

MPHTИ 11.25.07

G. Kuramayeva*Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan,
Astana, Kazakhstan**(E-mail: gkuramaeva@mail.ru)***Resources and the application of Soft Power tools in Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan**

Abstract. This paper aims to explore main resources of “soft power” of Kazakhstan, which is an important political tool in modern world politics. Evaluation and analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of the policy conducted by Kazakhstan “soft power” as well as the adjustment on its basis of its foreign policy orientations and priorities there is a requirement of time. This is especially important for Kazakhstan, which is the leading country in the Central Asian region. The author in this article tried to analyze the “soft power” of Kazakhstan’s diplomacy and foreign policy. Moreover was showed attempts how and where can Kazakhstan to use “soft power” tools.

The purpose of the article is not an answer to the questions has Kazakhstan “soft power”? If there is, is it systemic? How effective is it? All these questions are voluminous. The goal is also not to review the entire soft power tool that is or can be applied by Kazakhstan. The purpose of this research is to show only those instruments of “soft power” of Kazakhstan that can be used “here and now”, relatively economically not costly, but at the same time - effective.

For the successful implementation of “soft power”, Kazakhstan needs to more actively implement soft power tools, first of all, in the Central Asian region. It is necessary to concentrate on creating by Kazakhstan a zone of good-neighborliness and friendship in Central Asia, through tools of “soft power”.

Key words: Soft power, tools, foreign policy, Central Asia, Kazakhstan, resources, education.

Introduction. The events of recent years show that in order to strengthen the political influence of one state on others, it is absolutely not necessary to apply harsh measures, including the army, weapons, etc. There are more modern and more effective methods of influencing the state. The concept of “soft power”, opposed to traditional methods of influence, is gaining popularity every year. The term originated in the USA spread over the world in a relatively short time and was adopted by great powers.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist system led to fundamentally new conditions for the foreign policy of post-Soviet countries. The disappearance of the Soviet Union from the geopolitical life of the former Soviet republics has identified the transition to thinking in terms of national development. Newly independent Kazakhstan had to establish a name for itself in order to survive and become competitive on the international stage. The goal of this article is to show only “soft power” tools of Kazakhstan that can be used “here and now”, relatively economically not costly, but at the same time - effective.

The modern world is extraordinarily complex and contradictory. Every day undergoes many changes and transformations that often lead this world to unintended consequences and unpredictable results. Especially the transformation affected the system of international relations.

Today, there are new actors and new players in the world arena, such as global TNCs, cities, social and cultural movements, non-governmental organizations, religious-fundamentalist movements, international criminal networks, extremist underground organizations and structures, which, in reality play in a other side of world affairs whereby on the side of national interests, responsibilities, civil agreements and building intergovernmental relations. Furthermore, nowadays it is generally accepted that these new players have a big influence on changing global events, although some of them in reality didn’t acting according to the framework of international norms and rules. As a result of these processes the instruments and sources of power are changing in the modern world policy. Moreover, the priorities of influence are shifting from traditional models to a new one.

What is “soft power”? First of all we need to understand the meaning of soft power. The term “soft power” is the ability of a country to persuade others to do what it wants without force or coercion. It is arises from attractiveness of ideals and policies a country’s culture, political now

widely invoked in foreign policy debates. Nye argues that soft power is not a weakness; it is a form of power. For instance, the United States can dominate other countries; however it has also excelled in projecting soft power, with the help of its firms, institutions, universities, and other organizations of civil society. US soft power instruments as culture, ideals, and values have been extraordinarily important in helping Washington attract partners and supporters [1]. According to Bogaturov nowadays, the leadership in the world politics is increasingly determined by the ability of the state to help develop its neighbors or competitors [2]. Moreover, the competition among different amount of national and socio-economic development of the new formation. Knowledge is today the basis of economy and the most important soft power of the country [3].

The traditional instruments of influence and impacts in the global policy are a military power, the power of nuclear weapons, economic pressure, which in modern international relations defined as “hard power”. However, today more and more are used economical success, ideological propaganda and cultural attractiveness of the state which are instruments of “soft power” - a new trend in the system of international relations.

