

NURSULTAN NAZARBAYEV



THE CHRONICLE OF
A GLOBAL DIALOGUE:

KAZAKHSTAN
IN THE CONTEXT
OF GLOBAL TRENDS

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This collection of the speeches of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan contains selected conceptual speeches of Nursultan Nazarbayev on key topics in international politics. The materials presented in the book provide an opportunity to assess Kazakhstan's vision of the most important global problems and suggestions for dealing with them.

Since Kazakhstan gained independence the President has voiced our country's position as an active participant in international processes at the highest levels of authoritative dialogue platforms, forums and conferences. Nursultan Nazarbayev in his presentations has clearly highlighted Kazakhstan's commitment to building a democratic state with a competitive market economy and a unique culture of tolerance, making a significant contribution to the creation of a new global world order based on a commitment to the ideals of cooperation, comprehensive security and sustainable development.

This collection of speeches gives an idea of the stages of development and international political culture of Kazakhstan – from a young republic to a state which has found its rightful place in the world system, and is recognized as a reliable geopolitical partner and regional leader.

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FOREWORD

Whenever I talk about Kazakhstan, a place I have visited regularly in recent years, I am struck by how much there is to know about the planet's ninth largest country – and yet, how much of what is known, represents a very partial picture of its recent history.

These speeches chart the remarkable emergence of Kazakhstan from a poor under-developed satellite state of the Soviet Union to a country which today attracts both praise and criticism, but which is very definitely now recognised as a key regional player and a valued global ally. The vision outlined in the speeches is the personal vision of President Nazarbayev. They set out the building blocks of his mission to change the country: an ally of both the US and Europe on the one hand and Russia and China on the other; a nation going from a third world economy to the second with ambitions to go to the first; a majority Muslim country that is religiously tolerant, building both churches and synagogues, as well as mosques, in recent years; and a country that so far has been the only one in human history to have nuclear weapons and renounce and dismantle them.

There are many challenges ahead for Kazakhstan: to chart a course to greater democracy; reform and rule of law; issues of human rights; and economic development that puts the Soviet legacy of monotowns and stifling bureaucracy behind it.

The criticisms can be made. But the extraordinary progress should not be denied.

When the Soviet Union broke up two decades ago, it was clear that we were at the beginning of a major shift in history. There was hope that the divisions and tensions which had bedevilled our world for most of the century would be eased. There was joy also that people – and countries – which had been de-

nied freedom had regained it. But there was also concern over the fate of new countries making their way in a difficult world. There were plenty of reasons to believe that Kazakhstan fell into this category.

The country was seen as remote and backward. It was desperately poor with an ailing economy and failing state institutions and public services. It was located in an unstable region and had inherited the world's fourth largest nuclear arsenal. Geography and a troubled history has also left it with a population made up of people of many different religious and ethnic backgrounds amid fears that it was only Soviet-style repression which had kept a lid on simmering tensions. In truth, few independent observers would have given Kazakhstan much hope of building a better future.

Viewed from this perspective, Kazakhstan's progress since independence has been doubly impressive. The economy has grown strongly so it stands just outside the 50th wealthiest countries in the world.

Barriers have been removed to allow foreign investment and knowledge to flood into the country to drive further improvements. Incomes and living standards have risen dramatically for its citizens with major investment in public services. Kazakhstan prides itself of having built a tolerant society in which all can play their part. The country has managed to be a good neighbour and welcome partner in the international community.

There has been good fortune, of course, including the discovery of huge oil and gas reserves which have driven economic growth and provided the revenues for Kazakhstan to overcome its legacy. There are, however, plenty of examples around the globe where natural wealth has been squandered or simply magnified failures and divisions.

Kazakhstan has escaped this fate because of the good sense of its leaders and its people.

No one has been more important to his country's progress than President Nursultan Nazarbayev who has been at its

helm since before its first days as an independent country. This collection of his speeches, from Kazakhstan's earliest days to the present, highlight the key part his leadership has played in shaping his country and helping it find its place in the world.

What is striking about this collection is the clarity and consistency of the vision displayed and how much has been delivered.

They show how, from the start, President Nazarbayev put an emphasis on promoting peace and international co-operation. It was a bold decision to announce that Kazakhstan was voluntarily giving up its nuclear weapons. Having kept his promise, he has used the authority and influence that decision has given his country in order to campaign tirelessly for nuclear non-proliferation.

His ambition that his country would become a valued bridge between east and west is also being realised. No country – and certainly none in such close proximity to Russia and China – has managed to build such warm relations with all the major powers, including, as his recent meeting with President Obama showed, the USA. Kazakhstan has also established friendships with countries, big and small, across the world, is a valued partner in international organisations and is increasingly being asked to use its influence to promote dialogue and defuse tensions. This includes its leading role as a voice of moderation and modernisation in the Islamic world.

In an era where the division is increasingly between being open or closed, Kazakhstan has always had the confidence to be open to ideas and people. There is no clearer sign of this attitude than the decision taken, early in its history, to send hundreds of its brightest students to study abroad each year. Many of this Bolashak generation are now moving into leading roles in the government and economy. All countries and leaders promise to invest in the younger generation but Kazakhstan has turned these words into action.

It is also clear, reading these speeches, how President Nazarbayev believed from the beginning that economic prog-

ress and securing stability are important to prepare the path of democratic reform for Kazakhstan. He has set his country deliberately on a course of evolution not revolution. It is, of course, easy to demand that Kazakhstan should have gone further and faster. It is right that the spotlight should remain on democratic reform, political participation and human rights.

But the Arab Spring has also underlined that political upheaval can lead to hard-won personal freedoms and economic gains being reversed. In contrast, stability can create the conditions where these freedoms can take root and flourish. The challenge, over the next few years, is to ensure that democratic reforms are real and followed through.

I know from my discussions with President Nazarbayev that he is committed to opening up Kazakhstan's political system in the same way as he has successfully opened up the economy. His country, of course, lacks a history of democratic institutions. There is also resistance, as there is in every country, to reform. Kazakhstan should welcome those who assist its democratic progress. But criticism will be more effective if informed by a better understanding of the country and its progress.

Kazakhstan has come a long way in a short time from a most difficult beginning. There is no complacency. It has set very ambitious targets, economically, socially and politically, for the future. In one of the earliest speeches in this book, President Nazarbayev expressed his confidence about his country's future. Few at the time would have shared his optimism. Given what has happened over the last two decades, and the progress made, the President's ambitions could now be realised. These speeches show why.

*Rt. Honourable
Mr. Tony Blair*



Chapter I

A reliable geopolitical partner

The successful integration of the country into the international system of relations

This section reveals the stages of Kazakhstan's involvement in the global political system. In his speeches the President of the country identifies the main priorities of Kazakhstan's foreign policy aimed at building consensus and cooperation with all countries of the world and international organizations. Aware of our responsibility as a subject of international political processes, Kazakhstan has declared its readiness to participate actively in the resolution of global problems. These speeches recreate a historical retrospective of international geopolitical initiatives of the country and its leader.



1.1. Speech at the New York Council on Foreign Relations (New York, USA, 23 May 1992)

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

Thank you for the honor to speak from this podium, and the opportunity to share with you my vision of some of the world and regional issues.

It is now clear that the geopolitical background of the 20th century was predetermined, first of all, by two events: the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922, and then by its breakdown, which was also accompanied by the collapse of totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe. With the fall of the «Iron Curtain» and the disappearance of an unpredictable enemy in the form of the communist USSR, concern for our own present and fear for the future of our children are things of the past. Now, however, many new concerns have arisen due to a phenomenon unknown to the most as the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Before I express my attitude towards it, I want to point out that the way to a new form of political union has been long and thorny.

As you know, since the end of the 1980s there has been an active search for a qualitatively new form of federation in the former Soviet Union, which meant the rejection of the total dictate of the Center while providing broad powers to the union republics, including the exclusive right to

own, use and dispose of all national wealth that is on their territory. The Center also had to have clearly specified levels of authority which the republics on their sole discretion delegated to it. All of these approaches and regulations were to be reflected in the new Union Treaty. However, the signing of this treaty was cancelled time and again, turning into yet another mirage.

The Novo-Ogarevo process, initiated by Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus, was broken off by the coup attempt in August 1991, after which we emerged in different value and time dimensions.

However, the search for reasonable integration continued. It probably led to the December meeting in the Bialowieza Forest, which, as you may recall, caused a mixed reaction. Someone began to exploit the idea of the entity of Slavic states now being «fried» and to propose, in contrast to it, the immediate creation of a «Confederation of Turkestan». One shudders to think what would have happened, if we had responded to these provocateurs seeking to divide our people along ethnic and sectarian lines. However, we have enough wisdom and will to categorically reject the idea of creating an alternative bloc to show a reasonable, balanced approach to the current realities.

As a result, on 21 December 1991 in Alma-Ata, the Commonwealth of Independent States was formed. I dare to say that its creation on the basis of voluntary choice of 11 former republics of the USSR, in these circumstances was the only reasonable solution to the aim of achieving the necessary compromise for a common future.

Kazakhstan has always regarded the integration process as an objective development of world civilization,

however it acted according to the maximum possibilities at that moment, trying to prevent a chaotic disintegration of the country.

Tragically, many events in the political arena of the Commonwealth suggest that the CIS failed to stop the reaction of further break-up. The future of the successor of the Soviet Union becomes more and more elusive every day. On the political scene of the sinking into oblivion of the Soviet state, some leaders of the newly independent states engage in heated conflicts between the desirable and the possible, between the demands of the time to deepen integration and a shortsighted isolationist course, which is characteristic for sober statesmen, but of the political ambitions of shortsighted politicians.

Today social and economic integration is prevented by unresolved political issues, lack of experience in communication between countries on a bilateral and multilateral basis. To this also should be added the stubborn refusal of some government officials to understand that the destruction of integration links makes it difficult to develop productive forces, complicates the process of recovery from the economic crisis and weakens the already low rate of economic growth. Hypocrisy and populism as a means of achieving political goals clearly dominate over the clear-headed economic approach. All this may eventually lead to an artificial self-sufficiency, the autonomous existence of republics which until now were connected by thousands of diverse political, economic and cultural strands.

History, unfortunately, does not always develop in line with common sense, but I am still hopeful about consolidation of the CIS and the creation within it of supranational

coordination structures similar to the relevant EU bodies. Without them, the Commonwealth will remain a dead letter, beautifully shaped, not filled with real content.

The further transformation of fragile Eurasian alliance is not, of course, a «private affair» concerning one sixth of the land: the nuclear factor has long made the world interdependent and significantly expanded the range of global problems. It is natural that the fate of nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union is in the spotlight. I sin against the truth if I say the concerns of the West are unfounded since they are heated by the unstable social and political situation in the former Soviet Union, by a number of unsettled issues and the unpredictability of some potential conflicts.

In addition, there is another factor that is emphasized by some Western analysts, lining up in the media the next logical pyramid. «Kazakhstan is the first Muslim state with nuclear weapons. If there is practical implementation of unifying pan-Turkic (or worse – pan-Islamic) ideas, former confrontation between the West and the red flag of communism will be replaced by one even more unpredictable and dangerous—the green banner of Islam».

What can you say about this? Of course, the proponents of this scenario in the Muslim world exist, but the particular situation of a possible nuclear confrontation between the two faiths is no more than a speculative concept. The evidence for this includes the historical non-susceptibility of Kazakhstan to the ideas of Islamic fundamentalism, the existence of a significant proportion of Christian population in the country and the stable course of the country's leadership to deepen democracy and adopt market relations.

If you come to Kazakhstan's position on the nuclear issue without emotion and bias, then, in my opinion, it is difficult to find anything to reproach.

First, nuclear weapons appeared on the territory of the republic not by its own will, when it was part of the Soviet Union. And, as you know, it is not our efforts that have led to the division of Soviet nuclear weapons between the four independent states.

Secondly, one of my first decrees-despite strong opposition from the central government the largest nuclear test site at Semipalatinsk was closed.

Third, based on the fact that there is no alternative means of disarmament for the Republic, I have repeatedly stated the commitment of Kazakhstan to all international agreements on reducing weapons of mass destruction, our willingness to ratify the Soviet-American treaty on reducing strategic offensive arms (START). I note that under the provisions of this document most of the nuclear warheads which are subject to destruction are concentrated on the territory of Kazakhstan.

Of course, many would very much like to know about the beginning of the accelerated process of transformation of the Republic into a zone free of nuclear weapons. But today, such a decision would be a largely empty declaration: even the beginning of implementation of 50% reduction of strategic weapons will require seven years. In addition, the specificity of the nuclear weapons deployed in Kazakhstan makes them virtually impossible to transport.

It is also important that Kazakhstan, as you know, does not have a «nuclear suitcase» and makes every effort to ensure that the strategic forces of the former Soviet

Union are under a unified command. Moreover, in order to provide firm guarantees against any kind of chance we insist on the introduction of an effective system by which the presidents of Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus can block a nuclear launch.

Finally, the last. Those who call on Kazakhstan to quickly enter a «non-nuclear club» are guided by the objective of ensuring the safety of their people and defending the strategic interests of their states. But the logic of our actions is motivated by the same thing. The Republic of Kazakhstan is located between the two major nuclear powers, in one of which the situation is very unstable, and in the other, in the vicinity of our borders, tests of nuclear weapons are conducted. We do not want to suddenly find ourselves between a rock and a hard place, and I think you will find it logical that the elimination of our nuclear shield requires appropriate guarantees from Russia, China and the United States.

Of course, despite all this, in the Western world there are ideologues of forceful pressure on Kazakhstan, but I hope they do not get the support of government and businesses, for it is obvious that such a policy will inevitably lead to the opposite effect. No need to have foresight to realize that the hard pressure of economic sanctions of the West negates the objective multi-polar orientation of the republic, artificially limiting the scope of its contacts to the East only. And these developments create the ground for the implementation of speculative concepts about which I spoke earlier.

Meanwhile, I am convinced that in the views of 'big' politicians about our country there is a lot more hope than

fear of nuclear weapons. It is through objective circumstances that Kazakhstan has emerged at the center of world events, and not through megalomania. Looking at the 21st century, public figures and experts rightly suggest a new awakening of Asia, and therefore the fear of a possible North–South confrontation, the Christian world and the Muslim. Right now they are looking for possible ways to ensure geopolitical stability, paying great attention to the elimination of local religious conflicts.

Based on this, Kazakhstan is now perceived by many as a symbol of the real accord between Europe and Asia, Christians and Muslims. I am deeply convinced that to ensure peace between the North and the South, Kazakhstan is a strategic ally of the United States of America.

Before us as a new subject of international relations, the wider horizons of multidimensional cooperation are opening. I want to emphasize that, in developing it, we will not participate in any ideological or religious blocs artificially shutting ourselves off from the outside world, but we will seek to use the unique role of Kazakhstan as a continental bridge between East and West.

Of course, as I said above, we accord utmost importance to our relationship with the United States, and it is not by chance that the U.S. Embassy was the first in independent Kazakhstan.

Step by step we are building multilateral cooperation with the Great Britain, France, Austria, Germany and other European countries.

However, the Kazakhs are Turkic nation, and it is natural that with the peoples of the East we are bound by ethnic affinity and common cultures. Also the market ex-

perience of Asian countries is more acceptable for us. Our problems are often clearer to them than to the highly developed countries of the West. That is why today we hold dear the contacts with our closest neighbors. Economic agreements with China, Turkey, the Republic of Korea and Singapore are already paying off in full.

However, developing these contacts, we are not going to refute the well-known axiom of practical impossibility to export any, even the most successful model of social economic development. Whether we like it or not, we will inevitably create our own concept, based on the cumulative experience of the world, given the peculiarities of the national character, customs and traditions of the peoples of the multinational Republic.

Pseudo-democratic institutions that existed in the Soviet society were sand castles, suddenly blurred by rapid flow of changes. Today, moving towards the adoption of the first Constitution of independent Kazakhstan, we want to create a tangible democracy in the country, which grows out of real life, is universal and at the same time, is on a specific Kazakhstan basis. The kind of democracy that ensures full equality and equal freedom of all people living in our country, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, language, social, property and official status, religion, political beliefs, etc. In other words, we want to ensure the economic, spiritual and political freedom of the individual to the maximum implementation of the full potential of each person.

We take into account the fact that without the establishment of a real democracy the state cannot be a full member of the world community. In a closely interdepen-

dent world, which is ready to cross the threshold of the third millennium, more and more people are starting to think on a global scale, rightly believing that if anywhere on Earth there are regions with undermined democracy, it is a universal body affliction, which eventually may lead to global shocks.

Democracy is not a medical vaccination against totalitarianism, not a cure whereby a person who was sick since childhood gets well immediately. It would be naive to think that all consciously crave a democratic society and market economy. People want well-fed stability. But in the West it stems from democracy and the market, and we have these pillars of world civilization associated with the economic crisis and social anarchy. In the words of Ernest Hemingway: «There are some things which cannot be learned quickly, and time, which is all we have, must be paid heavily for their acquiring».

Therefore, philosophical and psychological stereotypes of people who lived for decades in a highly social egalitarianism, are perhaps the most important obstacle in the way of our ongoing broad economic reforms, fundamental goals and guidelines which are the market, the economic freedom of the individual, independence of self-producers, and competition.

Economic stabilization, price liberalization, deregulation and privatization, the wide attraction of foreign investment which we have held as priority areas have brought the first tangible results. However, we have to do incomparably more.

At the same time, I am convinced that Kazakhstan as a sovereign state has the potential for successful imple-

mentation of its plans. We possess significant natural resources, skilled personnel and working professionals and most importantly – a passionate desire to make a difference today, right now, not in the distant «bright future» which communist ideology predicted for us. Mark Twain in the year of his 48th birthday, said: «The man who is a pessimist before 48 knows too much; if he is an optimist after it he knows too little». I am not going to refute the words of the great writer, but I should note that I was obviously just a little more fortunate than he was. At the age of 52 I am optimistic about the prospects of my native country.



1.2. Speech at the plenary session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki, Finland, 9 July 1992)

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

Allow me on behalf of the Republic of Kazakhstan to express my deep respect for the Helsinki forum that 17 years ago, in the face of fierce ideological opposition, was able to lay a solid foundation for the development of pan-European process. All these years the Final Act, signed in the capital of hospitable Finland, as been for the people of the world a symbol of peace, justice and cooperation.

The dramatic events of recent years, which put an end to the era of «cold confrontation», has presented mankind with a historic opportunity – to open the third millennium era of trust, friendship and charity. However, it will be very difficult for the world community to use this opportunity, because it will take skill to manage post-totalitarian processes. And these processes, like all decay reactions, are not only dangerous, but are often unpredictable.

In destroying the «iron curtain», we would seem to have overcome the Rubicon of hostility and suspicion. But, alas, the world even now cannot be called safe as global confrontation is being replaced by the regional conflicts that can develop from small pockets in the sprawling malignant tumor.

The geopolitical scene, which is undergoing great changes, requires painstaking direction from the entire international community to involve an increasing number of states into the system of shared values, which include democracy, mutual respect, the primacy of human rights, and the rule of law.

Today, we are taking an important step in this direction by promoting the scope of the Helsinki process from the European to the Asian continent. And whereas earlier with this platform we were talking about a cohesive space from Vancouver to Vladivostok, now we are making necessary adjustments in such a formulation. This adjustment complements the system of philosophical coordinates, connecting the «West–East» axis and the «North–South» one into a coherent whole. And this is not an empty futurological concept, but an achievable goal that can be embodied in the not too distant future on the basis of goodwill and the joint efforts of the Eurasian continent.

One of the first steps in this direction could be the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICBMA), aimed at expanding multifaceted cooperation, stabilization of the political environment, and the prevention and resolution of regional conflicts. As it is known, Kazakhstan's initiative has already been supported at the May meeting in Ashgabat by Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Pakistan and Uzbekistan. From the rostrum of the CSCE, I confirm the readiness of our country to undertake the political efforts to deploy this process and transformation as a result of Alma-Ata, the Asian Helsinki.

I believe that Asian integration is part of a natural historical process. But, unfortunately, for a number of government officials and political scientists of the West the unifying tendencies of the East are a priori interpreted as growth of Islamic fundamentalism. It turns out that the virus of dogmatism infects not only in a totalitarian, but in a democratic environment. And it can only be neutralized by the effects of common sense. In particular, the understanding of the obvious truth that sectarian conflict will inevitably lead mankind to a historical dead end.

The CICBMA, in the event of its success, could become the basis for the unification of all national, regional and international organizations in Asia, regardless of the religious factor, in a single structure along the lines of the CSCE.

The next step in the organization of civilized, democratic and humane forms of interaction on the Eurasian continent could become permanent contacts with the CSCE and similar organizations in Asia, moving towards the implementation of joint initiatives and overall coordination structures. Thus, in the foreseeable future, we could be talking about the creation of a single Conference on Security and Cooperation in Eurasia.

Of course, the history is multivariate, and a project proposed to you is just one of the possible alternatives to global development. But I am convinced that such an alternative is real. And its practical implementation would be able to prevent a possible global confrontation along the «North–South» axis to make the world more stable and predictable.

In general, preventive diplomacy is important today as never before, and therefore I want to support relevant initiatives of the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. They are very relevant for Central Asia, which is potentially one of the «hot» regions of the decade. In our opinion, there should be approval and a proposal for a pan-European Court of Conciliation and Arbitration.

The effectiveness of preventive diplomacy rests on the good will of all members of the international community, recognizing the fragility and unity of human civilization, a variety of forms and methods of conflict prevention, painstakingly building resources to strengthen the social and political stability. Reaffirming its commitment to play an active role in this process, Kazakhstan closed the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site on its territory, declared itself a non-nuclear state, joined the 1968 Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and undertook the relevant obligations, speaking now as a party to the Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms.

The parameters of our policy are reflected in the stability of the situation in Kazakhstan, based on the assertion of democratic rights and freedoms, the strict observance of civil equality, regardless of ethnicity or religion. This situation is seen by us as an integral element of global security and stability.

I want to emphasize before the high forum participants that democracy, without exaggeration, was gained by the Kazakh people through suffering, with many of them being physically destroyed during the anomalous communist experiment. Kazakhstan, which has unique natural resources that can provide the country with wealth and prospere-

riety, was turned by the imperial center into a raw materials appendage, the testing site for a wide range of antihuman type.

Today, we express our sincere gratitude to the international community, which sensitively responded to our desire to find a worthy place in world civilization. The Republic of Kazakhstan with each passing day is gaining political recognition. Its credibility in the field of business cooperation is getting stronger. The largest share of CIS investments by Western companies is sent to Kazakhstan. This is evident in our recent large-scale contracts with well-known global companies such as Chevron Corporation, British Gas and Agip KCO, concerning the development of the richest oil fields.

We are fully aware that the unique geopolitical position of Kazakhstan entails a special responsibility to maintain stability in the vast stretches between Asia and Europe. Based on these motivations, Kazakhstan acted as one of the initiators of the signing of the *Collective Security Treaty of the Commonwealth of Independent States*. And I would like to stress that the Treaty is not directed against any military–political blocs or individual states, and is solely defensive in nature. We proceed from the fact that any union is opposed to confrontation. Kazakhstan is always in favor of the consolidation of the CIS. Now, as members of the CSCE, we are willing to bear such a role in this community.

Preventive diplomacy should, without doubt, extend to cover the sphere of ecology. In this regard, we call upon you to pay very serious attention to the plight, the catastrophic situation in the Aral Sea and Semipalatinsk

regions. Four hundred and seventy nuclear explosions – including 25 on the ground and 87 airborne – that were conducted by the totalitarian monster in Kazakhstan near the city of Semipalatinsk over 40 years, have led to truly tragic consequences. Seventy-five percent of the 300,000 residents surveyed were exposed to radiation dose of 50 rem during the period between 1949 and 1963. And newborns are still severely affected. And who knows how many more generations to come will feel the results of these barbaric tests.

The entire civilized world was shocked by the Aral Sea disaster. Over the past 20 years, the death rate in the region has doubled, while the death rate among infants is already 60 per thousand live births. The level of the Aral Sea has fallen by 15 meters, the water volume decreased by 67%. The problem has gained a truly planetary status, because the environment has no borders and statehood. Therefore, we ask you to support the initiative of the Republic on the consideration of the Aral problem at the UN General Assembly.

In conclusion, I want to emphasize once again that the meeting of Heads of State and Government in Helsinki, without exaggeration, marks a new stage in the history of international relations. In the face of today's historic summit participants would like to wish all the peoples of the States represented here well-being and prosperity.



1.3. Speech at the 47th session of the UN General Assembly

(New York, United States, 5 October 1992)

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

At the last session of the General Assembly Kazakhstan was unanimously adopted to the United Nations. On behalf of the people of the Republic I have the honor to convey to you my profound gratitude for the trust and to declare that the Republic of Kazakhstan as a peace-loving nation is able to comply fully with the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations to make a constructive contribution in all areas of activity of this authoritative international organization.

And the current session is equally important to us, as its platform is for the first time provided to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. On this occasion, I warmly welcome all the representatives of the member states of the United Nation organization.

The modern world order is difficult to imagine without the United Nations. With this unique international institution the world community has a lot of hopes, chief among them is the formation of a reliable mechanism to secure stability and security.

Today the world has come very close to a point beyond which explicit and vague future challenges force us to move to a new quality of co-ordination and organization of our joint efforts. We must be clear what is the essence

of this new unknown and begin to master it within the world community, our continent, our region and our country. It is on these aspects I would like to focus your attention.

The first aspect is the international community and the UN 's new role in the world. The ongoing sessions of the General Assembly have already indicated an understanding of the new realities that need to define a new agenda for the holistic world. No coincidence the title of the famous report of the UN Secretary-General Mr. Boutros-Ghali.

The concept of Boutros-Ghali on preventive diplomacy, we believe, is timely and politically rational, the realization of which should engage all members of the world community. In this case, we consider preventive diplomacy as a system of political and social and economic measures aimed at preventing fiery outbreaks of potential tension. An important place is occupied by maintaining conditions of social and political stability that are lying on the surface, as well as those challenges the very existence of which requires a deep-looking forecast analysis.

So it is easy to understand that the question of borders is a powder keg ready to explode at any minute, and its explosion typically involves not only those who indulge in the fire, but many others who are at a little remove.

In my view, it is obvious that even one precedent to the revision of the existing borders will cause a chain reaction of geopolitical collapse with unpredictable consequences. Speaking about the importance of the principle of the inviolability of national territory, I want to emphasize that the rights of national minorities are now often identified with the right of nations to self-determination, including the creation of independent states. If we stick to this

approach, the hypothetical world can appear as several thousand economically weak sovereigns. This situation is a clear demonstration of the triumph of the principle of a fetish, brought to the point of absurdity. I am convinced that the world community today, which fairly has given much focus on the rights of national minorities, should clearly define their criteria in the name of human rights and the rights of the nation, based on the triumph of democracy and peace. Otherwise, under the guise of the right of nations to self-determination will be called into question the integrity of any state of the multinational country, and caustic separatism will never end.

At the same time, looking today far into the 21st century, among a number of potential sources of tension I would like to refer to the problem of water in the Central Asian region, which over time can become a dangerous source of controversy in the heart of the ancient continent. I am convinced that now there is a need to accelerate the development of special projects of the UN, which provides for a phased solution to ensure efficient water resources in Central Asia.

I should note that the reduction of geopolitical tension along the axis of West–East confrontation and the growing danger of North–South confrontation is an admitted fact. However, the emergence and worsening of the second controversy does not diminish the relevance of the first. The complexity of the relations between East and West over many years cannot be dissolved with the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

In this regard, I believe that the efforts which are made in preventive diplomacy, the establishment, maintenance

and strengthening of peace should be distributed equally on all axes of global interactions. I stress this because there are some distortions abounding.

The UN efforts to date have been mainly political, military and political. There has been more implementing of bans than provision of promotion and incentives. These measures are aimed at reducing the tension on the surface, but so far they do not affect the underlying reasons for emerging and developing conflicts.

Recently, from this podium, some pointed out the true cause of this: 20% of the richest people in the world (in the countries in the North and West) consume 83% of the world's gross income, and the poorest 20% (in the South and East) – only 1.4%.

As you can see, the income of the rich «twenty» compares to the income of the poorest by 60 to 1.

This ratio of «60 to 1» I would call the formula of world inequality. Until the gap begins to decrease, we will not have a real basis for comprehensive conflict prevention.

I emphasize that, ultimately, it is not about the redistribution of income of the wealthiest «twenty» in favor of the poor. Changing the formula of world inequality would come about by increasing the income of the poorest countries on the basis of scientifically organized assistance for their self-development.

Maybe we should think about how to refocus the efforts of the UN vector to a genuine prevention of conflicts, at their deep source.

What steps could be taken here in practice? I understand the concern of the UN Secretary General about a major problem that hinders the build-up of UN peacekeep-

ing efforts – a lack of financial resources. It is obvious that the costs of the UN for the establishment, maintenance and strengthening of peace need to increase annually. But how?

As is known, up to 1992, the UN's annual expenditure for maintaining peace was about \$8.3 billion. Whereas, the total annual defense spending in all countries by the end of the last decade had reached about US\$ 1 trillion. In other words, the peacekeeping costs were less than 1% of the total military spending.

I suggest that all governments, as a demonstration of their good will to start building fund of UN peacekeeping efforts under a «1:1» formula.

This formula means that each state, starting by transmitting to the Fund 1% of its defense budget every year, should increase its contributions by that same 1%. Thus, in 10 years this peacekeeping amount will increase tenfold. I think that this action does not infringe, on the contrary, actually strengthen the national security of each member of the world community.

It is appropriate to recall an old Eastern parable, which tells the story of how people competed in showing their strength. One showed the power of the muscles and fists, the other saw the force in the strength of the skull, the third in the legs, the fourth in sharpness of language. But a wise man thought of the heart, without which there can be no force, and suggested they compete in generosity. That generosity is determined by each country, and my proposal is for a kind of competition for the benefit of world peace. The Republic of Kazakhstan is ready to begin without delay.

At the same time, of course, it is possible to provide other forms of participation in the Fund for UN peacekeeping efforts.

The second aspect that I would like to deal with is the problem of peace and security on our continent – Asia, or even more – of Eurasia. It is an initiative of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICBMA).

The idea of creation of Security and Cooperation on the continent of Asia similar to the CSCE in Europe has been in the air for a long time, but so far has not found much support.

Valuable experience of continental organizations in the America, Africa, Europe, would seem to push Asia to create a single body for interaction and cooperation. However, this does not happen, and there are a number of real reasons.

