have the same right to equal partnership and relationships since it has identical and equal status in interstate relations.

That is why we see the global community not only as a forum for ‘global consensus’, an ideal model of world-wide government, but also as a centre in which the interaction of sovereign states should be carried out on the basis of equality of international relations and self-development. A system which recognises each countries’ traditions and each countries’ ‘own speed’ of political-economic and social transformation.

The geopolitical rationale of this conceptual model is transparent - equality of rights and parity in relations with all members of the world community based on neighbourliness, mutual understanding and trust. These attributes must serve as the key to the process of global integration.

In this context, the domestic path of self-development and self-improvement also becomes clear - a program of nation building to create a stable Kazakhstan, where threeway unity (national and civil accord, the evolution-

ary development of the political system and transformation of the economy to an open one) serves as our 'vital imperative'.

This is a version of our route to geostrategic and geopolitical integration into the global community. This process involves the gradual and steady self-development with the use of internal resources and foreign links, proceeding in synchronicity with our social, civil and political status and our resource potential.

What are the necessary mechanisms, and by what method should Kazakhstan be incorporated into this system? To explain our vision for Kazakhstan as a state and its ten-year transition and development, one must consider all the core issues that strengthen our independence and freedom, including the geopolitical, inter-political, socio-cultural, ideological and economic ones.

Certainly, within the context of today's realities, the dominant role of the sovereign state in this structure is not only maintained, but also acquires new functions related to global transformation.

The world community aspires to be united. But there is still no universal form of global structure which would encourage all states to join. Nor is there an all-embracing idea compatible with all the forms of globalisation. The concept of the State as a form of people's community is not necessarily proven.

A State has a real rallying power; people are ready to die for their country but not for their firm or corporation. At the same time, processes of national self-determination and separatism are becoming more obvious. Apart from the 200, or so, countries which exist today, several hundred or more world community-sovereigns and independent states might appear.

I believe that the number of people prepared to give everything for their country, in the interests of independence and freedom, will grow.

The concept of globalisation is clear and transparent, but each state should determine its own way, internationalise its political and public life, as well as integrate its economy into the global community.

I regard it to be essential to examine an important feature of globalisation. Globalisation has different results for different nations.

Therefore, the key question facing us is; "Should Kazakhstan take an active or passive role in the process of globalisation?"

So, is globalisation a disease for us, for which it is necessary to search for the appropriate antibiotics? Or is it a fresh breeze, which could fill the sails of our state system and economy to give an impetus for our development.

The speed of globalisation is increasing and the nature of globalisation will determine mankind's development. Everyone measures and determines the path of their own development, themselves.

A closed society can be likened to flight in a cage, however big the cage might be. An open society is the possibility of flight in open sky. Given our history and free spirit, the last allegory is closer to us. That is an eagle soaring under the bright sun in the endless steppe sky.

We have now passed the preparatory stage, and I can say with confidence and with a good conscience, that among all Central Asian countries, Kazakhstan is most ready to step into the process of political and economic integration with the global community.

Given this fact we are ready to overcome the hazards outlined. We can provide maximum security if we integrate with the world community. This does not mean that globalisation is the panacea for all the threats to our national and State safety. But one thing is absolutely clear; the degree of threat is so high and multifaceted that dealing with them on our own is unthinkable.

We cannot consider whether globalisation is right or wrong. We do not see any alternative to the rapid civil development of the international economy along the lines of the liberal model. The key to success - for a stable and prosperous Kazakhstan - is to absorb all the best from the global experience and mobilise our own valuable and profound national traditions for the socio-economic progress.

When Aesop was asked to name the worst dish, he said , “The tongue”, and when asked why, he replied “Because with the help of the tongue one is betrayed, executed, killed and abused!” To the question: “What dish is the best?”, Aesop answered: “The tongue”, and then explained: “with the help of the tongue, one talks about love, extols friendship, expresses gratitude and allows people to become better than they used to be.”

Globalisation, as a phenomenon, has many virtues and drawbacks. And when a nation and society chooses its way of integrating with the global community, it cannot choose a perfect or ideal model of development, as this does not exist.

The Kazakhstan people will choose their own way to integrate into the global community guided by the process of globalisation. This path will be chosen, not because it is perfect, but because there are more positive aspects and merits than negative features and drawbacks.

Our principal priority is unshakeable, stable and incontrovertible. And it is safeguarding the security of our nation and the state system. Nevertheless, here, our words could be interpreted in a great number of ways. “How and in what ways should we protect the people of Kazakhstan, and at the same time try to avoid the cataclysms which can make the state or its system collapse and compromise its independence and sovereignty”.

In this objective, we must acknowledge reality and count on ourselves; our rich cultural, human and resource potential. We will not rely on universal altruism. It is essential to consider that all countries are still promoting their national and international interests in favour of mankind's common interests.

The fundamental facts remains that each culture, each ethnic representative and each civilisation, be they backward or conservative, has the right to exist, a right to self-identification. Prevention of this right will be a permanent source of regional conflict and local political struggle and armed confrontation.

Conflicts can be seen between all contradictions: between poverty and wealth, between the members of the same denominations and of different religions, between globalists and anti-globalists, between state self-identification and trans-national corporativeness, and for information and communication resources.

However, there are some other aspects of the future that have no direct geopolitical or geo-strategic significance. All the inhabitants of the planet are concerned about a number of well-known problems: the exponential rise in atmospheric carbon dioxide concentration, radiation pollution, ozone layer depletion, mutation factors, ecological crises, natural resource depletion and demographic problems. By the year 2015, half of the planet's inhabitants are expected to lack clean water. By that time, the population will have risen from 6.1 billion to 7.2 billion.

Measuring and estimating the blurred steps of globalisation - either, of its overly cautious or, of its overconfident steps - will enable us to solve vital problems in Kazakhstan as a constituent part of the global community both now and in the future.

I would like to quote a paper issued at the end of 2000. The title of the article, which was written by American experts is 'Global Trends 2015'. A quotation which, in spite of being ambiguous and written in a geo-political context, reflects the essence of the relationship between sovereign political powers and international integration: "... States, ruled by inefficient and incompetent governments will not benefit from globalisation... In some cases they will give rise to conflicts inside and outside the country. This will result in a greater gap between the regional winners and the losers than the one that exists today..."

"The dream of the mind brings monsters into being...". And for me, the sense of this phrase, as well as the context of it, sounds different - the closing of a sovereign zone and the lack of dynamic action in interaction with the global community will eventually cause the death of the economy and community. Integration efforts and joining the globalisation process is the only path of development.

We cannot guarantee the lack of crises on the way. But we can guarantee that the long-term experience and traditions that our society has gained, will allow us to overcome any crisis with dignity.

We are able to do it. Our nation possesses enormous intellectual and spiritual potential. That is the basis of both our historical optimism and our safety, in the critical decade of a national, regional and global future...

