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**GEOPOLITICAL ROLE AND POPULATION
DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF
KAZAKHSTAN: RECENT DEVELOPMENT AND
PROSPECTS**

Master Thesis

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Geopolitical role and population development of the Republic of Kazakhstan: recent developments and prospects

Abstract

Present research is an attempt to define the influence of the demographic factor on geopolitical development of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan is of a specific interest herein due to its strategically important geographical location and presence of natural resources. Taking into account these factors, Kazakhstan has certain claims on leadership in the region. At the moment, Kazakhstani geopolitical leadership is based on economic achievements of the country and its political stability. At the same time demographic factor is quite sensitive from the strategic point of view. Kazakhstani population is relatively inconsiderable in number for its region. Moreover, some negative tendencies of distribution of population and its structural changes are causing concern. The government is aware of the gravity of these problems and is making certain efforts to change the situation. Nevertheless, it is very important to acknowledge the demographic factor as strategically important.

Keywords: geopolitics, population development, migration

Abstrakt

Geopolitická role a rozvoj obyvatelstva Republiky Kazachstán: současný vývoj a vyhlídky.

Práce prezentuje pokus o vymezení role demografického faktoru v problematice geopolitického rozvoje Kazachstánu. Kazachstán je zosobněním mimořádného zájmu plynoucího ze strategicky významné geografické polohy a výskytu přírodních zdrojů. Vzhledem k těmto faktorům má Kazachstán určité geopolitické aspirace týkající se vůdčího postavení v regionu. V současnosti se toto vůdčí postavení Kazachstánu významným způsobem zakládá na ekonomických úspěších státu a politické stabilitě. Demografický faktor se přitom jeví v rámci strategického plánu jako dosti slabá stránka. Kazachstán má poměrně nízký počet obyvatel, navíc určité obavy vyvolávají některé negativní tendence spojené s rozložením obyvatelstva a změnou jeho strukturálních charakteristik. Vláda si uvědomuje vážnost problematiky a vyvíjí určité snahy, které se týkají změny situace. Zároveň je žádoucí dát demografickému faktoru strategický význam.

Klíčová slova: geopolitika, populační vývoj, migrace

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|---|
| CIS | Commonwealth of Independent States |
| CST | Collective Security Treaty |
| CSTO | Collective Security Treaty Organization |
| KSOR | Collective Rapid Reaction Force |
| SCO | Shanghai Cooperation Organization |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| CPC | Caspian Pipeline Consortium |
| EurAsEs | Eurasian Economic Community |
| WTO | World Trade Organization |
| FDI | Foreign Direct Investment |
| WAK | World Association of the Kazakhs |
| APK | Assembly of People of Kazakhstan |

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Problem definition

In geopolitical theory the demographic factor is traditionally viewed as one of the most important determiners of a state's geopolitical role. The population with its characteristic features often constitutes quite a complex object for a geopolitical analysis. The role of this factor in the determination of the exact geopolitical situation can be contradictory and, ultimately, can be governed by the personal attitude of an analyst.

Due to geopolitical tasks the population of a particular country can represent an instrument and an object of the geopolitics at the same time. Thus, influencing the population gives a possibility to reach necessary results. The actuality of this problem is strengthened by its difficulty and ambiguousness. Moreover, taking into account the particular characteristics of the problem, the specific approach is necessary in every specific case.

In this context the example of the Republic of Kazakhstan can be of a particular interest. Possessing obvious economic potential and profitable geographical position, the republic has the objective preconditions for becoming a geopolitical leader of the region. The idea of the regional leadership is officially made public, and Kazakhstan has made several successful steps in this regard. The main result is the stability factor associated with modern Kazakhstan. The existing stability is the result of a balanced combination of a wide range of social-economic, political and other factors. Each of these factors is important in its own way.

At the same time, without taking into account the demographic potential of the country the estimation of geopolitical prospects of Kazakhstan will be incomplete. After becoming an independent state Kazakhstan faced a variety of demographic problems, which did not exist, were of no importance inside the vast country, or simply were not discussed.

First of all, it is necessary to mention a comparatively small (in the regional context) population size, ethnic heterogeneity, migration policy, etc. From the geopolitical point of view these factors are quite important and claim a specific attention. Today it is difficult to identify the demographic situation in Kazakhstan as a clearly favorable factor, strengthening the geopolitical position of the country in the region.

1.2 Research objective

The investigation of the problems of geopolitical role of Kazakhstan and population development claims the specific attention towards the interconnection of the above mentioned components. On this basis, the objective of present research is the influence of demographic characteristics on geopolitical status of Kazakhstan. A geopolitical status of a state specifies its role in the system of international relationships.

In this study a geopolitical development of a state is understood as a complex of practical actions of a state aimed to changing of its geopolitical status based on scientific knowledge of spatiotemporal configuration of accessible resources of development (Barishpolec 2002). Together with changing of a geopolitical status a state changes its geopolitical role, building a new system of relationships with other geopolitical players. This study is focused on the exploration of the problem of population development from the point of view of problems and prospects of the geopolitical development of Kazakhstan.

A geopolitical status is understood herein as a position of a state in the system of states of a geopolitical region and international community as a whole. A geopolitical status is determined by presence of relevant political, economic, demographic and other potential.

1.3 Relevance of research

The problem of investigation of a geopolitical status of a state with consideration of the demographic factor seems to be quite actual. The author is not acquainted with such studies concerning Kazakhstan. In numerous geopolitical researches Kazakhstan is represented among the countries of post-Soviet Central Asia. In its turn, population development constitutes an independent research objective in specialized demographic investigations. The author is sure that, due to its specifics, the geopolitical status of Kazakhstan is worth of special consideration within an independent research.

Moreover, taking into account the specifics of the objective, we realize the very actual for modern science multidisciplinary problem treatment. This multidisciplinary approach gives a possibility to show the importance of demographic methods for geopolitical research. Thus, demographic characteristics obtain new importance.

This study is also a trial to attract attention to the problem of population development in Kazakhstan, showing its strategic importance for the future of the country.

1.4 Hypothesis and research questions

The next hypotheses were postulated in the course of the research:

1. Is the demographic factor an important characteristic in defining the geopolitical status of Kazakhstan?

2. The demographic factor comprises a potential threat of the destabilization of the geopolitical status of Kazakhstan.
3. Problems of population development can become a factor, limiting the geopolitical development of Kazakhstan.

Confirmation or refutation of these hypotheses is aimed to gaining the main task of the research: to define a role of the population in the geopolitical development of Kazakhstan.

On the basis of hypotheses the next research questions were put forward:

- What function is assigned to the demographic factor by classical geopolitics?
- What are the prospects of country development from the point of view of official strategies, governmental programs, and Kazakhstani regulatory environment?
- What are the advantages of Kazakhstan as a geopolitical partner?
- How does the economic factor influence the geopolitical status of the country?
- What demographic factors are of the greatest importance for the geopolitical development of Kazakhstan?
- By what demographic characteristics is the geopolitical peculiarity of Kazakhstan defined?
- What is the influence of migration processes on the population development of Kazakhstan?
- What are the characteristic features of the distribution of population in Kazakhstan?

These research questions have defined the structure of the research, which is divided into two chapters. Chapter 2 deals with the problem of the geopolitical status of Kazakhstan and factors it is determined by. Some aspects of classical geopolitical theory are also viewed in this chapter. Chapter 3 is devoted to analysis and estimation of strategic, from the geopolitical point of view, demographic characteristics of Kazakhstan.

1.5 Methodology

In the course of the research theoretical aspects of the problem were considered on the basis of multidisciplinary approach combined with system and structure functional analysis. The geopolitical status of Kazakhstan is a complex structure, with population as one of its components. General scientific methods of research such as analysis, synthesis, comparison, generalization are used in the study. The demographic analysis is used as the specific method of the research. The content analysis of documents, regulatory acts and scientific materials was also applied. The qualitative approach is provided by definition of complex of features, characteristics and peculiarities of the objective, which determinate its specifics.

1.6 Overview of literature and data sources

As it was already mentioned, the author is not acquainted with studies, concerning the problem of present research. Nevertheless, in the course of theoretical studies the works of Kousoulas, D.G. (1985) *Power and influence an introduction to international relations*; Rourke, J. T. (1995) *International Politics on the World Stage*; Cohen, S.B. (2003) *Geopolitics of the world*

system; Isaev, B.A. (2006) *Geopolitics: tutorial* were of great value for us. These studies gave us a possibility to shape quite a clear understanding of theoretical and methodological basis of classical geopolitics.

The second group of monographs concerns the problems of geopolitics of Central Asia. The research of Zb. Brzezinski (1997) *The Grand Chessboard* is worth of special attention. This is a classical monograph on geopolitics of Central Asia. Its author reveals his point of view on the region's strategic significance, the problem of potential conflicts. Kushkumbayev, S.K. (2002) *Central Asia on the way to integration: geopolitics, ethnicity and security* analyzes the influence of the ethnic factor on initiation of possible regional conflicts. The researches Allison, R. (2003) *Central Asian military reform: national, regional and international influence*; Allison, R., Jonson, L. (2001) *Central Asian security: internal and external dynamics*; Pomfret, R. (2006) *Central Asian Economics Since Independence* gave us useful information on analysis of the region's economic potential and prospects of its development. Unfortunately, none of these studies analyzes the influence of demographic characteristics on geopolitical development of the region. But indirectly, this factor is present in almost all of the surveys concerning geopolitics of Central Asia. First of all, scientists analyze illegal migration, poverty, and ethnic heterogeneity of population.

Group three of sources includes: Fu, Jen-Kun. (1999) *Geopolitics of Kazakhstan: between the Past and the Future*; Buchanan, P.J. (2002) *The Death of the West: How Dying populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization*; Orlova, I.B. (2008) *Adequate conditions of populations as a factor for state stability*. These researches are extremely important, because they are directly appealing to demographic problems as to the factor, influencing the geopolitical development. For example, Fu, Jen-Kun even makes a trial to calculate a desirable population size, which will promote favorable geopolitical development. Orlova, I.B. denotes the direct interconnection between problem of population development (by the example of Russia) and geopolitics. Buchanan, P.J. analyzes demographic problems at the civilization level.

Apart from authors' monographs the list of data sources also includes:

- legislative acts, international agreements;
- official declarations, articles written by politicians and statesmen;
- statistical data, reports, reference books;
- information and analytical material of periodical press, data published on the official Web-sites of various establishments and organizations.

Thus, the author has made an attempt to use the most thorough list of literature and data sources concerning the objective of the research. The author hopes such a representative literature and data sources list to be a guarantee of the objective character of statements and conclusions of present research.

Chapter 2

The Geopolitical Characteristic of the Republic of Kazakhstan, its Present Status and Significance (End of 20 – First Half of 21cc.)

2.1 The Concept of Geopolitics, Basic Theories, Role of Population

2.1.1 Classical Geopolitics

The geopolitics has arisen and started its development from the attempts of evaluation of a strategic potential of a certain state and envision of possible paths of its development. Such evaluations are generally based on the geographic factor, one of the most important characteristics of a state.

The state possesses power and promotes its own interests in a definite spatial dimension. For the first time the term of geopolitics was introduced by Rudolf Kjellen (1899).

The term described geopolitics as the theory of the state as a geographical organism or phenomenon in space. This approach was also shared by the classic of German geopolitics, Karl Haushofer (1925). “Geopolitics is the new national science of the state, ... a doctrine on the spatial determinism of all political process, based on the broad foundation of geography, especially of political geography,” said Karl Haushofer, a well-known classic of the geopolitics (cited in Cohen 2003:11).

A key role of the geographical factor in the process of development of any state can hardly be doubted. However, any political processes are based on social-economical foundation and imply the wide range of other internal and external political circumstances.

That is why further development of geopolitical theory has made necessary a consideration of other important factors influencing geopolitical status of a country. Today economic, military, demographic and intellectual potential is included among such factors. In present research the terms geopolitical position and geopolitical status will be used as synonyms.

The geopolitical status of a state is also influenced by the access to seas, the level of communicational systems' development, reserves of natural recourses, the length of land and sea borders, the level of involvement into international relationships and the system of global division of (Barishpolec 2002).

Friedrich Ratzel (1897), the classic of geopolitics, noted that characteristics of a state are determined by the characteristics of a nation and its territory. In accordance with his theory a state is a continuation of a human society possessing two main functions of growth and development. The vital space, "lebensraum", is necessary for these functions to be realized. From this point of view, population becomes the main driving force of geopolitical development.

However, the founder of the French geopolitical school, Paul Vidal de la Blanche (1903), considered the role of geographical environment to be exaggerated and the role of human factor underestimated by F. Ratzel.

Due to Paul.V.de la Blanche (1903) a human being is also a geographical factor, but the factor, possessing initiative and go-ahead spirit. The geographical determinism can act only through and by virtue of a human being. Only a human being do or does not create a possibility of approving oneself in the external environment.

The above mentioned Swedish geopolitician Rudolf Kjellen in his study *The State as the Life Form (Der Staat als Lebensform, 1917)* was F. Ratzel's student, who has developed the organic state theory. In accordance with this theory, a state constitutes an integrated organism, which is characterized not only by its geographical territory, but also by nation, economy, society, administration.

By Rudolf Kjellen these characteristics are to be investigated by five scientific disciplines. First of all, geopolitics is to study geographical factors of the existence and development of the society. Demopolitics is to examine the state from the point of view of its population. Ecopolitics – the state as an economic power. Sociopolitics – viewing of social aspects of the state. Cratopolitics studies various forms of administration (Kjellen 1916). In one form or another, this structure is used in the theory of international relations while evaluating the power of a state D.G. Kousoulas (1985), John T. Rourke (1995).

The population size as a geopolitical problem is investigated by the famous American geostrategist Alfred Thayer Mahan (1890) in *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*. Mahan's geopolitical theory is based on the idea of strategic military sea power. Analyzing the elements of the sea power of a nation, the author specifies groups of geographical and socio-demographic characteristics. The first group is constituted by geopolitical status, physical structure, climate, territory size. The second group is represented by population size, national character, and type of administration.

Nicolas John Spykman (Dutch-American geostrategist) has further developed Mahan's researches in *The Geography of the Peace* (1944) and *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and The Balance of Power* (1942). The author postulated ten criteria of the state power. Together with traditional geographical and social-economical characteristics he mentioned demographic components: population size and ethnic homogeneity.

The above mentioned examples do not compose a complete list of ideas of classics of geopolitics. But they form the sufficient basis for summarizing the main peculiarity of classical geopolitical theories. The classical geopolitics is deeply intertwined with expansionist ideas, which are characteristic of First Half of 20 century, the period between two world wars. In this

context the demographic factor is considered to be an important characteristic, determining prospects of economic development and, first of all, military power of a state.

2.1.2 The Problem of Population in Modern Geopolitical Theory

The problem of population in the geopolitical context is also studied in the researches of modern geopolitists. Since the geopolitical worldview is changing, the demographic factor is acquiring a new significance. The technological development and invention of new types of armaments have sufficiently promoted the rethinking of theoretical basis of geopolitics. Taking into account the possibility of nuclear intervention, the national security is not any more guaranteed by distances and quantity of the military weaponry. Very often quantity characteristics are replaced by quality ones.

This is also true for demographic characteristics, which are important from the point of view of geopolitics. Today we are able to postulate that national economic prosperity is not exclusively determined by its population size. The existing gap in economic development of various countries of the world is the best example. In this context, such new geopolitical challenges as international terrorism, poverty, illegal migration are gaining the extreme importance.

The new approach towards the demographic factor in geopolitics is reflected in the research of the American politician and geopolitist Patric Joseph Buchanan (2002) *The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization*. It was written after the events of 9/11 and is full of pessimistic dispositions concerning prospects of Western civilization. The illegal migration is viewed as the factor of the national collapse. The illegal migrants are indifferent about the American future. The uncontrolled migration is threatening to destroy the nation in the course of “Balcanization”, the disintegration of the nation into separate states. The West is going to drown in the demographic flood and to turn into a new society (Buchanan 2002). This theory is based on the analysis of demographic factors and, first of all, characteristics of population structure. The author states that aging population of West and America needs immigrants. But ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of immigrants can become a destructive power for the state.

Jean-Claude Chesnais is a modern French demographer, political analyst and geopolitist. In the article *Demography and Strategy: Decline of the West* (cited in Isaev 2006) he defines the demography as the “political arithmetic” or “national destiny”, thus demonstrating importance of demographic component for modern geopolitics. In XVII century the population growth in Europe exceeded the total world index. That is why the European share of the world population had grown. At that time the unpopulated territories of the planet were filling in by natives of Europe. Since late XX century in Western Europe the steady decrease of birth-rate and slowdown of population growth have begun. In the beginning of XX century the population growth has started in the Third World countries.

It obligingly influences the international relationships. The overpopulated countries of the Third World will inevitably claim for their share of powers in all international organizations.

The period of European supremacy is coming to an end, summarizes Jean-Claude Chesnais. This geopolitical process is promoted by nine factors:

1. budgetary problems (aging of population results in rapid growth of social payments and weakening of national competitive ability, primarily in the military sphere);
2. loss of the control over the territory (depopulation of the whole regions together with overpopulation of city conglomerations);
3. dependence on immigration (the entire economical branches are able to function only by virtue of the influx of foreign man power);
4. loss of the combative instinct because of aging of population (For example, the French nation was the most aged in Europe by 1940s. That is why it had easily lost the war with Germany);
5. education (in the countries of Eastern Asia (China, Korea, Vietnam, etc.) the amount of investments in educational sphere is much more than in Europe);
6. family traditions are almost secure in South-East Asia, but continuing to destroy in Europe;
7. labour ethics, which is seriously weakened in the West, is still quite strong in progressive countries;
8. Diaspora (almost 40 mln. ethnic Chinese are living abroad, thus stimulating the development of Chinese economy);
9. cultural unity (as contrasted with Russia or the USA, China is characterized by the great population homogeneity, national minorities constitute only 6 % of population).

These are the results of the demographic and geopolitical comparative analysis of European and Eastern Asian societies conducted by Chesnais. The decline of the West, summarizes Jean-Claude Chesnais, is not fatal. The Western civilization has a lot of possibilities to overcome these negative geopolitical tendencies. Among them there are three leading alternatives.

1. Elevation of the birth-rate. The most critical situation is in the countries of Mediterranean (Italy, Spain), where the death-rate is two-three times higher than the birth-rate. Mother and child welfare programs and governmental support of young families are to be developed.
2. Transatlantic and trans-Mediterranean cooperation. Europe has a possibility to compensate its weaknesses by strengthening of own historical connections with more competitive American countries, as well as by cooperation with the Near East and North Africa.
3. Working out of a new realistic and creative ideology. The failure of Marxism does not mean that liberalism is perfect. Liberalism also has weaknesses.

The ideas of Jan-Fernan Dumon, a French demographer, political analyst and geopolitist are worth of special notice. In his article *Demography and Geopolitics* (cited in Isaev 2006) he is showing the influence of demographic factor on geopolitics. The author notes that population size is one of the main components of its power and world impact. However, not only size but other quantity and quality characteristics of population are of great importance. Political demography is dealing with demographic features of population and their influence on the national political status. J.-F. Dumon illustrates the influence of quantity and quality demographic characteristics (population size, geographical distribution, ethnic and religious composition, existence of Diaspora) on geopolitics. A geopolitist must also take into consideration static and dynamical characteristics of population, which are of not less

importance for the power and political status of the state. These factors do not only demonstrate the actual power and international status of a nation, but (concerning dynamical characteristics) give a possibility to envision various geopolitical processes.

Population size, territorial distribution, ethnical and confessional structure, Diaspora size, taken in their statics, at the moment, are the static characteristics.

Dynamical demographic characteristics are represented by internal and external migration and time changes of the above mentioned static factors. Dumon emphasizes that the geopolitical status of a state is always weakened by the presence of unsettled internal national or religious conflict. The competence in conflict resolution (for example, “the velvet divorce” between Czech Republic and Slovakia) enhances international prestige of participating countries, but at the same time worsens their geopolitical status (the territory and population size of the united the Czechoslovak Republic were much more than those of divided states of Czech Republic and Slovakia).

Thus, Dumon is coming to the conclusion that the geopolitical status of a state is directly determined by the quality and quantity structure of population, its static and dynamical demographic characteristics. And geopolitics, to a certain extent, depends on demography.