Critics of the idea of creating the structures of security and cooperation in Asia in the circles of politicians and analysts often point to the argument that the level of geographical, historical, economic, political, social and cultural diversity of Asia is much higher than in Europe, America or Africa. Such heterogeneity of economic and political soil, of course, prevents the creation of continental structures of collective security.

On this it is quite possible to argue a well-known wisdom: «The road of a thousand steps begins with the first step». It is not necessary to move to a single Asian collective security structure from all these types of interactions. It is enough to mention the alignment of heterogeneity in any one area, for example, military-political or economic

sphere, and then seek common approaches in other areas of cooperation.

The move to a continental structure may be multi-step and gradual. It may occur, for example, as follows: from bilateral relations – through regional and continental structures and coalitions on specific collaboration (development of trust and collective security, humanitarian, economic, cultural interaction) – to continental bodies for general cooperation on a wide range of issues.

We are living in Asia on an amazing land. All the major world religions – Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam – were born in the holy land of our continent. All the spiritual teachers of mankind – from Lao Tzu and the Gautama Buddha, Jesus Christ and Mohammed, to the greatest minds of our epoch of the level of Mahatma Gandhi – come precisely from our lands. Is Asia not able to comprehend all the accumulated by centuries and synthesize a new concept of continental cooperation and collective security?

This position does not in any way involve some sort of regional autarky. We are not confined to the borders of the continent. On the contrary, in the interests of the countries and the peoples of Asia, we will collect all the best that is born in other parts of the world.

I am convinced that we need a collective search for the best ways to adapt to the challenges of the future, the formation of new foundations of human existence in a holistic world as never before. In this regard, I propose to convene a special Session or Conference of the United Nations to discuss the post-confrontation era, for it is the United Nations which should play a decisive role in the establishment of a new level of organization of the interna-

tional community. Probably some reorganization to be subjected to the UN itself, not excluding the Security Council.

The third aspect, which cannot be left untouched, involves the processes taking place in the CIS.

The fragile structure of the Commonwealth, created at the end of last year, has not yet fully taken into account the age-old tradition of cooperation between the countries and peoples of this part of Eurasia. As a result the processes of transition to the free market and democracy in the CIS are accompanied by the growth of social, economic and political instability, worsening of existing conflicts and new ones being generated.

Kazakhstan is making every effort to re-create in a new way the common customs and economic space within a single free trade zone.

Finally, I would like to dwell on the vital issues of environmental protection. For Kazakhstan, they are embodied, at least, in a nutshell—the Aral Sea and Semipalatinsk.

The shrinking Aral Sea is a zone of ecological disaster that requires urgent and massive international aid. Desertification of its basin, followed by the removal of 150 million tons of salt dust, leading to a sharp deterioration of the environment, builds negative consequences for the economy and the health of the vast region with a population of over 30 million people. If today this is a disaster of tens of thousands, tomorrow, without the intervention of UN emergency measures, it could be a disaster of millions of people. It was with a sense of appreciation that Kazakhstan received the decision taken by the UNEP on the implementation of the project «Assistance in developing a plan for the conservation of the Aral Sea», as well

as the activities of the group of experts of the international organization, who proposed to declare the Aral Sea as a world ecological disaster area.

Another of our environmental injuries, the Semipalatinisk nuclear test site, was built on the Kazakh land against the will of our people. The combined power of bombings here in the air, on land and underground nuclear weapons, affecting more than half a million people, were hundreds of times more powerful than those devices that have become sources of trouble in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

By the decision of our Government, we have closed this source of death, but we need huge funds to rehabilitate the region, to treat the victims, protect newborn children. Therefore, Kazakhstan needs strong international support.

The Kazakh people have a saying: «Elu zhylda el zhana», which literally means: «Every 50 years, the world is updated». The first half-century of the UN bore the imprint of superpower confrontation, weighed down by the military confrontation between the blocs. Today, the international community has a historic opportunity – to acquire, through the United Nations organisation, effective cooperation in the name of peace and progress. We will do everything possible to make full use of it.



1.4. Speech at the plenary session of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of NATO (Washington, USA, DC, 25 April 1999)

«KAZAKHSTAN IN A CHANGING WORLD»

*Mr. President!
Mr. Secretary General,
Ladies and Gentlemen!*

This summit has highlighted the deep symbolism of the fact that the North Atlantic Alliance which was born in a bipolar world order continues to be an important factor in the development of modern politics.

For 50 years, the Alliance has repeatedly demonstrated the ability to solve complex security problems as allies.

But today, it becomes apparent that the existing system of international security should play a proactive role, otherwise we have to deal with extremely serious consequences, as happened in Yugoslavia. The problem of Yugoslavia has clearly exposed the border which separates the world from war.

Being consistent opponents of separatism in all its forms, we believe that the Kosovo problem should be resolved within the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. At the same time, it is important to joint efforts to stop the bloodshed and destruction there, as well as to persuade the Yugoslav government to withdraw its troops from Kosovo, to

stop the persecution of the Albanians, to allow peacekeepers to ensure the restoration of civil peace in Yugoslavia. The NATO countries should work more closely with Russia and other countries in search of a peaceful solution to the Kosovo problem.

At this critical moment, the United Nations must play a crucial role in the resolution of the armed conflict in the Balkans. It is time to appoint a Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, who would lead a group of UN military observers. The group should ensure the withdrawal of Yugoslav forces from Kosovo.

The main lesson of the events in the Balkans should be a rethinking of the new trends in international practice – a military solution to the problems. There is a need for an in-depth analysis of this trend for the important task of improving and building new international security. It is important to foster the development of regional and global security. Given the increasing interdependence of the modern world, there is a need to improve coordination of such prestigious organizations as the UN, NATO and the OSCE. That, I think, is a priority agenda facing mankind on the eve of the next century.

We appreciate cooperation with NATO as an organization that is able to quickly solve major security issues. Prevention of ethnic conflicts, terrorism, the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, drug trafficking and international crime – these are just some of the areas of our cooperation.

President John F. Kennedy said that «wisdom is needed for vision». The international community would be wise to use the strategic importance of Kazakhstan and Central

Asia as a whole, not only from a historical perspective, but as it is now.

For centuries, Central Asia has been a crossroads of world cultures and trade. And today, the interaction between people, ideas and forces in our region occurs more than ever before.

In speaking about the geopolitical significance of Kazakhstan it is important to bear in mind that the north of our country stretches 3,000 miles along the border of Russia, a great country which is experiencing temporary economic and political difficulties. To the east stretch the thousand miles of borders with China, which has become a powerful nation. To the south of our border is a dangerous mix of religious fundamentalism and terrorism, exacerbated by the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

We know that success can only be achieved if our region preserves peace and stability, if the forces of destruction do not prevail. The tragedy in the Balkans and the turmoil in other parts of the world are a stark reminder: there are no guarantees of undisturbed progress and prosperity.

I would like to say this to the audience:

We will continue to unswervingly implement our commitments on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

We will resolutely fight extremism, terrorism and religious extremism.

We will work actively in international organizations, especially the UN, the OSCE, the Council of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership.

We will continue the development of our vast energy resources, actively attracting foreign investors and creat-

ing an extensive network of pipelines that will give the markets of the West and the East reliable alternative source of energy.

We are fully committed to our obligations under the program «Partnership for Peace».

Kazakhstan has managed to achieve much in terms of regional and global security. To this end:

We have eliminated the fourth-largest nuclear arsenal in the world and shut down the world's largest nuclear test site.

We are united into a single nation of more than 100 different ethnic groups.

We have made significant progress in building a civil society, strengthening political parties, introducing an alternative electoral process, strengthening the role of non-governmental organizations and the media, realizing a program of active involvement of women in social and economic activities.

Mr. Secretary General,

An outstanding path of NATO from a military alliance into a dynamic and multifaceted partnership of more than 40 countries represented at this meeting today, can be described with the words of the Kazakh proverb: «A single warrior does not become commander, one tree does not build a house».

Thank you for your attention.



**1.5. Speech at the meeting of the Council
of Heads of SCO Member States on the 10th
anniversary of the «Shanghai Five» and
the 5th anniversary of the SCO**
(Shanghai, China, 15 June 2006)

Dear Colleagues!

Dear Meeting Participants!

Ten years ago, the heads of state signed a document unique in the history of international relations – Agreement on confidence-building measures in the military field in the border area – and 5 years later created the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. It was a logical continuation of the relationship of trust that emerged in the course of solving the complex problems of the border, which had lasted for centuries.

The main result of the «Shanghai Five» was the weakening of a decades-long tension on the border lines. The solution of the border issue with China was of the utmost importance for all state parties to the process. This has contributed to the successful development of bilateral relations, enhanced mutual trust and a shared understanding of the interaction.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the anniversary of which we celebrate, in a short period of history has grown stronger and showed the world its viability as an important factor in contemporary international relations. Today's world is difficult to imagine without the SCO. We

note with satisfaction that the joint efforts of the SCO are consistently strengthening its position as a guarantor of security and stability in the region.

The adoption at last year's summit in Astana of the concept of cooperation of SCO member states in the fight against terrorism, separatism and extremism became an important event. Today we will approve a special program which provides a set of practical measures for the next 3 years. There will also be signed an important agreement on antiterrorist actions. We expect the fruitful results of cooperation between law enforcement authorities of our countries.

Of great practical importance are the anti-terrorist exercises within the SCO. It would also be useful to establish contacts of the SCO with Counter-Terrorism Committee of the UN Security Council. Our countries should make further efforts to increase the effectiveness and appropriateness of the SCO.

The organization's activities should be accompanied by the formation of right and just perception among the global community. The peoples of our countries should receive regular and consistent information about the activities and processes of both the organization and its members.

In this context, of great importance is today's signing of the Statement of international information security. Given the rapid development of communication technologies, which have penetrated into all spheres of public life, we need to take measures to ensure proper information on the multilateral activities of the SCO.

The world must be convinced that the SCO is not directed against anyone, but on the contrary is focused

on constructive cooperation, the fight against common threats, the task of social and economic development, cultural and humanitarian cooperation.

I am pleased to note that on the eve of the summit, a joint work to optimize the work of the executive bodies of the SCO was conducted. The role and functions of the Secretariat was strengthened. We have to improve the pattern of interaction between the Secretariat and Executive Committee of the Regional Anti-Terrorism Structure of the SCO.

Dear Colleagues!

Our region, possessing significant natural resources and huge human potential, is becoming an integral part of global economic processes and intercontinental geopolitics.

In this regard, it is crucial that there be economic cooperation within the SCO framework, because it contributes to the solution of complex social and economic problems and, therefore, security and stability in Central Asia.

A possibility to create inter-state clusters with a complete production cycle requires detailed study. The implementation of economic projects depends on their funding. Therefore, starting the mechanism of the SCO Interbank Association during the days of the summit will be of practical value. In the future it should be possible to use resource established by Kazakhstan and Russia the Eurasian Development Bank to finance projects of the SCO.

Kazakhstan welcomes the launch of the Business Council of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. We invite to this body leading companies and businesses that are able to generate and implement new ideas of eco-

conomic cooperation. Evidence of this attitude is the development of a number of pilot projects, including the Kazakh-Chinese project.

A strategically important task is the development of transport communications. Our governments have to work seriously to ensure that the SCO has a coherent regional transit transport system that will not only facilitate communication between the member states, but also will attract additional volumes of international transit. We offer a priority basis to concluding an agreement on cooperation in the SCO on transportation.

I want to emphasize that the peoples of our countries should actually feel the effect of economic cooperation in the SCO, because the ultimate goal of any kind of cooperation is to strengthen the stability and well-being of nations. The most important means to achieve this goal is reform. Without strong social and economic transformation it is difficult to count on the prosperity of the region, the success of the SCO in addressing the most pressing problem of our time.

The world has entered a new stage of development. Humanity is in search of a best model of the world in which every state, every culture and civilization occupies a worthy place according to «Millennium Development Goals».

The SCO, combining Islamic, Christian and Confucian civilization, is a worthy example of effective cooperation, harmony and mutual understanding in the vast area from Eastern Europe to the southern borders of Asia. This phenomenon is unique and the SCO can be pronounced a quintessential «Shanghai Spirit».

The establishment of the SCO was a logical outcome of the desire of the peoples historically associated by cultural, linguistic and trade ties to peaceful development, good neighborliness and cooperation. The SCO represents a new culture of international relations, which in the future will determine the shape and character of our region. This is especially true against the background of globalization, the emergence of various radical visions of the future world order and the loosening of the foundations of international law.

Speaking of the SCO in Central Asia, it is important to keep in mind that this region attracts the attention of the major actors in world politics. Here a complicated knot intertwines not only the idea of Eurasia, the revival of the Silk Road and Caspian cooperation, but also the strategic interests of world powers, including those geographically distant from Central Asia.

However, it is clear that whatever the concept and recipes for the development of our region, without security guarantees and economic cooperation, to achieve the goals of sustainable development will be a major challenge. Problems such as drug trafficking, ethnic conflicts, strengthening the ideology of terrorism and religious extremism are still far from being solved and are therefore particularly relevant to the SCO.

It should be born in mind that criminal activities of religious extremist groups are fueled by the drug trade. Unfortunately, Afghanistan remains a hotbed of this potion in the SCO. With the adoption last year of Pakistan, Iran and India as observers in the SCO, there has been formed a kind of anti-drug «security belt» around Afghanistan. This

should encourage the countries concerned to a more coordinated action in the fight against drug trafficking.

In our view, the Contact Group «SCO – Afghanistan» is needed to work out proposals for the collective promotion of social and economic reconstruction of that long-suffering country, including the reduction of opium production. It seems appropriate for the SCO to liaise with existing anti-drug agencies in Central Asia, including creating a liaison in Almaty under the auspices of the UN Central Asian Regional Information and Coordination Centre (CARICC).

A particularly important task is to strengthen the coordination of joint activities to identify and block channels of penetration by criminal elements. This problem, in addition to existing legal instruments, would contribute to the signing of an agreement within the framework of the SCO on cooperation in the joint fight against illegal migration. Kazakhstan, with the consent of all parties, is ready to submit a draft of the agreement.

Kazakhstan calls for strengthening the leading role of the United Nations in addressing the pressing problems of mankind.

With the advent of globalization, this universal structure needs to acquire a new quality, and the SCO needs to organically supplement the activities of the United Nations. This is especially important because we are witnessing a growing tension in world politics on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. There is no unity of views and approaches to the issues of democracy and the sovereign rights of States over their own development. We believe that our organization could facilitate the search for optimal solu-

tions to these problems in accordance with the «Shanghai Spirit». The Joint Declaration, which we are adopting today, is an important step in this direction.

Dear Colleagues!

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization is undergoing a period of structural reform in order to better carry out its tasks. I am confident that the SCO will continue to gain momentum as a dynamic and responsible actor in world politics for the security and prosperity of nations. This is how we see our organization in the future.

Congratulations to all on the anniversary of the SCO, I wish you peace, happiness and prosperity to our peoples.



1.6. Speech at the VII Summit of the OSCE

(Astana, the Republic of Kazakhstan,

1 December 2010)

*Distinguished Heads of State and Government,
Heads of delegations,
Ladies and Gentlemen!*

Meeting the distinguished guests gathered at the summit of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, I would like to express my sincere joy and warm thanks on behalf of the people of Kazakhstan.

Our country is the first among the newly independent states, to hold a significant international forum.

I express my deep gratitude to all colleagues for their confidence in our country.

*Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen!*

We met in Astana to celebrate the good sense to continue together towards a secure future for our peoples.

This path was started three and a half decades ago.

Initially, the Helsinki process was developed based on the concept of a common European home «From the Atlantic to the Urals». With the creation of the OSCE, principles established themselves in the European security space extending «from Vancouver to Vladivostok». Now comes the third stage. We are moving to a new level of security and cooperation in the wider coordinates» – «from ocean to

ocean». We are talking about the formation of a common space of security within the four oceans—from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Arctic to the Indian oceans.

The Astana Summit restores the tradition of holding meetings at the highest level, which was interrupted for 11 years after the Istanbul meeting. And it is a sign of the revival that today in Astana, we are seeing the start of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian community of common and indivisible security.

This summit is being held in a new country which became independent in many ways thanks to the provisions and principles of the Helsinki Final Act. I mean the right of nations and peoples to free choice of path of development, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We create a democracy in a part of the world where it never existed.

Stability in Kazakhstan is, above all, strong economic growth. We developed the economy first so that poverty would not humiliate our young democracy. A firm foundation of Kazakh society includes tolerance, peace and harmony of all 140 ethnic groups and 46 religions. We have created a unique institution – the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan. We managed to combine Western and Eastern traditions and values.

Our people have suffered the brutal cost of the «cold war». First of all, this cost is the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site. My decree to close it and the renunciation of nuclear weapons were the first contribution of Kazakhstan to the European process. Today, we also urge the OSCE partners to support our initiative on the adoption of the Universal Declaration of a nuclear-free world.

*Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen!*

The uniqueness of our summit lies in the fact that it takes place in the heart of Eurasia, a thousand miles from the geographical boundaries of Europe. In our view, it above all reflects the changed paradigm of European security.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the sources of the most dangerous threats and challenges to the stability of the European continent lie beyond its borders. In the knotty problem in Afghanistan 43 OSCE participating States are involved. We support the elaboration of a comprehensive settlement strategy in Afghanistan, economic recovery and peaceful life.

Acute political crisis in Kyrgyzstan could become the catalyst for new conflicts in Central Asia. We effectively used, in conjunction with the leaders of the United States, Russia and other partners, all OSCE instruments to prevent the escalation of the conflict and stabilize that country.

Now outside of Europe are the main sources of drug trafficking, illegal migration, human trafficking, and the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Many aspects of the energy and economic security of Europe today depend on the situation in other parts of the world. This is revealed by the global financial and economic crisis.

Eurasian security – it's not a metaphor but a geopolitical fact. Therefore, the summit in Astana is a good opportunity to analyze the prospects of OSCE for global security.

In our view, the main task of the OSCE in the coming decades is to systematically settle conflicts, build trust and integration, including in the framework of the existing inter-state associations. Along the «East – West» line, cooperation between the European Union and NATO on the one hand, and the Eurasian Economic Community and the Collective Security Treaty Organization on the other, has been established. Thus transatlantic integration developed in the last century can be seamlessly enhanced by Trans-Eurasian integration.

In this regard, Kazakhstan welcomes breakthrough in relations between Russia and NATO. Also a noteworthy proposal by President Dmitry Medvedev on a new treaty on European security. Along the «North – South» line it seems urgent to establish close relationships of OSCE with a number of Asian integration structures.

First here is the CICBMA, created on the initiative of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan is ready to become a link for Eurasian security. We intend to use our chairmanship in the OIC in 2011 to build confidence throughout Eurasia. We also propose to work out the issue of the Comprehensive Agreement on Eurasian security.

Dear Colleagues!

After a few weeks is completing the mission of our country's chairmanship in the OSCE.

We have set the task of bringing the Organization out of the crisis. I hope our efforts will be appreciated by the partners. The update process – this is our common task, designed for the long term. I urge all countries who will head the OSCE in the future, not to reduce the activity. The

OSCE has acquired great experience in the humanitarian dimension – the development of democratic institutions, independent media, respect for human rights and freedoms. This is the most important condition for our development.

However, in order to adequately respond to modern challenges and threats it is necessary to conduct substantive and structural changes in the development of the OSCE. We propose to expand the number of 'baskets' and OSCE institutions.

First. Economic pragmatism is the cornerstone of security in the 21st century. In this regard the European Union's efforts to stabilize the economy deserve support. The big «eight» and «twenty» have been discussing the problem of overcoming the global financial crisis. But the search for a new configuration of the world economy and the monetary system is slow. Therefore, the OSCE's efforts to strengthen economic security would be a priority, with financial and economic security in a separate «basket».

The global economy needs a new global reserve currency of new quality. This question deserves special attention. We also propose to add to the OSCE Maastricht Strategy, a document «Maastricht Plus». It can reflect the principles of the agreed monetary and fiscal policy, economic cooperation and integration. The structure of the OSCE should be supplemented with advice on energy security and economic cooperation.

In the field of environmental protection it is proposed to establish the Environmental Forum of the OSCE. It could help to solve a number of issues, such as the drying up of the Aral Sea or the revival of the territories of the former Semipalatinsk nuclear test site. In view of the legal regula-

tion of water issues it is important to develop a program «Water and the Law» for those countries that are short of water.

Second. It is important to continue to develop new treaty norms in the area of disarmament and non-proliferation. For the performance of this it seems appropriate to create a special OSCE forum. Kazakhstan proposes the formation of the Ministerial Council of the OSCE to coordinate the fight against cross-border crime, drug trafficking and illegal migration.

Third. Today the «cracks» of no confidence in the OSCE area are manifested primarily inside the individual countries. And then it negatively effects on the regional and global situation. This phenomenon includes efforts at public mockery of religious shrines.

It would be useful if the Cairo speech of President Barack Obama, in which he outlined the U.S. position on the strengthening of religious tolerance, were to be continued in the specific steps of the OSCE. We propose inter-religious tolerance in a separate dimension. What is needed is an honest and open interfaith dialogue. For this the OSCE organization could use the platform of the Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions, which is an initiative of Kazakhstan. We believe that Christianity and Islam, Judaism and Buddhism come down to creating peace, not enmity. I would also like to offer to jointly develop a document entitled «Towards Tolerance in the New Decade».

Fourth. The global financial crisis, local conflicts and other challenges that have shaken the world, have been largely unexpected. This suggests that the «optics» of the

future vision was defective. I believe that the OSCE could usefully organize work on the prediction of the various security issues in a separate dimension. As a first step I propose to establish an OSCE Institute for Security, which could reside in Astana.

Fifth. Residing, of OSCE patterns a uniform throughout its area could contribute to building trust and understanding. This process can begin with the establishment of new institutions for monetary and financial, interreligious and forecasting dimensions in different countries, including the Asian part of the OSCE. We propose to discuss these proposals in the framework of the «Corfu Process».

I hope that all areas of fundamental changes of the OSCE will be reflected in the OSCE Declaration in Astana.

Dear Participants of the Summit!

Today, in the heart of Eurasia, in the ancient Kazakh land a dialogue has begun between great peoples who have worked for thousands of years of human history.

I hope that the declaration which Astana offers and a draft action plan will be supported by all members of the Organization. This would be a great contribution to the security and prosperity of our peoples.

It is in our hands to draw the huge Eurasian continent into a single space, based on the universal values: trust, tradition, transparency and tolerance. I think this is the historical significance and purpose of our Summit.

Thank you for your attention.



**1.7. Speech at the anniversary session of the
CICBMA (Astana, the Republic of Kazakhstan,
12 September 2012)**

Your Excellencies!

*Distinguished Ministers and Heads of delegations
Ladies and Gentlemen!*

On 5 October 1992 from the tribune of the 47th session of the UN General Assembly, I put forward the proposal to form the Asian continent interstate dialogue platform for the development of confidence-building measures in the various areas of cooperation.

Today, two decades later, the CICBMA has become an effective forum of multilateral diplomacy, joined by 24 states that occupy more than 90% of the Asian continent, where half of the population of our planet lives.

I express my deep gratitude to all countries for their support of this initiative and for being with us during these 20 years, contributing to the development of the organization.

Also, allow me to congratulate you on the upcoming 20th anniversary of the CICBMA and thank all the participants for their continued support and invaluable contribution to the effectiveness of our forum.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

Over the years, a colossal job has been done, significant results have been achieved.

First, the CICBMA has united most of the countries of Asia, which come from different cultures, civilizations and development models. Three summits were conducted, and three ministerial meetings were held.

Second, the basic documents that have created a political and legal foundation for cooperation within the CICBMA were developed and adopted.

Third, the stage of institutionalization of the Forum was completed. The Secretariat and its working bodies successfully operate.

Fourth, concepts and action plans in almost all areas of the CICBMA have been accepted.

Fifth, there is a process to form a basis for expansion of economic cooperation between our countries. Given a «green light» for the creation of the Business Council, the business forums of CICBMA are regularly by conducted.

Sixth, links with international and regional organizations and forums have been established.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

In 2010, Kazakhstan passed a mandate for the presidency of the CICBMA to the Republic of Turkey, which will execute this important mission until 2014.

Over the past two years, the CICBMA has significantly expanded its geography. The new members of the Forum are Vietnam, Iraq, Bahrain and Cambodia. Bangladesh and the Philippines joined as observers. We are grateful to the Turkish side for a significant contribution to the development and strengthening of the CICBMA, as well as increasing its prestige in the international arena.

Kazakhstan welcomes the intention of the People's Republic of China to accept the mission presidency of the CICBMA for the period of 2014–2016. I would like to emphasize that China has unique historical, political and cultural experiences to advance the complex process of building trust and developing Asian cooperation. I am sure that the presidency of China will give a significant boost to the strengthening and further development of the CICBMA and will promote the concept of indivisible cooperative security in Asia through multilateral dialogue, mutual interest and desire to achieve consensus.

Dear Members!

The Asian continent is transformed into the main area of global international relations of the 21st century, as is its economic potential, and the degree of influence on world politics. Even today, the countries in the region produce more than 57% of the global GDP.

However, unfortunately, in Asia unresolved inter-state problems related to territorial disputes and contradictions have been exacerbated. In this regard, the Asian region is a zone of greatest concentration of nuclear weapons and is bolstering its military capabilities.

The rapid development of Asian countries accompanied by an aggravation of existing conflicts, leads to increased levels of mistrust and geopolitical rivalry. The problems of illegal migration and drug trafficking, territorial claims and separatism, religious extremism and terrorism remain.

Obviously, without confidence among Asian countries it will be difficult to make meaningful progress in address-

ing global security challenges. In this regard, we need to maximize the potential of the Forum for joint decision-making on security and cooperation in Asia.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

Kazakhstan is one of the leaders of the movement for a nuclear-free world. We have made a historic contribution to this process by closing the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site, and forever abandoning the nuclear weapons which Kazakhstan used to own.

We call on all countries to adopt the Universal Declaration of a nuclear-free world. We understand that this complex issue takes time to resolve. But to start the process is necessary for the salvation of mankind.

Kazakhstan's new initiative offered at the Global Nuclear Security Summits in Washington and Seoul, to create in Kazakhstan under the auspices of the IAEA an International Nuclear Fuel Bank, has received further support.

Also at present, in the framework initiated by our Republic is the international project «ATOM» whereby any person on the Earth may protest against nuclear weapons, signing the online petition to the governments of the world. Building a world free of nuclear weapons should be our most important goal for the future.

We also believe that the question of the complete elimination of North Korea's nuclear program should be resolved within the framework of six-party talks. With regard to Iran's nuclear program, here I would like to emphasize once again that the solution to this problem is possible only by diplomatic means.

This Forum is conducted at a crucial time for the entire planet. The global transformation of the world order has begun. Serious turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa is a good example of that. Kazakhstan has repeatedly expressed support for the efforts aimed at a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Syria. We are convinced that the future of the country lies solely in the hands of the Syrian people, and that in this connection, the parties should sit down at the negotiating table.

One of the most urgent tasks of the Forum is to implement a series of measures aimed at solving the problems of Afghanistan. During its chairmanship of the OSCE, Kazakhstan has made significant efforts to normalize the situation in the country. We continue to provide assistance to Afghanistan today. We train Afghan youth at Kazakh universities, deliver relief supplies and provide funding for the construction of social facilities. Expansion of the transport infrastructure has been worked out to include the full involvement of Afghanistan in regional traffic.

Also within the framework of international organizations, work with partners to strengthen the fight against drug production and drug trafficking has improved.

Dear Members and Guests!

Experts from all over the world are likely to report that it is time for major reforms in the global economy, with a high risk of a new wave of the crisis.

Kazakhstan calls to radically expand the number of participants in search of global crisis management solutions. To achieve this goal, we have put forward the ini-

tiative to establish the G-Global communication platform based on the Astana Economic Forum.

Significant prospects exist for deeper partnership in the transport sector. Kazakhstan, as a staunch supporter of the Central Asian integration, is going to be the largest transit and logistics hub in the region, a «bridge» between Europe and Asia.

In the Asia – Pacific region exist various multilateral, regional and trans-regional associations. However, unlike in Europe, with its developed institutions in the field of security, Asia does not have a continent-wide system similar to the OSCE. In this vein, the CICBMA is of particular importance and relevance as an institutional instrument for the maintenance of security and cooperation in the region.

In the Declaration of Principles, the Almaty Accord and CICBMA Catalogue of Actions lie the political and legal foundations of Asian security. A consolidated vision of CICBMA member states on key themes of peace and security in the region is being developed. All of this suggests that the Meeting has the potential to transform the organization. It is in this context that all the participants of the CICBMA must work together in the coming years.

I hope that by the time of the fourth Summit of CICBMA we will reach some results on the establishment of the Organization. By that time, the status of the Head of the Secretariat of the CICBMA – the Executive Director should be raised to the level of the Secretary-General. I propose to consider the question of the establishment of the Standing Committee of the CICBMA, with corresponding changes in the applicable rules of procedure.

It is also necessary to continue and develop cooperation between the CICBMA and the OSCE, which could transform into the creation of a common platform for Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security. All the more so in that the OSCE has received similar proposals for cooperation with the CICBMA.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

Today, when Asia is undergoing rapid development, we especially need a comprehensive and effective institution for security and cooperation. In this context, the CICBMA has to take its rightful place in the new global security architecture.

Naturally, the effectiveness, efficiency and development of the Forum depends on the active participation of every member of our organization, each state that you represent. I hope that this joint active work will make our organization efficient and effective.

I am confident that Asia will not present unsolvable problems if we confront these problems with effective cooperation and constructive trust. Understanding this gives us hope and strengthens our faith in the bright future of our sub-continent and the planet.

Thank you for your attention.



Chapter II

Challenges offer opportunities

Creating a competitive Kazakhstan and global economic processes

In his presentations on economic issues Nursultan Nazarbayev traced the stages of the successive integration of Kazakhstan into the world community through the expansion of economic cooperation and attracting foreign investment. On the most respected dialogue platforms the Head of the State has raised the topical issues of development of the world economy, a sustainable financial architecture and a system for overcoming the consequences of the global crisis. Of great interest is the experience of Kazakhstan in building a competitive market economy, which is recognized by international experts as one of the most dynamic economies in the world today.



2.1. Speech at a meeting with the leadership of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Davos, the Swiss Confederation, 2 February 1992)

Dear Sirs,

The decision on the admission of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the IMF and the World Bank is a truly historic event. For us, it means not only the possibility of obtaining loans from the IMF, but most importantly – enhancing the image of Kazakhstan in the eyes of the international community. Our entry into the IMF is directly connected to the opportunity to participate in projects funded by the World Bank, which will strengthen our international position.