“Soft power” has been embraced by much of the world as an effective tool of foreign policy. The basic definition was coined by Joseph Nye and has not changed over the time: ‘soft power’ works by the force of example, projecting the attractiveness of a nation’s way of life, culture, values, historical experience to gain consensus and legitimacy [1, P.16].

Recourses as a tool in foreign policy of Kazakhstan. Nowadays, it is necessary to emphasize that in modern conditions to “manage” the image of the state, to try to make it more attractive in the global world becoming more problematic. This is due to the fact that often the proposed image of the state, which is put on public display by some parameters, contradicts reality or does not correspond to the general context.

Today the global world is gradually fragmented into macro regional systems comprising several countries led by a strong regional power. Possessing simultaneously parameters of economic, political and military poles, such regional systems may well claim the status of global power centers in the future. With such a configuration of the geopolitical space, a potential aggressor should be aware that it will have to deal not with one particular country, but with a whole regional system whose economic, political and military potential can compare with or surpass the aggressor’s potential.

In this regard, Kazakhstan, as a dynamically developing state in the Central Asian region is also developing its active foreign policy activities. Formation of a positive image of Kazakhstan in conditions of international transformation of the global world order is one of the basic tasks of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan as a newly emerging regional power in Central Asia takes a remarkably small part in the international science cooperation compared to its economic and political importance. In fact, there some advantages and disadvantages. Additionally, the country has made fast and generous historical contributions towards world peace in general and nuclear disarmament in particular by voluntarily disposing of its nuclear arsenal, shutting down the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing site and acceding the NPT as a non-nuclear state. The importance of Kazakhstan in the stability of Central Asia is not to be underrated. This is because of the geopolitical importance of the region throughout human history in general and recent years in particular.

Kazakhstan over the 25 years of independence has been accumulated a great deal of unique experiences and have been developed mechanisms that require a deep understanding and construction of further successful work in order to consolidate a place in the global arena.

The President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev at the meeting with representatives of diplomatic missions pointed out that Central Asia is experiencing a new stage of development. According to the Nazarbayev, it is extremely important to permanently strengthen and develop multilateral and mutually beneficial peaceful cooperation, as well as to establish cooperation with countries and organizations, whose work is characterized by Nazarbayev as weak today. “Our policy, as before,

is aimed at an equal partnership, uniting the efforts of our countries to enhance the role of the region in international affairs and ensuring prosperity in the five countries... We will continue to cooperate with global and regional international organizations in which Kazakhstan participates” [4].

Application of Soft Power tools in Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan. To understand the application of “soft power” tools in foreign policy that took place in the state of Kazakhstan, the resources and capabilities must first be considered. What resources does Kazakhstan possess for successful positioning in the world arena? So, in this paper, we will try to identify the resources and capabilities of Kazakhstan’s “soft power”. It is necessary to clearly distinguish the measures to create a positive image, the image of the state and “soft power”.

A positive image is created naturally, on the basis of economic, scientific achievements of the country, the level of development of culture, science, weighted internal and legitimacy of foreign policy, etc. The country’s successes are also reinforced by the systemic efforts of the attracted country image-makers - recognized domestic and foreign political consultants on the issues of building a national brand image of the state, national identity and reputation.

Of course, the activities to create the brand of Kazakhstan began since independence, when the state faced a number of large-scale tasks: from the restructuring of the economy and the transformation of the political system to the formation of the entire complex of state institutions. But now we see that most foreign journalists who write about Kazakhstan still use the standard set of stereotypes.

The “soft power” of Kazakhstan has its natural limits, whose horizons we do not yet know, so we need to carefully, deeply and systematically analyze the choice of target audiences and the methods of its translation.

Kazakhstan, like other states wishing to raise the level of their own geopolitical subject, can, through its cultural and educational potential, ensure the effectiveness of soft power instruments in the long term. The increase in the importance of education in soft power instruments on the international arena is due to the changing contemporary world order, where competition acquires a mental, cultural and civilizational dimension, with an emphasis on cultural influence, on the creation of an attractive image of the state. And cultural and educational programs - one of the most frequently used and effective [5].