The article of the Russian scientist, Orlova I.B. (2008) *Adequate conditions of populations as a factor for state stability* has something in common with the abovementioned ideas of P. J. Buchanan, J.-C. Chesnais, J.-F. Dumon. By the example of Russia, the author is thoroughly considering the problem of illegal and labour migration as a destabilizing geopolitical factor. Demographic and ethnic factors can be used for weakening and possible destruction of Russia. It is especially emphasized in the paragraph “Ethnodemographic Indicators of National Geopolitical Stability” that despite of globalization processes the traditional factors are still influencing the world status of a nation. “The geopolitical status of a state is still determined not only by economical and military power, nuclear capabilities, territory size, natural resources, but, to a great extent, by quantity, quality and structure of population” (Orlova 2008:292).

The author identifies a range of ethnodemographic indicators, which are influencing geopolitical stability of a state:

- Quantity of population;
- Quality of population (health, education, welfare, culture);
- Age structure;
- Structure and quality of migration flows;
- Dynamics of the population growth (birth- and death-rate);
- Type of the ethnical structure (one-, two- or multiple-pole);
- Confessional structure and ethno-confessional balance;
- “National spirit” the extent of integrity, national identity, patriotism;
- Geographical distribution of population over the territory.

It is obvious that the author is seriously concerning the demographic factor in geopolitics. Taking into account the objective of this research, the studies concerning Kazakhstan are of the greatest interest.

Jen-Kun Fu is one of such authors. In the research *Geopolitics of Kazakhstan: between the Past and the Future* (1999) he is examining Kazakhstan as a phenomenon of a state with population of 16 mln. and 9-th large territory in the world. The author focuses at one of four geopolitical questions: “1. How can we explain the existence of the young state, the Republic of Kazakhstan, on the international arena, taking into account its vast territory, rich natural resources, but relatively not numerous population?” (Fu 1999:4).

The theory of new structural functionalism is proposed by the author for the purpose of the explanation of the phenomenon of Kazakhstan’s existence within actual borders. The core of this theory is a balance between structural elements, underlying the new geopolitical concept. The author is associating the geopolitical reality of Kazakhstan with natural process of evolutionary change of social structure of Central Asia. By the example of thorough historical analysis of the formation of Kazakhstani state, the author claims that, from the point of view of new structural functionalism, the factor of territory “geographical conditions” is the weakest social function in the social structure of Kazakhstan (Fu 1999). We can not fully accept such an opinion, taking into account the historical reality of the process of appropriation of independence by Kazakhstan. The collapse of the USSR was a revolutionary, not expected, event for all the Soviet republics.

The other study by Kazakhstani geopolitist S.K. Kushkumbayev (2002) *Central Asia on the way to integration: geopolitics, ethnicity and security* is also interesting in the context of our objective. The author is analyzing the geopolitical situation in Central Asia, making significant the problem of inter-ethnic relationships. “Possibly, the geopolitical situation in Central Asia must be concerned from the point of view of actual physical and geographical bounders and their incongruity with ethnic territory of population” (Kushkumbayev 2002:62). Recently ethnic geopolitical factors have begun to predetermine growth of inter-ethnic conflicts (Kushkumbayev 2002).

The brief survey of some of the modern geopolitical theories indicates the shift of accent toward the defensive strategy. From this point of view, population represents a weak component of the geopolitical status of many states as well as a catalyser of possible geopolitical problems.

The world faces the problem of aging of population and at the same time – a demographic explosion in the Third World countries. Both processes are aggravating geopolitical problems and changing the existing geopolitical structure. Thus, an attempt of some geopolitics to solve a problem and to preserve the status quo is quite natural. On this basis, serious researches of demographic problems are starting in geopolitics.

We suppose, that, in the foreseeable future, the demographic problem can become a leading one, substituting the geographical factor, which is quite stable in advanced countries. The possibility of a country to preserve within its territory historical political institutions (democracy) and cultural values will be a basic factor of its future geopolitical development.

Thus, summarizing all the abovementioned information, we can make a conclusion that in geopolitics it is considered necessary to take into account the population factor while estimating national geopolitical status. However, due to the specifics of objectives of geopolitical researches, the demographic factor is not thoroughly analyzed and estimated. Geostrategists

usually prefer to handle the traditional economic and political categories of geopolitics. Nevertheless, recently the demographic factor becomes more frequently used in the course of geopolitical analysis.

2.2 Intersection of Geopolitical Interests of Russia, China, USA on the Kazakhstan Geopolitical Space

2.2.1 The Strategic Significance of Kazakhstan

Due to its experience of development inside the complicated modern world system the Republic of Kazakhstan represents an interesting scientific objective. This young state, which is passing through a formation period, has faced the necessity to choose the optimal direction of development. Being involved into processes of renewal of the world order, which were started by the collapse of the USSR, Kazakhstan has received a unique chance to become an individual player on regional and global geopolitical arenas. The unique geopolitical position is the main distinctive characteristic of Kazakhstan. The state is situated in the center of the strategic triangle Russia-China-Dar al-Islam (Map 1).

In a general sense, the creation of any effective security system in the region is impossible without Kazakhstan's participation. Moreover, Kazakhstan possesses vast natural resources and great transit potential.

Map 1– Central Asian Region



Source: www.lib.utexas.edu

Thus, Kazakhstan is a promising strategic partner within two basic lines of cooperation: economic, military and political. Kazakhstan is very attractive as an economic partner because of its strategic natural resources and possibility to realize a transitional function, linking Eastern and European markets.

From military and political point of view, Kazakhstan is a good base for strengthening positions in the Central Asian Region with prospects of control of global initiatives and regional centers of power. The country's political stability together with its external policy of peace is also of great importance.

It is noticeable, that Russia, China and the USA are equally interested in the cooperation with Kazakhstan.

Nevertheless, despite of this common interest, the geopolitical vectors of Kazakhstan partner countries are generally differently directed. The main reason of this contradiction is the incongruity of geopolitical interests of Russia, China, and the USA.

In this situation Kazakhstan is conducting a multiple-vector policy. The consistent character of such a policy guarantees the country a possibility of balanced and stable development, raises up its standing in the region and global community. Kazakhstan has attained a support of powerful states, gaining safety guaranties and strengthening of own sovereignty.

The Caspian Sea is extremely the important geopolitical factor, which defines the geopolitical significance of the region.

Not a long time ago the Caspian region was the geopolitical outskirts. But recently, it has turned into one of the most important regions, the space of intersection of global geopolitical interest. The Caspian potential is really huge.

Today more than 20 deposits of oil and gas are already discovered, about 250 grounds are considered to be oil-prospective. By some estimations, the share of undersea oil fields of the Caspian shelf constitutes up to 30-40% of known resources of the region (Korneev and Gardash 2002). The economically rational petroleum reserves (about 90% of reliability) are estimated within the bounds of 17-33 billion barrels. At the same time, by some estimations, the USA own resources are equal to 3.0 billion barrels.

The additional petroleum reserves up to 31.4 billion barrels can be discovered in the Caspian shelf with a probability of 50%. As a comparison, total petroleum reserves of the Persian Gulf basin comprise 95-100 billion barrels (Korneev and Gardash 2002).

At the same time, it is evaluated by several international consulting companies that the full-scale production and distribution of Caspian oil and gas require up to 150-200 billion USD of investments.

The Caspian Sea is a constant focus of the careful attention of the largest transnational energetic, transport and building corporations.

N.A. Nazarbayev is noting: "The Caspian Region, which is concentrating global geopolitical, economical and bio-economical interests, seems to be a special geopolitical region. That is why we are viewing the Caspian Sea as a strategic outpost and the most important element of geopolitics of the Central Asian region" (Nazarbayev 2003:146).

By some estimations, the share of Kazakhstan in general known petroleum reserves is 41%, the share of Turkmenistan is 30%, against 17% of Azerbaijan, 6% of Russia and 6% of Iran (Korneev and Gardash 2002). That is why there is an active competition for geopolitical filling of the region between modern global and regional centers.

The abovementioned factors are defining the attraction of Kazakhstan as the strategic partner in the Central Asian Region. Today Kazakhstan is the space of intersection of global and regional centers of power. Russian Federation, People's Republic of China and the USA are the most powerful of them. All of them are the strategic partners of Kazakhstan.

2.2.2 The Strategic Partnership between Kazakhstan and Russia

Because of the common frontier, Kazakhstan is an important partner of Russia first of all in security issues. Russia is interested in friendly and predictable policy of Kazakhstan as a neighbor. From the economical point of view, the Russian Federation is interested in the Caspian Sea (the oil factor), that is why transport, communications and pipelines control assurance is very important.

This region is Russian 'area of responsibility' for Russian and Russian-speaking population, as well as for the preservation of political significance of Russian language and culture. Moreover, Russia is anxious about illegal migration flow from economical weak countries of the region.

Russia considered the creation of regional security systems in Central Asian republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to be its high-priority objective. The first step in this regard was made in Tashkent on May 15, 1992, where the Collective Security Treaty (CST) was signed by CIS member countries. In the frame of CST the agreement on the air defense integrated system was realized, and the "Collective Security Conception of CST Member States" (1995) was presented. This initiative was initially supported by Kazakhstan.

In this aspect the republic was governed only by practical interests of formation of the environment for its safe development during the nearest and medium-term period. After that, the detailed working-through mechanisms of treaty action, revision and specification of its statements were made. The creation of (CSTO) Collective Security Treaty Organization (May 14, 2002) became an important step, which strengthened the organizational component of the Treaty.

The Organization has also made a decision to create The Collective Rapid Reaction Force (KSOR). KSOR was created for the purposes of "confronting a military aggression, special-forces raids against international terrorism, transnational organized crime, narcotraffic, and cure of effects of emergency situations" (Charter of Collective Security Treaty Organization).

Generally, the relationships between Kazakhstan and Russia can be viewed at as stable relations of partnership. The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation was signed as early as 1992 (May, 1992). The frontier problem is fully settled, the Treaty about Russia-Kazakhstan National Boundary was signed (December, 2005). Kazakhstan and Russia are the strategic partners in integrative processes on the post-Soviet territory.

The formation of Customs Union is the main result of integrative initiatives, they it is aimed at raise of effectiveness of trading relationships. "The creation of Customs Union with Russia and Belarus, which has come into effect on January, 2010 is a breakthrough of all integrative

initiatives of Kazakhstan. Formation of the Common Economic Space from January 1, 2012 will become the next interactional stage”, N.A. Nazarbayev (2010) noted.

The situational analysis shows that Central Asia is still preserving its strategic significance for Russia, but this country’s opportunities are limited. That is why Russia is demonstrating its readiness for collaboration and compromise with other interested partners. The relationships with People's Republic of China can be an example.

2.2.3 The Cooperation between Kazakhstan and China

China has reached the access in Central Asia after the collapse of the USSR. Pursuing its policy in the region, China retains its traditionally moderate tactics of foreign policy. Beijing does not get tough with its policy in Central Asia, often making a tactical pause and using extraordinary methods of foreign policy. Thus Beijing is gaining strategic dividends without exacerbation of relationships with new states of the region. Kazakhstan is a strategic partner of People's Republic of China, which is assuring strategic stability of Western frontiers, trade and economic relations in the region. China is trying to weaken the threat of Western provinces’ separation by solving the problem of their economical underdevelopment, stimulating such collaboration.

China is interested in Kazakhstan from the point of view of access to power resources. Such an approach was demonstrated in 2003 by Chinese company CNOOC Ltd., which took an active part in fighting for the exploitation of a very perspective oil reservoir, Kashagan. People's Republic of China is also interested in creation of transportation corridors for entering the markets of CIS and Europe. The perspectives of cooperation with the Republic of Kazakhstan for transportation channel development can not be underestimated. China already has got an operating railway station “Druzhba” and a highway through the check point “Horgos”, which provide an entrance into Kazakhstan. Taking into account the pace of development of its industry, People's Republic of China is very much interested in the creation of a range of transportation corridors through Central Asia. In his message in 2010 the President of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev (2010) has again specified the plan of building of the highway “Western China – Western Europe”, which gives Kazakhstan an opportunity of realization of its transition potential, being at the same time a profitable for China project.

Beijing’s ambition to resist the existing unipolar system of the USA global leadership is straightly affecting its Central Asian strategy. Such an attitude is conciliating China and Russia. That is why the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was created in 2001 on the basis of “Shanghai Five”. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tadjikistan and Uzbekistan have entered this organization together with People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation. The organization has become extremely effective in the settlement of a range of problems opened by the frontier question. The leaders of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization have made a decision to concern with the struggle with extremism, terrorism and global drug trafficking. The organization does not claim the leadership in settlement of key international problems, limiting itself to prevention and resistance to possible regional conflicts (Charter of Shanghai Cooperation Organization 2002).

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization is unambiguously admitting the leadership of the United Nations Organization in settlement of all international problems. Now in general, this organization is equally meeting interests of Beijing, Moscow and Astana. Russia is trying to renew a status quo in Central Asia. For Kazakhstan the activity of The Shanghai Cooperation Organization has, first of all, resulted in the settlement of border disputes and legal implementation of frontiers with China. The normalization of military and political situation and decrease of tension in the region are of not less significance. Moreover, the membership in such an organization is the evidence of new advanced relationships with major world powers. Generally, consolidated efforts to resist religious extremism, and international terrorism are meeting national interests of Kazakhstan. As for China, it has received a real mechanism of its regional interests' securing.

2.2.4 The USA as the Strategic Partner of Kazakhstan

Despite of the geographical distance, the United States of America are also one of the most significant strategic partners of Kazakhstan in Central Asia. The main virtue of Kazakhstan is its political and economical stability and predictable policy. The relationships between Kazakhstan and the USA are characterized by the progressive development and successive extension of bilateral relations. They are based on mutual interest and respect, similarity of attitudes towards central international and regional problems, search for mutually acceptable solutions on national and regional security.

The foundation of this collaboration was laid in May, 1992 during the first visit of Nursultan Nazarbayev, the President of Kazakhstan, in the USA, when the heads of two states declared the establishment of new relations. They signed the Democratic Partnership Charter in Washington in February, 1994. The Charter states: "The United States of America do accept that the security, independence, sovereignty, territorial unity and democratic development of the Republic of Kazakhstan are the top values". This document is the evidence of the great significance of Kazakhstan in Central Asia from the point of view of the USA.

The unsettled problem of the legal status of the Caspian Sea is sharpened by some contradictions between several Caspian countries in the questions of ownership of some of the shelf reservoirs and transportation routs' priority. These contradictions are worsening the complicated situation in the region. In these questions the USA have rendered Kazakhstan a great support. The USA have taken several steps towards strengthening of economic partnership with Kazakhstan. In particular, the American companies Chevron, Mobil-Oil, Texaco have already got quite stable positions in the region, participating in incorporation of Kazakhstani-American company Tengiz-Cevroil. "The Contract of the Century", executed in 1993 between the government of Kazakhstan and American company Chevron, empowers the USA corporations to produce oil in the region of Tengiz reservoir for about 40 years. Due to active participation of American capital and world-known companies, Kazakhstan has not only risen its oil industry on a new qualitative level, but has also become one of the leading exporters of energy resources.

The oil pipeline of Caspian Pipeline Consortium was built and put into operation in 2001 with the participation of Chevron and Mobil. Moreover, in June 2006 Kazakhstan connected to trans-Caucasian oil pipeline Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan, which was laid due to the political support of the USA. Taking into account the significance of oil export for strengthening of Kazakhstani state and its participation in assurance of global energetic security, the mutually profitable cooperation with the USA is one of the main priorities and load-term factors of bilateral relations. The transport independence of Kazakhstan as a basis of its political sovereignty is very important. In this sphere the ambitions of Washington coincide with Kazakhstani interests. The USA economic policy is aimed at the achievement by Kazakhstan the economic independence. This aim can be reached mainly through the development of oil and gas industry with relevant diversified and reliable transportation system. Such a system is a key to Kazakhstani political sovereignty in the situation of its peculiar geopolitical status in Central Asia.

In military and political respect Central Asia is an outpost of restraining and control of initiatives of regional leaders, particularly China and Russia. By strengthening own influence in the region, the USA are trying to prevent regional domination of one power or a group in the extent, excluding American presence there. It is even possible to claim, that the White House is interested not in the republics of Central Asia or even Russia, but in the possibility to form, due to own presence in the region, the “Chinese Spring-board”. Moreover, the USA are the strategic partner of Kazakhstan in nuclear non-proliferation policy, military and regional security. NATO program Partnership for Peace was the first important step in military and political cooperation with the USA and other democratic Western countries. This symbolic step has confirmed Kazakhstan’s adherence to democratic world order principles. From this point of view, it is difficult to underestimate the strategic significance of the USA.

2.3 The Strategic Priorities of Kazakhstan in the Context of Official Strategies, Government Programs, Regulatory Environment

2.3.1 Kazakhstan 2030: National Strategy of the Transitional Period

Usually, apart from authors’ geopolitical theories, strategic priorities of any country are expressed in relevant governmental programs and strategies. The analysis of such documents can be very useful, because they are quite objectively representing the state priorities. In a democratic state these priorities express the will of nation. Moreover, governmental programs as opposed to theoretical researches are usually successively realized in practice. The effectiveness of such a realization can also be traced by the exact examples.

Kazakhstan is not an exclusion. After gaining independence Kazakhstan has faced the problem of choice of country development priorities. The task was obvious but quite complicated: to build a new democratic state with a market economy. Despite of such a clear aim definition, the problem was to find the ways of its achievement, to choose development priorities. The decision was complicated not only by the totalitarian heritage of the young state,

economic problems of transitional period, and a variety of objective causes, which had arisen soon after gaining independence.

First of all these were problems of the specific geopolitical status of the state, the neighborhood of Russia and China, the threat of religious extremism and terrorism in the South, the raw-material economic orientation, and dependence on export into the post-Soviet territory. The ethnic heterogeneity of population was also a serious problem. The presence of a significant share of non-aboriginal ethnic groups constituted a potential threat of separatism and state deterioration. There's no surprise that perspectives of Kazakhstan as an independent state were considered to be gloomy.

In such a situation the country needed a stable strategic basis. Clear and distinct priorities of internal and external policy were to become an opposition to efforts of state's destabilization, a consolidating force for the state and society. The President of Kazakhstan, N.A. Nazarbayev played a significant role in the process of creation and realization of republican strategic programs.

The main Kazakhstani strategy Kazakhstan 2030 was developed by the President and presented in 1997. This document is extremely important, because it reflects basic priorities of development of the state for 30 years. 7 long-term priorities of development of Kazakhstan were postulated in this strategy:

1. National Security: Ensure development of Kazakhstan as an independent sovereign state preserving its complete territorial integrity.
2. Domestic Political Stability and Consolidation of the Society: Safeguard and strengthen domestic political stability and national unity. It would enable Kazakhstan put the national strategy into practice in the course of the current and the upcoming decade.
3. Economic Growth Based on an Open Market Economy with high Level of Foreign Investments and Internal. Gain realistic, stable and steadily growing rates of economic growth.
4. Health, Education and Well-being of Kazakhstani Citizens: Consistently improve standards of life, health, education and opportunities of the Kazakhstanis. Improve natural environment in the country.
5. Power Resources: Effectively utilize power resources of Kazakhstan through rapid increase in extracting and exporting oil and gas with the aim of gaining revenues which would enhance stable economic growth and improvement of living standards of the people.
6. Infrastructure, more Particularly Transport and Communication: Develop these key sectors in such a way that they add to strengthening of national security, political stability and economic growth.
7. Professional State: Establish an effective and up-to-date corps of civil servants and state-owned formations of Kazakhstan loyal to the cause they serve to and capable of acting as representatives of the people in achieving our priorities.

These designated priorities include strategic directions of internal and external policy.

From geopolitical point of view Priority-1 concerning national security is very interesting. This priority is based on the idea of multi-vector external policy as an instrument assuring

peaceful development of Kazakhstan. The strategy particularly underlines the importance of friendly relationships and partnership with all neighboring countries and leading democratic industrial powers of the world. Regional and international integrative processes are the main instrument. Demographic problems are also referred to national security priority. "Rated among leading priorities of national security must be a forceful demographic and migration policy" (Kazakhstan 2030).

The second priority of the strategy, based on ideas of eurasianism and specific path of Kazakhstan, is also significant for understanding of Kazakhstani geopolitical orienting points. The interethnic concord is herein viewed at as the main condition of country's development. "Our mission consists in destroying the old and preventing the appearance of the new barriers which create obstacles on the way to unity regardless of what these barriers are based on-be it habits, affections or particular interests, prejudiced attitude, religion, age community or such other factors. Through enhancing all possible forms of a dialogue as well as by consolidating mutual links and relations among people, gradually, step by step, we shall deepen our national solidarity and build our national potential" (Kazakhstan 2030).

In accordance with the strategy the economic aims of Kazakhstan are integration into global economy and diversification of economic relationships.