With the admission to the IMF I would link the end of the isolation of the Kazakh economy, which was imprisoned by the short-sighted policy of the Center of the Soviet Union. As you know, for a decade years the former Soviet Union maintained isolated from the rest of the world economic system, and it was little adapted to cooperate with the international community.

We are aware of the deeper meaning of the international financial bodies. We are not looking for any sort of bondage or dependency – they help us get back on our feet. Therefore the resources received from these organizations will be used to help to jump start the motor of our market, not for plugging holes.

Now is the time when we have to take the main test of the maturity of economic thinking. There is a need to have big capital investments. Kazakhstan is experiencing an acute crisis of investment, and among all of our current crises this is perhaps the most difficult and dangerous in its consequences.

Any economy that does not invest money not only for the maintenance of existing facilities, but also for the expansion of production capacity, is doomed to disaster. Today, state investments are kept to a minimum (characteristic state of the effective economy), and enterprise receives the freedom to direct their resources to consumption fund.

Meanwhile, the technical condition of many enterprises cannot provide their normal functioning. But this does not mean that the funds will be distributed according to the old standards. Loans from various international financial institutions will be directed to those projects that provide real business justification of costs and benefits, and strict guaranties. We need to determine how effective today's investments will be in the 21st century, and how they will affect the future structure of the economy. Soon there will be established a national agency that will be able to filter the investment projects implemented through the state budget, and foreign investment. But this does not mean that we want to restore a centralized distribution system in the gosplan state planning spirit or style of the old ministries. It is an reasonable use of the proposed loans. We receive not free money, but money tied to the quality of proposed projects. This is a historic opportunity for the

country: either we will be able to use the full force of the allocated funds, or we will be disgraced.

Membership in the international financial institutions does not guarantee success. Achieving the latter will require hard work, discussions between the IMF and Kazakhstan on specific aspects of the economic and financial policy, for which the IMF would agree to allocate specific amounts of money. This work has already begun, and I hope for the agreed program of action to be completed in the near future.

I want to briefly inform you about the economic processes taking place in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

As you know, in 1991 the country experienced political crisis: the USSR disappeared as a single state from the world map. The Commonwealth of Independent States was formed, which – I believe – did not reinforce economic union.

On the contrary, some states have continued to support separatism, disintegration – seek to solve their own economic and social problems alone. The result of these actions is already tearing perennial economic ties, and as a consequence there is an accelerated decline in production, and rapid rise of inflation in all the former Soviet republics.

The reality is that there is no coordination in the actions of the subjects of the CIS in the field of economic policy. What is being done in this direction is a simple declaration of commitments to the market reforms or getting out of the economic crisis, unsupported by steps to stabilize the economy in the ruble zone.

The economy of the CIS is experiencing not its best of times. Economic rationalism is sacrificed to political ambi-

tions. The issues of economic transformation of states of the ruble zone, the transition to market reforms and even the standard of living of the population have become a bargaining chip in political games.

The entire package of economic agreements of the CIS, made in December 1991, has been completely disavowed in January 1992. There is a final undermining of the current rate. The problem is compounded by the fact that by eliminating the State Bank of the USSR, the creators of the CIS have not taken any decision on the creation of a central bank of the CIS or inter-state banking union. The result is a *legal and economic nonsense*: Russia supplies its currency to fourteen independent states, thus dictating the terms for *them to get cash*. *In this situation, the internal conflict is laid out, which can only lead to economic warfare. And we are already its witnesses and its unwitting victims.*

I have always been and continue to be an advocate for the creation of an economic union *within the ruble zone* (not excluding the republics, which have their own currency). The heart of such a union must be based on the principles of free movement of goods, capital, labor and services. It is important to agree on the financial, monetary, tax, price and social policy and the development of a mixed economy. It is necessary to create a supranational supra-state coordinating institutions on the basis of mutual agreement, to develop general principles of interaction between states, the operation of systems of regulation and control that prevent unilateral action by individual states to the detriment of others.

I am here not to question the formation of sovereign states. The concern is that this process not be accompa-

nied by a progressive ill-considered economic disintegration, at least during a transitional period. Otherwise, it may result in exacerbation of not only inter-state conflicts, but also intra-state because of the lack of domestic production as well as consumer goods.

The economic situation in the country you are well aware of; it is reported at the meetings of the IMF and the World Bank on the basis of the analysis performed by your employees. I want to talk here about certain areas of economic reform in the country, which, of course, should be adapted to new situations and recommendations of reputable international financial institutions. I note that the deep-calculated specific program of the Government will soon be presented at the session of the Parliament of the Republic.

Today it is clear that if the government of the Republic continues policies that encourage inflation, preserving fixed prices, aimed at increasing benefits and compensation, subsidizing inefficient production, and indexing most income-economic disaster is inevitable.

Thanks to the tough policy of the Republic, a new economic course is dynamic, complex and simultaneously addresses a number of key areas. Among them, the most important is an economic stabilization. It is based on the budget adopted by the parliament of the Republic, tight fiscal policy, a set of laws on tax reform. There are radical changes in the structure of public spending, reducing financing of loss-making enterprises, reducing the cost of the apparatus of government, etc.

Tax reforms are aimed at bringing taxation into line with the new conditions and at the same time the conver-

gence of the principles and structure of the tax system in market economies. The important thing here is the introduction of a new tax-value added tax (VAT). However, it should be noted that it is still quite high. Therefore, in order to pre-empt enterprises' avoidance of the taxes, and to avoid reducing the activity level of entrepreneurship there will be additional measures (reduction of the rate with subsequent unification).

An important area of economic reform in the country is the liberalization of prices. The program was based on the objective of the Government to restore the balance between the money supply and the supply of goods on the market through a single, albeit extremely painful way: the liberalization of prices. Price regulation was envisaged in the first phase of the transition to the market, depending on the level of monopolization of the production of specific goods and the liberalization of foreign trade. Further liberalization of prices was considered only a matter of time before it was supposed to carry out a coordinated policy with the other member states of the «ruble zone».

Unfortunately, the Russian unilateral measures to liberalize prices did not allow the country to carry out the relevant work and make tactical changes in the Government's policy.

In Kazakhstan, there is an active process of dismantling of the command model of economic development based on the monopoly of state-owned entities. These processes are aimed primarily at eliminating monopoly statist/bureaucratic structures on property for the purpose of effective personalization of power-economic relations,

the immediate restoration of the lost connections between the efforts of businesses and results of their operations.

I have adopted a program of privatization of state property, including the stage of privatization of services, trade, consumer services, utilities, housing, small enterprises in industry, construction, agriculture, transport, and the incorporation of large enterprises of industry and the agro-industrial complex.

The country has carried out the separation of state ownership of the national and the municipal (communal). This will dramatically speed up the process of privatization of state property and will provide a variety of forms and methods of implementation, in particular the combination of paid and unpaid methods. Rapidly evolving privatization of small and medium-sized enterprises creates a broad framework for the development of the employees' entrepreneurial skills.

The use of various forms of ownership and management forms, along with other measures of economic reform, has made a significant contribution to the general health and dynamics of economic life. However, the true subjects of market relations reform has not established yet. Enterprises remain indifferent to market incentives.

Priority tasks in the implementation of privatization are reducing the financial and administrative burden on the state, the development of competition, economic efficiency, attracting private investments, eliminating the state monopoly and reducing bureaucratic structures. The government is committed to the creation of new forms of regulation of privatized enterprises.

We pay special attention to the fact that the processes of privatization are being carried out simultaneously with implementing the price, banking, financial, social, and anti-monopoly policy measures, as well as with the improvement of logistics of enterprises, the development of entrepreneurship and competition. At the same time the system of statistics, accounting and analysis is changing in accordance with the new requirements.

Kazakhstan has huge natural and economic potential. In the agricultural sector there are more than 220 million hectares of farmland, including 35.5 million hectares of arable land. The average annual production is about 24 million tons of grain, 1.5 million tons of meat, 107.7 thousand tons of wool, etc. The share of agriculture in the total volume of the national income is 36.4%, capital investment – 34%. Our agriculture can fully meet the needs of the population in the major types of food and export them outside the country.

In order to further enhance the development of agriculture we have adopted a package of laws to translate it to a market economy, a legal prerequisite for the formation of new social and economic relations, development of multi-structural forms of ownership. At present, there is intensive work on their implementation. As a result, today various forms of management: state farms, collective farms, cooperatives, farms, small businesses, joint stock companies, etc. operate on an equal footing.

In the process of privatization of state-farm assets the priority is being given to corporatization, the transfer of its lease to labor groups with a subsequent purchase – and in some cases donations of fixed and working capital

to the staff. However, we note that the main means of production, agricultural land, remains the exclusive property of the Republic of Kazakhstan; it is provided to citizens for lifetime inheritable possession, as well as for temporary use under lease to businesses and individuals, including foreign nationals.

An important sector for the economic growth of Kazakhstan is considering the use of foreign capital, technology and techniques, experience in the organization and management of production. The country has held a course for progressive structural changes in the economy. Currently, the economy is characterized by a profound distortion of branch structure, with high inertia and resource consumption, and dependence on imports of consumer goods (mainly non-food). It is therefore necessary to use opportunities in Kazakhstan's economy for more active involvement in the world economy.

The country has registered more than 1,100 participants in foreign economic relations, including 116 joint ventures, there are 21 foreign trade associations, joint international commercial bank and one foreign company were established. The range of export products contains about 290 items and is sent to more than 80 countries.

It should be noted that the basis of our export potential in the coming years will be traditional for Kazakhstan's oil and gas production, metallurgical, chemical and agricultural sectors.

At the same time, there will be developed and adopted a program to stimulate foreign investment in order to attract, encourage and create all the necessary conditions for immediate foreign investment in projects that meet the

economic requirements, and to create a positive image for foreign investors. We are talking about projects in priority sectors such as agriculture, food and energy industries, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, recycling of waste, the medical industry, consumer goods, building-materials industry and construction. Economic projects in Kazakhstan will involve foreign investors who will enjoy the benefits, legal and economic privileges provided in all the laws of Kazakhstan for such projects and will not be subject to discrimination in any form. Recognition by the international community of the Republic of Kazakhstan as an independent state imposes upon it certain obligations in terms of legislation of foreign trade in accordance with the applicable rules of international law. Laws on foreign investment and concessions on the basic principles of foreign economic activity of free economic zones have been introduced.

The rules contained in these laws are set so as to provide prospective foreign partners the necessary incentives for investing capital in the economy of Kazakhstan. Foreign and joint ventures in which foreign capital contributes more than 30%, and that are located on the territory of Kazakhstan, are provided with a period of 5 years from the date of receipt of declared profits, during which period they are exempt from paying taxes on it.

Kazakhstan guarantees foreign investors the right to a free transfer abroad of income from operations and liquidation of legal entities with foreign participation, as well as from the sale of its stake in them.

In general, it should be noted that the results of economic reform and the improvement of the situation in socie-

ty will depend on both internal and external factors. Under these conditions, the main objective of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan is consistency and persistence in its actions, its coordination and harmonization with other countries, the widespread use of a market-based, highly professional, competent approach to business.

I believe that the assistance that will be provided by the international financial authorities, by the international community, will allow Kazakhstan to emerge from the economic crisis, and I hope that in time our country with the help of the IMF and the World Bank will also affect the economic development of the world.



2.2. Speech at the International Forum «Crans-Montana-96» (Crans-Montana, Swiss Confederation, 23 June 1996)

Ladies and Gentlemen!

During these days I have had several opportunities to speak to the participants of the Forum and to talk about the history of my country and its policies. This presentation will be devoted exclusively to the economic problems of the country.

The main branch of the economy of Kazakhstan is the fuel and energy complex, based on our rich reserves of energy. According to Western experts, our country – and this is without taking into account ongoing exploration of mineral resources – has reserves of 15–30 billion tons of extracted hydrocarbons. Now from the reserve only 1% is taken out, which is slightly more than 20 million tons. Our own needs are only 10 million tons, and the second half of what is obtained is exported. Based on these figures, you can readily imagine what tremendous opportunities to increase oil production the Republic can expect ahead.

Kazakhstan today can mine more than 100 million tons of coal. Its reserves are large, but for the realization of export opportunities the Republic does not have enough expertise.

Kazakhstan annually extracts 20 million tons of ferrous and non-ferrous metals. The developed production

capacity is 8 million tons of steel, including automotive sheet and steel for tin. In the former Soviet Union, Kazakhstan ranked the first in the production of copper, lead and zinc, and was in third place in the production of gold. On the basis of these resources the country built 47 modern ferrous and non-ferrous metals processing plants which now, of course, have difficulties, but are still in commercial production.

The country has a processing capacity of 20 million tons of crude oil in refineries. The richest deposits of phosphate fertilizers have provided the opportunity to build four large plants for elemental yellow phosphorus with an annual capacity of 357,000 tons. Here, Kazakhstan has no equal in the world.

An important sector that is particularly attractive to the investment of capital, is the agro-industrial complex. Kazakhstan annually processes up to 40 million hectares of land, of which 25 million are allocated for grain. On average, we produce 20 to 22 million tons of grain, including high-quality milling wheat, with half of the crop being exported. The Kazakhstan exchange for the sale of wheat is now known to all grain exchanges.

On the basis of such a huge grain farming structure, animal husbandry is also developed. Our cattle herd consists of 8–9 million heads, and we have 36 million of sheeps. But the country faces a lot of problems with the processing of agricultural products. Annually not processed, in particular, about 100,000 tons of wool, and a huge amount of hides. Unfortunately, this wonderful business opportunity remains unresolved, there is no proper development.

Our communications remain behind the widely accepted high standards. Therefore, in the first years of independence, this was given the highest priority. In our capital city were built two world-class five-star hotels. Links to almost any corner of the world are provided. This creates the necessary conditions for work and leisure for foreign businessmen.

In large parts of Kazakhstan capital construction should be developed further. We are now moving our capital to the geographic center of the country. In this regard, those who participate or intend to participate in its development, are fully exempt from income tax. Exempt from export duty on equipment that will be taken there. In short, investors and builders of the new capital are given unique tax benefits.

Ongoing reforms in the country have allowed us to achieve macroeconomic stabilization within just 3 years, and now Kazakhstan is beginning to shift from inflation to investment policy. Results for 5 months of this year show that we have not only halted the decline in industrial production, but also achieved a 1% rise. This seems to have become a trend. Increased by 0.5% in gross domestic product. This, too, is no small achievement, which allows people to believe in the reforms we have carried out.

Over the past year Kazakhstan has moved into the first place among all the states of the CIS to establish legal framework reforms. Extraordinary laws on private ownership of land and foreign investments were introduced. These laws state that the conditions under which contracts are set up with different companies cannot be changed with a change in the law over the next 10 years.

This year, the Supreme Economic Council, which operates under the President, will engage in the creation of further favorable conditions for foreign investors. This is a vital necessity, because 2.5 thousand joint ventures and 680 enterprises with participation of foreign investors are already working in the country today, and since last year the transfer of our largest companies has been carried out under trust management of foreign companies.

The funds directed by the international financial bodies to Kazakhstan's development to date total \$2.5 billion. At the same time, the amount of concluded agreements with foreign investors for the next 10 years is close to 50 billion dollars. We do not beg to be given something. We invite people on very favorable terms to come to work with us to increase their profits, on the one hand, and on the other to place the natural resources at the service of all citizens of Kazakhstan. And then they would feel even more that the reforms are being made for the people, for the nation, for the sake of the prosperity of the country.

Thank you for your attention.



2.3. Speech at the conference «Kazakhstan – The Way Forward» in London (London, United Kingdom, 22 November 2006)

Dear Lord Mayor!

Mr. Chairman!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

I want to sincerely thank the Lord Mayor for the generous hospitality extended to us at Mansion House. I am very pleased to be here in the heart of the business world of the Great Britain. I thank all of you here, invited business people of Great Britain for the fact that this morning you are giving us your time, showing the greatest respect for my people and my country. During my visit I feel the spirit of hospitality, friendliness and desire to help our young nation to rise and enter the environment in developed countries.

The people of Kazakhstan and the UK are united by one very important quality. This is ability to cherish their tradition dating back to ancient times. A few days ago, Kazakh riders took part in one of the oldest and wonderful traditions of the City, the Lord Mayor's Show, and marched through the streets of modern London. This event once again emphasized the respect and loyalty to the historical heritage of our peoples. At the same time, it was the perfect symbol of our aspiration to move forward together.

On the eve of the 15th anniversary of Independence, which will take place this year, we are proud to talk about the results of the political and economic development of

Kazakhstan over the years. Due to its historical choice of the values of a liberal economy, democracy and freedom, Kazakhstan has made impressive progress in its development, as evidenced by the world's centers of expertise.

We created «from scratch» one of the most dynamic economies of our time, built the institutions of a democratic society, improved the social standards of living of all Kazakhstani people. And most importantly, all these years the multinational and multi-confessional nation of Kazakhstan – 130 nations and peoples, and 46 religious denominations live and work in conditions of peace with all our neighbors and stability in the country.

Our reforms helped Kazakhstan to become a recognized leader in the transformation of the post-Soviet zone, setting an example for many transit countries. Over the past five years the average annual growth of Kazakhstan's economy grew by 10%. We set a goal to achieve in 2007 a per capita GDP of more than 6,000 dollars. Of course, by British standards, this figure is small. But if you say that in 1998 the GDP per capita in Kazakhstan amounted to \$500, then 6,000 in that short time is a great success. For this indicator, we are ahead of all our neighbors.

Kazakhstan was the first CIS country that received the status of a market economy. The World Bank included Kazakhstan in its list of twenty countries most attractive for foreign investment. The fact that Kazakhstan is the most favorable for investments in the region is illustrated by the following data. Foreign direct investment in Kazakhstan's economy reached more than \$50 billion. Kazakhstan attracts more than 80% of all foreign direct investment coming into Central Asia. Sixty states have invested their mo-

ney in the economy of our country. In the next 10 years, the development of large deposits of oil, gas and other mineral resources of our country should draw to Kazakhstan an additional 30 billion dollars. I want to say that domestic investments now account for at least 20 billion.

I am pleased to note that the UK is now second only to the United States in terms of foreign direct investment in the economy of Kazakhstan. In addition, Kazakhstan itself has now become the largest regional investor, investing large amounts of capital in a number of countries in Central Asia and the CIS. Over the past years, our country exported \$18 billion in goods from Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstani companies successfully master new horizons. In the last year the «Kazakhmys» company, which produces copper, and «Kazahgold» placed their shares on the London Stock Exchange. According to its level of capitalization «Kazakhmys» joined the list of the one hundred largest and was the first post-Soviet space which appeared on a full listing. This year, the exploration and mining companies «KazMunaiGas» and «Kazkommertsbank» followed the example. A number of other companies representing all sectors of the economy are at various stages of the placement of their shares in London. We welcome this process, which reflects the trust of the international financial community in Kazakhstan, and shows the growth of our economy, our liberal policies and the capacity of our companies to work openly and transparently on international stock exchanges.

Creating a strong foundation of market institutions allows our country to set new goals. We have declared our intention to enter into the 50 most competitive countries of

the world. We understand that to achieve this goal requires big, serious intellectual work.

The main source of economic growth is now the realization of the resource potential of the country. At the same time, we recognize the need to move on raw materials and conduct economic policies with a focus on the development of industries. We are working to create an alternative industrial economy that does not depend on oil, gas and other natural resources. This includes not only the achievement of certain performance, but also the formation of a new system of economic values. I mean, the creation of an economy based on knowledge, advancing the development of industries with high added value. These priorities are reflected in the long-term strategic development programs in our country: «Development Strategy to 2030» and the «Strategy of Industrial and Innovation Development»; the first steps have already been successfully implemented.

The new strategy calls for an integrated development of industrial, agricultural, scientific and technological sectors. Its implementation in the future will increase the country's economy in the next 10 years by 3.5 times. And here there is scope for foreign investment capital, of course, and your country.

We are constantly working to improve the country's investment climate. A Council of Foreign Investors under the President of Kazakhstan was created, which is an effective platform for dialogue between business and government. A British initiative is being implemented on transparency in the extractive industries. Forty-six companies, 52 NGOs and the Association of Non-governmental Organizations

representing the interests of more than a thousand NGOs have already joined this initiative in Kazakhstan.

I am convinced that a qualitative leap in the economic development of Kazakhstan can only be achieved in a national economy that is open to the outside world as an integral part of the global market for goods, services, labor, capital, ideas and modern technology.

To this end, in the priority areas of economic development the state creates exceptional preferences. Fiscal climate changes will best fit in the direction of the needs of business and the public. Particular attention is paid to improving the efficiency of the state apparatus and to minimizing bureaucratic obstacles.

In order to create favorable conditions for foreign investors we had to create new institutions of an independent judiciary. For example, in the newly created Regional Financial Center of Almaty city a specialized court was established with the power to review all disputes relating to the activities of participants in the financial center.

Regarding the new Regional Financial Center of Almaty, I would like to emphasize that in this matter we studied and adapted the experience of world-renowned centers such as Dubai, Singapore and Dublin. And we especially appreciate the interest with which these plans were met here in the City of London.

This year, the country has created two new structures, which have no analogue in any post-Soviet country. One of them is the Sustainable Development Fund of Kazakhstan «Kazyna», bringing together all the national institutions of development. Among them are the Innovation Fund, the Investment Fund, the Development Bank of Kazakhstan

and others. The purpose of the newly formed structure is the improvement of corporate governance development institutions to encourage investment and innovation activities in the various sectors of the economy.

Another important step was the creation of the state holding company «Samruk». It includes state-owned assets of key national Kazakhstani companies, including «KazMunaiGas», shares of which became a listed subsidiary in October of this year on the London Stock Exchange. The main purpose of holding «Samruk» is to improve the effectiveness and quality of corporate governance of the national companies.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

Representatives of the business-elite of the UK!

Those of you who have already visited Kazakhstan have had the opportunity to experience the energy and dynamism of our country, which seeks to cooperate with Europe and, above all, with your country, to gain experience, knowledge, technology and keep up with the processes of globalization.

Kazakhstan today offers new opportunities and enormous potential for both large companies and medium-sized businesses.

Kazakhstan is a reliable bridge to the CIS economic space, the Caspian region and Central Asia. Our country is open to new ideas, and we are carefully studying the international experience.

Returning to the subject of historical traditions, I would like to mention a little-known but remarkable fact. The «Exchange Yearbook» for 1906 (which, as you know, records

data about the companies whose shares are traded on the London Stock Exchange) has a record of placing on July 9, 1904 the shares of the company «Spasskaya Cooper Mine» («Spasskaya Copper Mine») carrying out activities in the Akmola province in Kazakhstan. This company was located in the heart of the City outside London Wall Street.

Today, I am very pleased to note the resumption of this age-old tradition. Now Kazakhstan, as a hundred years ago, is again represented in the City of London, and we fill this gap in our historical business ties. Today, the joint efforts of Kazakhstan and the United Kingdom are vigorously catching up in due time, the benefits of economic cooperation.

I would love for you to interpret my remarks as a call to realize the opening of opportunities in our country in order to strengthen our cooperation for the benefit of our peoples. We welcome British business in Kazakhstan and expect you to get more active involved in this rapidly developing part of the world.

Thank you, dear friends. I wish you all the best.



2.4. Speech at the 25th meeting of the Council of Foreign Investors (Astana, Republic of Kazakhstan, 22 May 2012)

Dear Meeting Participants!

Dear Guests!

Once again I would like to congratulate all the participants of the 25th anniversary meeting of the Council and to thank you for your active participation in our joint work.

In the 14 years since the establishment of the Council Kazakhstan has come a long way. During this time, the economy has grown in real terms by more than 2.5 times – up to 186 billion dollars. In 2011, GDP growth was 7.5%. Productivity in the manufacturing sector as a whole increased by 20%. The foreign trade turnover of Kazakhstan in 2011 increased by 40% over previous year and amounted to \$126 billion.

The 20th anniversary of Independence in the past year, we celebrated with significant progress in diversification and transition to an innovative economy. Over these years, 70% of the total foreign direct investment in Central Asia has arrived in Kazakhstan. It totals almost 150 billion dollars. Last year alone, investment amounted to 18 billion dollars.

A program of industrialization of the economy is being successfully implemented. Over the course of two years, about four hundred new productions enterprises were built, which have already released products worth

more than \$3 billion. More than 220 projects continue to be implemented. Of these over 30 are large industrial projects with an investment of between three hundred million dollars and over one billion. Total investment in the manufacturing sector over the past three years was \$8.5 billion.

I must admit that these advances rely heavily on the active role of our foreign partners. In this regard I would like to thank all the members of the Board for their invaluable contribution to the improvement of the investment climate and economic development of Kazakhstan.

To strengthen these advances, we have adopted a new Strategy of Development up to year 2020 and a number of important government programs. However, our achievements and your estimates say that Kazakhstan is able to set and achieve much more ambitious tasks.

Dear Colleagues!

Today I want to offer you to begin together a large-scale project, the «New Silk Road».

Kazakhstan should revive its historic role and become a major business and transit hub of the Central Asian region as a bridge between Europe and Asia.

As a result of this mega-project in 2020, the volume of transit traffic through Kazakhstan should increase by almost two fold with further increase to at least 50 million tons.

Why Kazakhstan?

First, its advantageous geographical position. Today the world is in the process of globalization, so this factor is not without significance.

Kazakhstan, being located in the heart of the Eurasian continent, connects the largest markets in China, Europe, Russia and CIS countries, and provides transportation services in the countries of Central Asia and the Persian Gulf. It is beneficial to investors, guaranteeing them the link – between production and consumers. The largest transcontinental routes «North-South», «East-West», «South-East Asia-Central Asian region» pass through Kazakhstan,

Second is the constant growth of freight traffic.

These flows are now linking the second world economy – China with the EU and the CIS. It is expected that by 2020 the volume of trade between the countries bordering Kazakhstan will increase by one and half and will reach \$1 trillion.

The annual volume of trade between China and Europe now exceeds \$500 billion with an average annual growth of 8%. By 2020 it will account for \$800 billion. A transit route from China to Europe via Kazakhstan has a distinct advantage: it is significantly shorter than the sea route via the Suez Canal.

Third is direct access to the markets of the countries of the Customs Union.

In July this year, the Common Economic Space will start full functioning. This will ensure the free movement of capital, goods and labor resources.

Fourth is the favorable investment climate.

In the «Doing Business» ranking Kazakhstan occupies 47th place, and in the «investor protection» indicator we moved up to 34 positions at once. In addition, in this area the Government targets to achieve the most advanced standards of OECD countries.

Fifth is political and economic stability.

During our 20 years of independence, we have been able to significantly strengthen peace and harmony in multi-ethnic Kazakhstan. This is an important factor to attract global capital.

How can we implement such an ambitious project?

My vision is the creation in key transport corridors of Kazakhstan a single set of hubs at the international level: trade and logistics, finance and business, innovation and technology and tourism. The competitive advantage of the «New Silk Road» project will be based on the implementation of the «5S» principle: speed, service, cost, safety and stability. As a result of their territorial and functional linkages there must be a synergy effect.

This should be the main source of competitive advantage of the «New Silk Road», following the example of Dubai or Singapore. The main element of the «New Silk Road», a transportation and logistics hub, will be developed around the following projects.

First, on the basis of the national company «Kazakhstan Temir Joly» a world-level multi-modal transportation and logistics company is being created.

Second, we are actively developing ICBC «Khorgos» on the border with China. This is the «East Gate» of Kazakhstan. In the west of Kazakhstan projects will be implemented to expand the seaport «Aktau» and to construct a logistics center in the city of Aktobe. They will be the «Western Gates» of the Republic with access to the Caspian region, Russia and then Europe.

Third, we will quickly build a «transcontinental corridor» from Western Europe to Western China. This project will be completed by 2015 and will reduce the delivery time

of goods from China to Europe by road almost 3.5 times compared to the sea route.

Fourth, work will continue to increase the capacity of the railway network of the country with construction of the «Zhezkazgan – Beineu» and «Arkalyk – Shubarkol» railways with a length of 1200 kilometers. This is in addition to the already-built «Uzen – Turkmenistan – Iran – Persian Gulf» railway and «Korgas – Zhetygen», the second railway crossing to the Caspian Sea.

Fifth, all the way from China to Russia, that is, in the SEZ «Khorgos East Gates» in Almaty, Aktau and Aktobe will be built «class A» multipurpose logistics centers. The development of business activities and services for foreign citizens in Almaty will create around the town additional conditions for the formation of a «tourist hub».

Most investments will then be directed to the development of the ski resort zone for winter recreation and Kapshagai resort for the summer season. In addition, relatively close by is a region with great potential – the lakes of Balkhash and Alakol. The development of the port infrastructure «Aktau» and next to it the oilfield services cluster, will give impetus to the construction of the nearby sea recreation resort «Kenderli».

In order to support the development of integrated tourism we are dealing with facilitation of the visa regime. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has considered the abolition of the visa regime for 34 countries.

We will create innovative enterprises focused on providing services to large companies. Together, by 2020 these conditions will create a meaningful international innovation and technology hub on the basis of already exist-

ting SEZ «Innovation Park». Already today, the Park has registered 121 companies and plans to place the research units of national companies.

We will continue to invest in the development of world-class infrastructure and applicable fringe benefits and guarantees, in particular by placing state orders to conduct research and development. Work will continue to build in Almaty a modern transport infrastructure and service cluster corresponding to world standards.

Almaty should become a leader in the country at the level of safety, environmentalism, and facilities for foreign nationals by implementing the «tech city of the future». In addition, Almaty will also introduce the principle of «one stop shop» for foreign businessmen and investors. We will present a complete package of services for a simplified procedure – from obtaining visas and various permits, contacts with government agencies, and ending with the registration of companies. Using the model of Almaty, across the country, each city should undergo such large-scale transformation.

In partnership with the exchanges in Asia and Europe there is a need to create in Almaty an international commodity exchange that will serve all the traffic flows through Kazakhstan. The growth of trade and commodity turnover should give impetus to the development of the «Regional Financial Center of Almaty».

With this in mind, I assign the Government, together with members of the Council of Foreign Investors, to discuss the above directions and by the end of this year to develop a comprehensive plan for the implementation of the project «Kazakhstan – New Silk Road».

Dear Friends !

Allow me to introduce a new practice of holding meetings of the Council of Foreign Investors. At each meeting, it would be mandatory to define two questions for evaluation.

The first of them is the implementation of the investment policy in Kazakhstan, protecting the interests of investors. This will assess the relevant authorities.

The second issue is the development of local content.