So, first of all, the fundamental resource of Kazakhstan’s “soft power” is its cultural and historical heritage. A unique blend of cultures, traditions and customs of the steppe civilization, art, science, achievements and experience in building peaceful interfaith dialogue, vast expanses of land rich in minerals, the very location that is the connecting bridge between two great cultures - East and West - all this distinguishes Kazakhstan.

According to scientists, the history of Kazakhstan is directly connected with the great Turkic history. For example, Kazakhstani researcher S.Bulekbaev notes that “Kazakhs, as a people historically living in the Great Steppe in the center of Eurasia, where the most important historical events that often changed the course of world history were launched one of the main subjects of the great Turkic history” [6]. Hence the history of the Kazakhs is inseparable from the Turkic history. During his research the author comes for two conclusions: the first one says that the Turkic civilization is a great, quite original and self-sufficient civilization that has been underestimated for a number of ideological reasons. Secondly, the most of the historical papers about Turkic history, culture and civilization have not yet been fully studied.

The peculiarity of Turkish culture, to which belongs Kazakh is that the worldview of the Turks was intended, to absorb all the best that was available to the other nations. Based on this approach, the tolerance Turks managed to absorb all beneficial from other cultures and civilizations, and at the same time create their own unique, identical and self-sufficiency culture. That is one of the main principles of the concept of “soft power”.

The next capability is the geographic location of Kazakhstan. The “soft power” of Kazakhstan lies in its transcontinental position. Kazakhstan is situated where the East and West converged, where the greater part of the Great Silk Road is located, which is a kind of symbol of the connection of these great cultures. In this regard, the project “Silk Road Economic Belt” (SREB) is one of the greatest projects of the 21-st century. In terms of this, the significant for humanity project has no equal for a number of reasons. First of all, it connects forty two countries of the world with transport and other communications. Secondly, transforms to a certain extent the architecture of the world economy and world policy. Thirdly, change the world view and philosophy of international relations (the transition from the concept of the “Great Game” to the philosophy of “Great Benefit”). Furthermore, opens new opportunities and prospects for the development of the economy and other spheres of society for many countries of the world located on the Great Silk Road. It opens up new possibilities and prospects of development of the economy and other spheres of society in many countries of the world, located on the Great Silk Road. Moreover, Kazakhstan is rich in unique places of nature to attract both tourists and researchers.

It is necessary to outline the main perspectives and expectations that have begun to be realized and will undoubtedly change many of the representations of the world economy and politics filling them with new content. Such as popular American edition as the Huffington Post recommends travelers to visit Kazakhstan. This rating included 17 places for an “epic” trip in 2017, where Kazakhstan takes the third position and advises not to be only just a tourist, also to be a researcher.

The social-economic development of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the years of independence has been widely recognized as a unique model of the accelerated formation of an independent state. These progresses are related to the personality of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan – N. Nazarbayev. The policy of the President of Kazakhstan is connected with his achievements of the implementation of fundamental reforms, the features of the political situation in the Republic, the mental and psychological characteristics of the population and the promotion of the national brand of “Kazakhstan”.

Since 2000, in the period of independence the Republic of Kazakhstan has gone through a profound crisis was able to improve the economic growth and the welfare of citizens.

When in 1998 the “Heritage” Found put Kazakhstan on the 136-nd place in the world terms of economic freedom, then in the present time Kazakhstan hold 68-th place overtaking Western countries such as France and Italy. Due to foreign experts, economic growths name a “miracle”. The OECD described as “an impressive success” and this is not a limit, whither N.Nazarbayev leads Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan set a strategic goal - to enter the top 30 of the most developed countries in the world until 2050” [7].