7 priorities of the Strategy 2030 are tightly interconnected and constitute the general map of Kazakhstani strategic objectives. The increased attention of the state towards population as the main factor of successful realization of the strategy is characteristic. The assigned tasks can be reached only by a consolidated society, possessing high quality characteristics of health and education. However, the main objective of the strategy is social welfare of people of Kazakhstan. Thus, population is, at the same time, a condition (instrument) and objective of the strategy.

Over 10 years of realization of the strategy Kazakhstan 2030 shows that the document is still relevant. The strategy, which was created in severe conditions of transitional period, served a basis for the realization of a variety of medium- and short-term governmental programs, as well as for internal and external political decisions. The frames of this study give us an opportunity to concentrate on some of them, having the geopolitical significance.

2.3.2 The Military Doctrine of Kazakhstan

The Military Doctrine of Kazakhstan 2007, reflecting geopolitical priorities, is one of such documents. The doctrine is of defensive character. In this document the priorities of Kazakhstani military politics concerning national security have been legislatively recognized. The doctrine is based on the estimation of modern geopolitical situation, which is characterized by political instability, economic, social and demographic contradictions, thus bearing the threat of possible destabilization. "In midterm, the security of Kazakhstan, international and regional stability are mainly threatened by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, transnational terrorism and religious extremism, arms and drugs traffic, escalating ethnic and demographic tensions, resource and water shortages, worsening of ecological situation in individual regions and in general" (The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Kazakhstan 2007).

The enforcement of peace, international and regional security, and stability, as well as the defense of independence, territorial integrity, and national sovereignty on a collective basis are the key objectives of Kazakhstan in military security assurance in such circumstances. Kazakhstan is going to rely on political instruments and preventive diplomacy for reaching these objectives. “Kazakhstan is considering the assurance of own military security from the point of view of development of democratic law-based state; realization of social, economic and political reforms; affirmation of principles of equitable partnership, mutually profitable cooperation, good-neighborly relations, successive formation of global security system, maintenance and strengthening of peace in the region” (The Military Doctrine of the Republic of Kazakhstan 2007).

The Republic of Kazakhstan claims its major priorities in military cooperation as follows:

1. activation of military and technical cooperation with member-states of Collective Security Treaty Organization on the basis of consolidation of efforts for creation of integrated defensive area and collective military security assurance;
2. extension of strategic partnership with the Russian Federation and People’s Republic of China on the basis of common military and political interests in the region;
3. strengthening of cooperation with the USA concerning Armed Forces technical modernization, military technologies’ transfer, staff training and infrastructural development for assuring of military security in the region;
4. development of military and technical cooperation with states of Central Asia and other countries;
5. participation in consolidated maneuvers and sharing experiences of planning, realization and overall support of antiterrorist and peace-support operations under NATO command;

The document claims that abovementioned priorities are to promote well-balanced military security assuring, yield of a new international level adequate to Kazakhstan’s potential, strengthening positions of a regional leader. The doctrine is reflecting a multi-vector approach of Kazakhstani external policy aimed at strengthening of regional stability.

2.3.3 Assembly of People of Kazakhstan as the Consolidating Mechanism of Kazakhstani Society

It is impossible to achieve regional leadership without assuring internal political stability, which is a priority of internal policy of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan is one of not many countries of the world, which has implemented a successful model for securing public stability and inter-ethnic accord, molding the Kazakhstani identity and shared Kazakhstani patriotism (Nazarbayev 2008).

Assembly of People of Kazakhstan (APK) headed by the President is one of mechanisms of cultural and inter-ethnic dialogue. Assembly of People of Kazakhstan was created in 1995. It unites numerous ethnic groups, living in Kazakhstan, into cultural centers. In 2007 within the constitutional reform Assembly received a right to elect nine deputies of Parliament Mazhilis. Thus, the constitutional mechanism of representation of ethnic groups’ interests in state government bodies was introduced.

“Assembly’s objective is securing of inter-ethnic consent in the Republic of Kazakhstan in the process of formation of Kazakhstani civil identity and a competitive nation based on Kazakhstani patriotism, civil, spiritual and cultural unity of peoples of Kazakhstan under consolidating influence of Kazakh people” (The law of Assembly of People of Kazakhstan 2008).

Main objectives of Assembly are:

1. assuring of effective interaction of governmental bodies and civil society institutions in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations, sponsorship of further strengthening of inter-ethnic accord and tolerance;
2. strengthening the advance of people’s unity, support and development of public consensus on basic values of Kazakhstani society;
3. rendering assistance to governmental bodies in preventing exercise in extremism and radicalism, discrimination of rights and freedoms of a person and of a citizen;
4. formation of political and legal culture based on democratic standards;
5. assuring of consolidation of efforts of ethno-cultural and other civil alliances for achieving of Assembly’s purposes and objectives;
6. revival, preservation, and development of national cultural, languages and traditions of Kazakhstani people.

Apart from the representation in Parliament, Assembly has its branches in all regions of Kazakhstan: Little Assemblies (Regional APK). National cultural centers of Kazakhstani peoples are functioning under the authority of Assembly. These centers provide a possibility to study languages, organize cultural events.

In 2009 APK took an active part in discussing the Doctrine of Kazakhstani National Unity. This is a very important strategic document, because social stability and national unity are the initial and key ideological and conceptual components of nation building and Kazakhstani national policy. These are the main political values, successively realized by the state since appropriation of independence. Doctrine of National Unity is able to become an ideological basis for creation of Kazakhstani national identity. The Doctrine states objectives, tasks and principles of state policy aimed at assuring of national unity. “National unity is understood as integrality of existence of ethnic communities inside the consolidated state, high level of self-identity of citizens with the Republic of Kazakhstan, the existing system of ideals and values” (Doctrine of Kazakhstan national unity).

It is also noted in the document that the basis of Kazakhstani national unity is the unity of values shared by the majority of Kazakhstani and consolidating the society. “Our common history is the uniting basis and the source of merited pride of all Kazakhstani generations”(Doctrine of Kazakhstan national unity).

The main directions of realization are represented in the spheres of:

- Strengthening of inter-ethnic cooperation institutes;
- Language policy (language trinity);

- Education and upbringing;
- Spiritual and cultural sphere;
- Informational sphere;
- Legal and law-enforcement sphere;
- Interreligious relationships.

At the moment it is early to estimate the Doctrine's influence on civil and political life. Nevertheless, its significance and possible prospects are quite optimistic. The abovementioned documents prove that the polyethnic and multi-religious structure is viewed as the objective reality of Kazakhstan. The state is focused on consolidation of the society on civil basic.

2.3.4 Demographic Policy of Kazakhstan, Priorities of Social and Economic Development

Kazakhstan also gives consideration to demographic policy, which is one of the priorities of national security. The return of national repatriates is quite important for Kazakhstan. There were created a correspondent legal base and certain mechanisms of repatriates' living arrangement. The Law on Migration of the Republic of Kazakhstan (1997) devotes a significant attention to the repatriation problem, mechanism of gaining the oralman status, financial support of repatriates. In accordance with Act's definition, oralman are the foreigners or stateless persons of Kazakhstani nationality, who were constantly living abroad at the moment of gaining the sovereignty by the Republic of Kazakhstan and came into Kazakhstan for the purpose of permanent living. The program "Nurly Kosh" for 2009-2011 also devotes a lot of attention to problems of oralman's arrangement. The program is aimed at rational settlement and arrangement of: ethnic immigrants; former Kazakhstani citizens, who came with a purpose of labor activity on the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan; Kazakhstani citizens living in problem areas of the country.

The expectative results of the program realization (State Program "Nurly Kosh 2009-2011"):

1. will provide a means of regulation of processes of ethnic, internal and external migration and their submission to interests of social and economic development of regions;
2. will result in the improvement of the quality of life of a significant number of ethnic and internal migrants;
3. will promote the repatriation of citizens of various nationalities, who left Kazakhstan;
4. will prevent possible social risks caused by difficulties of migrants' adaptation and integration, unemployment and irregular migration;
5. will assure further development of national consolidation processes, strengthening of social stability and accord, improvement of demographic situation.

The repatriation of oralman is to promote the increase of the share of country's indigenous population. The problem of realization of migration policy will be discussed in following chapters.

The demographic policy of Kazakhstan is not bounded by migration problems. Support of the birth-rate, decrease of the death-rate and increase of life expectancy are the objectives of Kazakhstani demographic policy for 2010-2020. In 2009 the draft document of Demographic

Policy and Family Reinforcement Concept was at the discussion stage. Kazakhstan pays one-time monetary grants on a child birth, devotes a significant attention to maternity support.

The demographic policy is tightly correlated with problems of socio-economic development of Kazakhstan. The financial support of projects is based on economic potential, in its turn the economic potential is significantly determined by country's demographic resources. In present Kazakhstani demographic situation the transition towards competitive, high-technological manufacture is one of the real chances of economic modernization. The increase of labor productivity is the most important characteristic herewith. The Strategy of Ingoing of Kazakhstan in the Top 50 of the Most Competitive World Countries, as well as the Strategy of Innovational Industrial Development are targeted at this objective.

The main priorities are concentrated in the Plan of Strategic development of the Republic of Kazakhstan till 2020. The reach of the next key indexes of national development is envisioned in this plan: the share of processing industry in GDP will constitute not less that 13% by 2020; the share of non-oil and gas export will increase from 10 up to 45% of general export volume by 2020; in five years the manufacture and export of metallurgical production will increase twofold, chemical production – threefold.

By 2020 the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Kazakhstan will increase more than by one third in real terms if compared with the level of 2009. During the ten-year period inflation will stay within the bounds of 5-8%. At the same time the labor productivity in processing industry will increase in 1,5-2 times by 2020; the labor productivity in agriculture will increase fourfold by 2020 (Masimov 2010).

Present analysis does not claim to fully represent all the strategic programs, passed in Kazakhstan since gaining independence. The survey is designed to show Kazakhstani strategic objectives. We consider them to be useful for the estimation of exact tendencies of Kazakhstani development made in following chapters.

Thus, the strategic direction of Kazakhstan is complex economic, social and political modernization of the country. The successive support of this direction is demonstrating serious and comprehended character of chosen vector.

2.4 Economic Development of Kazakhstan: Modern Status and Prospects

2.4.1 The Characteristics of the Economy of Kazakhstan

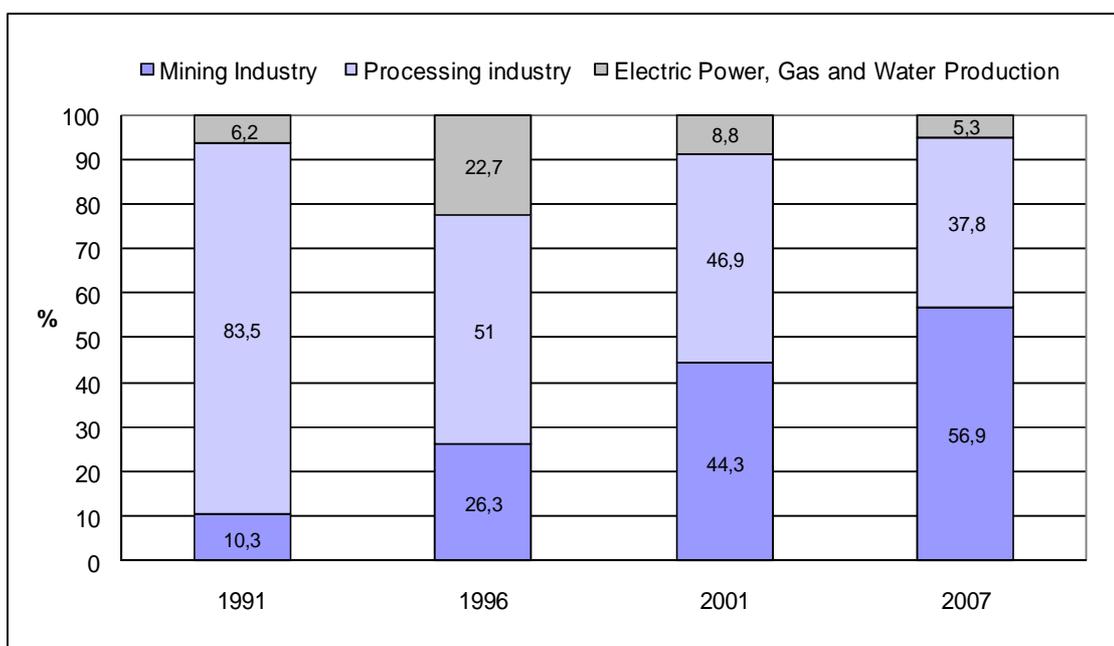
The geopolitical status of Kazakhstan is highly determined by its economic potential. Kazakhstani economics has evident raw-materials based character. Kazakhstan is in the top ten of the world by known reserves of uranium, lead, zinc, copper, oil, coal, chrome, ferrum, manganese, gold, stannum, phosphorites, boron, potassium salts. The significant reserves of strategic resources make Kazakhstan an attractive strategic partner in regional and global scale.

Kazakhstan is an important supplier market of strategic raw materials on the global. This factor defines peculiarities of Kazakhstani economics. Agriculture is also an important

economic segment. Kazakhstan is on the third position in The CIS after Russia and Ukraine on grain production.

The country is ready to cover not only own requirement, but that of other states of the region. Today the share of Kazakhstan in global grain production is 1%, in global grain export – 3% (Kazinform 2007).

Fig.1–The Structure of Industrial Production of Kazakhstan



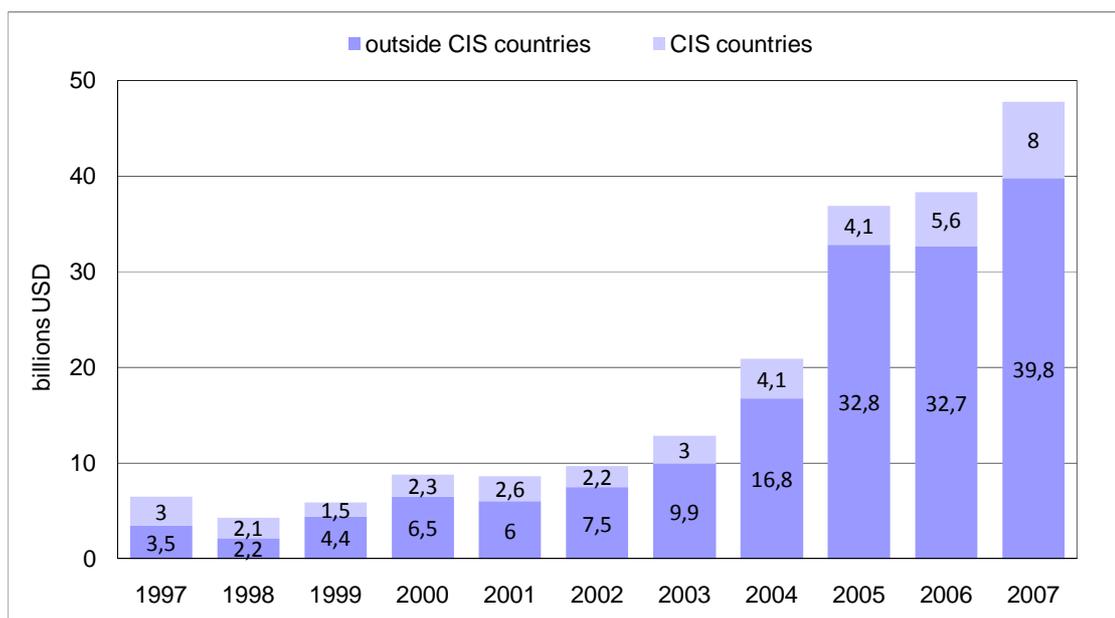
Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Today the productive potential of the country is representing a diversified structure of industrial and agricultural production. The most significant industrial brunches herein are traditional fuel and energy and mining and smelting complexes. Recently the significance of these branches has essentially increased (Fig. 1).

National export is determined by such a situation. The first six months of 2008 estimation showed, that the greatest share in general export volume in the Republic of Kazakhstan are constituted by mineral products (72.2%), metals and metallic goods (15.2%), products of animal and plant origin (5.2%), production of chemical and related industries (including rubbers and plastics) (2.9%), machines, equipment, means of transport, apparatus and instruments (2.0%).

Due to its raw-materials export, in 2008 Kazakhstan had entered the top 35 nations of the world, having the goods turnover over 100 billion USD. The raw-materials export growth herein was determined by high global prices on energy resources (Utepova 2009). Such a success was promoted by Kazakhstani strategy of integration in global economy and attracting foreign investments.

For a long time the export orientation on Russia, alongside with raw-materials character, has being the important characteristic of Kazakhstani economy. At the moment of gaining of independence Kazakhstan was almost completely deprived of the access of international markets. That was one of the reasons of a long-lasting economic crisis of 1990s (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2–Dynamics of Export of Kazakhstan (1997-2007)

Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

By now Kazakhstan has successfully realized a reform aimed at the transition of economy on marketing basis. The effective diversification of national export played an important role herein. At the moment the main buyers of Kazakhstani products are Italy (18.3% in general export, Italian companies make investments into oil and gas industry and then buy hydrocarbons), Switzerland (15.3%), China (9.5%), The Russian Federation (8.8%), France (7.5%), Netherlands (5.5%), Iran (3.4%) (Utepova 2009).

The economy of the country is vulnerable because its geographic remoteness from main global goods markets and absence of direct access to sea communication lines. The exit on global markets and export diversification are impossible without usage of transit transportation corridors of other countries. Such a situation promotes more tight regional cooperation of Kazakhstan especially in transport and transit sphere. The nearest neighbors, Russia, The CIS and China, are the most significant partners of Kazakhstan in this sphere, and, at the same time traditional export markets.

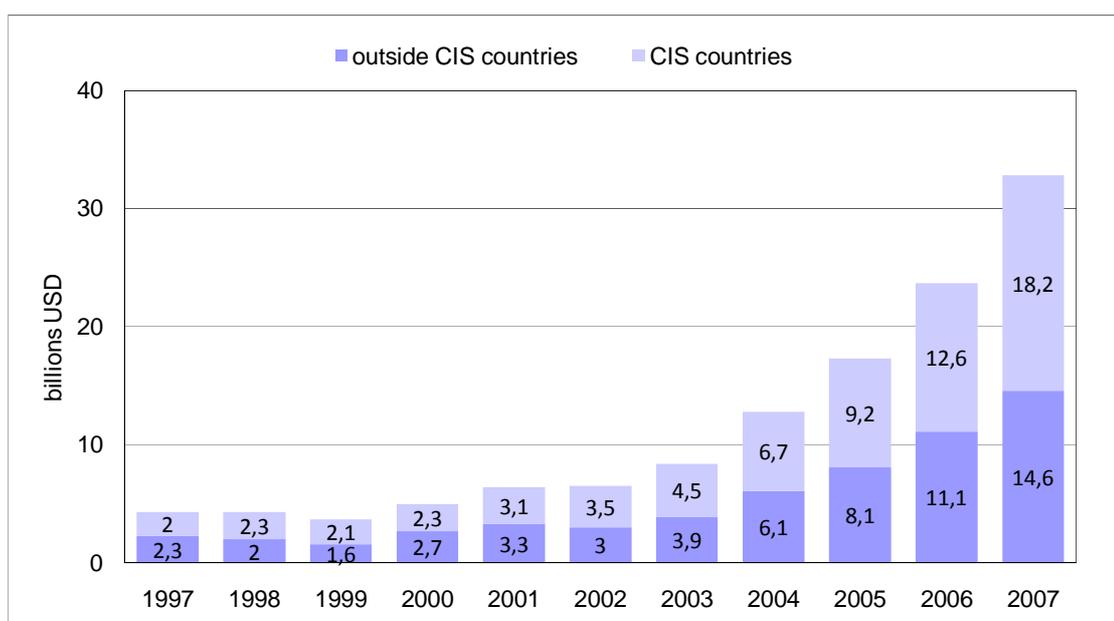
2.4.2 Foreign Economic Partners of Kazakhstan and Investments

Russia has being the most important trading partner of Kazakhstan. Regional interconnections of two states are very important. 72 regions of 89 in the Russian Federation have trading and economic relationships with the republic of Kazakhstan (Korolev 2005). The majority of them are in the sphere of fuel and power industry. Transport and communications is one of the most perspective directions of cooperation between Kazakhstan and Russia. From the point view of transportation development these two countries have the strategic importance for each other possessing not only wide national transportation systems but dominating geographical position in the region too.