We have dedicated to this issue the 20th plenary meeting of the Council. But, given its importance, I propose to conduct the discussion at each meeting. The emphasis will be on developing technologies.

All of you know that we pay much attention to innovation and local content policy, where we would like to see a larger proportion of high-tech, knowledge-intensive goods and services. In this context, I propose to devote the next meeting of the FIC to innovative development.

The Government is currently developing on my behalf this concept of innovative development of Kazakhstan till 2020.

You, dear investors, given your vast experience of major projects in various sectors, I encourage you to aid in building the right policy approaches to the technological development of Kazakhstan. Therefore, I ask the next meeting of the Council to comment on the practical implementation of the concept.

In addition, I ask you to jointly consider the qualitative development of issues by the Council. We have reduced the number of meetings to once a year, but the volume of questions has not decreased. Therefore, the work the Board should not be slowed down. It is neces-

sary to intensify the activities of the working groups during the year.

Therefore I propose to instruct the Ministry of Industry and new technologies, together with the Association of Foreign Investors to make proposals for the revision of the qualitative composition of the working groups and the Council itself to tune it in a new way.

I invite you all to the next meeting of the Council of Foreign Investors, scheduled for 22 May 2013, and to the sixth Astana Economic Forum to be held on 23–24 May next year.



**2.5. Speech at the XII-session of the Boao
Forum for Asia**
(Boao, China, 7 April 2013)

Dear Mr. Xi Jinping!

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen!

First of all I would like to thank the organizers and personally Chairman Xi Jinping for their hospitality and the excellent arrangements made for the participants of the Boao Forum for Asia.

The urgency of the Forum is enhanced by the fact that Asia today has gained a special significance. First, global production potential has been concentrated here. Then the center of economic activity has moved here, which sets the tone for the global markets. I am convinced that the next step will be the establishment of Asia as a key source of ideas and models of development. The international agenda will be formed here, not only in economics but also in many other areas. Building trust among Asian countries is the key to significant progress in the solution of global problems.

Dear Participants of the Forum!

To develop a common strategy for success is very important to exchange the experience of all countries of the Asian continent.

Kazakhstan's model is based on integration into the world market processes and development of a strong inno-

vative economy. Thanks to the stable political situation and effective anti-crisis measures, Kazakhstan has retained the positive dynamics of development.

At the end of 2012 Kazakhstan's GDP grew by 5.8%. Meanwhile unemployment will not exceed 6%. Gross international reserves reached about \$90 billion. Kazakhstan conducts modernization by stimulating its high-tech industry. These are projects in the field of «green technology», alternative energy and energy conservation.

We are open for investments in deep processing of oil and gas, production of fertilizers, logistics and other industries. A modern transport infrastructure is being created. We are reviving the «Silk Road», creating the «Western Europe – Western China» main transport corridor. It will be launched in 2015.

The capital of Kazakhstan is Astana, the chosen venue for the 2017 International Expo under the theme «Energy for the Future».

Not stopping there, we extend the new boundaries for development.

A new political course «Kazakhstan 2050» has begun to be implemented. This long-term strategy seeks innovative economic and social principles at the heart of the state and society. We intend to actively cooperate with all interested countries.

Dear Friends!

The successes of each state are contributing to the overall well-being of the continent. To multiply the impact of our cooperation, we need a system of coordina-

ted government actions. They should cover a wide range of relationships. Let me mention the most important in our view.

First. Success in finding ways of further development is determined by the format of decision making. It has to take into account the positions of all the states, because no one can remain aloof from global events, especially negative ones. Today it is very important to maintain maximum transparency.

In May 2012, Kazakhstan proposed the idea of creating the G-Global website. This is our initiative to support systematic dialogue to find ways of overcoming the global crisis.

The second. To overcome the current difficulties, the international community needs a step-by-step transition to an adequate and efficient financial architecture. The development of international trade and investment requires strict coordination of financial and monetary policy around the world. This helps to minimize the risks, to join forces to work in a preventative mode. Many experts support the idea of reforming the international financial architecture, in particular the global monetary system.

The third. An effective way to address the new challenges would be to strengthen the integration trends in Eurasia. Eurasia is well placed to occupy a central place in the global coordinate system. More than 50 percent of world production is produced on the Eurasian continent. It is home for two-thirds of the world population. There is a need to develop a communications infrastructure, to boost trade and mutual investment.

Important areas include an energy partnership, innovation and educational exchange. As you know, Kazakhstan, Belarus and Russia form a single economic space. It connects the East and West. It is a natural land bridge between the five-hundred-million EU market and the one and half-billion Chinese. The association will have a positive effect on the development of the entire Eurasian space.

Fourth. The evolutionary path of development has high requirements for investment in science and education. We need to intensify cooperation in science, research and innovation. To do this, it is advisable to develop the Asian Program of Action on the development of innovation cooperation. It will provide a strong foundation of technological alliances in Asia.

Fifth. The world economy needs more than ever to expand cooperation between the countries of Asia:

- In the field of transport, to increase transit and organization of the new global transport and logistics hub;
- In the energy sector, especially in the field of «green technology» and alternative energy;
- In the field of agricultural co-operatives, to collaborate in making food development programs, establishing agricultural research linkages.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

In a month in the capital of Kazakhstan the Sixth Astana Economic Forum will be held. In the same place, the World Conference of crisis management will take place with the support of the United Nations.

I am confident that the results of the twelfth session of the Boao Forum will help decision making at the conference. They will form the basis for long-term solutions for the security, stability and prosperity of our region and the world.

In conclusion I would like to express our gratitude to the participants of the meeting for their attention to Kazakhstan's vision of contemporary problems.

Thank you for your attention.



2.6. Speech at VI Astana Economic Forum

(Astana, Republic of Kazakhstan, 23 May 2013)

*Dear Participants of the Forum!
Ladies and Gentlemen!*

Welcome to the hospitable capital of Kazakhstan!

Astana Economic Forum has been held for five years now. The Forum has turned into a special dialogue platform both in terms of shape and content.

First, the 67th session of the UN General Assembly has supported the targeted mission of the Forum: to develop a Global Anti-Crisis Plan. Along with the VI Forum, we are hosting a World Anti-Crisis Conference under the auspices of the UN for the first time ever. Over 100 countries are represented at the Conference.

I wholeheartedly welcome its participants and thank the leadership of the UN and its entities for their support.

Second, over these five years, the number of participants and nations represented at the Forum has significantly grown. The present Forum and the Conference have brought together over 10,000 participants, including some 3,000 foreign guests from 132 countries of the world.

Third, I am especially grateful to the outstanding scholars and Nobel prize winners for establishing their own club in Astana and their active support for the Forum.

Fourth, thanks to the online communicative platform G-Global the Astana Economic Forum has become a place

for continuous discussion. Over 120,000 permanent users are engaged in those debates.

Fifth, what testifies to the increasing potential of the Astana Economic Forum is the following fact. A year ago, from this rostrum, I proposed an idea about a NEW WORLD ORDER in the 21st century and called it G-GLOBAL. Today, the Google search engine alone will give you about a billion links mentioning that word.

I am confident that the outcomes of the discussion at the Astana Economic Forum and the World Anti-Crisis Conference will enjoy growing demand regionally and globally.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

I would like to share my views on the pressing issues on today's agenda.

First of all, let's talk about important conceptual approaches towards combating the crisis. While intensifying the process of developing a Global Anti-Crisis Plan, a number of critically important LESSONS should be taken into account. Just think about it.

Only recently, late last year, everybody in the world was convinced that the first universal crisis of the 21st century globalized economy was a «previous page» of our history. This is what many financial institutions have persistently argued. But there turned out to be no place for euphoria. The collapse of the financial system in Cyprus made us question the proximity of the era of universal economic stability.

I know there are estimates that reject the connection between the «Cyprus event» and the global crisis. But we face the fact. Even a layman not shrewd in economics can

easily name the similar causes of the problems of Cyprus banks and the US mortgage crisis five years ago. These are, first of all, an artificial blow up of financial bubbles and craving for «easy money», absence of proper responsibility of national financial institutions and the weakness of global financial management.

In fact, these and other fundamental causes of the global downturn have not been eliminated yet. Hence, the world crisis cannot be considered as finished. Moreover, it seems to be transferring into a new stage to be accompanied by painful «bursts» of a number of local financial systems. I believe this is exactly the first lesson that should be learned and taken into account when developing a Global Anti-Crisis Plan.

The second lesson is that, ironically, the global recession is caused by the anti-crisis measures taken on national levels. Undoubtedly, during a crisis, action is better than no action. Kazakhstan, as you know, has also carried out a successful Anti-crisis program. It ensured saving jobs and positive dynamics of economic growth.

Not all anti-crisis recommendations developed within the G-20 have been implemented. Many states have taken protectionist measures. This has caused a slowdown of global trade growth, drops in prices on global and regional markets. The volumes of cross-border lending and investment have decreased and now amount to just 60% of the pre-crisis level.

Another aspect is a sharp deterioration of people's social feelings. Unemployment is growing globally. The International Labor Organization forecasts indicate over 200 million unemployed in the world this year alone. Early this

year Europe had over 26 million unemployed, that is 1.5 times as much as five years ago. Many countries have cut government spending on education, healthcare and human potential development.

All of these are clear indicators of a global social crisis threatening to lower the standards of living even in developed societies. Oxford experts report that half of all low-income people of our planet live in G-20 countries. Two hundred fifty million people are forced to migrate in search of a better life which also triggers many social problems. The social injustice existing in many countries is also caused by financial and economic inefficiency.

National anti-crisis plans cushioned the consequences of the crisis, but were not followed by efficient root-targeting actions on the global level. In my article «Keys to the Crisis» published four years ago I identified the deficiency of the global currency system as the main reason for the current global economic storm.

Let me remind you that I have persistently urged changing the ways of global currency emission and circulation that do not meet the criteria of legitimacy, democracy, efficient controllability and responsibility. Yet to this day, there have been neither efficient global anti-crisis mechanisms, nor reliable global reserve currency or a group of regional currencies. There was not sufficient will and responsibility to make radical decisions.

The third lesson that should be taken into consideration when working on the Global Anti-Crisis Plan is about overcoming the lack of trust. I fully share the viewpoint that the global crisis primarily has been a crisis of trust. There is no trust between global financial institu-

tions and nation-states, between the actors of the financial sector and the real economy, among countries, and so forth. I strongly believe that without universal trust, any anti-crisis plan will basically turn into another practice of «closing the gaps».

In the 21st century, the world needs a new economic model. It should be based primarily on a fair and just global financial system free of deception, irresponsibility and wastefulness. Where goods produced by humanity will be directed at creation and progress in the name of happiness and development of each society.

The fourth lesson is the pursuit of a sense of proportion. First of all, the financial sector cannot and must not develop in isolation from the real sector, both at global and national levels. The situation prior to the crisis, when the derivatives market turnover was eight times higher than the total GDP of the entire planet, is suicidal for the global economy.

Therefore special emphasis in reforming global financial management should be made on creation of an effective regulation model for the derivatives market. Secondly, it is important to resolve the issue of global control over offshore zones. Volume of funds moved out from national economies to offshore zones (tax havens) amounts to 30 trillion dollars. In fact these funds can be seen as delayed-action mines that can detonate any minute. And the situation around Cyprus is a strong warning about this problem.

The fifth lesson is related to the fact that the current global crisis is multidimensional.

It's no coincidence that I called it the first universal crisis of the globalized world.

Its course and dynamics are set not only by economic but also political, humanitarian and moral reasons. Today, for example, one cannot ignore the problems related to the rising number of countries that have become «chronic recipients» of international aid. Internal conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa burden the world economy significantly. But «global economic fire» is impossible to stop with a «global flood» of political destabilization.

A new global economy is unthinkable without establishing a new just world order. I emphasize that considering these five lessons, learnt and comprehended during the global crisis, is fundamentally important for setting the right anti-crisis development trend for the world in the coming century. It is encouraging to see the increased role of the United Nations Organization in searching for global anti-crisis solutions.

In September 2011, talking at the 66th Session of the UN General Assembly, I called on the world community to start working immediately on a Global Regulation Pact. This document must become a real instrument for coordinating key aspects of international economic policy. This includes development of functioning mechanisms of the new global financial system and establishment of a global regulator that would set the common rules of the game.

Today it is also vitally important to expand the dialogue on global anti-crisis management within the framework of the G-8 and G-20. Kazakhstan as an invitee for the upcoming G-20 Summit in Saint Petersburg will bring the suggestions and recommendations of Astana forum and World Anti-Crisis Conference to the attention of participants of the Summit.

Dear Friends!

If we are going to be anxious about the future, then the future will look with anxiety at us. Any crisis is first and foremost an opportunity for dramatic (cardinal) changes. One year ago from the platform of this forum I offered the idea of G-Global. I am thankful to all who have valued it positively.

The key point of G-Global is to offer a positive alternative to chaotic dynamics of the changing global development paradigms. It is based on the unifying potential of five simple and clear principles. Let me remind you that these are:

- First, evolution and rejecting revolutionary changes in politics;
- Second, fairness, equality, consensus;
- Third, global tolerance and trust;
- Fourth, global transparency;
- Fifth, constructive multi-polarity.

These principles can serve as a basis for a successful dialogue on any global issue in the 21st century and for coming up with universally acceptable solutions. Today the world needs a new global financial and economic system and effective global security structures, including nuclear security. The continuation of global dialogue on strengthening tolerance and accord has huge potential. In conditions of global transformations, the world as never before needs political will, decisiveness, coordination, openness and trust.

I dearly hope that the number of G-Global followers will keep rising. For further development of this idea I suggest establishing a G-Global Board of Trustees, based on

the examples of Club de Madrid and Club de Rome. This Board should carry out financing the research of fundamental aspects of the idea.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Kazakhstan appeared on the political world map just over two decades ago. We were starting everything from ground, and today the achievements of our economy are acknowledged by all.

In 2012 the World Bank «Doing Business» ranked our country 49th; in terms of «investor protections» it was ranked 10th. In the World Economic Forum competitiveness report Kazakhstan was ranked 51st. We have come all the way to achieving the target I set a few years ago – to enter the club of 50 most competitive countries in the world.

As you know, we have developed a new political course – the «Kazakhstan 2050» strategy. Its key goal is to transform Kazakhstan into a top 30 most developed country of the world, where progress is based on innovative economic and social principles. The most important among these principles is harmonious development of the trinity «Economy–Energy–Ecology». And this is not a utopian dream, but a real necessity for the whole of humanity.

The coming recovery of the global economy from the crisis will inevitably lead to even more massive growth of production and consumption. Moreover, today's reality is that in the modern world every fifth person does not have access to electricity at all. Therefore it is an unjustified carelessness to postpone the solution of energy and environmental problems.

At last year's Rio Summit my initiatives on a global energy and ecological strategy and the Green Bridge program were supported by the world community. Transition to «green» energy and introduction of «green» technologies – this is a growing vector of the global economy. Despite possessing huge natural wealth, including hydrocarbons, Kazakhstan is determined to actively develop renewable energy sources.

These goals are set in our Strategy 2050. We are determined to allocate 2% of GDP annually for investments into «green modernization». All this is reflected in our adopted concept on transition towards the green economy. In four years Astana will host the International specialized exhibition EXPO 2017. It is no coincidence that we have offered to host the event under the motto «Energy of the Future». I invite the business circles from all over the world to take the most active participation in preparatory works for EXPO 2017.

Dear Friends!

The 21st century is taking its course, «condensing» time and distance. Development of the new type of global economy, new principles of international relations and new values of social life are underway.

Therefore today it is important to find the right solution to global problems.

I wish success and fruitful discussions to the participants of the Forum and delegates of the World Anti-Crisis Conference in developing new recommendations.

Thank you for your attention.



2.7. Speech at the G-20 Summit of the leaders of the participating countries (St. Petersburg, Russia, 5 September 2013)

Dear Participants of the Summit!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Allow me to express my gratitude to Russia for the invitation to the Summit and the opportunity to appear before you, representing the countries of the CIS and the Customs Union.

In the East, there is a saying: the truth, uttered aloud becomes a lie. But I'll try to keep the maximum truth in my statement. Especially, I can say that I am older in age and experience than almost all the participants of the Summit.

In 22 years of independent development the Republic of Kazakhstan covered the distance that other nations achieved over several centuries. We have overcome the crisis and are rapidly evolving with growth of 5 to 6% annually.

Perhaps the leaders of the G-20 are always involuntarily commensurate with the risks of their own countries, and that's fine. Therefore, when talking about the global crisis that has kept the world in limbo for 5 years, they are trying to tactfully evade the real reasons for passing to the general economic trends.

I am sure that the cause of the global financial crisis, if we speak openly, is defiance of moral principles, moral values.

With such a dynamic development of the financial pyramid – «bubbles» – it would be surprising if there were no crisis. When the world powers or alliances uncontrollably print banknotes that are not confirmed by gold reserves, nor the laws of economics, and the rest of the world carries only settlements in these currencies, it is not surprising that all of this has led to a crisis.

Of course, the G-20 countries work a lot, and without their development the economies of developing countries cannot develop. However, unfortunately, the position of the majority of developing countries is hardly taken into account when making the world's most important decisions.

To make sure that the voice of such countries, which include Kazakhstan, was heard, two years ago I initiated the launch of the G-GLOBAL project. This is not an alternative to the G-8 and G-20, but an additional tool for global dialogue, which is being realized as an info-communication platform. It has combined three million Internet users from 160 countries.

Also in Astana with the support of the UN General Assembly the Anti-Crisis World Conference was held with participation of the heads of economic ministries of 104 countries.

Introducing the global dialogue formats, I would like to share our vision of solving actual problems.

First, the global financial architecture should be an evolutionary way to come to respect the interests of all countries. Ideally, we need a new world currency that would become:

a) legitimate and democratic; that is, issued by the consent of all countries;

b) reliable; that is, a real tool for measuring the true value;

c) balanced; that is, aimed at long-term goals.

Second, there is a need to reform the global financial system. We need a system of regulation that eliminates the risks and includes both restrictions and incentives.

Third, it is necessary to balance the debt ratio. It is proposed to develop and introduce new elements to regulate and control the volume of state and corporate borrowing.

The issues of global financial architecture can be discussed within the framework of the UN and the conclusions are offline G-Global, presented to today's Summit.

Dear Participants of the Summit!

In the fight against the crisis, the role of regional integration is also important.

An example of such a new integration association is the creation by Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan of the Customs Union, which is developing successfully. This alliance has economic and political aims, and is open to new members.

Kazakhstan is also in the final stages of accession to the World Trade Organization. In this regard, I ask the heads of state and government present here to support Kazakhstan's accession to the WTO by the end of 2013.

Dear Friends!

We support the initiative of the G-20 on the «Green Climate Fund».

In turn, we initiated the «Green Bridge» partnership program, endorsed by the Summit Rio+20. Kazakhstan has embarked on «green» modernization.

The evidence for this is the selection of Astana as the venue for the International Exhibition EXPO 2017 with the theme «Energy for the Future».

Dear Heads of State!

I am confident that the proposals I have announced here will be heard and will not remain without attention from your side.

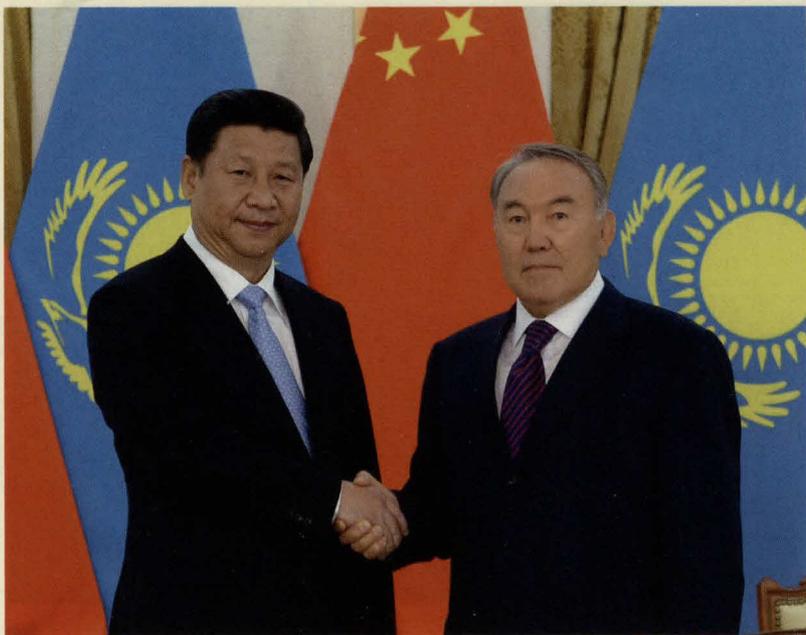
Good luck in the further work of the Summit!







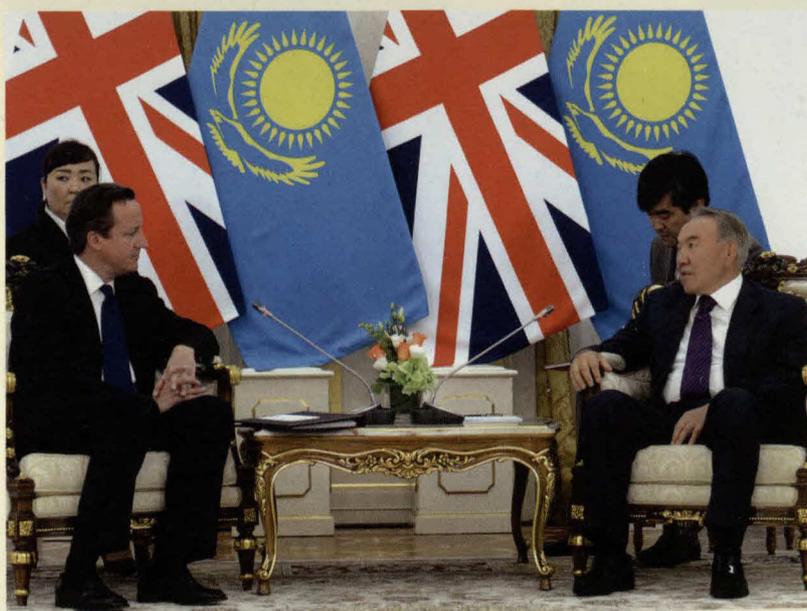


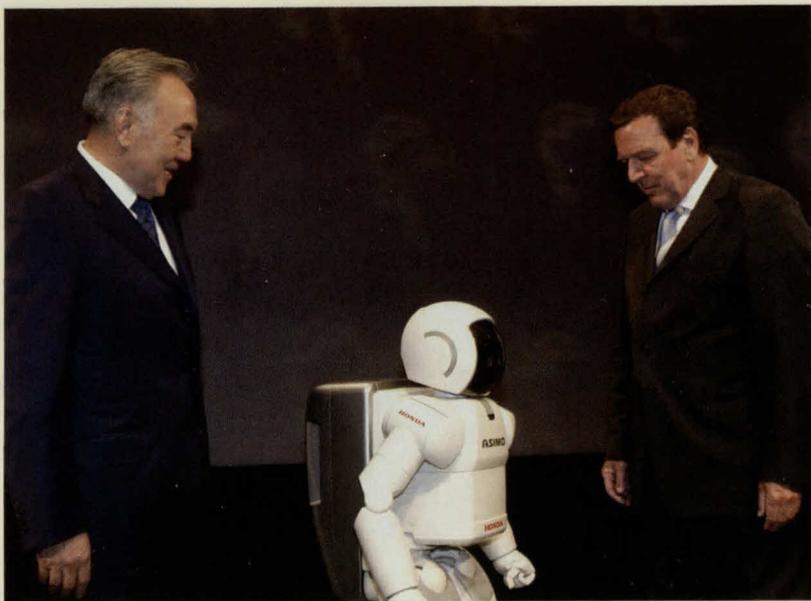










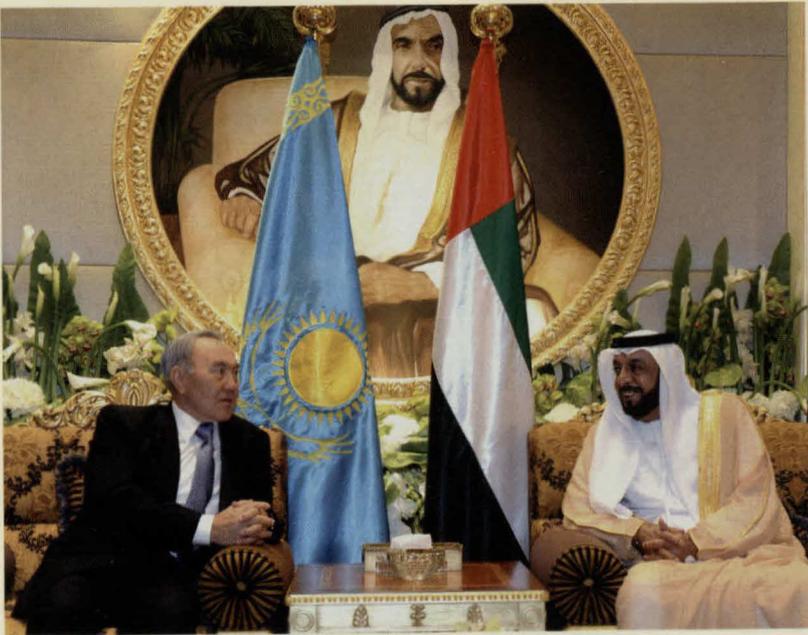




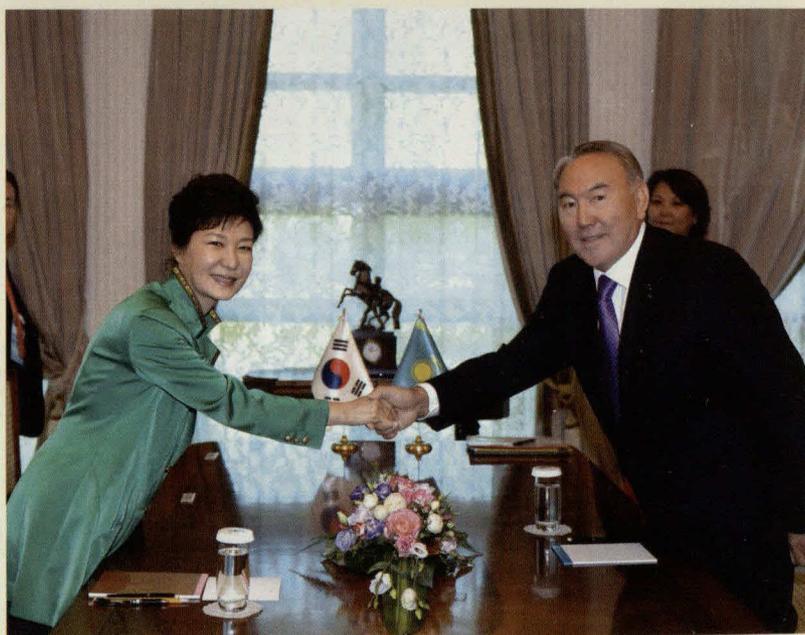






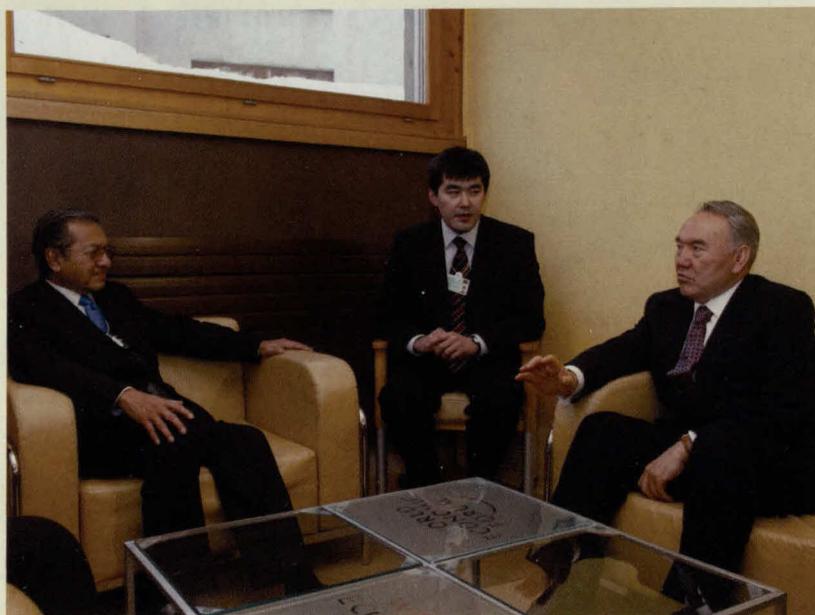




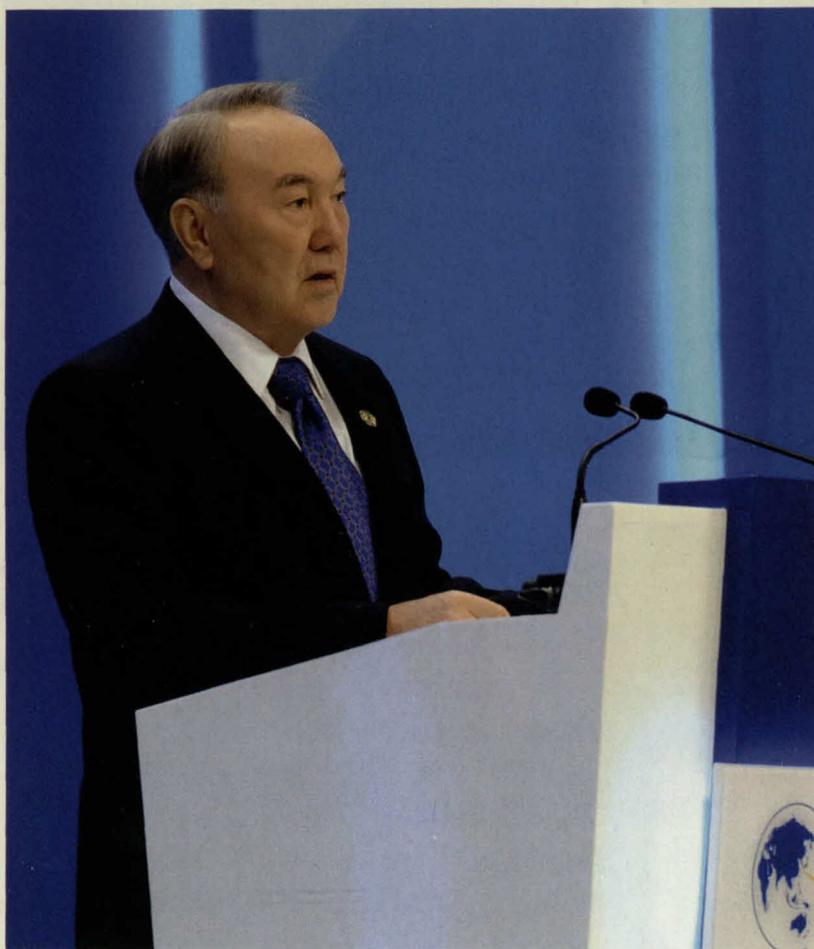


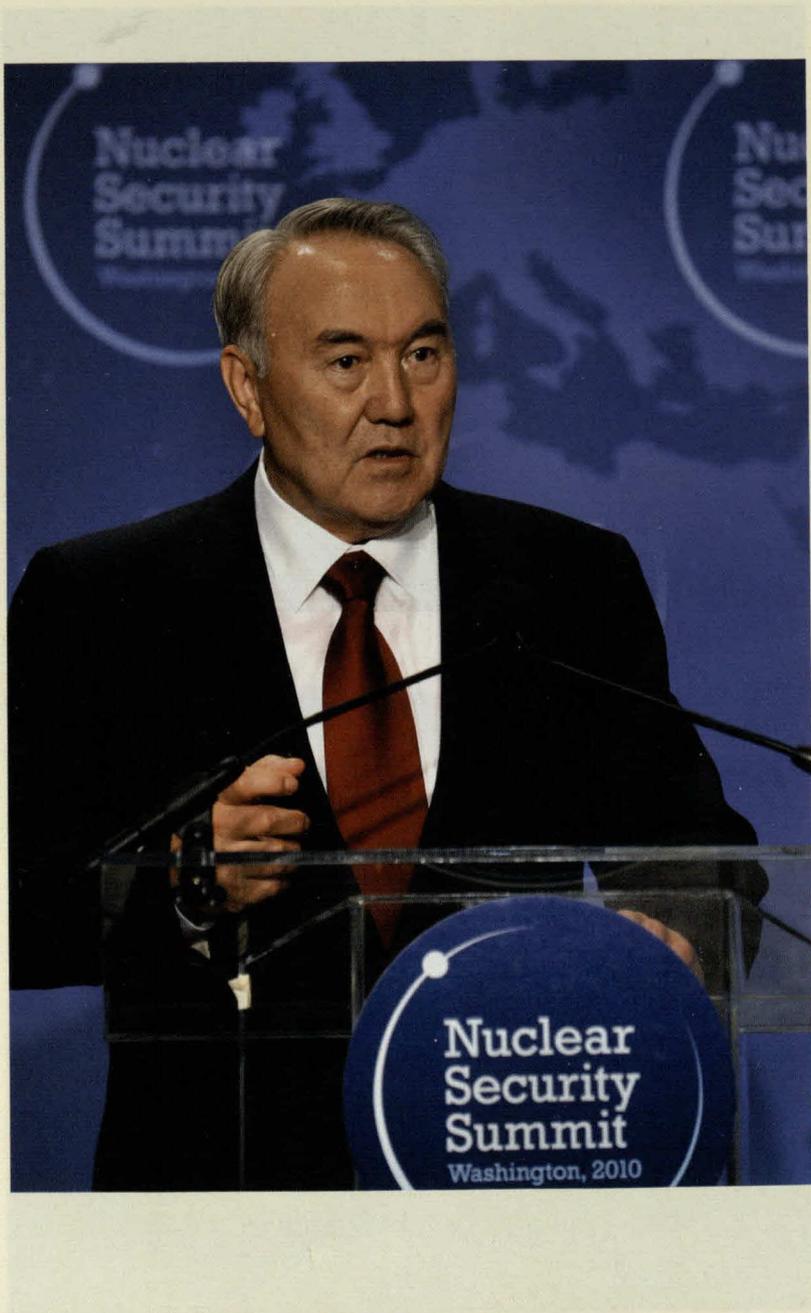
















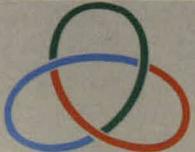










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АЗИЯДАҒЫ ӨЗАРА ІС-ҚИМЫЛ ЖӘНЕ СЕНІМ ШАРАЛАРЫ КЕНЕСІНІҢ
МЕРЕЙТОЙЛЫҚ СЕССИЯСЫ ЖӘНЕ СЫРТҚЫ ІСТЕР МИНИСТРЛЕРІНІҢ ІV КЕЗДЕСУІ