In these difficult conditions the responsibility for the foreign policy of independent Kazakhstan was taken by the first President of the young Republic N.Nazarbayev. According to many foreign and domestic experts, this circumstance has allowed to avoid many costs in the process of Kazakhstan’s approval in the world political arena. Personal contacts established by the Head of the state at the highest level helped to solve the most important tasks of the formation of Kazakhstan’s foreign policy.

In the work “The Strategy for the Formation and Development of Kazakhstan as a Sovereign State” early in 1992, N.Nazarbayev wrote: “Kazakhstan due to its geopolitical position and economic potential hasn’t right to confine itself to thin to the regional problems. It would be incomprehensible not only to our multinational population, however to the whole world community. The future of Kazakhstan is not only in Asia, either in Europe and in the East and West. Pursuing such as policy, we can exclude any manifestations of the security threat of Kazakhstan” [8].

An assistant of the President of Kazakhstan Onzhanov and the Chairman of the Kazakhstan Council of foreign relations Karin note that over the twenty five years the leadership of Kazakhstan has achieved number of successful events. For instance, the OSCE Chairmanship, CICA, OIC, voluntary renunciation of nuclear weapons, closure of the nuclear test site, active participation in

the search for mechanisms for the settlement of the Ukrainian crisis, participation in the “Minsk” negotiation process and the latest achievements - the election of Kazakhstan as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, the organization and holding of the “Astana Process”, holding of the image events of the Universiade-2017, as well as exhibition “EXPO-2017” [8].

A multinational and religious policy is following strategic resources and advantages of Kazakhstan. According to the figures announced by the Republican Forum of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan they speak about many things, namely: comfortable conditions for the life of representatives of more than 100 ethnic groups and 17 confessions have been created in Kazakhstan, 962 ethno-cultural associations, newspapers and magazines operate in the country are published in 15 languages, and theatrical productions can be seen in 7 languages.

In every region of Kazakhstan working small assemblies. Assemblies are a unique institution, which aims at ensuring tolerance, interreligious and intercultural harmony. Over the years of independence the idea of creating this institute and the subsequent development of the country have refuted the postulate that multinationality is a weak link in the construction of the state. During these years, the Kazakh model of a multi-ethnic, multinational state under the leadership of N.Nazarbayev has been turned into the advantages of the country.

It is also necessary to note, the repatriation policy of Kazakhs, which is declared as one of the priority goals of the migration policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Since independence is created special programs, quotas, life, traditions and conditions for studying Kazakh language. Those all is the influential factors of international processes. It is important to create an information and communication space for unhindered interaction and promotion of Kazakh culture and language.

As has mentioned above, were outlined the strengths of “soft power” of Kazakhstan. It is necessary to note on the analysis of problems in the application of this type of foreign policy.

First of all, for the Kazakhstan science is the concept of “soft power” characterized only by a point study. There are no comprehensive studies and accordingly, there is no comprehensive strategy to increase “soft power” tools, both at the regional level and at the world level. And, as a consequence, we can conclude that there are no institutions and elements of “soft power” that would enhance the attractiveness of Kazakhstan in the world.

The information-communicative component or the new public diplomacy (public diplomacy Web 2.0) in foreign policy is not developed at the proper level to regularly communicate with the target foreign audience in the network in their native language at well-known on-line sites; financial expenses for the promotion of the national brand “Kazakhstan” exceed profits.

However, despite all these problems, the interests of Kazakhstan today are focused on the solution of the set strategic goal - to withdraw Kazakhstan to 30 developed countries. Moreover, investments in “soft power” do not bring a momentary result, but have an effect with a delay.

In the context of this new reality, which evolves in the course of implementing the concept of “soft power” it is quite naturally that a huge number of theoretical and practical questions are arising, which should be addressed first. Although, the main priority and mechanism is the modernization program of Kazakhstan, which was proclaimed in the President’s Address [9].

Today the concept of “soft power” and the full range of its capabilities have great importance in solving complex problems in the settlement of conflicts. Kazakhstan is located in the center of Eurasia and assumed the role of a unique platform for dialogue. Bright and a good example of this are the events connected with Syria, which has been clearly demonstrated by the temporary success of the “hard power”. Moreover, it is once again made it clear to the world community that it generates even greater use of military force.