The successful cooperation of two countries in transportation of oil and gas through Russian territory is strategically important. Kazakhstan is at the first place in volume of oil transit through Russia, and the major part of oil is exported in this direction. As estimated (2005) by the analysts of the holding “CJSC National Company ‘Transport Nefti I Gaza’ (Oil and Gas Transport)”, in the nearest future Kazakhstan will be able to bring the volume of oil export in Western direction through Russia up to 45-47 billion tons per year. Two main pipelines, Yzen-Atyrau-Samara and Caspian Pipeline Consortium (CPC) are used for the purpose (Korolev 2005). During the latest years the tendency for activation of Russian business in Kazakhstan is observed. With total volume of investments of 273.2 billion USD, Russia is on the fifth position among major Kazakhstani foreign investors (Korolev 2005). In general, the share of bilateral trade turnover constitutes about 20% of total volume of external turnover of Kazakhstan. In 2007 (Fergana.ru 2008) the turnover was equal to 16.3 billion USD (27% growth if compared with 2006).

Thus, the foreign trade turnover of Kazakhstan with Russia and CIS countries are persistently growing. It has grown from 10.21 billion USD up to 28.57 billion USD between 2004 and 2008 (Statistic Yearbook of Kazakhstan 2009). Kazakhstan is involved in active economic cooperation within EurAsEC. Signing of the agreement about Customs Unity of Kazakhstan, Belarus and Russia is opening wide possibilities. The parties also show the agreement of opinion on accession to the WTO. The foreign trade turnover of Kazakhstan with non-CIS states seems to be more significant (Fig. 3). Also having positive dynamics, the turnover with countries outside the CIS has grown sufficiently between 2004 (22.66 billion USD) and 2008 (80.49 billion USD) (Statistic Yearbook of Kazakhstan 2009).

Fig. 3–Dynamics of Import of Kazakhstan (1997-2007)



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

China is one of the most perspective partners of Kazakhstan herein. In 2008 the trade turnover of Kazakhstan and Russia was equal to 12.24 billion USD, it became much higher if compared with 2007 (9.2 billion USD). At the same time the export from Kazakhstan into People's Republic of China constituted (investkz.com) 7.7 billion USD (63% of turnover). 66% of export were made by raw-materials (53% – crude, 8% ores and concentrates).

Nevertheless, 90% of exported processed goods exported into China are the industrial commodities: 56% – metal goods (copper wire, cathodes, zinc, ferrochrome, rolled steel), fuel (11%), uranium (8%), leather (14%), and wool (2%).

At the same time the commodity composition of import from China is significantly diversified. 99% of import is constituted by processed goods (Newskaz.ru 2008). During the economic crisis of 1990s China played an important part in commoditization with cheap consumer goods. Today the actively growing economy of China is a very perspective and easily accessible market, where Kazakhstan is able to realize its raw materials. The realization of the project of an oil pipeline from Atasu into XUAR (Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region) is a major stage of energetic cooperation of two countries.

Raw material export diversification is the important step towards strengthening of Kazakhstani economic security. The most important direction herein is the transit of Caspian oil, which is the basis of Kazakhstani export. Today Kazakhstan is using several perspective corridors of oil transportation. Apart from the abovementioned Russian and Chinese direction, there's the realized project of Trans-Caspian oil pipeline through Baku into Mediterranean Sea. Major foreign investors are involved into Caspian oil production together with Kazakhstani national companies. British Gas, Chevron Texaco, LuKoil, Agip (Karachaganak), Chevron Texaco, ExxonMobil, KMG, LUKOIL/BR (Tengiz), Agip, ExxonMobil, Shell, TotalFinaElf, Inpex, Conoco-Phillips (Kashagan) are among them (Pompfret 2006). These companies are participating in mining of the most perspective reservoirs of Karachaganak and Tengiz.

Foreign investments are the instrument of economic diversification and global integration. As early as 1997, after London conference “Central Asia – Russia – China: from Geopolitics towards Geo-economy of Eurasia”, Kazakhstan was mentioned as the second (after Hungary) of post-socialistic countries by attracted investments per capita (Bragina 2003). Kazakhstan was the first CIS state, which received the status of a market economy. The European Union made the relevant declaration in October, 2000. On October 1, 2001 the USA took the status of the country with non-market economy off Kazakhstan. This significant achievement of a young republic is improving its positions before accession to the WTO.

Kazakhstan is one of the CIS leaders in attraction of foreign investments into economy. The statistic data of National Bank of Kazakhstan demonstrate that by March 31, 2009 the cumulative volume of foreign investments in Kazakhstan constituted about 127.9 billion USD. Moreover, the share of direct investments into Kazakhstan constitutes 80% of all direct investments in Central Asia. By various estimations over 60 billion USD of foreign capital were invested in Kazakhstani economy during the years of independence (Hitch 2009).

More than half of this amount (55%) was invested into mining industry, and particularly into hydrocarbon reservoirs. By the volume of investments, the main investors of Kazakhstan

are the USA, Great Britain, Italy, and Netherlands. Recently, the tendency of growth of investments from the CIS has being taken shape.

Moreover, today Kazakhstan possesses its own capital and is able to realize independent investment policy. Nowadays the total amount of Kazakhstani investments into foreign economies constitutes over 10 billion USD. This investments are mostly placed in Russia and other countries of the region. Kazakhstani companies are successfully working in European countries, Turkey and Israel. The sum of 2.5 billion USD is planned to invest into Kyrgyzstan.

This sum is four times exceeding the annual budget of the country. 2.5 billion USD will be placed in Russia, 1 billion USD – in Georgian economy, several hundred million USD – in Tadzhikistan, etc. (Kazinform 2007)

Kazakhstani capital is realizing several major projects abroad, for example, the center of logistics in near-Moscow Domodedovo (total sum – 700 million USD). KazMunaiGaz, Kazakhstani national oil company has purchased 75% of Romanian oil company Rompetrol Group NV, possessing the network of 630 petrol stations in seven European countries, for 2.7 billion USD (Kazinform 2007).

The attention of Kazakhstani capital is attracted to energetic sector in Tadzhikistan, transport and processing industry in Georgia, petrochemical and machine building industry in Tatarstan. In Turkey Kazakhstani business is investing into banking branch and tourism.

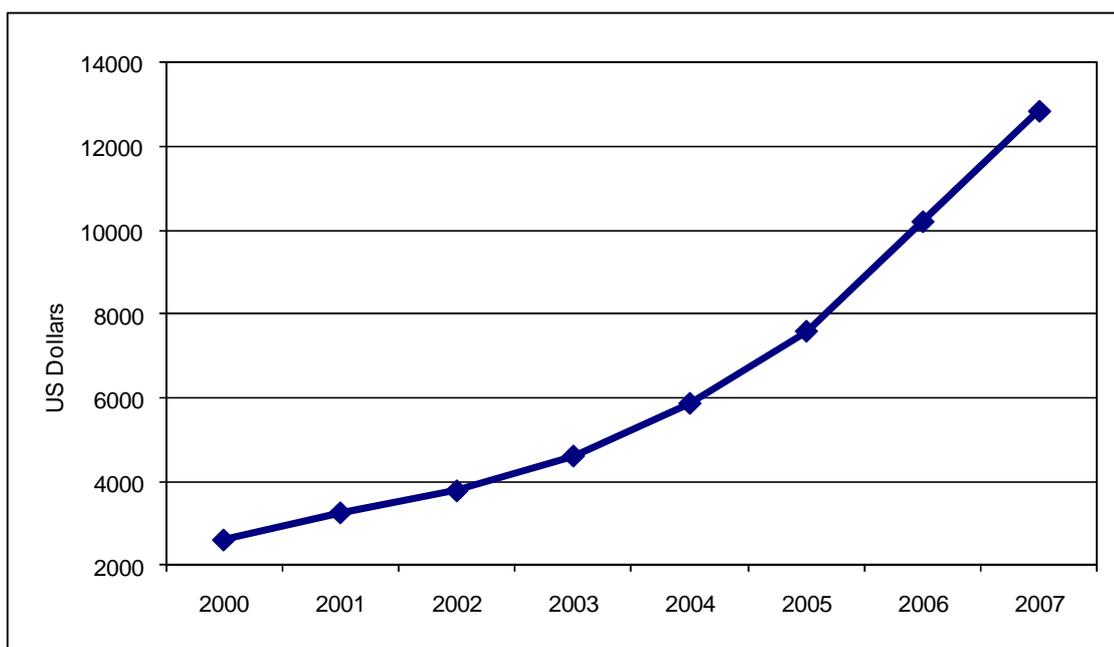
2.4.3 Economic Achievements and Development Prospects of the Economy of Kazakhstan

The evident progress of the economy of Kazakhstan is mainly related to the oil branch. Kazakhstan is planning to enter the top 10 of world oil exporters by 2015. “Total volume of industrial production is to increase twofold, and the share of processing sector in general GDP structure is to increase up to 40%”, Deputy of Prime Minister of Kazakhstan A. Musin noted. In accordance with governmental program, national banking system is to provide Kazakhstan’s turn into a financial center of Central Asia. National agriculture is to reach the level of East-European countries, and “Kazakhstan is to enter the top five of world grain exporters”, A. Musin said. These claims are grounded at Kazakhstani strategy of creation of competitive economy on the basis of innovational development. Kazakhstan is planning to enter the world’s top 50 of the most competitive countries.

Taking into account the abovementioned facts, it is possible to suppose that economic prospective of Kazakhstan are quite clear. Kazakhstan will be strengthening its significance on the world market of strategic resources, logically thus strengthening its regional and global strategic status. Economic leadership of the country is also beyond doubt. “Kazakhstan, which has long had higher per capita incomes than it’s Central Asian neighbors ...has since 2000 become the richest country in the region” (Pomfret 2006:60). The diagram illustrates the dynamic growth of GDP per capita. Nevertheless, it is important to take into account some possible future problems of the state. A number of questions should be taken into consideration while characterizing peculiarities and prospective of Kazakhstani economic development. First of all, as it was already mentioned, Kazakhstan is characterized by relatively low population

density (5.8 people per square km). This factor is adverse because of long land border. Moreover, a lot of regions of the republic have a near-border status (12 regions of 14 are near-border regions). Naturally, these near-border regions are traditionally concentrating economic activity and promoting integration of the whole state into global economy. Kazakhstani-Russian trade can be the example. Deliveries of goods into Ural region and Western Siberia constitute about 70% of this trade. The share of 12 near-border Russian territories makes 55% of total turnover between Kazakhstan and Russia (Sultanov and Rahmatulina 2006).

Fig.4– GDP per capita Volume Growth in Kazakhstan (2000-2007)



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

From the other point of view, the huge territory of Kazakhstan with its population and natural resources distribution can represent some kind of blanket, the edges of which are strained in opposite directions. The contradiction between economic interests of one of the regions and national priorities of geopolitical security can be dangerous.

On the background of international globalization tendency the raw-materials orientation of Kazakhstani economy can stagnate, because the task of creation of competitive industry in such a situation can become quite difficult.

The exceeding gap between social and economic development of Kazakhstan and some other countries of the region is also important. Kazakhstani economic progress makes the state attractive for labor and, as a consequence, illegal migrants. In addition raw-materials character of economy and agricultural sector are very labor-intensive. At the beginning extensive stage of development economic success needs additional man-power. Such a situation existed during industrialization and clearance of virgin lands. Surely, modern technologies and industrial automation reduce man-power requirement, but they need serious investments and highly qualified working staff. Due to its oil export, Kazakhstan is able to purchase leading-edge technologies.

The personnel problem is more complicated, especially if we will take into account its time duration. It is, of course, possible to invite required specialists, but creation of own training system in the country or abroad is much more important. Since gaining independence, Kazakhstan has been paying great attention to personnel training abroad. However, the main objective herein is education of highly-qualified managers or engineers. But the problem of training of qualified workers is also to be solved. And this task is quite difficult in a quantitative sense and from the point of view of the time needed.

Thus, prospering Kazakhstani economy is one of the factors, which determinate national geopolitical situation. Economic potential of Kazakhstan is growing, that is why we are able to suppose further strengthening of national geopolitical status. The possibility of Kazakhstan to satisfy requirements of its economy by own labor resources are in doubt. This aspect will be discussed further in an individual chapter.

Chapter 3

Demographic Situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan (End of 20 – First Half of 21cc.)

3.1 Population as a Factor, Determining the Geopolitical Status of Kazakhstan

Theory of international relations defines Population (people) as one of national characteristics of power. Population is classified herein as tangible assets or physical characteristics and is analyzed along with geographical situation, natural resources, economic development, etc. At the same time, population possesses some characteristics which can not be measured. These characteristics are morality, national cohesion, ideological motivation, etc. It is difficult to estimate them objectively. That is why for the purpose of differentiation of approaches the term “people” is often used in the course of consideration of non-measurable characteristics of population.

At the first sight, population size is one of the easiest and more convenient characteristics of population for estimation of its geopolitical significance. The researcher often undergoes a temptation to overestimate this factor in the course of power of country analysis. It is true to some extent, because population size can act as a powerful resource of economic growth. The example of China is characteristic herein.

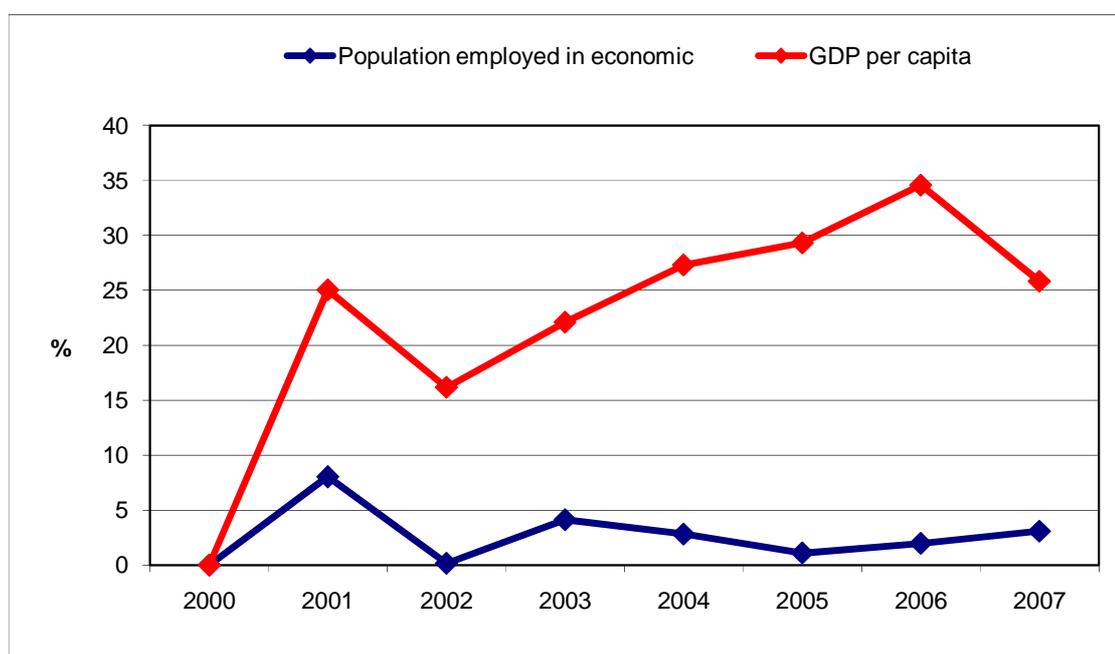
Cheap man power is one of the secrets of Chinese economical miracle, and gives an opportunity to organize globally competitive production. Population size also defines qualitative military characteristics. Moreover, qualitative indexes are the most important, when there is no technological gap between competing countries. For example there was such a situation during the cold war, when the USA and the USSR opened up nuclear weapon.

The following armaments drive had resulted into strategic parity, which was supported (apart from qualitative) mostly by quantitative indexes. Such a situation can be extrapolated on economic development. At the same time, population size does not always correlate with power, sometimes it acts as a problematic and even disadvantageous factor.

Densely populated countries, particularly India and China, could become absolute world leaders, if global geopolitics was built in accordance with quantitative population

characteristics. Lack of natural resources in a country is one of the reasons of misbalance between population size and national geopolitical power. As a rule the poverty of population, accompanied by economic and technical underdevelopment, is progressing. In such a state traditional values are preserved and demographic problems are often aggravating. It is a kind of an endless circle, and time, political will, and consistency in pursuing a goal are needed to release from it. It is possible not in every state, that is why poverty and overpopulation are the global problems today.

Fig.5– Correlation between Rate of Annual Growth of GDP per capita and Quantity of Population Occupied in the Economy



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

The characteristic of GDP per capita is the most useful characteristic in estimation of this problem. It helps to bring together population size and results of economical activity. It shows the extent in which population of an individual country is providing itself with material benefits. The higher GDP per capita means the higher standard of life in the country.

Kazakhstan has its own specific. Raw-material economical orientation makes earnings from oil and gas export the main factor of GDP growth. Favorable state of the raw-materials market can stimulate growth of GDP only at the expense of price increase without growth of export volume. This particular situation is represented in the Figure 5, when the growth of GDP per capita almost do not correlate with increase of the quantity of population occupied in the economy. Of course, such a situation can also be explained by labor productivity growth. But in this particular case the main part was played by increase of global prices on raw-materials, and first of all, oil.

The correlation between population size and economy is not bounded by GDP index. The age distribution of population is also a significant criterion influencing national economical prosperity. The absolute advantage is a significant quantity of working-age population (aged

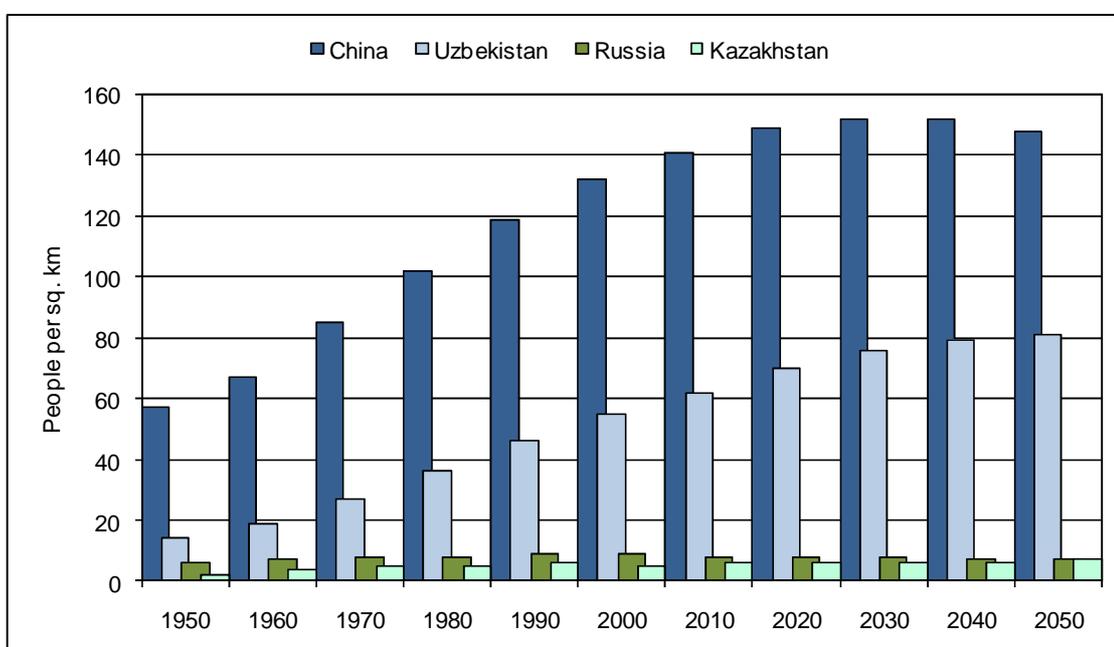
between 15 and 64) with small amount of children and pensioners. Extended reproduction and population aging intensify load on national budget and complicate economic situation in the country. Favorable age distribution of population is promoting quick growth of national economy.

In this context migration is situated at the junction of abovementioned problems. From one point of view migration is a traditional instrument of settling of the problem of overpopulation. It is often targeted at decrease of population pressure inside the country. There are a lot of examples, where countries stimulated immigration, and reduced internal pressure. In the most cases, such a policy is promoting the exceeding of spheres of influence of the donor country. For the recipient country migrants are the destabilizing factor.

The worst variant of situational development is separatism. At the same time the attraction of migrants is often the only possible variant of support of the economy with man power. Moreover, avoiding the formal definitions of terms migrant and migration, it is possible to find the examples of effective usage of foreigners as military power. Despite of some disadvantages, it is a reliable mechanism military might increase at the expense of hired armed forces. Thus migration has a strategic geopolitical significance.