COMMEMORATIVE SESSION AND IV MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS
OF THE CONFERENCE ON INTERACTION AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES IN ASIA

ЮБИЛЕЙНАЯ СЕССИЯ И IV ВСТРЕЧА МИНИСТРОВ ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ
СОВЕЩАНИЯ ПО ВЗАИМОДЕЙСТВИЮ И МЕРАМ ДОВЕРИЯ В АЗИИ







Chapter III

Crossroads of the world's civilizations

Developing a culture of dialogue as a new dimension of global humanitarian interaction

The centuries-old tradition of tolerance and good neighborliness has existed since ancient times in the land of Kazakhstan, and continues to this day. Preservation of ethnic and religious stability is one of the most important tasks of the government. This section illustrates the principles of multiplication of social and cultural capital of the Kazakh people, including openness, the pursuit of new knowledge and global cooperation. In the humanitarian initiatives of the country is contained a powerful creative potential, which in its manifestation can only serve to enhance the growing international credibility of Kazakhstan.



3.1. Speech at the XXVIII session of the General Conference of UNESCO on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the organization

(Paris, France, 15 November 1995)

Mr. Chairman!

Dear Mr. Director-General!

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is my great honor to welcome you to the podium of the current session of the General Conference of UNESCO. This year is marked by the world community's approval of the ideals of humanism, of spirituality, of human rights and freedoms. Just like 50 years ago when there was a historic decision on the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the problem is still attractive to hundreds of millions of people across the world.

For half a century, UNESCO has been a reputable international organization that actively influences the processes of global development. The triple challenge it proclaims: «teach, seek and build together» finds more and more supporters in today's interdependent world; the world has overcome a period of confrontation through joint integration efforts, even though we are still experiencing the turmoil of regional conflicts.

The UNESCO's strategy in the near future has been proposed to the members of the current session, and a new concept of its activities, which of course corresponds

to the spirit and the realities of today, will be a major step towards the implementation of the Global Appeal for Peace, recently adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Through the prism of humanistic UNESCO programs and projects the state and people are looking for ways toward self-improvement, understanding and communication, adding of national treasures of science, culture and education in modern human achievements.

At the same time, of course, each country is living its culture, its language and its history, having a special combination of strategic human aspirations and creative resources.

Kazakhstan is no exception. What is the meaning of our strategic objectives? In short, a wide and far-sighted pragmatism requires that we really should link the resolution of internal problems with the global approaches.

Two and a half thousand years of history of the Kazakh people and their ancestors is recorded in written sources, and this history was carried out in close collaboration with a numerous Eastern and Western cultures. Predisposition to what the philosopher called rhythmic movement in unity with the universe as a whole, constitutes one of the fundamental characteristics of the Kazakh culture, defines a specific measure of its perceived openness, receptivity to external events, a willingness for decent spiritual partnership.

The formation of this quality has greatly contributed to the famous Silk Road, along which over the centuries, goods, knowledge and ideas established international connections that were spread along with the caravans. The

thousand-year surge of «arteries of spirituality» has left a deep mark in the outlook of the Kazakhs.

Perhaps that is why the Republic is undergoing a renaissance of spiritual independence, seeking to revive peacemaking and cultural traditions of the Great Silk Road. Occupying a central position between Europe and Asia, and being a lively scene of economic and political contacts, Kazakhstan can become a bridge, connecting the two great civilizations.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

For us, it is quite obvious that the defining trend of world development today is global integration. An inspiring example of countries-members of the European Union find support in various regions of the planet.

Unification processes are characteristic of the countries of Latin America, Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

In the same vein, the idea of a post-Soviet Eurasian Union is advanced by us and already has many supporters in Kazakhstan and far beyond. This not only to pursue economic goals, quite understandably, but also involves integration of the former Soviet republics in the fields of science, culture, education and information.

Today, it seems that all recognize the obvious fact that without the flowering of national cultures, and their cross-fertilization, there cannot be sustained economic growth, social progress and lasting democracy, or peace on earth. Not by chance that the UNESCO declared the 10th anniversary of the development of culture in 1988. This program is truly noble, and its high mission was fully experienced by all Kazakhstanis this year when, under the

auspices of UNESCO, the 150th anniversary of the great thinker and poet Abay was celebrated on our land.

The Executive Secretariat of UNESCO and, above all, its Director-General, Mr. Federico Mayor, who specially arrived in Kazakhstan for the jubilee celebrations, made a very great contribution to these celebrations. Their arrival caused a great stir in the country. Upon the presentation of numerous community public organizations the head of UNESCO was awarded the annual Prize of Peace and Spiritual Harmony, which honors prominent public figures who have made great contributions to the strengthening of inter-ethnic stability and unity of the people of Kazakhstan. I heartily congratulate Mr. Federico Mayor on this high award.

Today brings to the fore the problem of the relationship between politics and culture. World practice shows that government officials are able to influence and actively affect the aesthetics of social development. They need to maintain everything that defines the cultural level of relations between countries and peoples. Let's be honest: until now the extent and intensity of this influence have often been constrained by various subjective factors, have been fragmented. I think that UNESCO could unify this spontaneous process within a certain memorandum for political figures of our time.

The heads of state are able to provide substantial support to UNESCO's regional work on the study and development of culture. As for the Central Asian region, we would support the creation in Kazakhstan under your auspices a Center or Institute of Eurasian Studies – a sort of base for comprehensive study of our unique spiritual heritage of nations.

Speaking in principle, on a grand scale, the developed states and international organizations, in providing support to countries with economies in transition, must necessarily take into account the specificities of their cultural development. In order to do this, of course, the appropriate recommendations of UNESCO are needed.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

New opportunities for the integration of a multi-polar world, strengthening ties between the West and the East, require new approaches and ideas in the field of education.

Post-totalitarian countries are experiencing inevitable reform in this area. This is understandable because the new social environment requires changes at the educational level. And here, in the studying and implementing of tested and proven systems of education, it is impossible to reform without the help of UNESCO.

In particular, for Kazakhstan, as many other countries, the so-called integration disciplines are of considerable interest. Items such as comparative history, culture and sociology should be an important part of the new programs. The study of language and literature, these powerful outlets of personality cultures of human values, can also be found in their rightful place. I think in the long run such programs are able to create a new historical context for a modern world that is no longer divided by artificial historical and political barriers.

The problems currently faced by Kazakhstan in the course of radical reforms, sometimes cannot be solved on the basis of the old education. In fact, they have become an

integral part of the contemporary social and political realities which we had not previously encountered. Accordingly, a growing need for in-depth training on pan-European, Asian and other regional issues. I think that not only the countries of the CIS, but also all the states seeking to deepen integration, are interested in the implementation of special education programs that take into account the rapidly changing situation in the world. And here we can count on the support of UNESCO.

On just such an occasion, the ancient sage said: «He, who thinks about hodiernal day of the country, will care about its daily bread, who thinks about tomorrow – peers into human faces». And it's true: we all have to openly look into the eyes of young people, who in the near future will create the history of mankind.

Since the focus of UNESCO includes also questions of science, I would like to focus on the most pressing issues for Kazakhstan in this area. First of all we are talking about the need to focus the efforts of scientists to eliminate the consequences of nuclear testing. Almost 40 years of operation of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site has caused irreparable damage to human health and the environment in Kazakhstan. This gives us every right to remind the world about the high price for humanity to pay, as our opinion was not asked, and mindless rulers of the Soviet totalitarian regime dotted the land with deadly weapons.

Our government has made a conscious choice in favor of a rejecting of such weapons. Let me remind you that Kazakhstan voluntarily acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation, closing the Semipalatinsk test site for testing nuclear weapons. Our bitter experience is a stern warning

to all mankind, so we urge all states to conclude no later than 1996, the Agreement on the complete and comprehensive ban on nuclear testing.

To avoid repeating the mistakes of the past, to protect the people from the deadly effects of nuclear explosions, I think it would be helpful for UNESCO to focus on this problem. In particular, we are ready to create in Kazakhstan an international research center for the study of effects of nuclear testing on humans and the environment. Similarly, UNESCO could involve the scientific community in the problems of the Aral Sea, which is capable of causing global environmental disaster on the planet.

Another promising area of scientific activity is the joint exploration of outer space. More and more countries are now members of the «space club», in one form or another participating in the study of near-Earth space. Among them is Kazakhstan, two of whose citizens participated in missions to the space station. Given that space expedition to Mars is not far off, it is clear that today space exploration needs international scientific cooperation. No single country can afford to pay for this very difficult but necessary further movement along the path of scientific and technological progress burden.

That is why we believe that countries interested in solving this major problem could consolidate their scientific elites and agree on a national aerospace program. A prestigious international organization such as UNESCO is quite capable of performing the coordination function.

Thus, the integration of science, culture and education is, so to speak, knocking on the door of the modern world. Combining the efforts of the international community in ad-

dressing the urgent humanitarian problems will not only be a powerful impetus towards restructuring the world on a new, equitable basis, but also, in my opinion, will greatly enhance the effectiveness of dealing with the ulcers of the 20th century. I mean extremism, international terrorism, regional instability, the victims of which now include prominent politicians and ordinary citizens of the planet.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

The modern world is impossible to imagine without UNESCO – an organization that has become a vital necessity for the progress of mankind. Not by chance, Jawaharlal Nehru called it the «mind of the international community».

The organization's ideals and its active position in social and economic transformation have earned it well-deserved respect around the world and found a ready response and enthusiastic support in Kazakhstan, which is moving towards the creation of a new democratic society.

Reaffirming the commitment to the principles of universal peace, goodness and justice, Kazakhstan will make all efforts to the cause of fruitful cooperation with this authoritative international organization.

I wish the participants of the session of the General Conference of UNESCO successful work for the good of mankind.



3.2. Speech at the opening ceremony of the official presentation of the new capital of Kazakhstan: Astana «The new capital – the new state – a new society»

(Astana, Republic of Kazakhstan, 10 June 1998)

Dear Friends!

Dear Guests!

I cordially greet you at the presentation ceremony of the new capital of Kazakhstan – Astana!

Indeed, a good cause unites friends. On behalf of the Kazakh people, representatives of the many nations of Kazakhstan, and myself, I once again sincerely express our deep appreciation to the states, organizations and distinguished guests for showing us respect, honor, solidarity and friendship.

Our celebration today is neither more nor less than the total victory of bloody battles and bright dreams, struggles and self-sacrificing love of freedom, to which were devoted many generations of our ancestors. This is the result of a new alignment of political forces in the world as a whole.

Our generation witnesses the fact that nothing lasts forever. In the eyes of changing history, to change the world and to change along with it. Our society and state are undergoing difficult stages. The reason for this is that as an isolated society we remained for decades, until recently, powerlessly subordinated to its social and political system.

It is only in the few years since independence, that we have opened our eyes to the system as one holding the people and the state in strict isolation from each other. We have also seen the fact that the new capitals in a number of states, founded in the 20th century, have appeared on the world map thanks to the new geo-strategic logic. And a lot of factors point to the fact that we have to give them our attention.

Judge for yourselves. Globally, Kazakhstan is among the top ten largest countries by the size of the territory. On its millions of square kilometers can be found several time zones. And I think everyone understands that, of course, there was a need to streamline and combine the control center to the geographical center of such a vast area.

Located at the intersection of paths and roads, Astana contributes in the best way to the improvement of both internal and external messages for ourselves and for everyone who collaborates with us. In addition, our new capital will give scope to unlimited architectural fantasy. It is located in a clean environment. It is not directly threatened by natural disasters. The cost of construction is two times cheaper than in the previous capital. And, of course, these benefits were taken into account when choosing a site for the new capital. These advantages were recognized not only by us, but also by our ancestors. Archaeological research indicates that this area is implicated in many events that were directly related to the final populating of the planet.

This space, which lies at the crossroads of two continents, was not only the field of encounters and conquest battles, but the unifying center of religions, cultures and peoples. Long before the world-famous Silk Road, this

place lay along the Steppe Road that connected the peoples and nations of ancient Greece and the Far East. Such historical facts known at the time of Herodotus, could not be neglected by geopolitical thought of later times. At crucial moments in the history of statehood there was a need for discussion in this space.

And, apparently, it is not a coincidence that these places are associated with the legend of Olzha Khan (the prototype of the biblical Noah) and Oguz Khan. I will mention only some of the names of places of this region: Ortak and Kertak, Ulytau and Kishitau, Ordatau and Asker, in which at various times Jochi, Batu, Orda-ezhen, Taybuga, Kuchum, Urus, Abul Khair and Shaibani were elected as khans.

Much of interest is hidden behind the fact that at the most crucial moments of our national unity in the times of Tokhtamysh and Edige and later during the reigns of Tauke and Abylair, it was here that the khans' rule was established, then lost, then resurrected.

And at the beginning of our century the first Kazakh liberals, the leaders of the «Alash» movement, called for the transfer of the political center to the Saryarka given the strategic importance of the area. In 1960, when this region was playing a key role in the economic development of Kazakhstan, the question was again raised of the political meaning. But for various reasons, this historic opportunity was missed once again. As a result, these areas of ancient civilization, despite their unprecedented development, the openness and accessibility of the global information, all these years remained a closed space, full of mystery and secrecy. The area found itself as a place of concentration camps for political exiles, top-secret military testing with a

deadly weapon. Sariarka emerged as a threatening corner of our planet. In the interests of those in power, an idea has been disseminated that this area, which in fact has been inhabited for centuries, is useless. Only now do our generation and our contemporaries have the greatest responsibility to restore to a new life the many centuries of natural beauty, the spiritual heritage of previous generations, and centuries of historical truth, and thus enter into the 21st century with the full truth about this troubled land. And we should be immensely thankful for being given a historic opportunity.

In short, the decision to move the political center of the country to the city of Astana was not short-term or casual, adopted by the will of one or more persons. This is a deeply thought-out and historically well-versed, forward-looking decision which was the result of centuries of search, much thought and heated debate. As they say, it was 40 times measured, and weighed 40 times.

Since the adoption by Parliament in 1994 of the decision to move the state capital, the authorities have conducted wide-ranging, comprehensive preparatory work. Here are just some of the results: an appropriate legal and regulatory framework for governing the transfer of the capital was set up, a special off-budget «new capital» fund was formed and the economic foundation of its development to operate a free economic zone was established.

For several years the State Commission has worked on the preparation of the relocation of the capital, and conducted the organizational arrangements. I can only add that such a large-scale work was carried out in a very difficult social and economic situation in the country. I will

say more was at stake – public confidence in the ability of the authorities to be responsible for the decisions and achievements of their goals. We can refer to the difficulties of the transition period and the problem of material well-being of the population, but then we would have wasted time, so necessary to strengthen the foundations of our independence. Such carelessness future generations would not forgive.

Despite the different judgments, the majority of our fellow citizens were sympathetic to the decision to move the capital. We have received support from the world community.

And today we are witnessing a memorable historical event happening on the Kazakh land. And in this solemn moment in history, we cannot fail to mention names that are memorable for our people and our centuries-old history, names of the places where at different periods was proudly raised the banner of our statehood. Among them we have Sarayshyk, Baytak and Orenburg to the west; Suyab, Balasagun, Taraz, Sairam, Sozak, Turkestan, Sygnak, Sauran, Zhanakent, Kozybasy and Akmechet in the south; Ulytau, Ordatau, Kokshetau and Alash in Saryarka. And, of course, fascinating Almaty. It was the cradle of our spirituality, political prosperity, a hotbed of our new-found independence. Needless to say that Almaty has a special place in our history and the hearts of our generation, including in the hearts of the people who made the decision to move the capital and are in the process of its implementation. Many of us were connected with this city during our youth, adulthood and maturity. During this period, the period of the rebirth of our independence, we must pay tribute to our beautiful

and proud Almaty and superior Alatau, from the rooftops of which soared skyward the white bird of our independence.

Today we welcome our young capital Astana. Its presentation – an opportunity to present to the world our young independent state. So, to take this opportunity, I want to express my gratitude to all the builders and architects, foreign companies, investors, all the residents of the city of Astana for their invaluable contribution to the construction and improvement of Astana and this great gift made to our fellow citizens and future generations in the face of our new capital.

Behind us is only the first stage in the formation of the young capital, but in spite of this, in the ancient Kazakh land has risen an almost new, modern city – you can see for yourself. Now we have to complete the second phase. We are coming to the end of work on the creation of the basic elements of engineering infrastructure required for a city of such high status. In the near future, during the third phase will be formed the social, cultural and administrative infrastructure. Today, businesses are willing to take an active part in this process.

Completing in the shortest period of time the construction of a modern city, of course, will strengthen confidence in the viability of Kazakhstan and the future of our reforms. All this once again convinces us that if we take the whole world, it is possible to overcome any difficulties and obstacles.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Dear Guests!

The new century presents us with new challenges. We have to create a new state, and for the high-flying, we

need new spaces, a new countdown. We have to keep pace with all of humanity.

Moving the capital is not only a matter of internal calculations and considerations. Kazakhstan is a Eurasian country, and our movement to the center of the state is a reflection of a multi-vector orientation of our foreign policy, our understanding of the integration. It in no way changes the strategy of foreign policy. According to the Strategy of Development of Kazakhstan till 2030 we give priority to our relations with our closest neighbors – Russia with its democratic renewal; our eastern neighbor, China, undergoing rapid modernization; our Central Asian brothers who are in the same historical flow of changes as Kazakhstan. But a new development requires not only limiting our cooperation with traditional partners, it must infinitely expand its scale. Establish friendly relations with the world, for them to be gentle and kind neighbors – that is our goal.

Our ancestors had to be respected in the world, to treat with respect other countries and peoples. The brutal totalitarian system protected us from the rest of the world, held behind the Iron Curtain. Now we have to restore the covenants of our ancestors, to establish friendly relations with neighbors and with distant countries, to conduct multi-vector foreign policy from the new capital of Astana. This is the demand of time.

May your path be good and a bright future to you, the new capital – Astana!



3.3. Speech at the meeting with Pope John

Paul II (Astana, Republic of Kazakhstan,
22 September 2001)

Your Holiness!

On behalf of our people and myself I cordially welcome you to the land of Kazakhstan.

Your first state visit to Kazakhstan in the year of the 10th anniversary of the independence of our country will be a memorable event for all of our multi-ethnic state, experiencing its own economic and spiritual rebirth.

Kazakhstan, which is called the bridge between the East and the West, «the crossroad of civilizations», has deep spiritual roots. In this territory, a variety of faiths formed and developed.

During its 10 years of independence, Kazakhstan established its statehood, strengthened the economy and underwent profound democratic reform. In all this is the achievement of the religious leaders who contribute to the consolidation of our society. It is thanks to the peace, inter-ethnic and inter-religious harmony that we managed to get rid of the heavy legacy of the regime which suppressed not only economic and political, but also spiritual freedom.

In the decades of totalitarianism priests and their flocks were persecuted, humiliated and condemned. Churches and mosques were demolished and the monuments of authentic spirituality, culture and history were

destroyed. The traditional religions have always played the role of the spiritual core, the national symbol of love and forgiveness.

Fortunately, that era has sunk into oblivion. We have left behind a time of spiritual nihilism and moral poverty, the century of bitter struggle for the very human right to believe. Our citizens have acquired the right to religious freedom. People of all nationalities and strata of society can choose a mosque, a church, or a synagogue.

We welcome this process. After all, we must not forget that religion is intended to unite, promote the formation of human self-awareness, foster respect and tolerance for other people, their culture and traditions. And our country is a vivid example of how the representatives of different religions and ethnic groups can live together in peace and harmony.

Unfortunately, recent events in the world tell us that even in the new century and millennium, concepts such as tolerance, non-violence and mutual understanding are paramount. We'll always remember.

Kazakhstan and the Vatican are the strongest supporters of disarmament, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and general cessation of nuclear tests.

You, your Holiness, have repeatedly stressed the need for international cooperation in order to «break down the walls of division so conflicts are resolved».

We have also launched a number of initiatives to stop the threats of war and terrorism, to strengthen trust and cooperation between the peoples of our planet.

This is not our first meeting. I appreciate our friendship.

Our country was the first country in the CIS and Asia with which the Vatican signed an agreement about mutual understanding. The Apostolic Nunciature was opened in Almaty, which recently moved to a new capital, a new Roman Catholic church.

Without exception, all the representatives of the Catholic Church in Kazakhstan – the Poles, Germans, Ukrainians – contribute to the economic, social, cultural and scientific prosperity of the country which has become their second home. Together we shared the burden of adversity and hardship, the joy of success and victory.

Catholicism in Kazakhstan has a long history.

A lot of new information, shedding light on the historical events of nearly a thousand years ago, is being found by the study of the diplomatic correspondence of the leaders of the Vatican with the khans and other rulers of the states that existed on the territory of Kazakhstan and Central Asia as far back as the Middle Ages.

Therefore, the Catholic Church for us is not an alien reality, brought from outside. It keeps and renews the cultural and spiritual relationships that have developed in the past.

Today, the Catholic Church is actively rebuilding its traditional mission: churches are built, new parishes are opened. It has great concern in the affairs of peace, enlightenment and charity; reviving the work of priests in social institutions. Catholics, as well as representatives of other religions, are seeking to strengthen the unity and harmony of all the people of Kazakhstan. Servants of the Church help to keep faith in goodness and justice, in patriotism and dignity, love and respect for the country, one's neighbor.

Kazakhstan welcomes on its land your Holiness as spiritual leader, calling for all mankind together to face the future, together to promote dialogue between cultures and civilizations, and deepen communication between humans.

I cannot but note with genuine admiration and respect that John Paul II made a step towards all the traditional religions of the world. You have always expressed words of sincere admiration for the Muslim brothers and shown interest in Islam, its philosophy, culture and history.

Sixteen years ago, meeting with Muslim youth, you highlighted that Christians and Muslims have a lot in common, and now more than ever need a dialogue between the Muslim and Christian worlds. As a sign of these great ideas of humanity and peace, John Paul II was the first in the history of the papacy to set foot in a mosque. The belief that Muslims and Christians can and should create a «civilization built on love», is absolutely true and certain.

We, the people of Kazakhstan, share the view of many people in the world who think of John Paul II as the greatest man, the personification of the moral force. On behalf of the people of Kazakhstan I would like to express my deep appreciation for the fact that you have not changed your firm decision to visit Kazakhstan, despite the very worrying situation in the world.

The tragedy that occurred in the United States poses a threat of division and conflict between civilizations and religions. According to a terrible twist of fate, this danger has become ever more clear in the year declared by the United Nations as the Year of Dialogue of Civilizations.

We highly appreciate, Your Holiness, what you said in a statement made after the terrorist attacks in the United States, calling for humanity not to blame the people, race, or religious communities for this heinous act, warning the world of Islamophobia.

I fully support your thoughts. Islam, like other traditional religions, professes peace and calmness. More than a billion Muslims throughout the world are engaged in peaceful creative works. Your ideas, full of wisdom and humanity, are close to those of Kazakhstan.

Welcome to our country!



3.4. Performance at the First Eurasian

Media Forum (Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan,
25 April 2002)

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

I am delighted to welcome to the land of Kazakhstan the participants and guests of the First Eurasian Media Forum that brings together senior journalists, politicians and experts to discuss the role of Eurasia in the global processes of human development, cultural and information integration.

Let me thank the President of Iran Mohammad Khatami, a philosopher and theologian, who is a champion of the cause of peace, who found time in his busy schedule to be with us.

Geopolitical changes at the historic crossroads of centuries and millennia have dramatically changed the world. But perhaps it has affected our continent the most, and it has gained a new look.

It can be assumed that the 21st century is a century of rapid development of Eurasia. The old barriers of cooperation with other countries in the post-Soviet states are eliminated. The new organizations of security and cooperation, such as the SCO and CICA, form powerful creative potential.

The most important energy base of the 21st century is the Caspian Sea and its wealth. It is expected that politics of the Atlantic and Eurasia will cross here. It was here that

was targeted expansion emanating from Afghanistan. And we must not allow the irreconcilable conflict of interest to emerge here. For the world it is very important to have a zone of stability and cooperation that would serve the cause of development.

Despite the fact that the long confrontation between the two world systems is over, replacing the old challenges come new ones. One of them is international terrorism. And we have to admit that the peace and tranquility of people in the world is still in danger, that mankind still has not come to realize the priority of peaceful dialogue over armed confrontation, the consent to bloodshed and strife.

Today, it is not necessary to read the conclusions of authoritative analytical institutions of the world, to realize the true roots of this state of the human community – global inequality in poverty, pennilessness and illiteracy. It is estimated that if we were to consider the world's population as a village with 100 inhabitants, retaining all proportions, this village would accommodate 57 Asians, 21 Europeans, 14 Americans both southern and northern, and 8 Africans. Of these, only 30 would be white. Eighty of the 100 residents would not have proper housing, 50 would not receive adequate nutrition or just enough to eat, and only one inhabitant of such a hypothetical village would have a full-fledged higher education.

According to the data given at the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, developing countries have a debt of \$6 trillion. Twenty percent of countries in the world have 80% of its wealth. It may be added that about 500 million people survive war, ethnic and religious conflicts. With all this, the

largest share of today's suffering and problems of mankind again account for the peoples of our continent.

Looking from this point of view at the world and Eurasia as a whole, humanity must understand that the way to salvation is only through mutual understanding and tolerance, mutual assistance in development and solidarity. We have all the historical reasons to believe that there are acute problems in Eurasia which can be settled in this way of peaceful dialogue and cooperation.

First, for centuries Slavic and Turkic peoples mutually influenced and mutually enriched each other.

Second, northern Eurasia is one of the examples of religious tolerance and conflict-free coexistence of Islam and Christianity. This is a rare phenomenon in the modern world, even for its liberal side.

Third, the fate of many newly independent states is exposure to the dangers and threats posed by international terrorism, political extremism, transnational drug trafficking. The struggle against this evil lies only in combining efforts. In these circumstances, it is essential that the media, coming out of the trenches of the Cold War, should serve the cause of peace and dialogue among nations and religions, rich and poor, countries and continents. It is this, their highest historical mission.

Against the background of globalization and uneven development in economics and politics, the internationalization of the worldwide information space takes place. In this, informational self-isolation of any state can lead to unpredictable consequences for its future. But at the same time, there is the problem of information dependence from the states-leaders, which may be far more

socially and culturally complex and profound. Therefore, we build a new state and never lose sight of the problem of the formation of our information independence. I am convinced that it is based on a clear and holy trinity of values – freedom, openness, and the Law.