It is important to respond properly to use “smart power” tools and the combination of “soft” and “hard” power. Such an instrument can be considered the Astana process and the role of the President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev in the settlement of the Syrian conflict, which has worldwide character. The political scientist Karin describes this phenomenon as: “The Astana process” finally consolidated an Astana’s role as “Eurasian Geneva” [8]. This process, according

to scientists, even if it does not solve the problem completely, it will still set a new tone and contribute to the development of peaceful new ways to resolve the conflict.

Conclusion. Kazakhstan as a modern state is moving in the general direction of development of world tendencies in the field of international relations, thus it is necessary to develop and improve the accumulated experience, which is recognized by the world community as unique. For all years of independence Kazakhstan has declared itself as a full-fledged state.

For the further full development of state-national sovereignty, it is necessary to know the general laws of this process, to be on the level of the latest achievements of the sociological and political sciences and above all, to know the modern theories and practice of international relations. The analysis of these problems shows that first of all, Kazakhstan needs to engage the interdisciplinary research in this area and develop the tools of “soft power”.

To conclude, I would like to convey the idea of the Kazakh thinker B. Nurzhanov: “Early in the 1930s start the process of aestheticization of politics and the modern policy stop to be based on Ration or reason. For the question why, he replies simply: “aesthetics, myth - is the sphere of sensibility and it is closer to people than dry facts”. [10]. He talks about aesthetics, but if we generalize and call it culture, it will not be a big mistake. And now culture or aesthetics solves political problems and builds political strategies. This is clearly demonstrated by the concept of “soft power” proposed by Nye in response to modern challenges and threats in the world policy.

The twenty-first century sees the expanding channels through which a state affects international processes and other countries. Today a country’s economic success, ideological persuasiveness, and cultural attractiveness are often more important factors than its military power and possession of nuclear weapons.

References

1. Nye J. Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics // Public Affairs. – 2004. – С.16.
2. Богатуров А. Лидерство и децентрализация в международной системе // Международные процессы. - 2006. - Т.3. - С. 31.
3. Nye J. Soft Power and Higher Education // Harvard University. - 2006. – С. 14.
4. Nazarbayev N. The Central Asia today, Kazakhstan 2017, Politics [Электрон.ресурс]. – 2017. – URL: https://total.kz/ru/news/vneshnyaya_politika/segodnya_tsentralnaya_aziya_perezhivaet_novii_etap_svoego_razvitiya_nazarbaev (дата обращения: 23.04.2017).
5. Сыдыкназаров М. А была ли мягкая сила? [Электрон.ресурс].-URL: <https://zebra.today/i501> (дата обращения: 11.03.2017).
6. Bulekbaev S.B. Turkish contribution to world culture and civilization / S.B. Bulekbaev. – Almaty, Inter-press, 2016. –318 с.
7. Coffey L. Trump’s Welcome Interest in Kazakhstan, and Why It Matters [Электрон. ресурс]. – 2016. – URL: <http://dailysignal.com/2016/12/12/trumps-welcome-interest-in-kazakhstan-and-why-it-matters> (дата обращения 12.12.2016)
8. Карин Е. Доктрина мира Н.Назарбаева// Казахстанская правда.-4.07.2017.
9. Назарбаев Н. Ежегодное послание Президента народу Казахстана: модернизация Казахстана 3.0 [Электрон.ресурс].-URL: http://www.akorda.kz/ru/addresses/addresses_of_president/poslanie-prezidenta-respubliki-kazahstan-nazarbaeva-narodu-kazahstana-31-yanvara-2017 (дата обращения: 31.01.2017)
10. Nurzhanov B. Aesthetics, myth - is the sphere of sensibility and it is closer to people than dry facts [Электрон.ресурс]. – 2015. – URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6J-geC9BqVw> (дата обращения 12.03.2018)

Г.Н. Құрамаева

Қазақстан Республикасы Президентінің жанындағы мемлекеттік басқару академиясы, Астана, Қазақстан