The above-mentioned characteristics are fundamental criteria of national power in geopolitical context. In the course of detailed analysis they can be specified by characteristics of life expectancy, health, death-rate, population growth, age and sex structure, educational level, etc.

Fig.6– Population Density, Selected Countries



Source: World Population Prospects: the 2008 Revision

It is difficult to estimate the role of population in geopolitical status of a country. Alongside with power of country this characteristic is relative, situational and multidimensional. Nevertheless, we are still obliged to undertake an attempt to estimate the geopolitical role of

population. Especially if the demographic factor influences the objective of present research as a subject of geopolitics.

Kazakhstan is surrounded by the countries with the exceeding population size (Tab. 1). The population density is also incomparable: the population density of China and Uzbekistan is much higher (Fig. 6). The only exclusion is Russia subjected to deep economic crisis. This situation is not a favorable geopolitical factor, especially due to presence of strategic resources in Kazakhstan.

It must be taken into consideration, that temptation to capture these resources can overcome formal international legal limitations. Military argument can become one of the provoking factors. Naturally, the quantitative indexes herein are also not favorable for Kazakhstan. For example, in military context.

Tab.1– Population in Selected Countries (in thousands)

| Year | Kazakhstan | Uzbekistan | Russia | China |
|------|------------|------------|--------|---------|
| 2005 | 15194 | 26320 | 143170 | 1312253 |
| 2025 | 17025 | 32715 | 132345 | 1453140 |
| 2045 | 17801 | 36068 | 119098 | 1440289 |

Source: World Population Prospects: the 2008 Revision

“...by the end of 1990-s Tashkent had established the region’s most capable military force and could assemble a force of almost 130.000 personnel.

The reflected the fact that Uzbekistan’s defense spending outstripped that of its Central Asian neighbors and its advantages in exceeding them all in population, urbanization and industrial diversification” (Allison 2003:220). “China’s approximately 200.000 troops in Lanzhou Military Region neighboring Kazakhstan are alone almost three tomes the size of all Kazakhstan military forces” (Allison 2003:223).

If judged by the objective criteria, Kazakhstan is not able to win the demographic competition with neighboring countries by quantitative indexes. The only exit for Kazakhstan is to change its population structure. From this point of view the characteristics of life expectancy, index of demographic burden, educational level. These indexes can provide Kazakhstan with technological advantage in its widest sense, which includes not only economy, but medical and educational technologies, etc.

Nevertheless this is not the most important factor. The polyethnic structure of population is Kazakhstani specifics, which was formed during being a part of Russian Empire and, later, the USSR. Ethnic heterogeneity of population is also an important factor in the course of the analysis of Kazakhstani geopolitical reality and prospect. Ethnic minorities can become an effective instrument of destabilizing policy of other states. The worst variant of such a situation is inter-ethnic conflict with further separation actions.

Taking into account geographical peculiarities of the country, it is desirable to pay attention to regional differentiation, because the spatial factor can sometimes act as a disintegrating force. Population of Kazakhstan is extremely heterogeneous. Distances between centers of population inside an individual region can constitute tens of kilometers.

Moreover, ethnic and economic differentiation is present. As a result, for near-border regions it is sometimes easier to cooperate with neighboring countries. "There are human interdependences as well soviet administrative boundaries still prevail, and were designed to create numerous diaspora populations in border areas throughout the region"(Allison, Jonson 2001:25).

Thus, the demographic factor is quite significant for studies of national geopolitical status and developmental prospects of geopolitical situation.

3.2 The Polyethnic Structure of Population of Kazakhstan as its Historical Specific

Historically existing in the country polyethnic population structure, which includes Asian and European components, influence modern social and demographic situation in Kazakhstan and related processes to a great extent. In terms of quantity the Kazakhs, Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Uyghurs, Tatars, and Germans are the most important ethnic groups. Kazakh ethnos is the title component of Asian population of the country. Russian ethnos is dominating European component.

This situation is directly determined by historical process of formation of population of the country, which is connected with the colonial policy of Russian empire and the following period of building of socialism. Migration processes, caused by assimilation of the region, played the most important role. But objectives of migration policy, pursued at different historical stages, were different. Formation of Kazakhstani towns has become the major qualitative result of migration processes. It has changed social and economic structure of the country and has formed regional geopolitical character.

The genesis of Kazakhstani towns has its own peculiarities caused by administrative arrangement of regional territory during Russian colonization. Traditionally, towns are arising as a result of economic development of a region. Kazakhstan is peculiar from this point of view. The majority of its towns were founded as military outposts and strategic trading centers of the empire. In other words, fortresses were some kind of military bases. Their tasks were border control and assuring of security of trading routes on behalf of Russian empire. This peculiarity dictated not only predominantly military population composition represented mostly by Russian, but also its relative insulation from indigenous population. Thus, towns were populated by Cossacks as well as by trading and manufacturing population.

Due to accelerated extensive development of capitalism in the late XIX century Kazakhstan, together with other Eastern outskirts of Russian empire, has become a region of active colonization. The process of formation of towns in the region received a new developmental impulse. Within 27 years (1870-1897) there emerged six new towns. The quantity of urban population was also dynamically growing. In general by 1914 population of Kazakhstan has increased in 2.1 times and 37% if compared with 1897. This growth was caused by the great influx of migrants (Alexeenko 2001).

First half of XX century was also characterized by population growth caused by migration processes, which were influenced by all major historical events: World War I, Kazakhs' uprising of 1916, October revolution, New Economic Policy, famine and bad harvest of 1921, establishment of Kyrgyz ASSR, industrialization, and collectivization tragedy.

The census of 1926 reflected the next composition of population: the Kazakhs – 3.627 thousand people, the Russians – 1.275 thousand people, the Ukrainians – 860 thousand people, the Uzbeks – 129 thousand, the Tatars – 79 thousand, the Uyghurs – 63 thousand, the Germans – 51 thousand, the Koreans – 42 thousand, the Belarusians – 25 thousand, other nationalities – 86 thousand people (Sadovskaya 2001). Total population size constituted 6197.9 thousand people, total quantity of migrants was 1601 thousand people. Migrants were characterized as persons registered in the census of 1926 not in the settlements of their birth. Nearly half of them was constituted by migrant peasants and native population, who changed their place of residence before 1916. There was a positive migration balance in the republic. The quantity of people, who settled in, was by 638.8 thousand higher than the quantity of those, who got out (Gali et al. 1998). Migrants from European regions of the country preferred regions of dry-land cultivation. In Aktyubinsk oblast were 40%, and in Semipalatinsk oblast – 24% of migrants. These regions were similar to regions of migrants' departure by their climatic and soil characteristics. Moreover they had similar ethnic composition built up by Slavic population. South Kazakhstani regions occurred to be less attractive. Positive migration balance constituted 11% in Syr-Darya and 9% in Zhetysujsk oblast respectively (Gali et al. 1998).

Further change of national composition of population of the republic took place between 1926 and 1939. General population size was 6151.1 thousand people. Main ethnic groups were represented as follows: the Kazakhs - 2.327 thousand people, the Russians – 2.458 thousand people, the Ukrainians – 658 thousand people, the Germans – 92 thousand, the Tatars – 108 thousand, the Uzbeks – 120 thousand, the Belarusians – 31 thousand, the Uyghurs – 35 thousand, the Koreans – 96 thousand, the Azerbaijani -12 thousand, other nationalities – 197 thousand people. In general, between 1926 and 1939 there was the next proportion of ethnic groups in the republic: the Kazakhs – 37.8%, the Russians – 39.9%, the Ukrainians - 10.7%, the Tatars – 1.8%, the Germans – 1.5%, the Belarusians – 0.5%, the Uyghurs – 0.6%, other nationalities – 3.6% (Sadovskaya 2001) On this background a quick growth of urban population was observed (1927-1938). Its significance in economic life of the country was also increasing. Due to these factors, the rate of industrial development of the republic in 20-30s exceeded All-Union indexes.

In towns mining, metallurgic, and chemical industries were developing. Nevertheless, the rate of involvement of indigenous population in the industrial sphere was staying low. Moreover, a problem was boiling up herein. The influx of working stuff, engineers, technical specialists, and their families from other Soviet republics for permanent residence and employment became the main source labor supply.

Migration of population into the republic bore organized and not rarely perforce character. Migrants were working at shock-work constructions of Turksib, Karaghandy coal basin, Balkhash and other industrial giants: "...in 1931-1940 only within the project of organized

employment of working staff 509 thousand people came into Kazakhstan from other regions of the USSR. After completion of constructing of enterprises, railways, towns and working settlements, the majority of these workers and unemployed, who had found employment, stayed in the region passing into steady employment” (Gali et al. 1998:32).

The next cycle of migration expansion into Kazakhstan falls within Great Patriotic war period. Population size sufficiently increased due to the influx of specialists and worker evacuated together with their plants and manufactures. Totally, during the war years Kazakhstan accepted about 1.5 million of evacuated people. “In 1943, in comparison with 1940, generally in the USSR the quantity of workers and office employees decreased for 38%, but in Kazakhstan it increased for 7%” (Alexeenko 2001:33). Moreover, during that time the wave of deportation of entire peoples, whose autonomous entities were liquidated by totalitarian system, took place.

Active social and economic development continued in Kazakhstan during the after-war period. The industrial development program of the republic resulted in increase of its industrial potential, creation of big and small towns around raw-materials regions under development and metallurgical complexes under construction. During that period the increase of urban population size was observed, it was accompanied by changes in material life and social sphere. That period is also characterized by immigration processes, connected with organized resettlement from other regions of the USSR.

During the period of mass cultivation of virgin lands (1954-1956) the increase of rural population predominated the growth of urban population. In the whole, due to organized migration total population size increased for 1.5 million people. The proportion of twenty-thirty-year-olds, of people of capable of working age, as well as proportion of Russian and Ukrainian population increased (Sadovskaya 2001). By 1959 the quantity of rural population in the republic constituted 5227 thousand people, and it share in total population size reached 56.2%. the prevalence of rural population over tow citizens was registered in 12 of 15 oblasts of the republic, in five of these oblast the prevalence was higher than 70%: in West Kazakhstan – 70.5%, in Pavlodar – 71.4%, Kustanaj – 73.9%, Kokshetau – 75.6%, Almaty – 79.4%.

Ethnic proportion in 1959 was as follows: the Kazakhs – 2787 thousand (30% of population), the Russians – 3972 thousand (42.7%), the Ukrainians – 761 thousand (8.2%), the Germans – 659 thousand (7.1%), the Tatars – 192 thousand (2.1%), the Uzbeks – 136 thousand (1.5%), the Belarusians – 107 thousand (1.1%), the Uygurs – 60 thousand (0.6%), the Koreans – 74 thousand (0.8%), the Azerbaijani – 38 thousand (0.4%), other nationalities – 508 thousand (5.5%) (Gali et al. 1998).

National population structure of the country and status of the title Kazakh ethnos were influenced by complex and controversial demographic processes of the Soviet period. The proportion of Kazakh ethnos had a tendency to decrease up to 60s of XX century, when the ethno-demographic situation began to change principally. For the first time since joining Kazakhstan and Russia, the proportion of Kazakh ethnos in population structure started to grow.

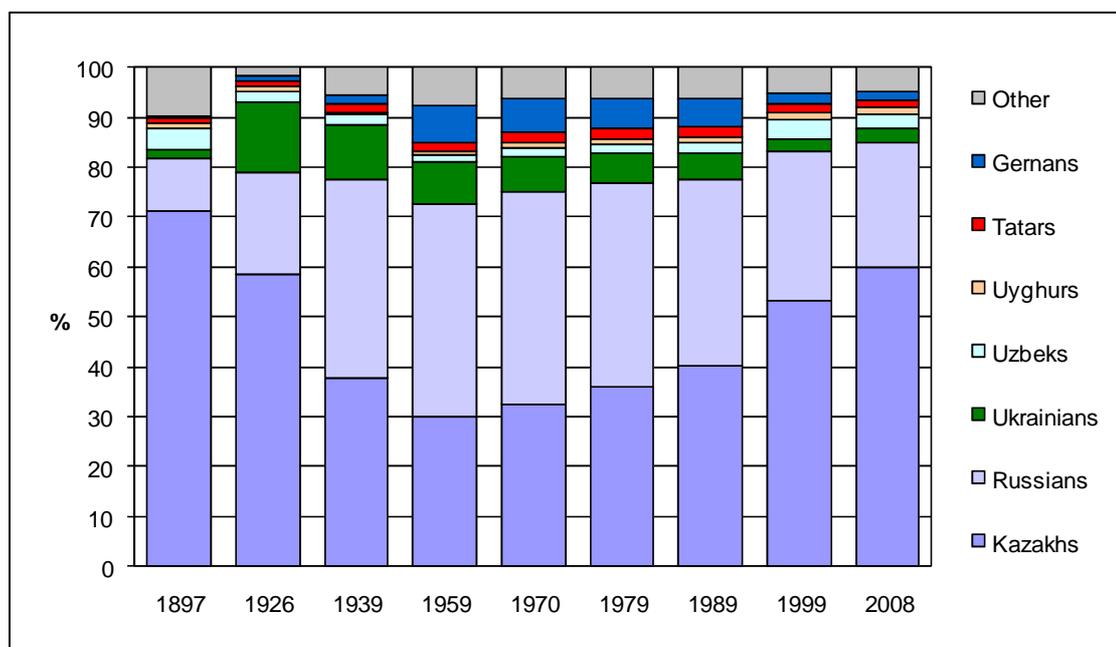
The beginning of 1970 became a final turning point, when the steady migration deflux of Eastern-Slavic nationalities. In 1980-1990 this process fastened, and caused the achievement by

Kazakhs of a new ethno-demographic status. In 1989 the Kazakhs had the status of relative majority in relation to other nationalities; in 1999 they gained the status of absolute majority.

The turnover in demographic history of Kazakh people became possible because of a range of such advantageous factors as decrease of effect of migration expansion, negative migration balance, relatively high level of natural population growth. The last fact with no doubt was the result of traditional agrarian way of life of the majority of native population. It reflected in steady growth of quantity of the Kazakhs and their share in population structure of the republic. Despite of continuous decrease of the share of the Kazakhs between 1897 and 1959 from 81.8% to 30%, the absolute quantity of the Kazakhs in the republic has significantly grown. Only between 1959 and 1970 the increase constituted 1 446.9 thousand people or 51.9% (Gali et al. 1998).

Thus in 1960s there was formed a basis for quick growth of the Kazakhs and their perspective turn into the most numerous ethnons on Kazakhstani territory.

Fig.7– Ethnic Structure of Population of Kazakhstan



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

By data of the census of 1979 the population of Kazakhstan was 14 684 thousand people. Among them: the Kazakhs – 5.293 thousand (36%), the Russians – 5.991 thousand people (40.8%), the Germans – 900 thousand (6.1%), the Tatars – 312 thousand (2.1%), the Uzbeks – 263 thousand (1.8%), the Belarusians – 181 thousand (1.2%), the Uyghurs – 147 943 (1.0%), the Koreans – 91 thousand (0.6%), the Azerbaijani – 73 thousand (0.5%), other nationalities – 534 thousand (3.8%) (Gali et al. 1998). These data show that population growth between 1970 and 1979 constituted 1 million 676 thousand people (13%). It was based mainly on natural increase. The Kazakhs demonstrated the highest index of 1055 thousand (25%), the Uzbeks – 47.0 thousand (22%), the Uyghurs – 27.1 thousand (22%), the Azerbaijani – 15.6 thousand (27%). It is clear, that the abovementioned national groups led mostly the rural way of life. The

lowest natural increase was characteristic of urban East-Slavic ethnic groups: the quantity of Russians increased for 469 thousand people (8.5%), The Ukrainians and Belarusians decreased their quantity for 35.5 and 16.8 thousand people respectively (Gali et al. 1998).

In late 60s and beginning of 70s in Kazakhstan the development of towns took place mostly due to transition of peasants in towns and natural increase of population of towns themselves. In 1979 the quantity of urban population constituted 7921 thousand people in absolute numbers; it demonstrated growth for 20.1%, the share of urban population constituted 53.9%. By 1970 the rural population of the republic increased for the first time for 1243 thousand people, but its share decreased to 49.7%. The entire urbanized areas with minimal quantity of rural population arose. For example, it constituted 16.8% in Mangistau oblast, 17.2% in Karagandy oblast, 24.1% in Zhezkazgan. Rural population also constituted the minority in Atyrau, East-Kazakhstan, Kyzylorda, Akmolala oblasts, but it increased in Almaty oblast and reached 81.9% (Gali et al. 1998).

In 1979 in country regions of Kazakhstan lived 6764 thousand people. During the inter-census period population increased for 293 892 people, the share of rural population reached 46.1% By that period rural population had lost 8 from 19 oblasts of the republic, including Pavlodar oblast. This tendency was registered by the census of 1989. In the beginning of 1989 by date of All-Union population census the population size in Kazakhstan was 16 million 199 thousand people. The quantity of the main ethnic groups was as follows: the Kazakhs – 6.496 thousand (40.1%), the Russians – 6.062 thousand people (37.48%), the Ukrainians – 875 thousand (5.4%), the Germans – 946 thousand (5.8%), the Tatars – 320 thousand (2.0%), the Uzbeks – 331 thousand (2.0%), the Belarusians – 177 thousand (1.1%), the Uyghurs – 181 thousand (1.1%), the Koreans – 100 thousand (0.6%), the Azerbaijani – 89 thousand (0.5%) (Gali et al. 1998).

Between 1989 and 1999 the increase of Kazakh population constituted 1.488 million people or 22.9%, and its share in total population size increased from 40.1% up to 53.4%. The quantity of the Russians decreased for 1.582 thousand people (26.1%), of the Germans – for 593.5 thousand people (62.7%), the Ukrainians – 328.6 thousand people (37.5%), the Tatars – for 71.7 thousand people (22.4%), the Belarusians – for 66 thousand people (37.1%).

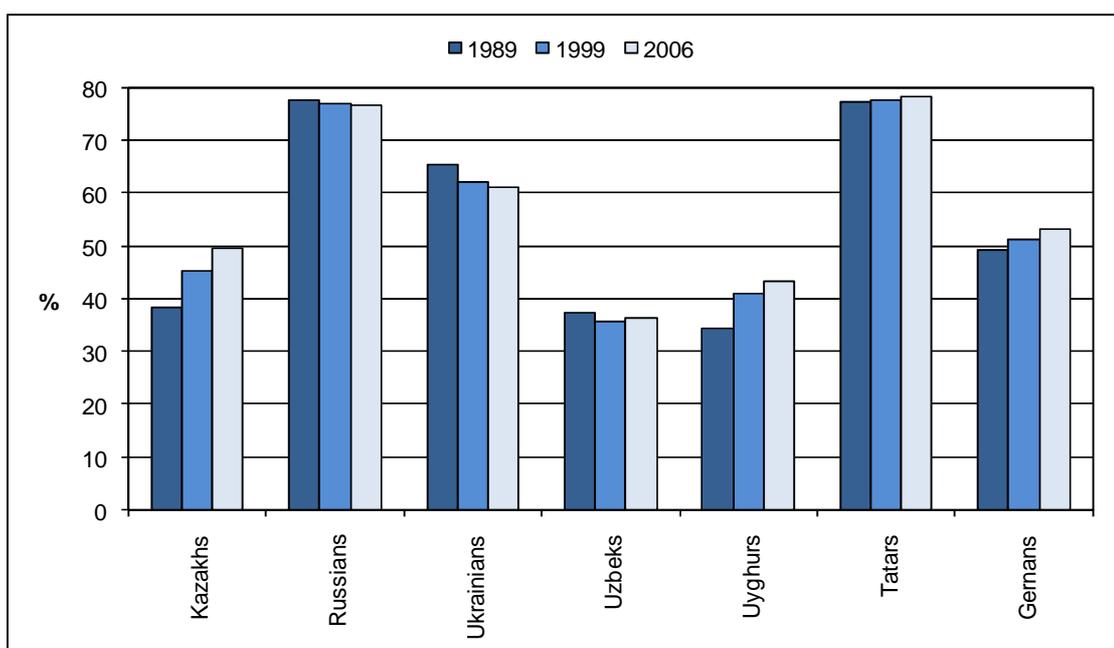
The quantity of rural population in absolute numbers constituted 7062 thousand people, and its share – 42.9%. Rural population dominated only in Almaty (78.0%), Turgaj (65.9%), Kokshetau (61.2%), South-Kazakhstan (59.4%), Taldykorgan (55.1%), Zhambyl (52.7%), and North-Kazakhstan (52.6%) oblasts. In the rest 11 oblasts urban population dominated. Thus, the share of urban population in Mangistau oblast reached 88.6%, in Karagandy oblast – 84.7%, in Zhezkazgan oblast – 78.1%. Rural population had a tendency of growth only in South-Kazakhstan oblast (growth in 1.8 times between 1959 and 1989). The native population, mostly employed in rural sector, was concentrated there (Gali et al. 1998).