Kazakhstan in a short time has had profound political and economic reforms. We are recognized as a market economy. We have constitutionally prohibited censorship and ensured freedom of speech, abolished the state monopoly on the media, have created a new legal and economic framework for the development of our information sphere.

Today in our country, with a population of 15 million people there are about 1,600 media outlets, 80% of which are private. Our citizens now vote in free elections, are free to practice their faith, free to create associations, can speak openly about their differences with the government. All of this has never happened in our history! We are open to you as the world opened for Kazakhstan. We have gained a lot of foreign friends and partners. The international community will no longer see us as a danger.

Thousands of foreign journalists, experts and politicians have visited our land. They saw our achievements and our shortcomings. Kazakhstan voluntarily renounced nuclear weapons. We closed the nuclear test site. We listened to them, argued or disagreed – so the infancy of our democracy.

Democracy is our own conscious choice, and we are improving it taking into consideration our actual historical conditions, our geopolitical situation and the regional environment. And the independent media have become an

essential component of it. I believe deeply indicative of this is the fact that among the main organizers of the forum are the proven free media and journalist community of independent Kazakhstan.

Today, as our country believes the most important priority is to preserve and strengthen our independence, it is imperative that the media actively contribute to the establishment and strengthening of our new state, civil society, the preservation of political stability, ethnic and social peace and harmony. The media should be an example of lawfulness, namely that compliance with the law is a fundamental principle of development and strengthening of democracy, human rights and freedoms.

We live in a complex, but great time of the collapse of old stereotypes and perceptions. Previously, people of different cultures and civilizations have had an insurmountable challenge to learn to hear and understand each other. The great writer of Eurasia accurately expressed this by saying: «East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet». East and West were not only the concept of geographic opposites.

They went through the crusades and holy wars, migrations and the devastating invasion, colonization and the struggle for freedom and independence. Of the 14,500 wars experienced by mankind, the nations of Eurasia underwent the lion's share of them. The bloodshed on the continent continues today. But after September 11 last year, the world was quite different.

People did not just empathize with the victims of wars and acts of terrorism in the various remote places of the planet. They finally realized that from now on all of humani-

ty is in danger, and to decide the fate of the earth, we must all come together. Today we can see the collapse of the old and «suitable» perceptions that the world is divided into civilized and uncivilized countries, advanced and backward, progressive and non-progressive.

But we are well aware that the media in modern society have become a powerful tool of influence. They can give people confidence or sow fear, be spiritually enriching or devastating, bring together or destroy. It all depends on what kind of goals are set by the media and the people who run them. At the same time in a state developing a democratic path, sometimes it is not simple to distinguish between the restriction of freedom of speech and demanding unquestioning obedience to law enforcement.

This is a problem faced by almost all post-Soviet countries. Therefore, the media should be aware of their sole responsibility to society. We are all aware of ourselves as an organic and integral part of the overall human civilization, no matter where we were born and lived. Indeed, the world is divided only in our mind!

The eternal problem of «never the twain shall meet» of the East and the West, in my opinion, was based on the equally everlasting match of worldviews, cultures, ways of life, development patterns. But now we cannot come to an understanding of what is unique and great perfection, in their harmonious combination and unity. We must do all we can in the West and the East, not only moving towards each other, but at this time and in this continent founding a new philosophy of openness and cooperation of civilizations, which will determine the future of the planet Earth – our common and only home.

I think that multinational Kazakhstan, where there is inter-ethnic, inter-religious, social cohesion, is already becoming a part of this new world to which humanity is sure to come.

I wish the participants of the Forum a successful search for answers to the pressing issues and challenges, opening new ways to develop the media in the interests of the entire international community.

I hope that your meeting in Kazakhstan, through which the ancient Silk Road for centuries connected the East and the West, will help to bring new bridges of understanding and cooperation between peoples and nations.



3.5. Speech at the XVIII General Assembly of the World Tourist Organization

(Astana, Republic of Kazakhstan, 5 October
2009)

*Dear Secretary General,
Dear Participants of the Assembly!*

I heartily congratulate you with the opening of the 18th session of the General Assembly of the World Tourist Organization.

Welcome to our hospitable country that is located on the path of the ancient and historic Great Silk Road and is proud of its beautiful nature!

Hosting in Kazakhstan the current session of the General Assembly for the first time among the CIS countries, and almost all the states of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, is a great honor for our country. We are also well aware of the great responsibility to receive more than 140 delegations attending from all over the world to the sacred Kazakh land. However, I am sure that the holding of this important event in the young and beautiful main city of Kazakhstan, Astana, located in the heart of Eurasia, will long remain in your memory.

The travel industry brings people together, reconciles countries. In this age of globalization tourism has a special impact on the establishment of worldwide cooperation and understanding. In short, we should all be interested in the development of international tourism. However, one

should not forget the fact that it imposes a great responsibility on all of us.

Wishing a successful and fruitful Forum, on behalf of all people of Kazakhstan let me express my appreciation to the delegations of the participating countries of the General Assembly of the World Tourist Organization, and their leaders, for their decision to come to the beautiful and majestic Astana! Good luck in your endeavors! Once again, welcome!

Dear Participants of the Assembly!

The first session of the General Assembly of the World Tourist Organization, held in the heart of Eurasia – the young capital of Kazakhstan, Astana. Kazakhstan was the first country in Eastern Europe and Central Asia to have the highest honor of hosting more than 140 delegations arriving at this Forum from all over the world. We hope that today's meeting will be an important step in the development of Astana, as one of the tourist capitals of the world.

On behalf of the Kazakhstani leadership, I thank all the delegations of the member states of the General Assembly of the World Tourist Organization for the decision to hold a session in Astana!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Tourism is an important part of the lives of people around the world. It brings people together, by making available the culture, history, tradition and nature in different parts of the world.

Today the tourist industry accounts for 10% of global gross product. In this area are employed nearly a quarter

of a billion workers. Globally, tourism revenues reach \$4 trillion. The travel industry ensures that all nations of the world receive more than 800 billion dollars in tax revenue. Thus, tourism is one of the engines of the global economy.

At the same time, tourism is one of the factors bringing together the states and peoples of the world, spreading the culture of tolerance and harmony. Today in Kazakhstan, we pay special attention to the development of tourism. In this regard, the potential of Kazakhstan is rich and diverse.

Our country, located in the heart of Eurasia, takes the 9th place in the world in terms of size. Our territory, which could accommodate all the countries of the European Union, extends from north to south 1,600 kilometers and from west to east almost 3,000 kilometers.

Kazakhstan has a diverse landscape – forest in the north turns into steppe, semi-desert and desert in the south, high mountains form our borders in the east and south. And it has diverse climate; when in the south apples and apricots blossom, the north of the country is still experiencing snowstorms. In Kazakhstan paradoxically converge cold Siberia and sultry Asia, the surf of the Caspian Sea in the west and the Altai mountain taiga in the east, the sandy desert of southwest and extensive lowlands of north-east.

We have kept the charming beauty of Kazakhstan in its original form. And the Charyn Canyon provides an unforgettable experience, not inferior in its scope to the Grand Canyon in the United States. Amazing are the originality of mazes of Kazakh Altai and its foothill forests with

their unique vegetation and rich world of birds and animals. In the vast steppes of Central Kazakhstan is the «Asian Switzerland» – coniferous oases of Burabai, Karkaraly and Bayanaul. There also stretches one of the world's largest habitats of pink flamingos, the Korgalzhyn Reserve. Like emeralds scattered across the country lie numerous small lakes and rivers with large fish stocks. Lake Balkhash, one of the largest fresh-saline waters of the world, has preserved its pristine picturesque shores, and there are Sasykkol and Alakol lakes. In the west of Kazakhstan is the famous Karagiye lying 132 meters below sea level. Kazakhstan's Caspian coast is a promising region for the organization of resort areas.

The ancient Great Silk Road passed through the territory of our country, uniting the Eurasian continent. The length of the caravan path, originated back in the third century BC, exceed 12,000 kilometers.

Today, we are restoring this historic role of our country as an important bridge between continents and countries. We have begun to build a network of modern highways. Recently, we have started construction of the Kazakh section of the «Western Europe – Western China» Trans-Eurasia highway.

The Great Silk Road was not only a transportation artery. Since ancient times, Kazakhstan has played the role of historical bridge between East and West, North and South, at the center of the intersection of cultures and civilizations. It is a meeting point of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, Mongoloid and Europeid races, Indo-European and Turkic – Mongolian languages.

On ancient Kazakh land many unions and states have existed – the Turkic Khanates and the Scythian kingdom, the Khanates of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane. The history of Kazakh statehood is rich and multifaceted.

In the south of Kazakhstan are the holy pilgrimage sites Turkestan and Arystan. Every year they are visited by thousands of tourists from all over Kazakhstan, Central Asian countries and other parts of the world. The passage of time has left to the current generation of Kazakhstan a rich cultural and historical heritage, which we are willing to generously share with the world.

In Kazakhstan live together representatives of 130 ethnic groups. Each ethnic group has the opportunity to preserve its unique culture, traditions and language. Tourists coming to Kazakhstan may meet with their traditional and contemporary art.

Peace and harmony in society has become the hallmark of the new Kazakhstan. Astana is the capital of Congresses of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions.

Next year Kazakhstan will chair the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and in 2011 the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Currently a number of promising innovative projects are being planned and implemented in different regions of Kazakhstan. They are backed up by solid foreign investments. This is a certificate of trust of the world business community in Kazakhstan, an indicator of the stability and security of our country.

An important area of innovation and technological development of Kazakhstan in 21st century is to strengthen

human potential, creating an intellectual nation. Therefore, Kazakhstan is a promising country for the development of educational tourism.

One kind of tourism we pay attention to as promising is space tourism. In today's world, there are three dozen launch sites, but among them the «Baikonur» site is very special. Baikonur is the cradle of the world of space, and is associated with truly epochal events. Many of these events were firsts – the first satellite, the first man in space, the first flight of a space crew, the first spacewalk, the first international crews. From here started humanity's first tourism in space.

I think a promising direction would be the organization of visits by tourists from around the world to launches of spacecraft from «Baikonur», to gain familiarity with the ground objects of this space ship as a world's spaceharbor. Kazakhstan also has a large reserve for growth in the number of tourist trips for business purposes. And almost 30% of all tourist arrivals in the world are for business purposes.

This country has created all the necessary conditions. Modern hotels and business centers have been built. The transport infrastructure has been improved, creating more favorable conditions for tourists traveling by air and rail.

Today, our country has a unique opportunity to develop all types of tourism – cultural, educational, health, environmental, extreme, sports, business and others. Every year we receive more than 4.5 million foreign nationals. And we look forward to increasing that number year after year.

An important step was the adoption in 2006 of a comprehensive State Tourism Development Program for 2007–2011.

Currently, we have implemented several important projects in this area, including the participation of foreign investors. These are the construction of the international tourist centers «Zhana Ile» on the coast of the Kapshagai reservoir in the Almaty region, «Kendirli» in the Mangistau region and the Shuchinsk-Borovsky resort in the Akmola region. This creates a tourism industry in the city of Turkestan and near the ancient Otyrar in the South Kazakhstan region. These are our historical, spiritual and cultural centers. In Almaty, there is a large project development of the ski resort «Me-deu – Shymbulak».

Within two years of the state program of development of tourism, the number of hotels in Kazakhstan increased three-fold, from 465 to 1,500. Today, the domestic travel sector in the country employs about 1,200 small and medium-sized businesses.

Tourism is, above all, a business that requires constant investment. And for that Kazakhstan has created a favorable investment climate, and all the business opportunities that are improving every year.

Our foreign investors appreciate such factors as the consistency of our policy in the sphere of investments, which was not shaken either by the global crisis in 1998, or by the current economic recession.

It is significant that Kazakhstan is from year to year increasingly improving its world ranking with the World Bank. The country has moved from 71st place in 2008 to 64th place this year. In 2008, the total income from tourism

amounted to 74 billion tenge, which is 17% more than the previous year.

There is a growing interest in Kazakhstan among foreign tourists. According to market research by Kazakhstan tourist firms, about 14 million tourists from Europe and Asia in the coming years are planning to visit Kazakhstan. Particular interest in our country has been seen in Germany, the UK, China, Japan and the United States.

The large flow of tourists contributed to the 2011 Asian Games being held in Astana and Almaty. I am convinced that holding the Asian Games will be a powerful stimulus for the development of tourism in our country. I am confident that Kazakhstan will interest many tourists and potential foreign investors.

Dear Participants of the session!

Kazakhstan is making great efforts to strengthen and expand its tourist industry. We are open to a fruitful cooperation with the World Tourist Organization, and all potential investors.

I am convinced that all the participants of the Forum will take away with them from Astana a good impression of Kazakh hospitality, unique sights of the country.

One of the first tourists who visited the Kazakh land was the brave British explorer Frederick Gustavus Burnaby, who in the 19th century crossed Kazakhstan on horseback. According to his confession, he loved Kazakh apples the most. And this year, his compatriot, the British scientist from Oxford Juniper Berry proved that Kazakhstan is the birthplace of apples. This was the conclusion he came by examining the DNA of fruits. As pointed out

by British scientists, the Kazakh apple tree is the ancestor of almost all the apples consumed in the world today.

I invite tourists from your countries to Kazakhstan in order to get to know our country more closely, to gain new experiences and make the same discoveries as have been made by the tireless scientists and travelers.

I wish all participants a fruitful discussion session, important decisions, well-being and prosperity of your people and nations!



3.6. Speech at the OSCE Conference on Tolerance and Non-Discrimination (Astana, Republic of Kazakhstan, 29 June 2010)

*Dear Conference Participants!
Ladies and Gentlemen!*

Welcome to the capital of Kazakhstan – majestic Astana!

The hospitable Kazakh land with its good aura has long been a cradle of peaceful coexistence. As the mainstay of our culture, the friendliness of the people has always emphasized goodwill, preached a peaceful life. Therefore, united by the will of destiny, the representatives of various ethnic and religious groups have taken haunt in the Kazakh land.

Today, peaceful Kazakhstan in full mutual understanding is inhabited by 140 ethnic groups and 46 religions. Therefore, holding this forum under the theme of tolerance in Kazakhstan with the main focus on ethnic and religious harmony is of particular importance.

Dear Conference Participants!

The last decade of the last century and the first decade of this century brought a dramatic change in the very understanding of tolerance and, most importantly, a real policy in the OSCE space.

It is not surprising that because the conditions, ethnic, cultural, religious and civilizational interaction have

changed. Two fundamental shifts may be noted that lie at the heart of the increasingly complex context for the policy of tolerance.

It is above all the fact that since the great migrations in the history of continental Europe there has not been as massive a displacement of millions of people from other parts of the world. Millions moved with their culture, religion, values. And a fact that 25 years ago seemed certainly an academic issue is today a tough everyday reality. In these circumstances many stereotypes, including many of the rules of political correctness, have simply collapsed.

Tolerance and patience, which are by far one of the most important achievements of European civilization after World War II, are now becoming more and more a subject of active debate.

We see the manifestation of an alternative approach to the political values of contemporary Europe. This is primarily the growing popularity of nationalist and extreme right-wing parties, which are often skeptical of tolerance and political dialogue.

This is a significant change in migration policy compared to the situation 25 years ago. Stricter requirements, growing barriers, a tougher stance on language and cultural issues have changed the practice of tolerance criteria.

Finally, religious identity has become, unfortunately, a factor that divides more than it unites people on the European continent. And religious intolerance has become a factor not only of everyday behavior, but is also political. We see clear signs that a large mass of social, ethnic and

territorial conflicts is beginning to manifest itself externally as religious conflict. This adds to the problems of religious tolerance, even in countries with highly developed institutions managing these relationships.

All of this has an impact on a very major shift in the understanding of tolerance in Europe. Including the understanding of the limits of tolerance. On the other hand, in the Eurasian part of the area of responsibility of the OSCE, we are seeing no less complex and dramatic processes. For a long time, the mechanisms of a totalitarian state contributed to the accumulation of inter-ethnic and inter-religious issues in the vast territory from the Baltic to the Pamirs.

At the same time, it is fair to note that for the time being tight control has not allowed conflicts to spill into hard forms, leading to large-scale armed clashes.

It was, so to speak, «totalitarian tolerance». Forced population movement was its arsenal. However, it began to falter as early as the 1980s of the last century.

The past 20 years has accumulated a lot of problems in the field of ethnic and religious tolerance. Often this has caused and is causing massive casualties. Over the years, thousands of people have died.

The absence of old coping mechanisms and the lack of experience in new ways to control the complexity of the ethnic composition and unresolved problems of the past, the weakness of civil society – all this makes the issues of tolerance in the Eurasian part of the OSCE particularly relevant.

All this we clearly observed in the course of the events in Kyrgyzstan this spring, which ended in tragedy – the

death of hundreds of people, thousands of wounded and destitute, hundreds of thousands of refugees.

We hope that the last referendum in Kyrgyzstan will lay the foundation to stabilize the country and meet the expectations of the people for a quiet and peaceful life. The basis of all of the events is poverty and the lack of tolerance in the society.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Kazakhstan as the country chairing the OSCE intends to contribute to the promotion of tolerance, inter-ethnic peace and interfaith harmony in the whole space of the Organization.

What are the distinctive features of Kazakhstan's model of tolerance, the elements of which can be successfully adapted to the specific conditions of the other countries – members of the OSCE.

First, the basis for this model was the characteristics of the centuries-old history of the Kazakh people: tolerance, patience, hospitality, respect for other peoples, cultures and religions.

Secondly, in terms of the sovereign Kazakhstan, tolerance has become not only the norm of political culture, but also a key principle of public policy. For the first time in the OSCE space, a unique public institution was established in Kazakhstan. This is the Assembly of People of Kazakhstan, which has become a successful dialogue platform for the coordination of interests of different ethnic groups and religious denominations.

Third, the Kazakhstani policy of tolerance from the start has included both an internal and an external dimen-

sion. Due to this fact the policy of Kazakhstan on issues of tolerance is consistent, predictable and free of «double standards». It is no accident that Kazakhstan is perceived by many OSCE states as a possible mediator in resolving «frozen conflicts».

Fourth, Kazakhstan is an active supporter of the dialogue among civilizations. Our country strongly promotes dialogue between the Muslim world and the West and is a member of the Group of Friends of the Alliance of Civilizations. In 2008, at the initiative of our country, Astana hosted the Forum of Ministers of Foreign Affairs the «Common World: Progress through Diversity». Kazakhstan became the initiator and organizer of the three successful Congresses of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions – a unique international forum to facilitate the consolidation of global inter-religious peace.

Given the important practical contribution of Kazakhstan to strengthening dialogue between civilizations, the United Nations has actively supported our proposal to declare 2010 the International Year for the Rapprochement of Cultures. Today the OSCE area of responsibility is an urgent need for cultural, civilizational and inter-religious dialogue. So when we talk about the third, humanitarian basket of the OSCE, we must be aware of the fact that not only the electoral process should be the focus of attention.

When we are faced with urgent problems of a humanitarian character, we seriously need to think about priorities. We believe that the humanitarian issues in the OSCE activities are very important and cannot narrow down the

issues. I consider it particularly important to focus on the study and implementation of the positive experience of tolerance in different regions to develop common approaches without double standards.

Today it's time for major revision of the OSCE field missions. They do a lot of useful work in different fields, from ecology to gender policy. At the same time, I believe that a focus on matters of ethnic and religious tolerance could be the key to their activities. The price of these issues is very high – human life. And if the OSCE field missions have more power in dealing with these issues, it will be the most important contribution of our part of the world.

Finally, we must overcome the stereotypes of the OSCE itself as an organization. The changes in language, migration, religious, cultural, educational policy, which we observe in the countries within the OSCE is not properly digested at a collective level.

I believe that we should work together on a generalization of the serious shifts in the policy of tolerance over the last few years and reach a common document, which I would call on a routine basis, «OSCE: towards tolerance in the new decade».

We propose to include this issue on the agenda of the upcoming OSCE summit. Provision of tolerance and mutual understanding naturally begin with the normal economic integration.

I also want to suggest that we seriously address the issue of the Eurasian economic integration of our countries. Closer economic integration of Asian and European parts of the responsibility of the OSCE is the key

to future prosperity and the basis for political dialogue between our countries. I hope that this issue will also be discussed at the upcoming summit of foreign ministers of the OSCE.

As you know, tolerance, along with trust, tradition and transparency are the main direction of Kazakhstan's chairmanship in the OSCE. In this context, we think it is appropriate to consider two institutional proposals.

First – there is a need to create an OSCE Center on Tolerance and Non-discrimination. Central Asia is a region with a complex pattern of ethnic populations. Here for centuries different people have lived side by side.

The most bitter consequence of the conflict in Kyrgyzstan is that the seeds of distrust can be sown between other peoples of the region. This is a significant challenge to stability in the region, which is a threat to all OSCE participating states. In fact, it has weakened the front against international terrorism and extremism, the front line which runs in neighboring Afghanistan. Chaos and destabilization in the region feed into the hands of bosses of drug trafficking, arms dealers and others.

Second – the issue of establishment of the post of the OSCE High Commissioner on subjects of ethnic and religious tolerance should be considered. I am convinced that the activities of such an institution would facilitate dialogue between different ethnic and religious communities in the countries of the OSCE for conflict prevention, rapid resolution of tensions.

This is, of course, will work to increase the visibility and effectiveness of the Organization.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

All the peoples of the world have a common age-old wisdom: you cannot stop hatred with hatred, but with the absence of hate hatred ceases.

I am sure that our conference will generate new progressive ideas for the promotion of tolerance, non-discrimination and to combat all forms of impatience. Positive experience and practical skills in this vital area should become the common asset of all the countries in the area from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

I wish all the participants of the conference fruitful work.

Thank you for your attention.



3.7. Speech at the opening of the IV Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions (Astana, Kazakhstan, 30 May 2012)

PEACE AND ACCORDANCE AS A CHOICE OF HUMANITY

Your Holiness!

Distinguished Heads of delegations!

Dear Guests!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Today, the Kazakh land is filled with light and blessing of the highest spirituality. We have great pride for the fourth time in Astana to accept religious and spiritual leaders from all over the world!

I cordially greet all the heads and members of 85 delegations from 40 countries attending the IV Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions.

Nine years ago, the First Congress was attended by 17 delegates from 17 countries. We were meeting then for the first time. I told you that we intended to build a special palace, a temple, consisting of representatives of different religions and after our prayers we would emerge with a friendly feeling, trust for each other. I think this is a temple that is unique in the world, that collects all at one table. We are saying that the Creator is one for all of us. And this majestic pyramid, with a cutting edge directed into the universe, turns our

feelings, our prayers to the Almighty, who reigns in the land of Kazakhstan and the world with peace and harmony.

Today, there is quantitative and qualitative growth of the global importance of our forum. The Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions has become a unique part of the international dialogue. We are grateful to the United Nations, UNESCO and ISESCO, and the heads of other international organizations, prominent politicians and experts, for their attention to the Congress.

Under the arches of the pyramid of the Palace of Peace and Accord in Astana, topical issues of mutual understanding between religions and cultures are always discussed.

In difficult times of the early Third Millennium, noble initiatives of previous Congresses were supported by the entire world community. They have in no small measure contributed to the world not falling into the abyss of «clash of civilizations». With all the complexities of global development, a strong impetus to the dialogue remains popular trends of contemporary global processes. And I am convinced, the Fourth Congress will go down in history as an important part of the global dialogue leading to the attainment of a just world order, the finding by humanity in the 21st century.

Dear Participants of the Congress!

Just now the first meeting of the Council of Religious Leaders has ended. I recall that my proposal to establish such a body was supported by the previous

Congress three years ago. The Council consists of representatives of major world religions: Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Shintoism, Zoroastrianism.

In fact, this is the first working mechanism of the multilateral format of cooperation between religions. The establishment of the Council enabled the entire inter-faith dialogue to be brought to a whole new higher level.

First, cooperation will be sought with other international dialogue structures within its framework.

Secondly, a new permanent body that has great potential to eventually become an important tool in global peacekeeping is being created. Its authority and capacity make it able to receive petitions and appeals, including in terms of possible conflicts.

Third, it is important to establish a framework of global monitoring of observance of the rights and freedoms of believers.

I am grateful to all the leaders of world and traditional religions, who reacted positively to our initiative and agreed to become the first partners to create the Council.

Distinguished Heads of delegations and Guests of the Congress!

Over the nine years of its history the Congresses of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions have always been held at the peak of complex global processes.

The first congresses, as you remember, gathered as a response to the threat of a «clash» of religions and the use of religion for sinister purposes of international terrorism and extremism. The third congress came in the midst

of the most powerful global financial and economic crisis. The current forum is also being held at a crucial time for the whole world.

The global transformation of the world order has begun. Humanity, in fact, is going through a systems crisis. A global recession in a world threatened by massive social explosion in many societies. Among the more than one billion unemployed in the world today, half of them are young people, including those who are well-educated. With the loss of decent work opportunities and reduced social security, there is a growing radicalization and criminalization of youth.

At the same time, the growing global crisis of moral values. It is impossible not to see how in many communities «false freedoms» are promoted and implanted. Perverted views on the nature of human relationships are trying to present as norms of modern society. The motivation for honest labor is replaced by the desire for a quick profit by any means. And such «anti-morality» is often taken in the absolute.

A characteristic feature of the increasing moral and ethical crisis in the world is the aggressive name-calling of the clergy, attempts to displace religion to the margins of social processes.

A blasphemous attitude to religious shrines exists in many countries, in respect of almost all religions. In this series, the public burning of the holy books, desecration and burning of mosques, churches, synagogues and other places of worship and the discrediting of the clergy, beatings and killings of members of the flock.

Why is this the case?

It could be because religion is one of the most durable protective barriers before greed and lack of spirituality.

Many times it is religion that remains the only guardian of the people's wisdom, culture and traditions.

Kazakh society is well aware of this because of my own experience of life in a godless Soviet regime, especially during Stalin's persecutions.

Members of Congress tomorrow will visit a historical and architectural memorial to the victims of political repression, which was built on the site of one of the so-called «islands» of the former evil «Gulag Archipelago». The place you will visit, the camp was called «Alzhir – the Akmola camp for the wives of traitors of the motherland». Not only their husbands, but the entire family was subjected to repression, including the wives. In those years in the former Soviet Union were destroyed millions of innocent people. This includes tens of thousands of clerics of Islam, Christianity and other faiths. It was a sorrowful price paid for the persistence of religions and inflexibility of followers and preachers of the Faith in the Creator.

Today, those immoral actions that are happening against religions are phenomena of the same order as the events of 1920s and 1930s, during which some tried to «overthrow» the temples. We strongly condemn such antics and express our support for all religious leaders, all religions in their opposition to a surge of militant irreligiousness. Passing through our new capital Astana, you can see all places of worship which exist in the world. These are Islamic mosques, Orthodox churches, synagogues, temples, these are religious buildings of other religions. And thank God that all people are quietly fulfil-

ling their religious needs. And this example should be a focus for all of our lives in the future coaction.

Dear Friends!

The modern world is at the crossroads.

Therefore, a hundred times more urgent becomes the central issue to be discussed at the Congress.

Never in the history of global humanity have there been values more sought after than peace and harmony. It is impossible not to recognize that in today's world there is a shortage of positive concepts of the world order.

Humanity, as has happened more than once in the past, uses the new discoveries given to it by the Supreme Intellect, not always for the good of the world. Thus, the highest information technologies and the latest communication designed to unite the people, are often used for the separation of people, raising new barriers within societies and between countries.

Network resources instead of spreading knowledge often serve to promote vice, spewing streams of lies, vile human instincts, appeals and fratricidal hatred. Undermined are the moral and ethical ties of any society – the family tradition of upbringing children, the succession of generations, and many others. All these are bitter realities of our time.

In turn, I want to express my point of view, which is the result of my political experience. Obviously, in the context of globalization, pulling the world economy out of recessionary stupor can be possible only through joint efforts of the whole community of nations. This is recognized by all.

So a week ago at the Astana Economic Forum I proposed to develop and implement a model of international relations that will be effective in the 21st century. I call it the «G-GLOBAL – GREAT WORLD». It is a thriving global economy, well protected from crisis, with an effective global currency, a fair system of trade and cooperation. It's a world where high technology serves the happiness and well-being of all people. It's a world of justice and trust between peoples and nations, with strong regional and global security. It is a tolerant community of nations where all the problems are solved on the basis of consent and respect. This is our planet, forever freed from the threat of nuclear annihilation, free from weapons of mass destruction.

I believe that humanity has the necessary knowledge and experience to create such a model. I believe that multiculturalism, ethnic and religious diversity is not a challenge for us, but a huge advantage. In the 21st century tolerance is becoming a key factor in the development and growth of the innovation economy. We cannot ignore the fact that over the past 30 years, the greatest success has been achieved by those countries that have different ethnic and cultural diversity. Today's world is in need of synthesis and development of such an experience. In this regard, the Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions could act as a leading interactive platform, a domain aimed at the ideological and spiritual foundations of the construction of a just world order in the 21st century.

Today, the global dialogue is not only about international forums and meetings. Through interactive communication an increasing number of people around the world are involved. Kazakhstan proposed the idea and format of

G-GLOBAL in this regard, opening up new opportunities for global understanding and tolerance.

So I, with the blessing of the participants of the Fourth Congress, propose to create an Internet resource dedicated to the formation and strengthening of global tolerance and trust. Perhaps it could be a part of a common G-GLOBAL electronic portal.

It is important to provide a framework for interactive sessions of the Council of Religious Leaders and the Secretariat of our Congress, keeping a permanent online forum for a wide range of Internet users.

I hope you will support this proposal.

Dear Participants and Guests of the Congress!

An effective model of peace and harmony is a basic factor in the success of our country.

Independent Kazakhstan is a country where 140 ethnic groups live in peace and harmony. We got into the top three countries with the most dynamic economy in the first decade of the 21st century. We have created our own model of inter-ethnic harmony.

A Kazakhstani of any ethnicity or religion is an equal citizen, an integral part of a unified civil community. And we create the conditions to ensure that everyone can practice their religion freely, explore and use their own language, culture and traditions of their ethnic group.

High values professed by every religion – Islam, Orthodoxy, Catholicism, Protestant creeds, Judaism, Buddhism and others – have always been supported by the Kazakhstan government. Therefore, in our society for more than 20 years, there is a process of spiritual renaiss-

sance. New mosques and temples are built. We are working on the draft program of strengthening interfaith harmony until 2016. At the initiative of our country 2010 was the International Year of Rapprochement of Cultures, and the UNESCO declared the years 2013–2022 as the International Decade of Rapprochement of Cultures.