Қазақстанның сыртқы саясатындағы «жұмсақ күш» ресурстары және пайдалану құралдары

Аннотация. Бұл мақала қазіргі заманғы әлемдік саясаттың маңызды саяси құралы болып табылатын Қазақстанның «жұмсақ күші» жүйесінің негізгі ресурстарын зерттеуге арналған. Қазақстанның «жұмсақ күші» саясатының артықшылықтары мен кемшіліктерін талдау және бағалау, сондай-ақ сыртқы саясаттың бағыттары мен басымдықтарын түзету уақытты талап етеді. Бұл әсіресе Орталық Азия аймағындағы жетекші ел болып табылатын Қазақстан үшін өте маңызды. Осы мақаланың авторы қазақстандық дипломатияның және сыртқы саясаттың «жұмсақ күші» туралы талдауға тырысты.

Мақаланың мақсаты – «Қазақстанның жұмсақ күш бар ма? Егер бар болса, ол жүйелі ме? Бұл қаншалықты тиімді?» болып табылмайды. Қойылған барлық сұрақтар күрделі. Сондай-ақ, Қазақстан қолданатын немесе қолдануы мүмкін «жұмсақ күштің» барлық құралдарын қайта қарау да бұл мақаланың мақсаты болмайды. Зерттеудің мақсаты - Қазақстанның «жұмсақ күші» құралдарын тек «экономикалық жағынан арзан», бірақ бір уақытта тиімді деп санауға болатын «мұнда және қазір» қолданылуы.

Орталық Азиядағы тату көршілік пен достық арқылы «жұмсақ күш» құралдарымен құру туралы мәселеге баса назар аудару қажет.

Түйін сөздер: жұмсақ күш, құралдар, сыртқы саясат, Орталық Азия, Қазақстан, ресурстар, білім беру.

Г.Н. Курамаева

Академия государственного управления при Президенте Республики Казахстан, Астана, Казахстан

Ресурсы и применение инструментов «мягкой силы» во внешней политике Казахстана

Аннотация. Данная статья посвящена изучению основных ресурсов «мягкой силы» Казахстана, которые являются важным политическим инструментом в современной мировой политике. Оценка и анализ преимуществ и недостатков политики, проводимой казахстанской «мягкой силой», а также анализ внешнеполитических ориентаций и приоритетов является требованием времени. Это важно для Казахстана, который является ведущей страной в регионе Центральной Азии. Автор в этой статье попытался проанализировать «мягкую силу» дипломатии и внешней политики Казахстана.

Целью статьи не является ответ на вопросы - «А есть ли у Казахстана мягкая сила? Если есть, системна ли она? Насколько она эффективна?» Все эти поставленные вопросы объемны. Целью также не является обзор всех инструментов «мягкой силы», которые применяются или могут быть применены Казахстаном. Цель данного исследования – показать лишь те инструменты «мягкой силы» Казахстана, которые могут быть задействованы «здесь и сейчас», относительно экономически не затратные, но при этом – эффективны.

Необходимо сконцентрироваться на создании Казахстаном пояса добрососедства и дружбы в Центральной Азии через инструменты «мягкой силы».

Ключевые слова: мягкая сила, инструменты, внешняя политика, Центральная Азия, Казахстан, ресурсы, образование.

References

1. Nye J. Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics, Public Affairs, 16(2004).
2. Bogaturov A. Liderstvo i decentralizatsiya v mezhdunarodnoi sisteme [Leadership and decentralization in international system], Mazhdunarodnye processy [International processes], **3**, 31 (2006). [in Russian].
3. Nye J. Soft Power and Higher Education, Harvard University, 14(2006).
4. Nazarbayev N. The Central Asia today, Kazakhstan 2017, Politics. Available at: https://total.kz/ru/news/vneshnyaya_politika/segodnya_tsentralnaya_aziya_perezhivaet_novii_etap_svoego_razvitiya_nazarbaev (accessed 23.04.2017).