This situation dominated till the beginning of 1990s, when the transition towards market economy changed this dynamics. Absolute and relative growth of rural population was observed during this period. From our point of view, it was related mostly to growth of emigration, and first of all – emigration of urban population.

Between 1926 and 1970 the gap in urbanization level of main ethnic groups decreased. In 1970 this difference between the Kazakhs and Russians it became twofold, whereas in 1926 it was tenfold. This decrease of gap in urbanization level was correlated with some demographic circumstances of first “five-years”, collectivization of agriculture, “cultural revolution” in the USSR. The Russians, Tatars, Koreans, who lived in Kazakhstan, were mostly urban ethnic groups, whereas the Kazakhs, Germans, Uzbeks, Azerbaijani were mostly rural. Between 1979 and 1989 quick pace of urbanization was characteristic for The Kazakhs – 53.3%, Uyghurs – 52.8%, Uzbeks – 30% (Gali et al. 1998).

Thus, during this period these two ethnic groups of Kazakhstan started to line up in social, economic and population development, though the difference between them stayed high. In 1989 the urbanization of the Kazakhs constituted 38.4%, of the Germans – 49.1%, the Uzbeks – 37.3%, the Uyghurs – 34.2%. At the same time the most highly urbanized still were the Russians – 77.8%, Tatars – 77.2%, Ukrainians – 65.3%, Belarusians – 61.6%, Koreans – 84.2% (Gali et al. 1998).

Fig.8– Urbanization Level of Selected Ethnic Groups of Kazakhstan



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Tab. 2: Number of Urban and Rural population (in thou.)

| | 1989 | | 1999 | | 2006 | |
|------------|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural |
| Kazakhs | 2488,9 | 4008 | 3615,5 | 4369,5 | 4402,2 | 4511 |
| Russians | 4669 | 1393 | 3443,6 | 1036 | 3056,1 | 9231,9 |
| Ukrainians | 565 | 310,7 | 339,1 | 208 | 2744,7 | 1743,4 |
| Germans | 461,6 | 485,3 | 181,6 | 171,8 | 1182,5 | 1044,6 |
| Tatars | 246,2 | 74,5 | 193,3 | 55,7 | 1801,5 | 4949,1 |
| Uzbeks | 122,9 | 208,1 | 116,7 | 254 | 1555,7 | 2733,3 |
| Uyghurs | 65,7 | 115,8 | 85,5 | 124,9 | 9983,3 | 1299,5 |

Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Thus, the Polyethnic structure of Kazakhstani population is the result of purposeful policy of Imperial and later Soviet government, related to assimilation of the region. Historically, the main economic successes of Kazakhstan were followed by new waves of immigration. Due to erected tasks, migrants often had a privileged position if compared with native population. First of all it is reflected in the level of urbanization of major Kazakhstani ethnic groups (Fig. 8).

On the basis of these data it is possible to differentiate between towns and rural settlements, and the difference has the distinct ethnic character. It promoted fast increase of Kazakh population. The situation has significantly changed in 90s of XX century – beginning of XXI century. The main result is the change of ethnic structure and increase of the share of Kazakh ethnic group. The migration also played an important part. It was represented by two interrelated processes of emigration of population and urbanization of selected ethnic groups.

The “washing-out” of European population from Kazakhstan was the result of prevalence of emigration processes over immigration. On this background the increase of quantity of the Kazakhs became more evident, especially due to repatriation of the title ethnic group from Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Russia.

Naturally, a change of quantitative indexes of ethnic structure is quite tightly correlated with changes of geopolitical objectives, national status. Taking into account the vector and dynamics of migration processes, it is possible to make a supposition about possible future decrease of ethnic factor’s (Russia’s) influence.

3.3 Influence of Migration Processes on Changes of Population Structure

3.3.1 The Repatriation of Compatriots

Historically, population size and ethnic structure of Kazakhstan is to a large extent the result of migration floods. That is why migration policy is the object of careful attention of the government. Taking into account the ethnic structure of Kazakhstani population, the increase of the share of native population becomes very important.

In the context of world experience, the policy of attraction of ethnic repatriates is quite effective. Repatriation, arrangement, and integration of oralmans (repatriates) are declared to be one of the important priorities of Kazakhstani migration policy.

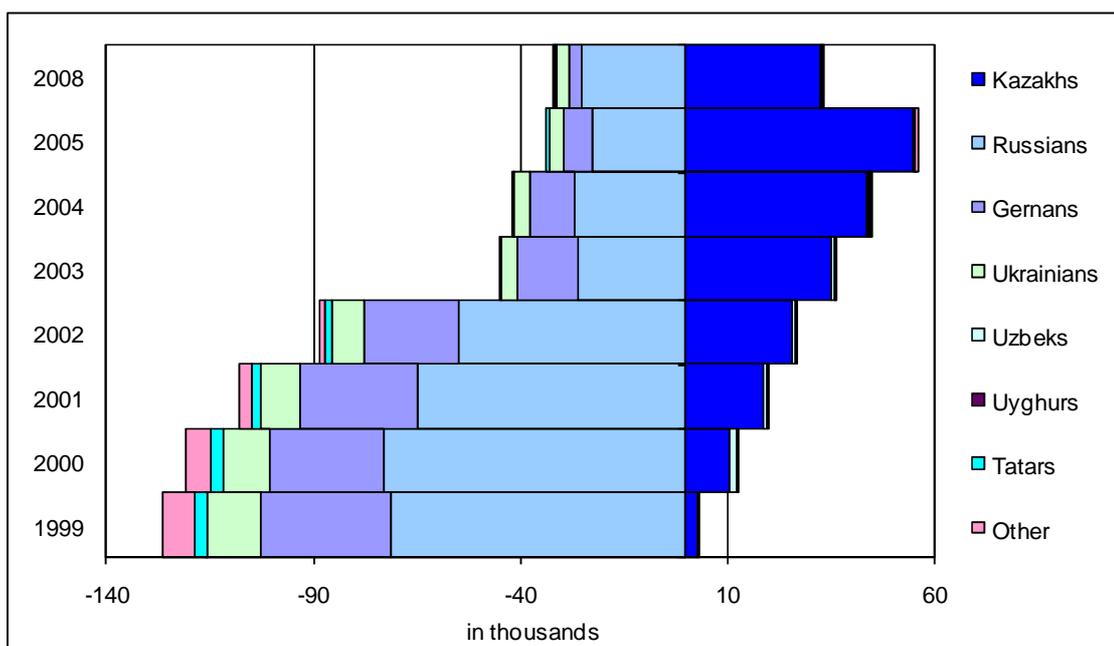
Kazakhstan has been successively realizing this policy since achievement of independence. Since 1993 repatriation of ethnic migrants is regulated by introduction of immigration quota. For example, between 2005 and 2008 it constituted 15 thousand families per year. In 2009 by the order of the President of Kazakhstan this quota was increased up to 20 thousand families per year. Generally, between 1991 and 2008 700 thousand people moved onto the Republic of Kazakhstan in accordance with the quota (Tashimov 2009).

To a large extent, due to this particular policy it became possible to overcome the negative migration trend since 2004, Kazakhstan is forming positive balance of external migration. Immigration of the ethnic Kazakhs is playing the decisive role herein (Fig 9). The balance of

Kazakhstani external migration shows that the greatest quantity of immigrants falls within Uzbekistan, China and Mongolia (Fig. 10).

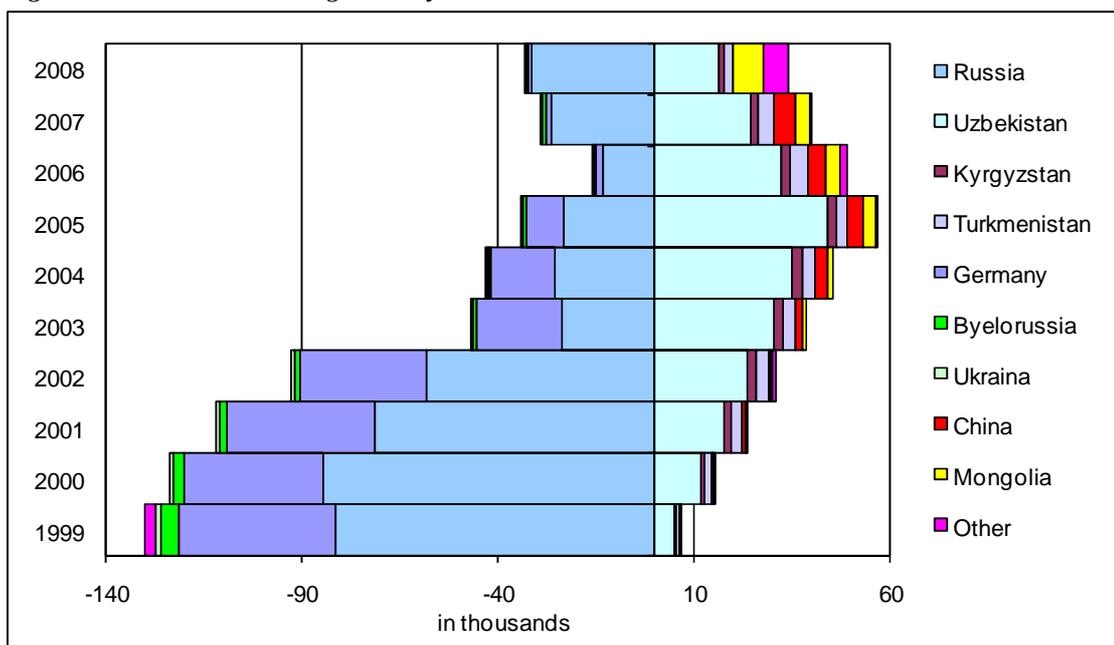
At the same time the relative quantity of immigrants from far-abroad countries is constantly growing. With no doubt this tendency is correlated with the potential of donating countries. For example, late in the 90s the quantity of the ethnic Kazakhs in China constituted 1.5 million, in 1999 in Uzbekistan lived 940.6 thousand Kazakhs.

Fig.9–Net International Migration by Major Ethnic Groups



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Fig.10– Net International Migration by Countries



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

As estimated (2000) within the frame of population monitoring made by the Center of Demography and Human Ecology of Institute of Macroeconomic Prognostication of Russian Academy of Sciences, 691.2 thousand Kazakhs are living in Russia. The Kazakh Diaspora in Mongolia probably makes 90-100 thousand people (Sadovskaya 2001).

By data of the World Association of the Kazakhs (WAK), over 5 million people or 30-35% of total quantity of the Kazakhs are living abroad, in 43 countries of the world. 80% of them are living in Uzbekistan, People's Republic of China and Russia. In Uzbekistan – over 2 million, in China – about 2 million, in Russia – about 1 million, in Mongolia – 83 thousand, in Turkmenistan – 74 thousand, in Turkey – 12 thousand, in Kyrgyzstan – 10 thousand, in Iran – 5 thousand.

In European countries: 180 families in France, 160 families in Germany, 51 family in Sweden, 20 families in Austria; 14 families in the USA, 150 families in Afghanistan, 15 families in Saudi Arabia, 5 families in Australia (Seydin 2003).

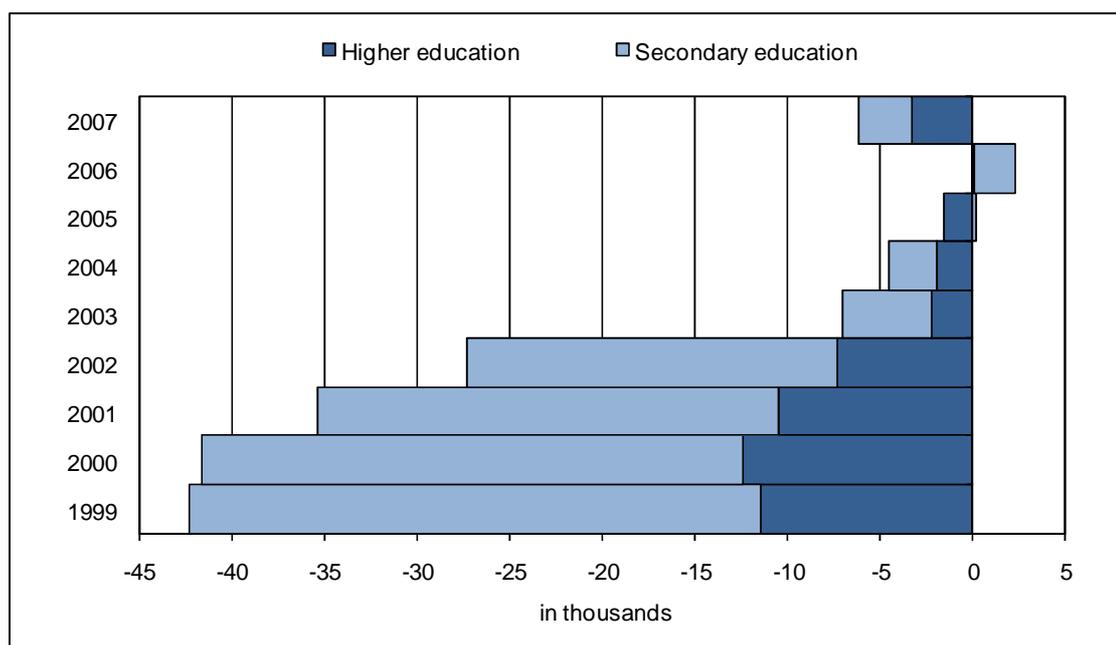
On evidence of WAK, the quantity of Kazakh Diaspora abroad is significantly underestimated due to various reasons. Official sources respond that 1 million 350 thousand Kazakhs are living in China, whereas there real number is reaching 2 million; for Russia these indexes constitute 800 thousand and 1 million of the Kazakhs respectively; in Uzbekistan – 1.5 million, and one more million of the Kazakhs in Uzbekistan are registered as the Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, etc. As estimated by WAK, up to 2 million Kazakhs want to repatriate into Kazakhstan from abroad (Seydin 2003).

Oralmans can not only increase the share of native population, but also promote the growth of a birth-rate and rejuvenation of population structure; oralmans are also viewed at the working power, which is necessary for Kazakhstani labor market.

3.3.2 The Labor Migration

Recently, Kazakhstan is experiencing the deficiency of qualified working power. “The economy is not satisfied with national education and training system. Oil-processing companies, for example, are often not able to find qualified staff members on the local labor market. Foreign companies need persons with a command of foreign languages and experience of exploitation of modern equipment”, E. Shakerimova noted (Interfax-Kazakhstan 2007). Birzhan Nurymbetov, the Vice-Minister of Labor is reporting, that in 2009 workers of low qualification constitute 30% of general volume of employed working power, and highly qualified staff – 70% (Tashimov 2009).

The dynamics of external migration in accordance with education level illustrates, that Kazakhstan is losing population with secondary and, more often, higher education (Fig. 11). The total volume of immigrants with high and specialized secondary education do is not sufficient for compensation of emigration lost. That is why the problem of attraction of foreign specialists is actual. Citizens of Turkey, China, Great Britain, as well as Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Uzbekistan form the basis of labor force in Kazakhstan. By some estimation, up to 70% of foreign working resources are involved into building, processing and mining industry and agriculture of the republic.

Fig.11– Net International Migration by Educational Level

Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Astana, Almaty, Atyrau and Almaty oblasts are the center of concentration of such migrants. Zh. Tyjmebaev, the Minister of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, claims that there's "a misbalance in education of technical service work specialists" in Kazakhstan (Kazakhstan Today 2008). Due to a high level of prices, only 22% of the college contingent receives technical education. The greatest deficiency is observed in technical and technological sciences. Due to the raw-materials orientation of the economy, it is very significant.

In addition, the Ministry of Labor of the Republic of Kazakhstan forecast claims that by 2015 the additional need of labor force will constitute 500 thousand people, with average annual growth per 60 thousand people. U. Shokomanov, the Vice-President of National Agency of Statistics of Kazakhstan, estimates that "taking into account the increase of labor productivity in Kazakhstan between 1999 and 2005, by 2015 the rate of employment of population will grow for 30.6% and will constitute about 9.5 million people. Thus, there will be the lack of 1.2 million people". (Interfax-Kazakhstan 2007).

The Agency is considering two possible variants of future development of the situation in the republic: when the economic growth rate will be lower than that envisioned by the strategy of industrial and innovational development; and, in contrary, when it will be higher than envisioned indexes. In the first case the need of labor force will be 693 thousand people, in the second – 1.8 million people (Astana-kz.info 2010).

At the same time, it is estimated that the major share of labor migration in Kazakhstan is illegal and is significantly threatening national security. Only highly-qualified specialists in highly-paid economic sectors do have legal employment. They are beyond the competition on the labor market, moreover they are making quite insignificant quantitative group.

The economic gap between Kazakhstan and its neighboring states, first of all South neighbors, is one of the main reasons of illegal labor migration. That is why Kazakhstani labor

market is so attractive for illegal migrants, citizens of Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Kyrgyzstan and even China.

There are no well-defined data on the quantity of illegal migrants into Kazakhstan from states of Central Asia. By rough estimate, over 700 thousand foreigners come into the republic, 600 thousands of them are representatives of the CIS (Astana-kz.info 2010).

The majority of illegal migrants is concentrated in big cities and South regions of the country, where they are employed in trade, private building industry and agriculture. By their presence, illegal migrants influence the labor market environment of the host state, because they have low requirements for wage rate and working conditions. By expert estimation, the difference of the age rate for native and foreign workers can constitute up to 50% (Astana-kz.info 2010). Illegal migration also increases the quantity of low-qualified working force. The country, which has a possibility to import cheap labor force, deprives itself of possibility to use new highly productive industrial technologies.

The existence of without-visa transit between Kyrgyzstan and China and, on the other hand, between Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan makes Kazakhstan attractive for Chinese migrants. The balance sheet item "Money transfers of employed" reflects the rate of export of working activity's income, thus being an index of estimation of working activity of Chinese citizens in Kazakhstan. During the last years the steady growth of this index was observed (74.3 million USD – in 2000, 143.3 million USD – in 2001, 286.2 million USD – in 2002, 421 million USD – in 2003 and 805.8 million USD – in 2004). In 2005-2006 the tendency of growth of money transfers from Kazakhstan into China and other countries stayed unchanged. By expert estimation, up to 90% of this volume is constituted by transfers of Chinese workers and business men, who are trading on Kazakhstani markets (Astana-kz.info 2010).

Kazakhstan is undertaking certain measures to retain control over this situation. One of perspective steps is differentiation of labor migrants in accordance with their qualification: foreign employees, season foreign employees, and business-emigrants.

Highly-qualified specialists with outstanding abilities in science, art, education, business and sport; highly qualified representatives and specialists with scientific degrees are to fall into the first group. Business-emigrants are persons, involved into innovational and entrepreneurial business. Low-qualified workers are defined as season foreign workers. This classification is supposed to make the system of quota distribution more clear and to define national priorities.

Thus, migration processes are of the strategic importance for Kazakhstan. The realization of migration policy has given Kazakhstan a possibility to change ethnic structure of population. With no doubt this factor is one of the most important defining geopolitical prospects of the country as an independent state.

At the same time, there's a negative migration balance due to educational level. Positive total migration balance deprives the state of a possibility to settle the problem of lack of qualified working power. The requirements of the labor market are satisfied by means of attraction of foreign citizens.

3.4 Distribution of Population as the Geopolitically Important Characteristic of Kazakhstan

3.4.1 Regional Differences in the Distribution of Population

As it was mentioned above, a huge territory alongside with relatively low population size is a specific peculiarity of Kazakhstan. From the strategic point of view this situation has certain advantages and disadvantages. Presence of own territory is the basis of existence of any state. Size and location of the territory are of the strategic meaning herein. Communications problem is one of the main disadvantages. Expenditures, related to communication systems maintenance and cost of goods and services, are increasing due to giant distances. Social and economic development of outskirts is seriously restrained by remoteness from economic and administrative centers.

In Kazakhstani reality the distance between a settlement and the nearest railway station often amounts to tens of kilometers. This situation is characteristic for the majority of Kazakhstani settlements (see Tab. 3). Such a situation was forming during natural development of the region. The settlements were founded in the most favorable for living areas, or in the centers of economic activity.