During Kazakhstan's chairmanship in the OSCE in 2010, we offered our partners an expansion of the number of dimensions of Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security, to include separate questions of tolerance. The Declaration of the OSCE Astana summit reflected some of our ideas about the development of inter-religious dialogue, the strengthening of trust between states.

Kazakhstan over the past year headed the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which fell on a difficult time for the Ummah. Here we proposed a number of initiatives. Now the Muslim world is undergoing a complex processes. There are dynamic economies and countries with serious social and political problems. Islam is an impressive and growing layer of the cultural and material heritage of mankind.

The present and future of the global community cannot be imagined without the world of Islam. Any type of obstruction of it is short-sighted and even dangerous. We must be sensitive to what is happening in this part of the large and diverse world.

Kazakhstan is a country with a predominantly Muslim population. The Islamic religion is one of the spiritual supports of our people. We have developed a unique formula of national unity and harmony of all Kazakhstan citizens, regardless of their religious or ethno-cultural background.

The Congresses of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions is a noble gift of Kazakhstan to the world. Next year will be 10 years from the date of the convening of the First Congress. I would like to offer on this occasion, to next year prepare and adopt a special Appeal of the Council of Religious Leaders, highlighting therein the importance and relevance of dialogue, enhancing the peacekeeping role of religious and spiritual leaders.

Dear Friends!

The holding in Astana of the Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions suggests that the thesis of irreconcilable differences and disagreements between religions is just a phantom.

Enmity is not among religions, but among people and states, as well as politics.

The great thinkers of the world have called religion a morality formula. The ultimate meaning of any creed is to bring man and humanity on the path of lost perfection. This is the main goal of our high forum.

I want to wish all the participants of the Congress fruitful and constructive discussions. God helps us in our good intentions!

Thank you!



Chapter IV

The fight against the deadly threat

Nuclear-free world as a global mission of Kazakhstan

One of the key directions of the foreign policy of Kazakhstan as a country which voluntarily gave up its nuclear arsenal, is the struggle for the reduction and prohibition of atomic weapons. In his speeches, the President of Kazakhstan – one of whose first acts in office was the closure of the infamous Semipalatinsk – confirms himself to be a consistent supporter of total nuclear disarmament. The indomitable will to live of the people of Kazakhstan, who survived the mortal terror of nuclear tests and the hard grip of the totalitarian system, has served as a solid foundation for the country's leadership in the international movement for a nuclear-free world.



4.1. Speech at the International Anti-Nuclear Congress (Almaty, Kazakhstan, 30 August 1993)

Dear Participants and Guests of the Congress!

If we try to characterize the time that we are experiencing, we can probably call it not only a time of change of two millenniums, but of global changes in social and political formations. In the world there is a growing awareness of the common destiny of the people of our planet, the need to fight against war, and especially against the nuclear threat to mankind.

The explosion of a nuclear bomb on 29 August 1949 at the test site near Semipalatinsk opened a tragic page in the history of Kazakhstan. The result of many years of inhumane nuclear tests was economic, social and spiritual distress. It fell as a heavy burden on the shoulders of the people. And although the effects of these tests are not yet fully understood, the people's protest matured long ago. It is no accident that the decree of the President of Kazakhstan to close the Semipalatinsk test site was one of the first acts of the new state, firmly stating our independence in solving internal problems.

Moreover, it was the first time such a step was taken in the world and no doubt played a role in the fact that many states have changed their views on nuclear weapons, have adopted a more balanced and responsible attitude to the problem.

The formation of such a constructive approach promotes the activities of the «Nevada–Semipalatinsk» anti-nuclear movement. This has become an indicator of public concern for the safety of people, not only in Kazakhstan. Our voice rose and was heard by public organizations in other countries.

It seems appropriate to note that insight comes much later to many politicians, scientists and the military men than to the common people. I participated in the first anti-nuclear Congress in Almaty two years ago and I remember that some scientists apologized for the fact that many years ago, they were engaged in the development of nuclear weapons, along with the military putting people at risk of radiation. The first such example of civil courage was shown by Andrei Sakharov. This is a path joined by some states. It seems to me a worthy step by the government of Japan, a country so badly hit by nuclear weapons, yet taking responsibility for their participation in the Second World War and calling the nation to repentance.

I understand that for repentance must follow reality. Although the government is not able to return people to their lost health, strength, youth, yet its sacred duty is to compensate victims for what they have lost. This problem here in Kazakhstan, as well as in Russia, is not less, and perhaps more acutely, felt because it has to be addressed in the context of an acute economic crisis. However, after the closure of the nuclear test site by our government it was decided to eliminate the effects of nuclear explosions and rehabilitation of the environment, development and implementation of which involved experts of your movement. It was the first time Kazakhstan had paid such at-

tention to security of the people. However, it is obvious that without international assistance to cope with the problem on our own is almost impossible. This should take into account the fact that we in Kazakhstan had the highest density of nuclear explosions. Of course, we do not ask the international community to do all the rehabilitation work for us. But in response to the bad experience of Kazakhstan – which repeats, in fact, the tragic experience of Japan – the public and policy makers should recognize the need together, should make joint efforts to solve the problems of radio-ecological safety.

Together, we must not allow society to be sucked into pessimism, social hopelessness. Especially inappropriate is environmental dependency. Indeed, often the requirements to classify a region as a disaster zone replace concrete work on environmental issues. This manifests itself in such a delicate matter as the disposal of radioactive waste. We must still understand that we will have to keep our waste at home; we need only that scientists and designers together with members of the public find the best project options from the point of view of environmental safety. In the meantime, we have to admit that so far Kazakhstan does not have any regional facility which provides good control of radioactive waste.

By the way, this is one of the most important environmental issues of conversion of nuclear energy. And without polls it is clear that the population of the Republic will not accept the idea of nuclear power stations being created on its territory as long as nuclear physicists on the example of the localization of radioactive waste are not able to prove that such facilities guarantee security.

Equally important for the country is the problem of the use of weapons-grade plutonium for nuclear warheads. It must be solved in accordance with international treaties. We believe that Kazakhstan, as well as Ukraine and Belarus, should participate in the discussion of the problems of a comprehensive test-ban treaty of any weapons of mass destruction on a par with Russia.

Do not forget that Kazakhstan was a nuclear testing ground of the former Soviet Union, but with the problems of social security exposure affected by the disaster we were left alone. This is, from historical, moral, environmental and other points of view, unfair. Succession obligations to the people no one can discharge, especially politicians, if we're talking about moral principles, historical continuity and responsibility.

The anti-nuclear movement has declared itself in full voice. And I am convinced that in the end, it will achieve its goal: the complete prohibition of all testing of nuclear weapons and other weapons.

In this room there are the social organizations and movements that make an important contribution to this noble and humane task. They need the effective support of politicians. I speak from this rostrum to the governments of the nuclear club with an initiative to extend until 2005 the moratorium on the testing of nuclear, chemical, biological, all weapons of mass destruction. Governments of the nuclear club in the face of their people have a real chance to prove that in the 21st century our world can silence the nuclear test sites.



4.2. Speech at the UN Conference on Disarmament (Geneva, Switzerland, 8 June 1995)

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

It seems very symbolic that the adoption of Kazakhstan as an observer at the UN Conference on Disarmament almost coincided with the destroying of the last nuclear charge at the former Semipalatinsk nuclear test site.

Steps taken by Kazakhstan in the sphere of disarmament have been praised by world powers and international organizations and are well known. It is no coincidence that guarantees of its security and territorial integrity have been given by the United States, Russia, Great Britain, China and France.

Today I would like to share with you my vision of the content of the new challenges of disarmament and international security, and to try to answer questions about the stage the process of world disarmament and global security is at, and what new challenges we will have to look for answers to at the end of the century.

Obviously, the goal of disarmament lies outside the disarmament process. It is bad when a gardener busy only with flowers. If he does not look at the sky, the thunder and hail will catch him off guard. Similarly, the performance criteria of the disarmament process are introduced from outside society and humanity, from the sphere of creation, from development.

The success of the disarmament process is not only measured by the percentage by which we reduce warheads and delivery vehicles, tanks and guns, but also by the extent to which the wellbeing of ordinary people has increased. True security comes not when the number of weapons is reduced, but when there are more children, and where the mother giving birth does not worry for the future of her offspring.

The success of the disarmament process is, first of all, connected with the efficiency of the existing system of international security. Seven years ago at the Third UN Special Session on Disarmament in June 1988 it was noted that disarmament is not the sole responsibility of a few powerful countries, but a joint venture of all states.

This idea should be deployed in the broader context that the whole joint activity is to build an effective global system of international security and disarmament – this is one of the outcomes of such a «universal joint venture». And if you look at the disarmament process from this point of view, we can see that today some very serious problems are brewing.

The first problem: how effective is the existing system of international security and disarmament processes?

If you judge the quality of international security by such objective measures as anxiety of the civilian population, the number of refugees, their number in the world over the last 10 years has increased a hundredfold. So, if in 1983 there were in the world 9 countries from which 50,000 inhabitants had fled, then 10 years later, these states were already 31, and number of refugees was in the millions.

Thus, in assessing the effectiveness of disarmament and international security, we must have the courage to admit that over the past decade, the global potential for conflict has grown significantly and become much higher. And it is now clear that this potential is not limited to the traditional indicators of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, on the reduction of which focus was made in the last quarter century.

It is equally clear, however, that the existing system of international security can hardly be considered effective if it does not stop the processes of growth of tensions.

In the processes of disarmament and international security, systems built for 40 years after the war demonstrated considerable success. However, since the mid-1980s, we have witnessed completely new world processes – the collapse of the Soviet Union, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and other trends, a situation that is not taken into account in creating the current system of international security.

And now it is becoming increasingly clear that the existing system of international security and the framework of disarmament are in need of rethinking and significant improvement. The latest evidence of this is the increasingly intensifying conflict in the Balkans. This hearth is burning, despite the best efforts of international security structures. Before our eyes, it has long since grown from the local to the regional. And there are fears that in the near future it may grow to a continental scale.

It appears that this kind of lesion should be extinguished in the very early stages, even at the regional level. And there should be forces of effective regional security.

This way the probability of transition from a regional conflict into continental and global, that we are seeing now in the former Yugoslavia, can be significantly reduced.

This leads us to the conclusion that the construction of systems of international security and disarmament processes to respond to challenges such as we have known in the 1980s–1990s, needs a new vision.

Problem two: What are the changing trends in the global potential for conflict by the end of this century?

The answer to this question can be found, if we recognize that regional, continental and global international security is carried out in the framework of disarmament processes occurring mainly on the basis of economic and strategic interests of involved countries and groups of countries.

History provides evidence that the system of international security has always been based on the recognition of common interests of member countries, and first of all the economic and geo-economic, geo-strategic and geo-financial interests. Therefore, changes in the global trend of the potential for conflict by the end of the century will be largely determined by global geo-economic trends in the late 1990s.

In the last decade it has become obvious that the global geo-economic trends lead to formation of three major new global economic centers – in North America, Western Europe and Southeast Asia. In the next century is likely the African continent will «wake up». The clarification of the basic contours of the three centers of global influence probably will end sometime before the end of this century and the beginning of the next.

It is quite clear that the search for a new balance of global economic forces must lead to searching for a new global strategic balance, including in the field of security systems, and their place in the framework of the processes of arms control and disarmament. If these trends continue to grow, there is every reason to believe that the global potential for conflict by the end of the century, will continue to grow too, presenting us with new challenges.

From this it follows that «the world as a joint venture» for the construction of systems of international security and disarmament must already collect all forces to develop a new vision of the new challenges in the late 1990s.

The third problem is the participation of the third world in disarmament negotiations.

It is generally accepted that all major disarmament talks have been held so far between the major powers of the East and the West without the participation of the representatives of the Third World. How productive will this approach be at the end of the 1990s?

We at the center of Eurasia can clearly see that the West is in the process of building of the new international security systems, based on the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and on the resources and structures of NATO. And in the east and south-east, the Asian countries – participants of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) – appear to be looking for means of political and military cooperation within their own structures.

It is easy to see that a entire vertical line in Eurasia – from Russia in the north to India in the south, including the Central Asian republics of the former Soviet Union, Iran,

Pakistan – until now do not belong to either the East or the West.

This entire geopolitical zone of countries located along the vertical meridian of the center of Eurasia is in a «time of uncertainty» or «waiting belt».

Despite the internal diversity of countries in this «zone of uncertainty», they are a fairly coherent group in terms of potential resource impact not only on the balance of power in Asia or Eurasia, but also on the global geopolitical balance.

Security problems in Europe, and especially in Asia, the problem of interaction between world economic centers in Western Europe and South-East Asia, will greatly depend on how you determine the position and orientation of the countries of geopolitical «zone of uncertainty» are determined by them.

By far the largest and most powerful of these countries is Russia. And it is its choice that will largely determine the stability and changes in Eurasia. In general, Russia has three options. One – to join the Western European structures, but it is not allowed there. The other is to join the East Asian structures, but there it is not expected, too. And the third is to collect all the countries of the «zone of uncertainty» on the basis of equality in a special group as a third security system in Eurasia.

The rest of the Asian countries of the «zones of uncertainty» have two choices: either to go to the east or to build their third security system and its framework to address issues of disarmament.

The problem of transformation of security and disarmament in Eurasia that emerged after the collapse of the

Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, is another new aspect which was not shown before. Most of the new independent states of the former socialist camp today, first of all, think about creating their own resources of national security.

This new factor can be defined as a «new autonomous security». It should not be accompanied by the growth of armaments in these countries. It is natural to rely first on themselves and their own armed forces, and then later on some sort of security system and to participate in the disarmament process. In this case, it is possible that the process of disarmament can be used by some countries as a means of upgrading their weapons.

Such a state of «new autonomous security» involves a completely different scheme of construction of international security systems. It will not work to construct such systems from the top. Rather, in this case, more acceptable is the gradual construction of their own armed forces, and then a regional security system, and only then joining the existing continental and global system of international security and disarmament-related processes.

This leads to the new geopolitical situation and sets the new role of developing countries or third world countries in the process of disarmament and international security systems construction.

Time itself requires that the United Nations and other world bodies for disarmament and international security, put more emphasis on the patronage and the creation in the first place of effective systems of regional security. And on this basis to transform existing or create new continental structures of international security.

The analysis of security issues on the continent of Eurasia shows that the countries of the third world or developing countries should be equally included in all negotiations on disarmament. This will get rid of the excessive indoctrination by the big powers inherent in such processes. And it may give a new vision of the new challenges of the international systems of security and disarmament.

From its own vision outlined above on three issues of international security and disarmament, Kazakhstan purposefully and actively participates in all the processes of building security and disarmament at all levels of international cooperation in Eurasia.

First, is the policy of integration efforts of the three Central Asian states – Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan – to maintain peace and stability in Central Asia.

Second, is an active integration policy of Kazakhstan in the framework of the CIS in the sphere of international security and disarmament.

Third, is Kazakhstan's initiative to convene the CICB-MA. This is a long-term work to build a modern security and cooperation structure, within which over time can begin negotiations on disarmament in the Asian continent.

Fourth, is the participation of Kazakhstan in the OSCE, the program «Partnership for Peace», in the NPT and START-1, as well as in the framework of the Disarmament Commission.

All of Kazakhstan's practical steps in foreign policy issues of international security and disarmament, are based on two principles in the new vision outlined above.

The first is a «new understanding of the geo-economic trends through the improvement of existing and con-

struction of new international security systems for new approaches to disarmament».

Second is «the construction of systems of regional security through improvement and transformation of continental security systems to find effective processes to improve systems of global security».

This approach to the development of a new vision of international security and disarmament will find adequate answers to the new challenges of the late 1990s and the beginning of the next century. Without a solution to these common questions we are always in a private practice of disarmament will come up against the barriers of surprise and insoluble components.

The Conference on Disarmament cannot get away from these issues posed by life itself, and must eventually find a decent answer.

Practical actions of Kazakhstan in the sphere of international security and disarmament have focused primarily on the unconditional and full implementation of all international treaties and agreements in this sphere, which the Republic has signed and is involved in. Its actions speak for themselves.

Kazakhstan was the first CIS country, almost 5 years ago, to have removed from its territory all tactical nuclear weapons. It was the first member country to join the Lisbon Protocol to the NPT in the status of a non-nuclear state, to shut down the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site.

In April of this year the withdrawal from the territory of the Republic of more than 1,200 nuclear warheads, intercontinental ballistic missiles has been completed. On May 31 the last remaining underground Semipalatinsk nuclear

charge was destroyed. And now the Kazakh land is completely free of nuclear weapons.

It is these practical steps of my country and our firm commitment to all concluded international agreements which allow us to ask questions about how, on what basis a search can be conducted for new approaches to problems of international security and disarmament. It is our firm position that gives me reason to ask you and others the questions that have been raised above.

Of course, the solution of these three problems is something that may be beyond the competence of the participants in this session and the Conference on Disarmament as a whole. It is a clear recognition that allows me to address the participants of the session, as I am sure that the real success of the disarmament process, first of all, depends on the personal effort, experience and talent of all the people in this room, all the, figuratively speaking, tireless «workers» of the world joint venture for disarmament and security.

The formulation of these three problems may go well beyond traditional notions of modern processes of disarmament. But it is precisely the expanding vision of the problems of disarmament in accordance with the new challenges, in going beyond the traditional framework of understanding of disarmament, which is the quest of the new vision I have outlined in my speech.

The new situation related to the depths of the changes in the 1980s–1990s, confronts the Conference on Disarmament with new challenges. Not to be unarmed before these new challenges, and to properly identify them, we

need to find a new vision of the problems of international security and disarmament.

Thus, under the new conditions for disarmament is adopted a new vision for the new challenges. I am sure that the answer will be found worthy of common efforts.

I greet the re-creation within the framework of the Conference of a special committee on the prohibition of nuclear tests and welcome the commencement of multilateral negotiations in this field. In Kazakhstan there are three modern seismic stations that can detect underground phenomena at a distance of thousands of kilometers. I propose that these stations be included in a global monitoring network, which can become an effective instrument of control.

I call upon the nuclear powers to extend the moratorium on nuclear testing until the signing of the treaty, and for those who keep such weapons to join the moratorium.



4.3. Speech at the International Conference «The 21st Century: Towards a world free of nuclear weapons» (Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan, 29 August 2001)

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

Exactly 10 years ago, by the will of the people of Kazakhstan one of the world's largest nuclear test sites was closed. And we, the people of Kazakhstan, consider this conference as a sign of international recognition and trustworthiness of the efforts of our country, to close the nuclear test site, and give the world a precedent for voluntary renunciation of nuclear weapons.

Four decades of huge nuclear arsenals were the main arguments in the global confrontation between the two superpowers, while achieving nuclear safety was tied primarily to the process of increasing nuclear capabilities. For the past 10 years the world has ceased to be divided into blocs. But the issue of nuclear safety would not resolved by itself, even after the destruction of large parts of the nuclear arsenal of the collapsed superpower. Unfortunately, at the turn of the millennium, our planet has not become safer, neither in normal life nor in the nuclear context. And the nuclear threat itself has grown from its original two-dimensional measurement and, like the body affected by radiation, has begun to mutate rapidly, acquiring new forms.

Today, it is important to understand why the fundamental shifts of the last decade, in reducing the nuclear threat

in terms of a global nuclear conflict, have at the same time contributed to the new dimensions of the «nuclear reality». Personally, I see the following reasons for this trend.

First, the international system of nuclear safety built in the 20th century and oriented to deal with the bipolar world has malfunctioned in the new geopolitical situation and could not prevent the process of «spreading» of nuclear weapons. The balance of power is disturbed, nuclear weapons have ceased to be the prerogative of the «big five». Contrary to the popular and seemingly indisputable non-proliferation regime, the number of holders of nuclear weapons has increased. There has emerged a new world geopolitical pole: the «third nuclear world». Instability in one of the most densely populated areas on the planet is significantly complicated by the danger of the nuclear border that occurs between the major Asian countries: India and Pakistan. If we consider that in the modern world, and in the most volatile regions, there are a number of countries with substantial nuclear ambitions, then the situation may develop into the most negative scenario. The negative developments of the situation may lead the world to face the fact that the former threat of global nuclear war will be replaced by the threat of regional wars with the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

Second, in today's world has become increasingly clear the confrontation between traditional nuclear powers and the countries of the so-called «threshold» level. As a result, there is a real danger of the deployment of a new round of nuclear arms race, which in addition to the nuclear powers, any «threshold» country can get involved in.

Third, in the wake of a surge in regional instability have proliferated new security threats, such as international terrorism. Today there is a frightening reality of nuclear materials, as well as attempts by a number of terrorist groups to acquire commodities, technology specialists in the production of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery. I believe there is no need to focus on the serious consequences for all of humanity of nuclear weapons in terrorist hands. The world has come to the point beyond which the nuclear threat is not measured by the number of its nuclear arsenal, but the simple fact of having a nuclear weapon. All this calls for increased efforts by the world community to prevent further «spread» of nuclear weapons, the construction of a modernized system of international control over its spread.

In the complicated geopolitical environment of the 1990s Kazakhstan has emerged as a sovereign state. Realizing its global responsibility to the international community to ensure nuclear safety, Kazakhstan adopted what is further demonstrated by life itself to be the right decision. As I said above, exactly 10 years ago, on August 29, I signed the decree to close the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site, which for nearly half a century tormented the land of Kazakhstan. Under a totalitarian regime any freethinking, any action by the people was suppressed by brutal force. Moreover, we have repeatedly witnessed all that. With the announcement of the policy of glasnost came glimpses of democratization. People believed in democratization. Leaders of Kazakhstan began to raise the issue with the closure of the polygon in 1987.

I want to emphasize that while Kazakhstan was not an independent state, like all of the republics it had a hard dictatorship of the center, especially in areas such as the military-industrial complex. Moscow argued that liberalization does not apply to the scope of the Military Industrial Complex (MIC). Even the first leaders of the republics were not allowed to address this issue. Kazakhstan's intention to close the Semipalatinsk test site met with the most severe pressure. Those who remember the disturbing atmosphere of those days, they obviously understand the entire cost of this unprecedented step, the value of which is far beyond the scope of our country... In 1992, Kazakhstan was already an independent state, and signed the Lisbon Protocol on START-1, which recorded its commitments on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In 1993, Kazakhstan was the first CIS country to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and in December 1994, the nuclear powers signed a Memorandum on Security Assurances for our country. In 1994 withdrawal from the country of all nuclear weapons was completed. In 1995, the last nuclear charge at the former Semipalatinsk nuclear test site was destroyed. In 1996 Kazakhstan became a member of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In 1997 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on assistance to Kazakhstan regions affected by the nuclear tests. In 2000, the last tunnel for nuclear tests at the Semipalatinsk test site was destroyed. We also closed the Aktau nuclear reactor on fast neutrons, and have taken all necessary measures to ensure the security of nuclear fuel that was there. Behind each of these milestones are hundreds of thousands of human lives, who conceived a nuclear-

free range of the whole country. There were hundreds of hours of deliberation, long months of negotiations, bilateral and multilateral meetings. There were almost 10 years of hard labor of politicians, the military and scientists. This can and should tell our contemporaries, and better if they learn about it firsthand. To this my new book called «The Epicenter of the World» is dedicated.

This book is a revelation, which I see as a standing invitation to confidential dialogue and cooperation among all who are at least a little bit thinking about the ill-conceived «gift» which the departed century left to the new one. Today, remembering the events associated with the acquisition of Kazakhstan's nuclear-free status, I start thinking about the magnitude of the problem of choice – to be or not to be a nuclear state ? The war machine of the disintegrated USSR left in Kazakhstan 1216 warheads for intercontinental ballistic missiles and heavy bomber charges. The complex strategic nuclear forces consisted of the most modern weapons of mass destruction and the delivery of nuclear weapons, including Tu-95 MS multi-purpose strategic bombers and SS-18 intercontinental ballistic missiles. It was the world's fourth largest nuclear arsenal.

In addition to ready-for-combat nuclear weapons, Kazakhstan had an entire industry of nuclear production and testing, including the research base for the development and modernization of nuclear weapons. The most important strategic target was the Semipalatinsk test site. For half a century there were conducted 456 nuclear and thermonuclear explosions. The total capacity of nuclear weapons was 2.5 thousand times higher than the power of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

Kazakhstan had and has huge resources for the production of active ingredients of nuclear weapons. The country's share accounts for 25% of the world's uranium reserves. On the territory of Kazakhstan there are also large enterprises of the nuclear industry for the processing and enrichment of natural uranium. Thus, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan became the owner of almost all the necessary research, mining and industrial infrastructure to build its own nuclear weapons. With such potential power and influence, it was incredibly difficult to make a decision to refuse it. The prospect of becoming a regional superpower seemed very tempting to a part of our society. There were real arguments in favor of maintaining our nuclear status. Its own nuclear umbrella was presented as the key to the country's security guarantee to deter potential ambitions of a potential enemy. According to the proponents of this argument, maintaining nuclear forces would compensate for the quantitative and qualitative gaps in conventional weapons that existed at that time in Kazakhstan. Among the arguments the idea was presented that nuclear weapons would give Kazakhstan the status of a regional superpower. In addition, there was the importance of maintaining the nuclear complex for the development of scientific and technological capacity, fundamental and applied science. In short, the «nuclear temptation» was well based and had a fairly large group of supporters. But Kazakhstan has become a non-nuclear state of its own will. In taking this historic step, we were guided by a number of fundamental points.

First. It is a solution that meets the interests of the inhabitants of Kazakhstan. Nearly five decades of nuclear

tests in Kazakhstan brought irreparable loss of the health of our people and the environment. The local ecological disaster zone around the site of the Semipalatinsk test site is over 300 square kilometers. That's roughly the territory of Germany or Italy. Experts believe that the total number of Kazakhstanis who have been in one way or another exposed to radiation is in the hundreds of thousands of people.

The consequences of nuclear tests undermine our future – our children's health. And more than one generation of Kazakhs will be born and will not know what the Semipalatinsk test site is, but they will still experience the heavy health consequences of nuclear testing.

Not only the people are affected but the land itself. The tests led to the destruction of the landscape. At the site of nuclear explosions was formed the lakes, filled with water contaminated by radiation. According to experts, for the land to fully restore its productive potential, will take at least 300 years!

People's patience is not endless. In 1989, Kazakhstan formed a broad popular movement «Nevada–Semipalatinsk». It brought together people of different nationalities, ages and professions who spoke for the closure of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site, and for ending tests in the other polygons of the world. Expressing the will of the people, having secured their support, we decided to permanently ban the testing of nuclear weapons on the territory of Kazakhstan, and then announced a nuclear-free country.

Second. Non-nuclear status is the result of awareness on the part of Kazakhstan of the harmful effects of imbalance of world security in the early 1990s. Keeping

our nuclear arsenal would torpedo the system of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which was established for decades. The emergence on the political map of the world of powerful nuclear states could give rise to a fatal destruction of the world's nuclear balance.

Third. Renunciation of nuclear weapons, related to the fact that Kazakhstan since the first days of its independence has chosen a peace-loving foreign policy. With this act, we demonstrated to the international community the openness of our foreign policy, our commitment to a world free from violence and the threat of war. In renouncing nuclear weapons, Kazakhstan has not just acquired an international reputation. We have received strong guarantees of territorial integrity and respect for our sovereignty from the nuclear powers – the US, Russia, Britain, France and China.

Today, the nuclear-free status of Kazakhstan is the foundation of peace and security around the perimeter of our borders. This is a real possibility of fruitful cooperation of Kazakhstan with other countries. And this cooperation, we would like to expand, and the elimination of the consequences of nuclear testing in our territory. Today Kazakhstan is mainly by itself working on the elimination of the consequences of nuclear testing. In fact, we were left alone with our problems related to the polygon. For 10 years, we have spent hundreds of millions of tenge to pay compensations to victims of nuclear tests, to conduct medical and preventive measures among the population, restoration of ecology in the regions adjacent to the polygon. During all these years the total amount of donations received by Kazakhstan to address the problems of radio-

active contamination of the territory, amounted to only \$20 million. At the same time, just the cost of decontamination and remediation of contaminated land is more than \$1 billion. It is difficult to bear alone such costs to address problems of global significance.

Today, the Conference has brought together authoritative representatives of many countries who have made great contribution to the strengthening of peace and nuclear safety, to making a nuclear-free status for our country. I hope for your support in eliminating the consequences of nuclear testing in Kazakhstan. In abandoning nuclear status, we still do not have an outside observer of the process of ensuring nuclear safety. We have acquired over the past 10 years experience in the process of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation which allows us to express our vision of global security.

What is its essence?

First. Today it is impossible to ignore the fact that the principle of strategic deterrence based on the possession of nuclear weapons does not play an effective role in the international security system. The age-old principle of «if you want peace, prepare for war» no longer remains unquestioned in the new century. Therefore it is necessary to improve the security mechanisms, particularly nuclear. There is a need for universalization of all principles of non-proliferation. The nuclear powers are making efforts for a ban on «horizontal spread» and do not work on limiting «vertical proliferation». That is, the current system of contracts limits the emergence of new nuclear possession, but does not limit the increase in nuclear capacity of those who already possess. Accumulating growing military arsenals, including nuclear, at this stage, does not limit, but rather

promotes an arms race. Despite the general prohibition, the polygons of nuclear powers continue to work in «idle» mode, because almost no one in the world – apart from the nuclear test site of Semipalatinsk – has completely destroyed their nuclear testing facilities. In principle, any country at any time has the ability to resume testing. In itself, the behavior of the nuclear powers to address emerging issues in world politics is a kind of temptation for a number of other countries as a strong foreign policy argument. Therefore, in our view, we must go the way of modernization of the existing agreements in order to increase the obligations of both nuclear and non-nuclear countries in the field of non-proliferation, as well as their mutual commitment to strengthening nuclear security.

Second. By and large, now the problem of nuclear safety is solved by only the circle of those – possessing nuclear weapons, although it is known that they repeatedly endangered humanity in danger in 1962 for political and, in 1974 and 1983, for technical reasons. And so the problem can be solved only with the active inclusion in the process of all signatories to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Third. We support the continuation of a constructive dialogue between nuclear powers on missile defense. Stability between countries in the basic approaches, understanding and cooperation on nuclear safety is a global concern for the world.