Tab.3: Number of Settlements and Distance to the Nearest Railway Station

| Oblast | Less than 20 km | 20-60 km | More than 60 km |
|------------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|
| Akmola | 141 | 266 | 218 |
| Aktobe | 88 | 103 | 190 |
| Almaty | 174 | 214 | 341 |
| Atyrau | 36 | 63 | 51 |
| West-Kazakhstan | 64 | 109 | 289 |
| Zhambyl | 163 | 98 | 68 |
| Karagandy | 79 | 137 | 269 |
| Kostanay | 140 | 219 | 316 |
| Kyzylorda | 66 | 89 | 53 |
| Mangistau | 4 | 13 | 16 |
| South-Kazakhstan | 216 | 230 | 104 |
| Pavlodar | 60 | 90 | 214 |
| North-Kazakhstan | 139 | 235 | 336 |
| East-Kazakhstan | 118 | 199 | 467 |

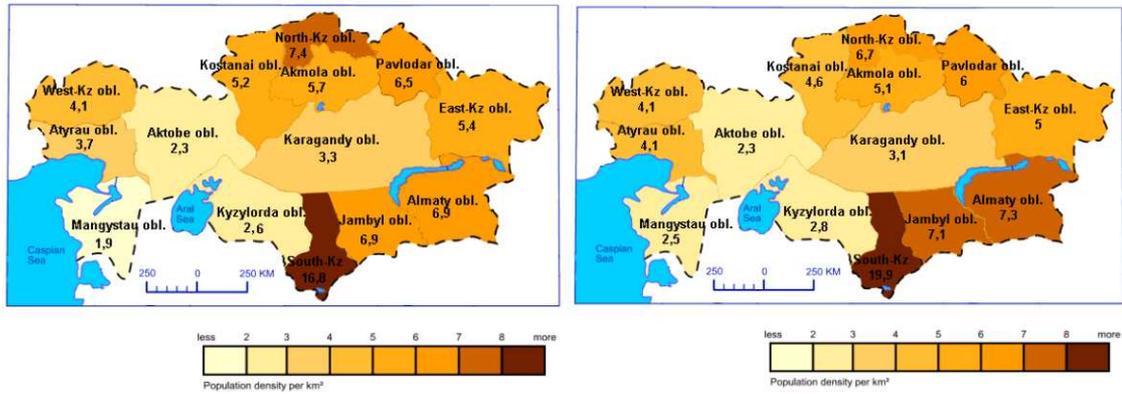
Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

On this basis the question of distribution of population arises. Naturally, the population is distributed heterogeneously, mainly due to practical advantages of living in one or another area. The greatest population density is characteristic of South regions of Kazakhstan, where natural and climatic conditions are the most favorable (if provided that the water resources are present).

As estimated by 2008, the next oblasts situated in the South of Kazakhstan are the most densely populated: South-Kazakhstan 19.9 people per square km, Almaty – 7.3 people per square km, Zhambyl – 7.1 people per square km. The lowest population density is in the next

oblasts: Aktobe –2.3 people per square km, Mangystau – 2.5 people per square km, Kyzylorda – 2.8 people per square km (Map 3).

Map 2, 3– Population Density in Regions of Kazakhstan, 1999, 2008

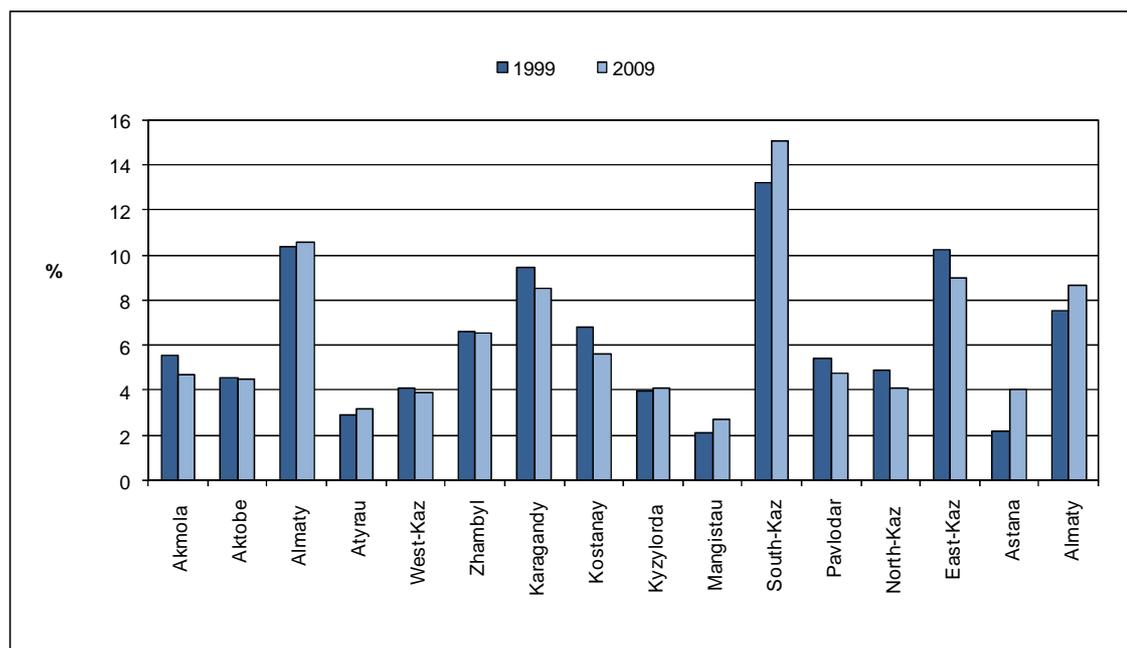


Source: www.state.gov, Tolesh, 2009

It is evident, that the gap between maximum and minimum indexes is sufficient and is definitely correlated with natural and climatic conditions. The least densely populated oblasts have desert territories, unfavorable for farm management and suffer from lack of water resources.

Unfortunately, density of population does not fully reflect the complex structure of its distribution. The share of population for various oblasts (Fig. 12) is helpful in more detailed understanding of the problem. In 1999 the largest share of Kazakhstani population has fallen within the next oblasts: South-Kazakhstan – 13% (1975553 people), Almaty – 10% (1556535 people), East-Kazakhstan – 10% (1532943 people).

Fig.12–Shares of Population of Kazakhstani Regions



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Map 4– Administrative-territorial division of Kazakhstan

Source: www.wikipedia.org

These regions have preserved their positions by 2009, but certain changes of percentage have taken place during the last 10 years. The share of South-Kazakhstan oblast has grown up to 15%, of Almaty oblast – up to 11%. The share of East-Kazakhstan oblast has decreased to 9%.

In absolute numbers during the last 10 years the next changes have occurred: the share of South-Kazakhstan oblast – increase for 20.6% (2381543 people), Almaty oblast – increase for 7.1% (1667143 people), East-Kazakhstan oblast – negative increase for 7.5% (1417764 people).

In 1999 the smallest shares of population were in West-Kazakhstan oblast – 4% (617370 people), Kyzylorda – 4% (595503 people), Atyrau – 3% (439357 people), Mangystau – 3% (314035 people). This order stayed almost unchanged by 2009. Mangystau oblast, whose share has grown up to 3%, is the only exception. In absolute number by 2009 population of Mangystau oblast has grown up to 425684 thousand.

Population increase constituted 35.6% during 10 years. This index is quite significant, second only after Astana city with its population increase for 95.5% during the same period. For comparison, population of West-Kazakhstan oblast has grown for 0.2% (618785 people), Kyzylorda for 7.7% (641563 people), Atyrau – 14.2% (501623 people).

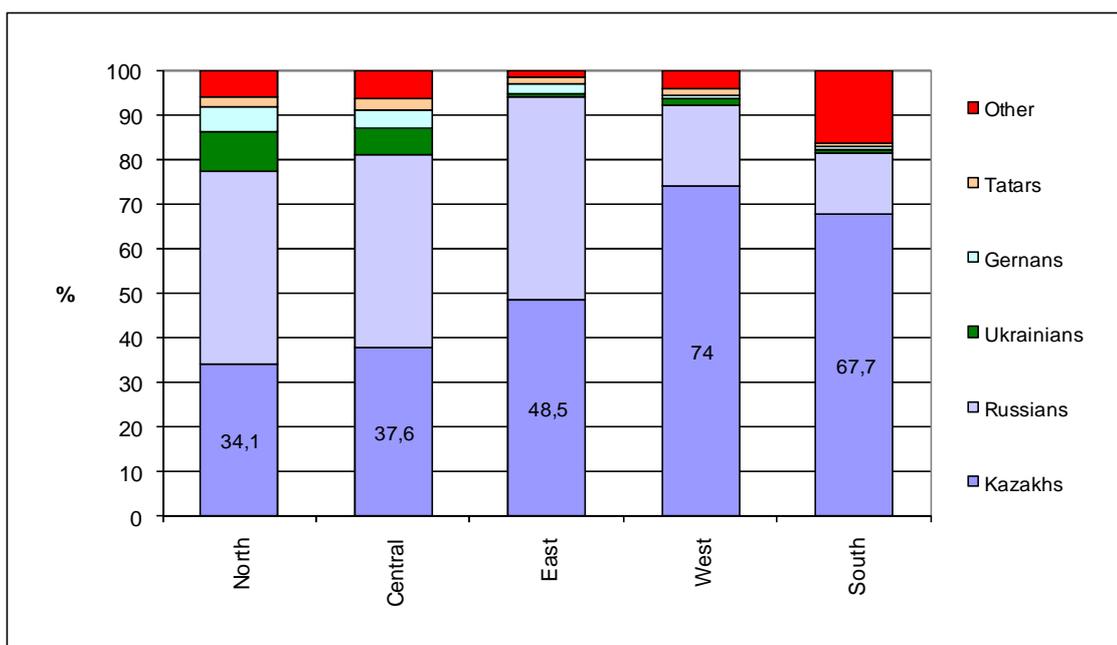
Generally, in absolute numbers the greatest population increase between 1999 and 2009 was registered in Mangystau oblast – 35.6%, South-Kazakhstan – 20.6%, Atyrau – 14.2%. Negative increase was observed in Karagandy oblast – 4.6%, Pavlodar – 7.4%, East-Kazakhstan – 4.5%, Akmola – 10.5%, North-Kazakhstan – 10.8%, Kostanay – 12.9%.

In this situation characteristic decrease of the majority of regions of Northern and Central Kazakhstan (Akmola, Karagandy, Kostanay, Pavlodar, North-Kazakhstan) was observed. This change is to a certain extent connected with ethnic structure of abovementioned regions. Due to ethnic differentiation, Kazakhstan can be represented (Alexeenko 2000) as 5 regions:

North (Akmola, Kostanay, Pavlodar, North-Kazakhstan oblasts); Center (Karagandy oblast); East (East-Kazakhstan oblast); West (Aktobe, Atyrau, West-Kazakhstan, Mangistau oblasts); South (Almaty, Zhambyl, Kyzylorda, South-Kazakhstan oblasts).

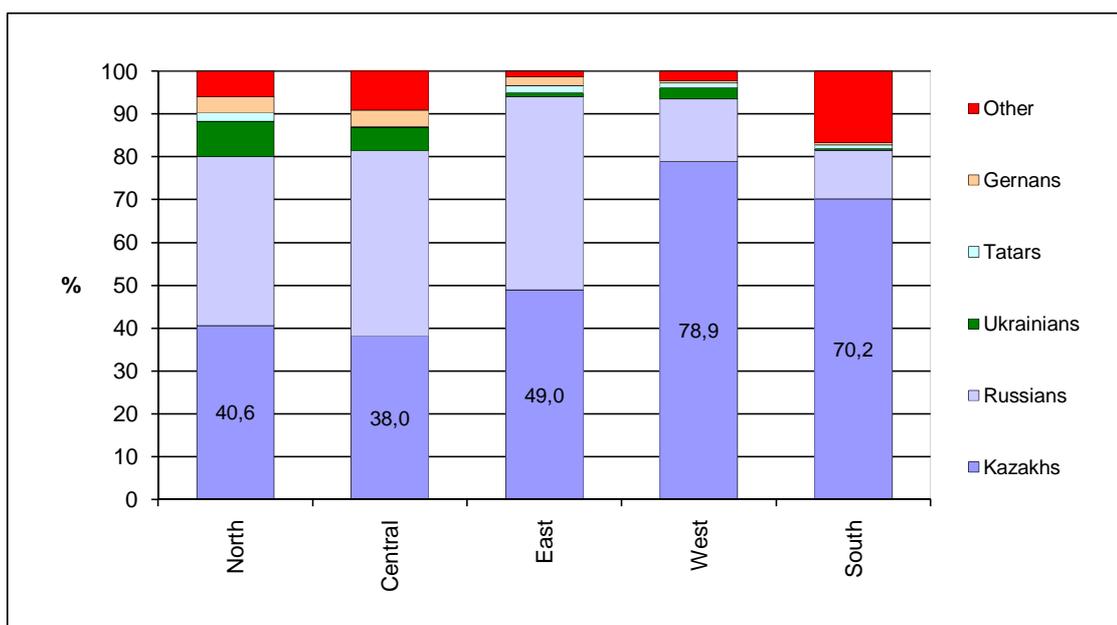
Traditionally, native population has the greatest concentration in Southern and Western Kazakhstan, whereas European population predominately lives in Northern, Central and Eastern Kazakhstan (Fig. 13-14).

Fig.13– Ethnic Structure of Population in Regions of Kazakhstan, 1999



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

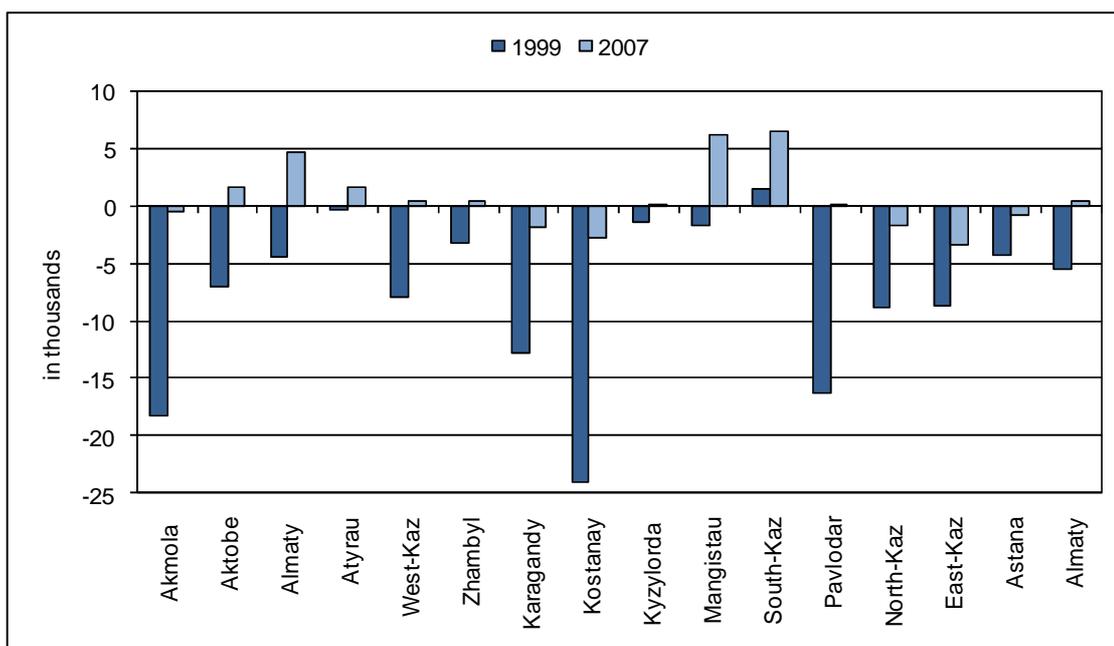
Fig.14: Ethnic Structure of Population in Regions of Kazakhstan, 2006



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

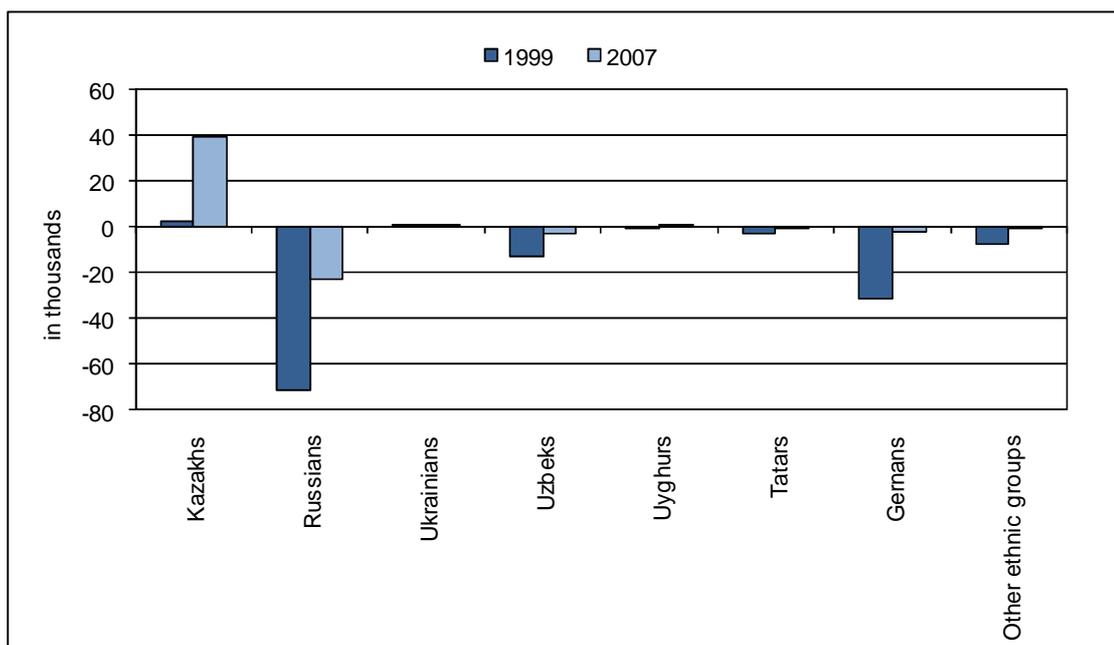
The dynamics of ethnic structure between 1999 and 2006 shows the growth of the share of native population in all 5 regions. The greatest increase of the share of native population was registered in the North (34.1-40.6%), West (74-78.9%) and South (67.7-70.2%) of Kazakhstan. The situation was to some extent influenced by the difference of natural population increase, but migration processes in these regions played the most important role. The balance of external migration in 1999 and 2007 reflects significant losses in Russian-speaking regions (Fig. 15).

Fig.15– Net International Migration by Regions of Kazakhstan



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Fig.16–Net International Migration by Ethnic Groups



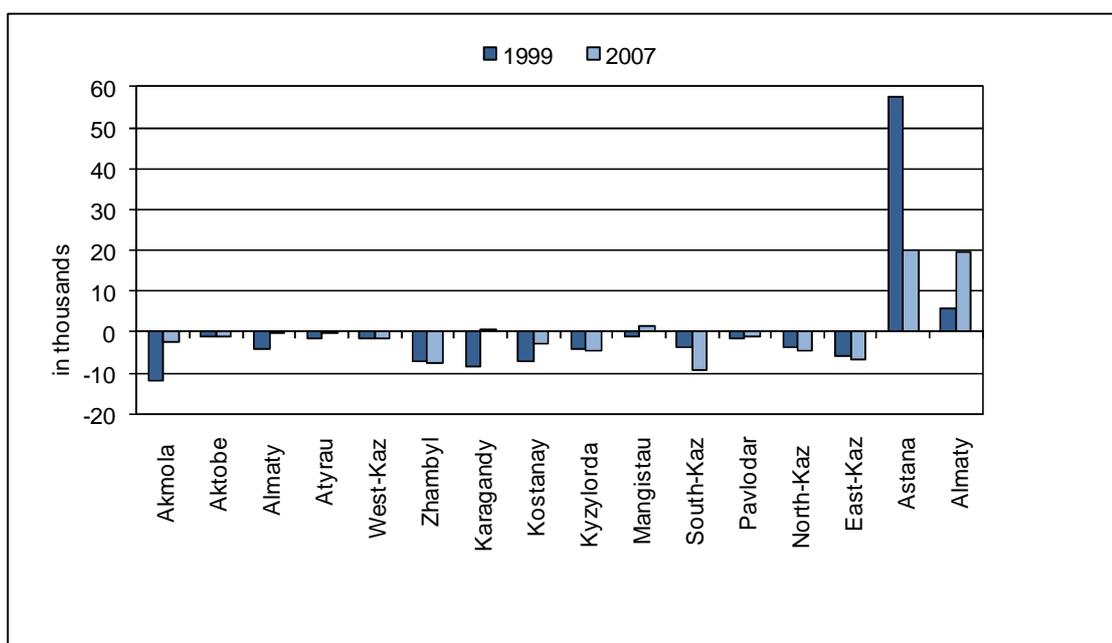
Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

In 1999 all the regions were losing their population, in 2007 Aktobe, Almaty, Atyrau, Zhambyl, Mangistau oblasts and Southern Kazakhstan had positive migration balance. The share of Kazakh population in these regions is the highest. Positive migration balance is guaranteed by attraction of oralmans.