In general, today Kazakhstan as an independent state, has said that the most important aspect of ensuring international security, including in the nuclear field, should be the expansion and strengthening of trust. It is

the principle of trust that is to replace the principle of military deterrence which so far prevails in the conflict regions. Trust doctrine has clear and transparent implementation mechanisms. These are transparency of military policy, the reduction of armed forces in the border area, the establishment of demilitarized zones, consultations with each other on matters of security, joint war-games, etc. Where there is more communication, there is more trust. Where there is trust, there is no room for confrontation. This is a simple but very valuable truth. Today, this principle has been successfully tested in the framework of the «Shanghai Five» and is implemented in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Starting with the confidence-building measures and arms control in the region of the common borders, members of the association are actively exploring new areas of security, including joint efforts against terrorism and drug trafficking. Over the time, cooperation within the SCO framework can be extended to the field of nuclear security of our states. Thus, the example of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization can be the basis for the construction of regional security in Asia, and some elements in other regions.

Another initial point of our view on the question of global security is the assurance that in the 21st century, this can be achieved only through collective efforts. The fact that the declaration of the nuclear-free status of Kazakhstan initiated the establishment of Asia's new security model – it is not an accident and not just a coincidence. The initiative to call the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia, voiced in 1992 from the podium of the 47th session of the UN General Assembly,

today has found support in many Asian countries and a number of international forums. In November of this year, for the first time the high-level leaders of the Asian countries is meeting in Almaty to sign a document reflecting the agreed approaches to issues of confidence-building measures and cooperation in matters of removing security threats on the continent.

These two universal approaches in building a system of global security in the new century – trust and collective efforts of all countries – are applicable in cases when it comes to eliminating the nuclear threat.

Dear Conference Participants!

Mankind has always sought peace. The half-century when over the planet was hanging the sword of Damocles of nuclear threat, this was also the time of growing struggle for a world free of nuclear weapons. The voices of supporters of non-proliferation, the conclusions of the scientists on the dangers of nuclear catastrophe, the will of people of the world kept humanity from slipping into the abyss of nuclear madness.

Our conference is pursuing a noble goal – to make the 21st century the time of freeing humanity from the nuclear threat. Our voice must be heard.

I wish you fruitful work!



**4.4. Speech at the reception on behalf of the
«Initiative to Reduce the Nuclear Threat»
fund (Washington, DC, USA, 28 September
2006)**

Dear Guests!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Fifteen years have passed since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of Kazakhstan in 1991, which was a turning point not only for us but for the whole world. At the beginning of the 21st century, we have to admit that the end of the «cold war», despite the hopes of many people, did not lead to a safer world.

Our planet has not become more stable, and the number of members of the nuclear club has extended over the last decade. It was expanded by joining India and Pakistan. A number of well-known countries cherish nuclear ambitions. Moreover, the threat of use of nuclear weapons by international terrorists has become a threatening but real prospect.

The people of Kazakhstan have experienced the horrors of nuclear weapons. Four hundred and fifty-six nuclear explosions thundered in the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site from 1949 to 1991. They brought sickness and suffering to hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens and led to the infection of the vast territory by radiation. Actually the polygon occupies an area slightly smaller than the state of New Jersey, but the area contaminated by ra-

diation from the tests extends over an area several times greater than the state of New Mexico.

It's been 15 years since we forever closed the Semipalatinsk test site. But the consequences of nuclear testing will be felt for decades. Therefore, as no others, Kazakhs know about the terrible consequences of nuclear testing. To this day, not only do the involuntary witnesses of the blasts continue to suffer, but also their children and grandchildren. It was one of the tragic pages in the history of Kazakhstan.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union there were left the remains of a significant number of nuclear weapons in the Republic – strategic missiles with multiple warheads, which in the West were grimly nicknamed «Satan», long-range bombers and the corresponding atomic and thermonuclear charges for them. At that time, all this deadly potential was the fourth largest in the world.

At that time, in Kazakhstan, there were a total of 148 missile silos to launch land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles. These silos contained 104 intercontinental ballistic missiles, each of which was equipped with a nuclear warhead. The load of these missiles was 7.6 tons, and the damage radius about 12,000 kilometers.

But we gave up the nuclear arsenal. This decision determined the strategy of Kazakhstan in the field of global security. You can figuratively say that from that moment Kazakhstan became a sort of «epicenter of the world», that is, a place where for the first time in history, people possessing a destructive force, voluntarily abandoned it. As you may recall, five years ago, I wrote a book of the same name.

Over the years, we have steadily and consistently worked to eliminate weapons of mass destruction and their supporting infrastructure. We appreciate the cooperation with the United States under the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program initiated by Richard Lugar and Sam Nunn. Thanks to our cooperation in 1995 in Kazakhstan there is not a single nuclear warhead.

Kazakhstan's contribution to non-proliferation continues and is reflected not only in our active anti-nuclear position, but also in new concrete works. Earlier this year, Kazakhstan and the «Initiative to Reduce Nuclear Dangers» foundation completed a unique project in the field of non-proliferation. As a result of this project, three tons of highly enriched uranium, enough for two dozen nuclear devices, were recycled into low-enriched uranium that is fuel for civilian nuclear reactors. This project is yet another contribution of Kazakhstan to strengthening global security and an organic part of the shining symbol of large-scale cooperation between our countries in the field of non-proliferation.

Now one of the key elements of the stability of the modern world is a sustainable system of global security. In recent years we have seen that the agreements adopted under the United Nations on nuclear deterrence, non-proliferation, non-development of nuclear materials were not successful. This means that the world must make a completely different solution than the current one.

In the world there is a paradoxical situation which is essentially contrary to the basic principles of international law: one is allowed to have weapons, and improve them; while others are not even allowed to elaborate them. This

is wrong, unfair, disproportionate. Instead of saying that nuclear weapons should not be developed in other countries, but that this should not apply to themselves, nuclear powers should set an example by reducing the nuclear arsenal they have.

I believe that the UN resolution on this issue should be reviewed in the direction of global actions, the responsibility of all states, especially the nuclear powers on reduction of nuclear weapons and the gradual destruction of their stockpiles.

The realities of today's time demonstrate the need for a major adaptation of the international security system. The concept of security through the mutual nuclear deterrence potential of warring states has fully proved its archaism, has outlived itself.

In the era of the «cold war», nuclear weapons were a factor in the global balance of the bipolar world, and thus a nuclear conflict had the quality of being avoidable.

The conflicting parties not only dwelled on the brink of nuclear war, but on a few occasions they were in nuclear war. The world then was not just on the threshold of a universal catastrophe, but participated in the global nuclear conflict – that is, formally nuclear wars have occurred. Remember the case where the U.S. strategic nuclear bombers were already half-way to their targets in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, these nuclear wars ended before the final phase, that is, before the bombers or intercontinental missiles reached their goals.

Then the conflicting parties were divided by a considerable distance of a few thousand or tens of thousands of kilometers, the Western and Eastern hemispheres. For

rocket-aircraft complexes to complete their combat mission, it required an average of 30–40 minutes. In addition, in the era of global confrontation there was a functioning complex and developed early warning system, and most importantly, the cross-verification of a nuclear attack. There also was worked out an effective political infrastructure to solve global conflicts.

Today the world is faced with the phenomenon of regional nuclear confrontation, the main specificity of which is that a possible nuclear conflict will be irreversible. Strategic nuclear weapons in a regional conflict, as opposed to strategic intercontinental ballistic missiles, rockets are small and medium-range missiles with nuclear warheads. Their effective range of 500–3,000 kilometers is sufficient for the solution of all the strategic and tactical problems associated with the use of weapons of mass destruction. At the same time, the flight time of short- and medium-range missiles is significantly less than the flight time of intercontinental ballistic missiles. It is about 2–5 minutes, which is significantly less than that of intercontinental ballistic missiles. In such a short time it is quite impossible to fulfill all the complicated series of actions that make a possible conflict in global confrontation reversible.

This has resulted in a manifold increase of tension, hypertrophy of the many hidden diseases of the modern world, especially terrorism. Unfortunately, at this point the international community still lacks unity; time and again, there are double standards that create a climate of uncertainty and ambiguity, with serious consequences for the safety of a number of countries and regions.

In general, in recent years we have seen that the

agreements in the UN are not implemented. The Evaluation Conference of the UN in 2005 to review the implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has once again failed to work out coordinated decisions. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty has not entered into force due to the failure of a number of states to ratify this important instrument. The Conference on Disarmament in Geneva is mired in political rhetoric and diplomatic bureaucracy.

I would like in this connection to express a thought that, in spite of its speculative nature, should be given a real incarnation: the problem of universal and global disarmament will be decided if and only if it involves not just the holders of nuclear weapons, but the whole international community – both nuclear and non-nuclear states.

That is, if it is based on the principles of collegiality and equality. Now it has become the norm that countries that do not possess nuclear weapons are simply sideliners in disarmament and non-proliferation, without the right to vote. But this is not right.

After all, if the nuclear states involve the rest of the world within the framework of various treaties and agreements which they initiated, they must also take the second step – to create equality and to establish the principle of equality of votes in these processes.

Humanity continues to look for new ways to significantly weaken the «centrifugal» force of nuclear weapons. We need new policy instruments, taking into account the need for a universal approach to non-proliferation and disarmament. And not only taking into account, but also requiring flexibility in operation. This means that there should

be a mechanism to ensure non-proliferation regime as the main guarantor of international security for all states without exception.

Such a mechanism should be based on three principles: non-proliferation by non-possession, non-proliferation by non-deployment and non-proliferation by test ban.

We are convinced that the nuclear-weapon states should commit themselves to a steady and gradual nuclear disarmament and the conclusion of agreements on arms control, which entail not just dismantlement but irreversibility.

States must also reaffirm their commitment to a moratorium on nuclear test explosions and to seek entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

Kazakhstan supports the provision of strict control of arms, particularly hazardous materials and technologies, as a key element of non-proliferation and the basis of any security system. Our efforts are also aimed at universalization of international instruments in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. We support the establishment of internationally recognized zones free of nuclear weapons. One of these areas is Central Asia.

The move from the manmade concept of «containment» to the humanitarian «trust» proposed by Kazakhstan to the world, is deeply symbolic: the material is subject to decay, while the moral, proven wisdom of many generations lasts forever.

Trust is a key category on which we have built a new vision of security. Trust imposes responsibility, it is the first condition for understanding, friendship and cooperation.

On the basis of mutual trust we have concluded an agreement on mutual reduction of armaments on the border with our neighbors.

I remember a wise saying of Albert Einstein, who said that «the release of atomic energy has changed everything except our way of thinking. The solution to this problem lies in the heart of mankind».

Kazakhstan has superseded its nuclear fears and freed all those in whom these fears have been indoctrinated along with our nuclear arsenal. We have shown the way forward to a more secure future. We urge the world to follow the example of Kazakhstan and other countries also embarking on the path of disarmament.

Only then can we ensure that our children and grandchildren have a more peaceful and secure future.



4.5. Speech at the Global Summit on Nuclear Security (Washington, DC, United States, 13 April 2010)

Mr. President!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Kazakhstan, which – fully aware of the horrors of nuclear tests – closed the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site and voluntarily renounced the world's fourth largest nuclear and missile capabilities, is a staunch supporter of the global non-proliferation process and of reducing the nuclear threat, in close cooperation with the IAEA.

That is why today Kazakhstan invites the international community to be involved in a number of important measures.

First, our country being the largest producer of uranium, and having capabilities of processing highly enriched uranium into low-enriched form, intends to contribute to the development of peaceful nuclear energy. To this end, Kazakhstan is ready to host an international nuclear fuel bank on its territory.

Second, we believe it is necessary to make international legal standards for nuclear free zones, including negative security assurances to participating countries. We favor the formation of new free zones, including in the Middle East.

Kazakhstan initiated the development of a regional action plan to strengthen nuclear safety, the prevention of

nuclear proliferation and nuclear terrorism within the framework of the Central Asian region. It would be appropriate to extend this experience to other regions of the world.

Third, we are convinced of the need for the early adoption of the treaty banning the production of fissile materials for military purposes.

Fourth, we call upon all States, on whom depends the entering into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, to ratify it, and we welcome the decision by President Barack Obama to send a specified treaty to the Senate for approval. A situation of uncertainty and instability in the prevention of nuclear threats and nuclear terrorism is caused by the following factors:

- The lack of global trust between countries, especially in matters of war and peace, nuclear disarmament and disarmament in general;

- There is a problem in the security of storage, warehousing, and transportation of existing nuclear weapons and materials suitable for their production;

- There is a manifestation of a systemic weakness of interstate cooperation, especially in matters of global security.

It is time to legalize the new format of the «nuclear club», integrating the states, a *de facto* nuclear weapon. These countries do not have to be on different sides. This club and each member must undertake to act only in coordination with the UN Security Council.

A country hatching nuclear ambitions must completely abandon them. In exchange, they have to get assurance from the entire «nuclear club» reaffirmed by the Security Council to guarantee them the non-use of nuclear wea-

pons, and protection in the event of an attack. As for the countries that do not wish to join this process, the UN Security Council must take decisive action, including sanctions and coercion.

It is necessary to conduct a peer review of all existing international instruments in the field of non-proliferation and the fight against nuclear terrorism, to reduce to one policy document – the new universal treaty on comprehensive horizontal and vertical non-proliferation and elimination of nuclear weapons. This document is intended to guarantee the non-use of «double standards» and specific mechanisms for sanctions to violators.

At the same time, we support the legitimate and inalienable right of each state party of the NPT to develop and use peaceful nuclear energy on the basis of compliance with all the requirements of the IAEA. There should not be a monopoly and double standards.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

In recent days we have seen clear progress in the field of nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament and security. There has been adoption of the new U.S. nuclear doctrine. We must sincerely congratulate Presidents Barack Obama and Dmitry Medvedev who signed a breakthrough agreement on strategic offensive weapons. This historic step has to be supported by all and serve as an example. This work to reduce all the nuclear arsenals of the nuclear powers should not be interrupted until their complete destruction for the sake of world peace. The discussions at the Summit give great hope. Our contribution to the implementation of the decisions of the Global Summit is to pro-

vide a place in June of this year at the Astana Conference of the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism.

It should be noted that in the context of globalization, terrorist organizations continue to be established and operate. They use a global communications network, and sometimes rely on the support of various government regimes on the basis of ideological affinity or an elementary corruption. This allows international terrorism to create the appropriate infrastructure and concentrate financial and other resources. In connection with this we offer to discuss the development of measures and mechanisms to respond to a broad interdisciplinary and interagency statement at this conference, including the establishment of a special body under the auspices of the UN and then passed on to the General Assembly.

Now is the time to begin a discussion about adoption in the future of the Universal Declaration of a nuclear-free world. The implementation of the decisions of our Summit is in the hands of the leaders of the states, and each of us has our own share of responsibility for ensuring that the split atom does not split of our world.



4.6. Speech at the Nuclear Security Summit

(Seoul, South Korea, 27 March 2012)

Your Excellencies!

Dear Participants of the Summit!

First of all I would like to express my deep gratitude to President Barack Obama for initiating the Nuclear Security Summit and the President of the Republic of Korea, Mr. Lee Myung-Bak, for the invitation and the excellent organization of the event.

Two years have passed since our meeting in Washington, DC, which was filled with significant events in the sphere of global nuclear security.

First, the 2011 NPT Review Conference was held.

Second, during the two years a large amount of highly enriched uranium was eliminated in the world. More than thirty countries in the world have adopted national commitments in the field of nuclear safety.

Third, in 2010 in Astana the Conference of the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism was successfully held.

It took 20 years after voluntarily closing by my decree the world's largest Semipalatinsk nuclear test site. As part of a multi-year collaboration to improve physical security, Kazakhstan, Russia and the United States have shown a model of partnership based on mutual trust.

At the national level, we carried out an unprecedented project of transporting 210 tons of spent nuclear fuel

to safe storage. We continue to work on the transformation of the reactor to low-enriched fuel, the creation of a regional training center for nuclear safety. In cooperation with the IAEA, we are creating a unique automated system of accounting, control and physical protection of natural uranium.

Kazakhstan joined the Global Partnership Group of Eight (G-8) against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. We have ratified the amendment to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material, and encourage all participants in the Seoul summit to take steps to expedite the ratification of the amendments so that they come into force in 2014.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Seventy years ago, at the University of Chicago was created the world's first nuclear reactor. The history of nuclear power plants lists 60 different accidents. The last time, at the Fukushima plant, showed that nuclear power should be developed only with absolute guarantees of security and based on three main principles.

First is Versatility.

It is necessary to generate and codify international law gathering experience in the development of peaceful nuclear energy. The goal is the adoption of legally binding nuclear safety standards.

Second – Transparency and Efficiency.

Along with full and prompt attention to any incidents at nuclear facilities, it requires the development of clear mechanisms for rapid response to emergencies.

Third – Equality and Trust.

All states should be given the same right of access to peaceful nuclear technology, as well as the use of the International Bank of guaranteed supplies of low-enriched uranium. At present, work with the IAEA to place such a bank in Kazakhstan has entered the practical stage. This is our specific contribution to strengthening non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament.

Dear Colleagues!

Kazakhstan proposes to hold a nuclear security summit every two years. We are ready to take one of these summits in the future in Astana.

Kazakhstan welcomes the entry into force of the Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms (START) between the U.S. and Russia, and supports the new nuclear strategy of President Barack Obama, regarding the non-use of nuclear weapons against states complying with the provisions of the NPT. I call upon all nuclear-weapon states to show the same good will.

Unfortunately, the erosion of the NPT regime has become a reality, and the uncontrolled expansion of the nuclear-weapon states remains one of the most serious threats to the 21st century. Some states consider the possession of nuclear weapons as a safety factor. Based on the experience of my country, which voluntarily renounced the world's fourth nuclear arsenal, I can say: It is sustainable social and economic development that gives the real security guarantees.

In this context, I propose to agree to apply the most stringent international measures up to isolating and boycotting the country which is the first to use nuclear wea-

pons. At the same time, the nuclear powers should allow states to renounce possession of nuclear weapons with security guarantees confirmed by the United Nations.

I believe the future adoption of the Universal Declaration of a nuclear-free world would be an important step towards a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

Thank you for your attention.



**4.7. Speech at the International Conference
«From Nuclear Test Ban to a World Free
of Nuclear Weapons» (Astana, Republic of
Kazakhstan, 29 August 2012)**

**Nuclear-Free World: The GLOBAL MISSION
OF KAZAKHSTAN**

Dear Guests!

Dear Forum Members!

The present representative forum is attended by the heads of parliaments and MPs, members of governments, representatives of relevant international organizations and NGOs, well-known political scientists and scholars from more than 70 countries worldwide. The meeting of these important individuals in Astana shows the high relevance of the issue of «saving mankind from the threat of nuclear weapons» which is discussed at today's forum.

It is known that in March this year in Seoul the second Global Summit on nuclear security was held. Today's international conference in Kazakhstan is a new step for the implementation of the important issues discussed at the Spring Summit. Creation of a global anti-nuclear movement, which will make a decisive contribution to the salvation of mankind from the threat of nuclear weapons, is our duty.

Dear Friends!

Today, the world celebrates for the third time the International Day against Nuclear Tests. It was established by the UN on the initiative of Kazakhstan, the first ever country to close the nuclear test site on its territory.

This historic act was performed exactly 21 years ago by the people of our country and has a huge civilizational significance.

I would like to highlight three main points.

First. For Kazakhstan, it was a decisive step towards genuine sovereignty and independence. For the people of Kazakhstan nuclear weapons and radiation were not a distant theory. They were cruel, inexorable evil, which for more than four decades tormented our land. Only in our country were nearly 500 atmospheric, surface and subsurface tests of military and so-called «peaceful purposes» conducted. That's half of all tests carried out in the world during the existence of nuclear weapons. Day-to-day radiation poisoned the steppes, rivers and lakes, slowly destroying all life around.

This Moloch of nuclear destiny crippled and undermined the health of more than half a million Kazakhs living around the polygon. The consequences of nuclear tests are felt to this day. A broad popular movement to support my initiative against nuclear tests gave me the confidence and strength in defending the interests of the people.

Despite strong opposition from the Soviet leadership and the military-industrial complex, I signed an executive order closing the polygon.

Second. The 29th of August has become a point of reference in the process of acquiring for the whole of Central

Asia, the status of a region free of nuclear weapons. Kazakhstan voluntarily renounced the fourth largest nuclear potential, inherited from the Soviet military machine. It was more than 110 ballistic missiles with 1,200 nuclear warheads able to reach any point on Earth.

At that time, and quite often now, it is possible to hear views that minimize the significance of this courageous step of Kazakhstan. For example, some argue that the failure was due to Kazakhstan's lack of capacity to maintain a nuclear arsenal.

I note that Kazakhstan ranks second in the world in terms of reserves and first in the production of uranium. The economic potential of the country is equal to or greater than the GDP of some «threshold» countries.

After the breakdown of the Soviet Union, we possessed both the experts and the necessary infrastructure to conduct military nuclear programs. Therefore, two decades ago, the emergence of a new nuclear power as Kazakhstan was only a matter of political will and time. But we had the political will in the other issue too – a fundamentally and irrevocably renounced membership in the «nuclear club». In cooperation with the U.S. and Russia the warheads and bombs were disposed of. In September 2006, together with other countries in the region, we signed the Semipalatinsk Treaty, which declared Central Asia a nuclear-free zone.

Third. With the closure of the Semipalatinsk test site we launched a new phase of the global process of nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. Until August 29, 1991 in the field of nuclear safety mainly restrictive measures were taken.

Kazakhstan has accomplished the first act of complete and unconditional ban on the testing and, therefore, the improvement of «judgment day» weapons. Sixteen years ago, the UN resolution was opened for signature of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. And Kazakhstan was among the very first to sign it. The agreement has already been joined by 183 and ratified by 157 states.

All the powers of the «nuclear club» are observing a moratorium on testing. After the closure of the Semipalatinsk test site other major landfills polygons were silent – in Nevada, the Novaia Zemlia, Lop Nora and Mururoa. Therefore, for the world the day of August 29 – is the special point which pushed away the danger of a nuclear apocalypse.

I am convinced that over the years and decades the awareness of the exceptional importance of this date will only grow, among the entire international community.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is already for 65 years that the «British Bulletin of Nuclear Scientists» journal has been measuring the level of global nuclear danger through a symbolic «judgment day» clock. Earlier this year, its hand moved a minute closer to the date of a possible nuclear disaster.

Why this estimate? Of course, the experts wanted to attract the attention of the Global Summit in Seoul to an array of problems in this area.

Indeed, today we are seeing a reduction in the dynamics of the process of strengthening global nuclear safety. And, even despite regular summits on the subject.

First, there is not yet a universal non-proliferation regime. Outside of the treaty there are «new» nuclear countries and some «threshold» ones.

Second, two years ago, the Prague agreement was signed between the U.S. and Russia, to resume the process of reducing strategic offensive arms. However, this did not become an example for other countries in the official «nuclear club».

Third, the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban cannot enter into force. There are not enough signatures, with only a few countries of the «threshold» group.

Fourth, the issue of the global monitoring of the development of national nuclear power programs is still unregulated. The lack of clear unambiguous rules casts a shadow of suspicion of the «nuclear ambitions» or even «support of nuclear terrorism» of almost on any nation that seeks to use peaceful nuclear energy.

This manifest injustice which does not promote a non-proliferation regime, reproduces distrust in the field of nuclear safety. There are concerns that the amendments to the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material may not enter into force, as planned, by 2014. The reason for this is a screeching halt in the process of ratification by several countries.

Fifth, the accident at the Fukushima nuclear power plant last year has clearly indicated to the world the problem of the backlog of security technologies at the facilities of the peaceful atom.

Here are a few of the issues that slowed the process of forming a global nuclear security. But all this is rather a

consequence, not the cause. The sources of these problems are deeper.

The current state of the global nuclear safety is greatly affected by the flaws in modern world politics, largely inherited from past eras. It is the inertia of bloc thinking, lack of trust and openness in relations between countries, the lack of responsibility of individual states.

The chaotic nature of the unfolding multipolar world exacerbates the situation. The opium of the military atom still intoxicates some politicians and the military. In the world there are forces which narrowly see the global multipolar world, as primarily a collection of a number of centers of nuclear power. I am convinced that the exotic «nuclear umbrella» should have no place in the world of the future. It is immoral to make nuclear safety a bargaining coin to solve other problems of inter-state relations.

And at the same time, the 21st century is unthinkable without nuclear power. According to experts, by 2035 the needs of the world economy for energy will double. Today on the planet about 2 billion people have no access to electricity whatsoever.

For many countries, the solution to the problems of poverty, unemployment and lack of food is associated with development of peaceful nuclear energy, of course under the strict control of the UN and the IAEA. Therefore, the way we raise the issue of a nuclear-free world has nothing to do with radiophobia or a utopian desire to forever «forget» the secret of accessing the energy of the split atom.

Nuclear-Free World – a complete ban on the military use of nuclear energy. This is the essence of my proposal for the development and adoption of the Universal Decla-

ration of a Nuclear-Free World. I have been and still am a consistent supporter of the idea.

Dear Participants of the Conference!

From the standpoint of political realism we must admit that addressing the key to global nuclear security cannot be separated from the general process of transformation of the modern world order.

Recently, speaking at the Astana Economic Forum, I called for the formation of a new world order in the format and on the principles of G-GLOBAL. Its most important feature should be the attainment of freedom of mankind from the fear of nuclear self-destruction. I am convinced that on the basis of the five principles proposed by G-GLOBAL it is possible to break through in global nuclear security.

First, there is a need for a step-by-step plan of comprehensive strategic arms reduction with the participation of all nuclear weapons states, developed and adopted under the auspices of the UN. First and foremost, it is important to ensure the entry into force of the treaty banning nuclear tests. I believe that the international community has the right to seek adoption by all members of the «nuclear club» of commitments to reduce their nuclear arsenals of war. Not all at once, but gradually. For example, you can go to the practice of non-upgrading and decommissioning of obsolete nuclear warheads and delivery vehicles. Naturally, this should be done in parallel to the disarmament process of the two leading nuclear powers – the U.S. and Russia.

Further, in the long term are realistic measures to curtail the «nuclear umbrella». This is to limit the placement

and storage of nuclear weapons just outside the national territory.

Second. Strong international security guarantees to all participants of regional nuclear-free zones are important. There is a need to develop mechanisms to encourage states to go without nuclear weapons programs. Only on this basis can a just solution be found to the problems associated with the prospects of nuclear power in some countries. To date, 30 states have adopted national commitments in the field of nuclear safety. In international anti-nuclear law and practical politics, there should be no «double standards» and exceptions.

Third. Nuclear disarmament and a nuclear-free world are impossible without clear mechanisms for the confidence of all stakeholders. The principle of trust – it is a reasonable alternative to the military concept of deterrence, including nuclear.

In a month we will celebrate the 20th anniversary of Kazakhstan's initiative to achieve the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia. Today, the CICBMA is developing future structure of regional and global security. It involves 27 states, home to half of the world's population, which produces more than one third of world output.

The successful development of the CICBMA shows that in the 21st century, only on the basis of trust can be constructively resolved any issues that arise in relations between states.

The global system of nuclear safety must fully exploit the potential of regional organizations – CICBMA, OSCE, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and others. Ac-

cordingly, in their «basket» of issues it is important to increase the formation of a nuclear-free world.

Suggesting the idea of G-GLOBAL, I called one of the fundamental principles of the new world order global tolerance.

Unfortunately, in the world there are more false promises to «back up» power of one or other religion with the power of nuclear weapons. Let me remind you that 20 years ago, Kazakhstan strongly rejected the advice of some «well-wishers» and the dubious honor to be the first Muslim nuclear power. Nuclear weapons are suicidal for humanity. Suicide as a direct challenge to the Creator is condemned by all religions of the world. And from this point of view, the desire to have a military nuclear power – it is an absolute abomination.

A nuclear-free world – this is our common goal to which humanity should strive. Only by acting together can we make our world a safer and better place. We have the opportunity to once again remind the world about the tragic consequences of nuclear testing, to encourage the global community to act more forcefully in their final and irrevocable ban.

It is to this end, that Kazakhstan today launches the international project «ATOM». The name of the project is made up of the first letters of four words in the English language – Abolish Testing: Our Mission. In the framework of the project every person on Earth who opposes nuclear weapons will be able to sign the online petition to the governments of the world to permanently abandon nuclear tests and to achieve the early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. I encourage

the participants and all people of good will in the world to support the project «ATOM» and make the building of a world without nuclear weapons our most important goal.

Fourth. One of the foundations of a future nuclear-free community of nations I see as global transparency. Kazakhstan's own anti-nuclear experience has demonstrated to the world the power of openness on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. Recently, in a transparent manner, we carried out a project – the transportation of 210 tons of spent nuclear fuel to safe storage. There is ongoing work on the transparent transfer of Kazakhstani reactors to low-enriched fuel. In cooperation with the IAEA we created a unique computerized system of accounting, control and physical protection of natural uranium. The practical level of the implementation reached Kazakhstan's bid to host the IAEA international nuclear fuel bank in our country.

All of these are examples of absolute benefits to our country of forever renouncing nuclear weapons. And, at the same time, it is an example for other states.

Fifth. Going to a nuclear-free world is the way to constructive multipolarity. Positive cooperation for the safety of mankind is shown in the participation of many countries in the work of transforming the former Semipalatinsk nuclear test site into a «territory of the peace».

A high level of cooperation on this issue between Kazakhstan and the United States, Russia occurred in the joint statement of the Presidents of the three countries, adopted during the Seoul Global Summit. Significant contribution to the various rehabilitation projects have been made by Japan, Canada, the Netherlands, Switzerland

and a number of international organizations. We are deeply grateful to you all for this help.

Many different programs of the UN play an important role in overcoming the effects of nuclear testing. Two years ago, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon personally visited the territory of the former polygon. I am grateful for this support and appreciation of the anti-nuclear policy and initiatives of Kazakhstan.

Today, humanity has a unique chance to get away from its endless balancing on the brink of nuclear collapse. And for that, more than ever it is important to bring together all nations, all people of good will!

Today, in this hall parliamentarians from all over the world are present. Therefore, the forum can be called a prototype of a global anti-nuclear Parliamentary Assembly. And I suggest you consider the possibility of establishing a global social structure.

At the same time, I want to draw attention to the work of the communicative Internet site G-GLOBAL. Within its framework millions of users are already engaged in dialogue on a wide range of issues in the 21st century, the formation of a new, just world order. I have no doubt that the most important component of this world order will become a nuclear-free world.

I encourage you to actively participate in an interactive discussion format G-GLOBAL and to work for a nuclear-free world for our future and the future of our grandchildren.

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Nursultan NAZARBAYEV

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of Global Trends**

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