Thus, the decrease of the share of Northern, Central and Eastern regions is determined by emigration of Russian population. Data on external migration for major ethnic groups can be a confirmation (Fig. 16). The outflow of Russian population has significantly decreased if compared to 1999, but the balance is still negative. Nevertheless, we can suppose, that in future the influence of emigration as significant factor, which determines population distribution between various regions, will decrease. Positive changes in social and economic development of Kazakhstan and internal political stability promote this reduction.

Internal migration also influences the distribution of population. Balance of internal migration shows, that the majority of oblasts are losing population. In 2007 positive balance was only in Karagandy (730 people) and Mangistau (1266 people) oblasts and Astana (20095 people) and Almaty (19488 people) cities. Economic attractiveness of abovementioned centers is an explanation (Fig. 17). Astana and Almaty are the cities with the status of capitals. During the years of independence they have become the most important centers of economic activity of the country.

Fig.17– Net Regional Migration



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Astana has received the great developmental stimuli in 1997 with gaining of the status of the capital. After that the building boom together with active development of other economical branches (first of all, various services) has begun in the city. Almaty is a major trading center due to its advantageous location and neighborhood of China. Emigration increase of these cities significantly exceeds that of Karagandy and Mangistau oblasts.

Mangistau oblast is attractive as one of the major centers of oil and gas industry of Kazakhstan. Karagandy oblast is attractive due to its advantageous geographical location. It is situated not far from Astana city, but accommodation prices are significantly lower than in the capital. This factor is attracting migrants very much.

In 2007 the lowest number of loss from internal migration was registered in Atyrau (-39 people), Almaty oblast (-445 people), Pavlodar (-1005 people), Aktobe (-1114 people), West-Kazakhstan (-1365 people) oblasts. For the comparison, in 1999 these indexes constituted: Atyrau (-1470 people), Almaty oblast (-4144 people), Pavlodar (-1683 people), Aktobe (-1230 people), West-Kazakhstan (-1391 people) regions.

The highest number of population loss from internal migration was in South-Kazakhstan (-9331 people), Zhambyl (-7496 people), East-Kazakhstan oblast (-6558 people), Kyzylorda (-4529 people), South-Kazakhstan oblast (-4520 people), Kostanay (-2782 people) and Akmola (-2395 people) oblasts. In 1999 these indexes constituted: South-Kazakhstan oblast (-3869 people), Zhambyl (-7194 people), East-Kazakhstan oblast (-5757 people), Kyzylorda (-4040 people), South-Kazakhstan oblast (-3798 people), Kostanay (-7035 people) and Akmola (-12121 people).

Thus, between 1999 and 2007 Mangistau and Atyrau have preserved their positions as the region with the lowest number of population outflow. Karagandy and Akmola oblasts have also shown the decrease of population outflow. At the same time the population outflow from Zhambyl and South-Kazakhstan oblasts has significantly increased.

During the relatively short period two major centers attracting migrants were formed in Kazakhstan. They are Astana in the North and Almaty in the South. Moreover, the region of Western Kazakhstan is relatively attractive too. These poles, due to their economic advantages, are attracting capable of working, active population, which is migrating with a purpose of gaining a higher wage and better living conditions. These poles do attract the most competitive social layers with relevant educational level and professional skills.

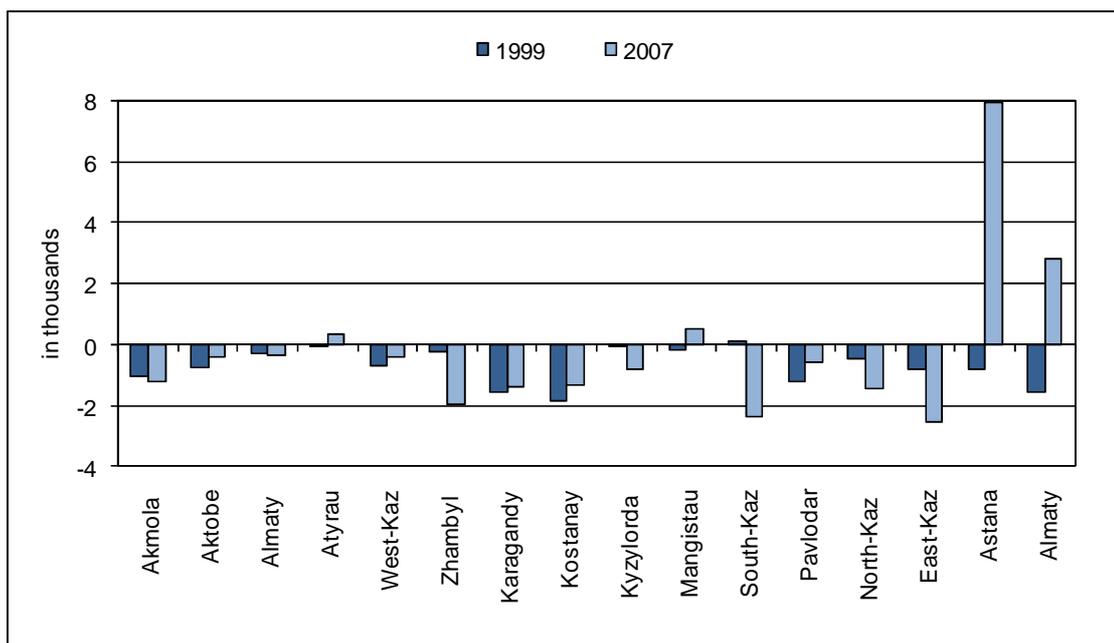
3.4.2 Regional Changes of Some Characteristics of Population Structure

Balance of migration due to educational level can serve an example. It is obvious, that migration trends due to educational level coincide with internal migration indexes. In 2007 Astana (7945 people), Almaty (2801 people), as well as Atyrau (318 people) and Mangistau (486 people) in Western Kazakhstan attracted migrants with higher education (Fig. 18).

Other regions had negative migration balance in 1999 and 2007. In 2007 the greatest losses fell within East-Kazakhstan (-2546 people), South-Kazakhstan (-3247 people) oblasts and Zhambyl (-1967 people).

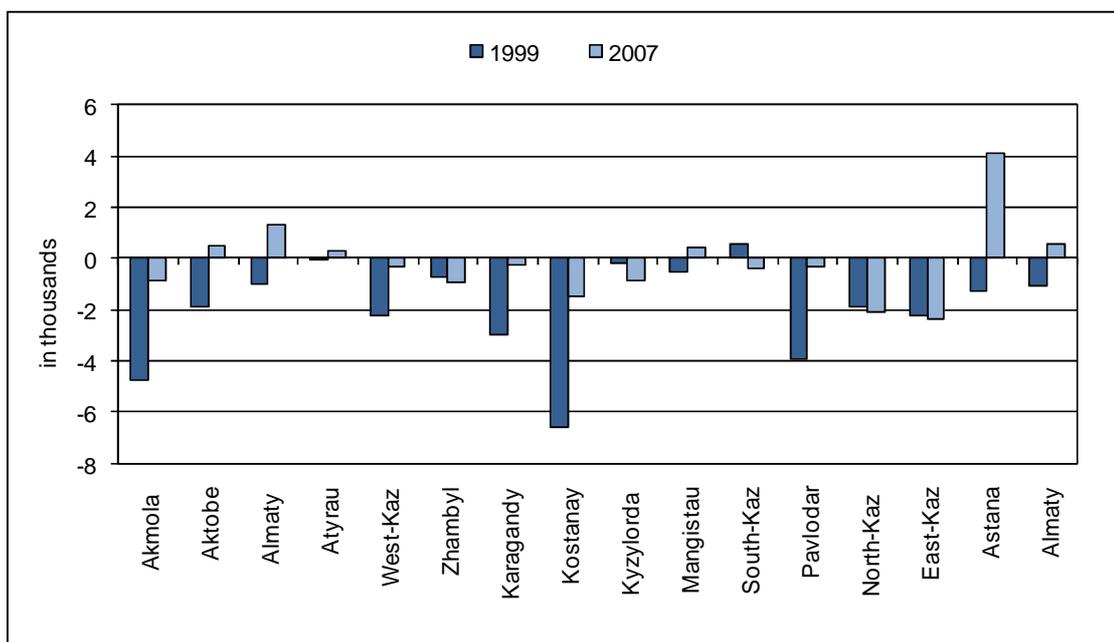
The next situation is characteristic of specialized secondary education. In 2007 positive balance of migration had Astana (4083 people) and Almaty (1348 people) cities and Western Kazakhstan: Aktobe (479 people), Mangistau (409 people), Atyrau (284 people). In 2007 the greatest losses fell within Kostanay (-1474 people), South-Kazakhstan oblast (-2124 people), East-Kazakhstan oblast (-2400 people). Other regions had negative balance of migration in 1999 and 2007 (Fig. 19).

Fig.18– Net International Migration by Educational Level, Higher Education



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Fig.19– Net International Migration by Educational Level, Specialized Secondary Education

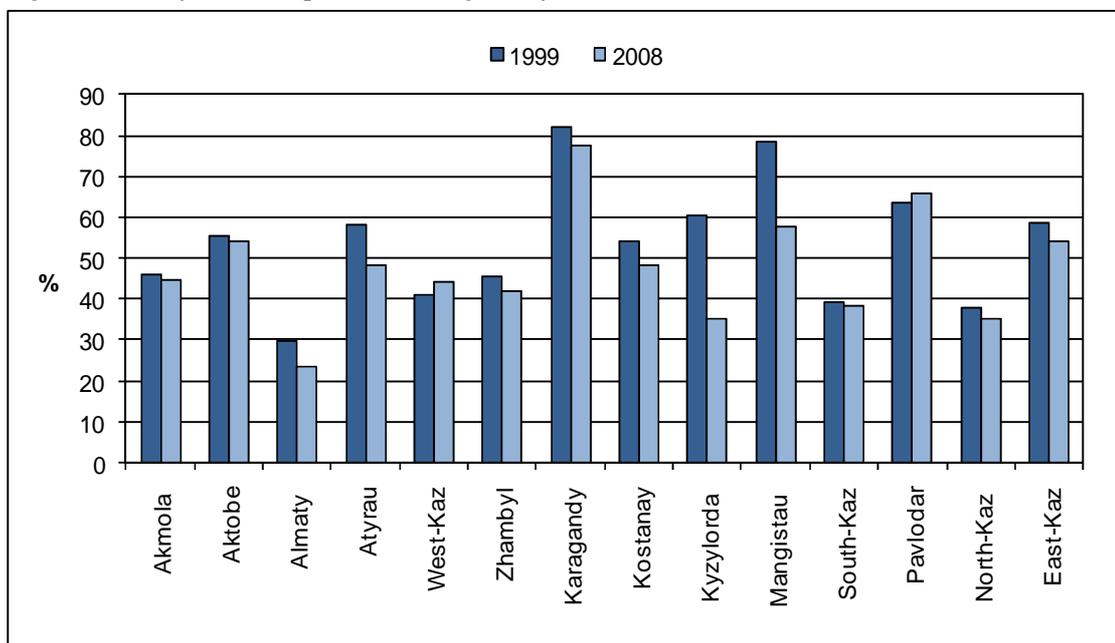


Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Population distribution and migration are also influencing urbanization processes. Between 1999 and 2008 significant changes in the level of urbanization of Kazakhstani regions have happened. First of all, the increase of the share of urban population was registered almost in all oblasts. The most evident changes have effected: Kyzylorda oblast, where the share of urban population has decreased from 61% to 35%, Mangistau – decrease from 78% to 58%, Atyrau –

decrease from 58% to 48%. The share of urban population has increased only in West-Kazakhstan oblast from 41% to 44%, and Pavlodar oblast – from 63% to 66%.

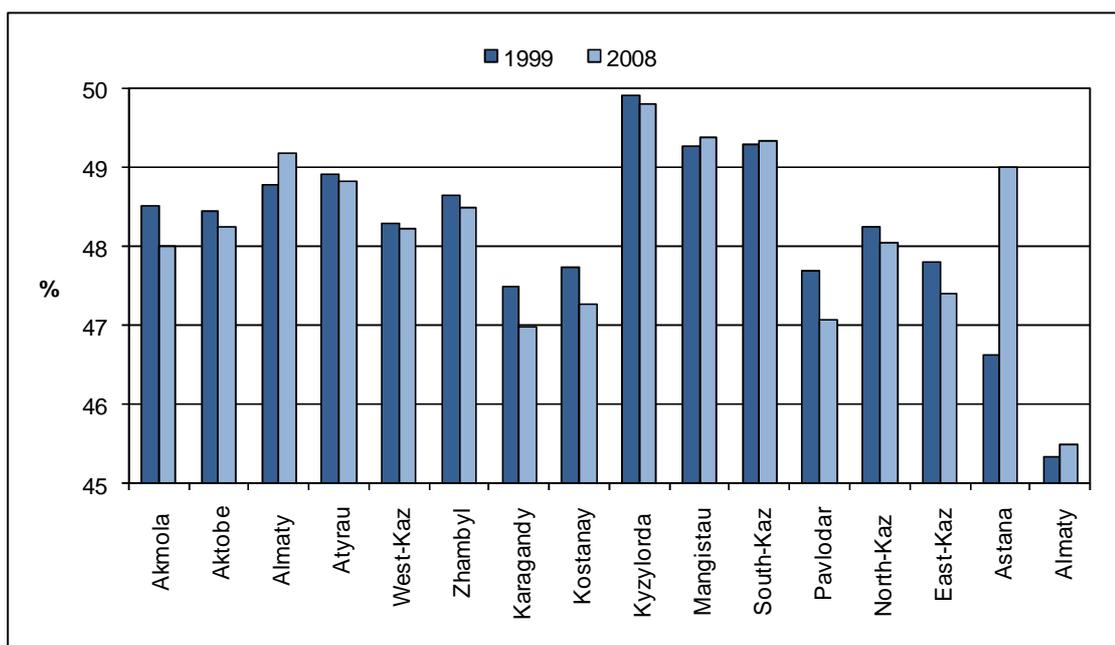
Fig.20– Share of Urban Population in Regions of Kazakhstan



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

In 2008 Karagandy, Pavlodar and Mangistau oblasts were the most urbanized. The lowest proportion of urban population was in South-Kazakhstan oblast – 38%, North-Kazakhstan oblast – 35%, Kyzylorda – 35%, Almaty – 23%. This situation has arisen from economic peculiarities of regions (Fig. 20).

Fig.21– Proportion of Male Population in Regions of Kazakhstan



Source: Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan

The important changes of gender population structure took place between 1999 and 2008. The decrease of male population was registered in the majority of regions. At the same time the share of male population has increased in Almaty city and Almaty oblast, Mangistau oblast.

The most significant increase of the share of male population was observed in Astana city (from 46% to 49%). The largest share of male population is in Kyzylorda – about 50%, Mangistau – about 49%, South-Kazakhstan oblast – about 49%. The lowest proportion of male population is in Almaty oblast – about 45%, and Pavlodar oblast – about 47% (Fig.21).

The last two oblasts, being industrial ones, are demonstrating a certain contradiction. Apparently, the existing situation is, to a great extent, the result of migration trends of Kazakhstan.

Thus, population distribution is a strategically important for Kazakhstan characteristic. This process is strictly correlated with economic peculiarities and natural and climate conditions of Kazakhstani regions.

There are three major poles, which are attracting migrants in Kazakhstan. They are: Astana and Almaty cities and the region of Western Kazakhstan. Such a situation causes a problem of development of Kazakhstani regions, because the majority of oblasts look depressive from the point of view population distribution.

The outflow of qualified specialists, the decrease of the proportion of urban population and the decrease of the share of male population are observed. This situation does not promote the long-term stability. To avoid further difficulties, Kazakhstan is to diversify its centers of economic activity. Astana is a good example of such measures.

Conclusion

The research, performed on the problems of geopolitical status of Kazakhstan and population development, gave us a possibility to answer the research questions as follows:

1. Geopolitical strategy acknowledges the importance of the population factor for estimation of national geopolitical status and prospects of geopolitical development. At the same time, the majority of theorists of geopolitics, taking into account demographic characteristics, nevertheless prefer to build own theories on the basis of more traditional geopolitical indexes.

First of all, this is the interconnection between political and economic priorities. Modern geopolitical tendencies allow us to make a supposition about further strengthening of population as the factor of geopolitical analysis.

2. The strategic direction of Kazakhstani development is the complex economic, social and political modernization of the country. Population development is officially recognized as strategically important. The improvement of quality of living of population, the support of family, the repatriation of compatriots are the most important priorities.

3. Kazakhstan is attractive as a strategic partner in two major directions of cooperation: economic, political and military. Kazakhstan possesses strategic natural resources as well as the possibility to fulfill transitional functions, connecting Eastern and European markets.

From military and political point of view, Kazakhstan is a convenient ground for consolidating of positions in Central Asia with prospects of control of initiatives of global and regional centers of power. Political stability of the country is of great importance herein, being the factor, which is strengthening a long-term partnership.

The realization of Kazakhstani model of multi-vector policy is strengthening global and regional reputation of the country. Kazakhstan has enlisted support of global powers, thus receiving necessary guaranties of security, strengthening own sovereignty, and promoting regional stability.

4. Successful economy of Kazakhstan is the most important factor, which is defining present geopolitical status of the country. Kazakhstan is one of the leading post-Soviet states in Central Asia due to the rate of economic development. Kazakhstani economic potential is very high, and this factor will promote further strengthening of national geopolitical positions. The raw-materials orientation of the economy is a negative aspect, but the state is making attempts of improvement of the situation and economic diversification.

5. In the course of analysis of geopolitical prospects of Kazakhstan it is very important to take into account migration tendencies. Tight interconnection of Kazakhstani population development with migration processes is an important peculiarity, which are seriously influencing population structure: ethnic structure, educational level, etc.
6. Quantitative changes of ethnic structure is tightly correlated with changes of geopolitical prospects, national status. Kazakhstan is quite dynamically increasing the share of its native population. Simultaneous reduce of the share of Russian-speaking population results in decrease of Russian influence in future geopolitical perspective, and strengthening of national independence.
7. Migration processes are strategically important for Kazakhstan, to a certain extent, they are determining dynamical changes in population structure. Negative balance of migration exchange due to educational level is one of negative aspects. Positive net external migration deprives the country of a possibility to settle the problem of qualified working power. Labor market's requirements are often satisfied by virtue of attraction of foreign labor force.
8. Due to geographical peculiarities of the country and, first of all, size of its territory, the strategic for Kazakhstan problem of population distribution is to be carefully considered. There are three major poles, which are attracting migrants in Kazakhstan: Astana and Almaty cities, the region of Western Kazakhstan.

Such a situation causes a problem of development of Kazakhstani regions, because the majority of oblasts look depressive from the point of view population distribution. Negative changes of population structure due to educational level, urbanization, gender are taking place in such depressive oblasts. This situation does not promote the long-term stability. It is necessary to develop centers of economic activity in Kazakhstani regions for the well-balanced development of the country as a whole.

The abovementioned answers allowed us to confirm the put forth hypotheses.

1. *The demographic factor is an important characteristic in defining of the geopolitical status of Kazakhstan.*

The influence of demographic factor on geopolitical situation seems to be quite important. Today Kazakhstani geopolitical status is mostly guaranteed by economic advantages of the country.

Such a situation is a world trend. Today economy becomes the most effective instrument of solving of political problems and to a large extent defines positions of a country in global system. At the same time, Kazakhstan needs to modernize its economy to retain its long-term leadership. One of the questions will be the next: will the population of Kazakhstan be able to suit the requirements of new economy.

2. *The demographic factor comprises a potential threat of destabilization of Kazakhstani geopolitical status.*

Destabilization of Kazakhstani geopolitical status is possible in the situation of negative changes of population structure, especially by age and education. Such changes can arise out of unconsidered migration policy.

3. *Problems of population development can become a factor, limiting the geopolitical development of Kazakhstan.*

Due to relatively small population size, the successful geopolitical development of Kazakhstan is possible under the condition of its economic leadership in the region. To assure its economic prosperity, Kazakhstan needs relevant people power with high level of professional education and working capacity. Otherwise, the country can get into dependence from foreign working resources with all ensuing consequences.

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