

## KAZAKHSTAN –THE US RELATIONSHIP AFTER THE 9/11 ATTACK

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Since the country's independence, Kazakhstan and the United States have been sharing close ties. The US was the first country that immediately recognized Kazakhstan as a sovereign and independent country on December 25, 1991, the next day both countries established diplomatic relations. Since then energy and security issues have been a cornerstone of their bilateral relations. Nuclear disarmament policy of Kazakhstan played a significant role in Kazakh-US relations. Both countries have been enjoying a wide range of issues including political, economic (trade and energy sector), military and humanitarian cooperation. Kazakhstan is a landlocked country, bordering with Russia, China, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan and sharing a border with a large part of the Caspian Sea. In the security realm, Kazakhstan attracted towards the US, because it is geographically far from the country, hence, it prioritized the United States in its foreign policy and security assistance program. Energy and trade is another area of their deep relationship. Kazakhstan contains huge oil and natural gas reserves. The 9/11 incident of the terrorist attack on the US has changed world politics and global balance in international politics and the cooperation between the two countries have strengthened.

This study will try to examine the Kazakh-US relations since 2001 and its impact not only upon the two countries but also the whole international system, which is increasingly becoming more interdependent. The study focuses on the US assistance to Kazakh to improve its border security issue, because boundary plays an important role in the security of any country. Kazakhstan's borders are suffering to numerous threats, including illegal narcotics smuggling, arms trafficking, WMD materials and militants transiting through its territory, which has facilitated and internationalized its search for foreign assistance.

**Key words:** *security cooperation, Nazarbayev, landlocked country, geopolitical importance, energy, trade cooperation, 9/11 incident*

### **Introduction**

The disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 wrote a new chapter in the history of Central Asian republics when the possibility of independence suddenly converted into reality. After the collapse of the USSR, the newly independent states, including Kazakhstan got the opportunity to make their own foreign policies. The United State was the first country that immediately officially recognized Kazakhstan's independence on 25 December 1991 and established diplomatic relations. Both countries have been enjoying warm bilateral relations since Kazakhstan's independence. Kazakhstan is actively developing cooperation with the US in practically all spheres such as political, economic, and cultural and security issues and it became the first priority of Kazakh's foreign policy. Another important step in the development of their bilateral relations was the disarmament policy of Kazakhstan because Kazakhstan was one of the four successors in which the Soviet Union had abandoned strategic nuclear weapons. Consequently, the American primary goal was to get rid of Soviet nuclear weapons from the soil of Kazakhstan (Oliker, 2007: 64). In exchange, the US provided financial and technical assistance to Kazakhstan. Therefore, Kazakh's disarmament policy has confirmed Kazakhstan's loyalty to peaceful development and significantly increased the level of mutual trust between the two countries. However, the 9/11 attacks on the United States changed the geopolitical situation not only in Central Asia but also at the global level. Consequently, relations between Kazakhstan and the US have been strong in all areas. The United States interests are primarily emphasized on three issues: promoting security, access to natural resources and political reform particular in the authoritarian regime. In 2016, Kazakhstan and the US marked the 25th anniversary of the establishment of their bilateral relations. The two countries highlighted their major achievements mainly in three areas: friendship, innovation, and partnership. In 2016, Nursultan Nazarbayev and Donald Trump agreed to introduce 10-year business and tourist visas.

### **Multi-Vector Foreign Policy of Kazakhstan**

Kazakhstan is geographically located in Central Asia as well as Eastern Europe; therefore, is considered the heartland of Eurasia. Due to geostrategic location and hydrocarbon reserves of Kazakhstan, the country has become a place of the playground of rivalry among great powers namely Russia, the US, EU, and China which created 'New Great Game'. In such a scenario, Kazakhstan is taking advantages and

benefitting from the 'New Great Game', which is necessary for the country's development. Keeping this entire picture in the mind, Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev adopted a balanced policy or multi-vector foreign policy for the country's economic, political and social development and ensuring peace, security, and stability of the region. The aim of the multi-vector foreign policy of the country is to protect its national interests by making a close relationship with the US, Russia, China, EU, and others. Therefore, Kazakhstan is a member of international organizations such as NATO, SCO, CSTO, etc. Therefore, the foreign policy of the country is directed towards CIS, Central Asia, East Asia, Europe, the Pacific region and the Islamic world. Kazakhstan's diplomacy succeeded in developing good and friendly relations with the US, Russia, China, with other Central Asian countries and the European Union as well as with international organizations. By implementing political reforms as well as economic reforms, Kazakhstan was particularly successful in appeasing the major powers. For example, Kazakhstan has introduced democratic norms such as two bicameral chambers of Parliament, multi-party systems, separation of powers, particularly to please the West. It has established diplomatic relations with one hundred forty countries and has become a member of sixty-four international political and economic organizations (Chaudhury, 2009:46).

Russia is one of the most important strategic partners of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan is strongly bound with Russia due to its history, border, culture, population, economy, trade, military, science, regional security, pipelines, transportations, etc. (Yerzhan, 2009:4). In a similar way, Kazakhstan is strengthening its bilateral cooperation with China. It is also essential for China to improve and enhance its relations with Kazakhstan regarding its border issue as well as to fulfil its energy demands. Thus, we find that security and economic development are the key two important factors that determine Kazakh foreign policy. In the security realm, Kazakhstan is a member of SCO that provides a platform for a close relationship with Russia and China. On the other hand, it is also engaged in NATO through the Partnership for Peace Programmes and regularly sends its military officers in the US for training (Hanks, 2009:260). In the economic field, Kazakh introduced a market-based economy. Thus, we can say the Kazakh president had implemented multi-vector policy in all spheres including in economic, political as well as in security fields. As a result, Kazakhstan is a stable country and there is an absence of conflict or confrontation between Kazakhstan and any other countries.

### **Security and Strategic Relations between Kazakhstan and the United States**

During the Soviet era, Kazakhstan was the fourth largest nuclear arsenal with more than 1,000 deadly weapons and most important strategic area. In fact, Kazakhstan arsenal was larger than that of China, U.K, and France during that time (Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan Washington, D.C., "*Nuclear non-proliferation & Security*", URL: <https://kazakhembus.com/foreign-policy/nuclear-nonproliferation-security>). To eliminate all these nuclear weapons from Kazakh's soil, Kazakhstan and US signed a number of treaties such as the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty (1992), the START Treaty (1992), the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1993), the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (2001), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Lisbon Protocol. Under the Cooperative Threat Reduction program, the United States provided aid of approximately \$240 million to Kazakhstan for eliminating weapons of mass destruction and the related infrastructure (U.S. Department of state, *Diplomacy in Action*, (2018), "*U.S. Relations with Kazakhstan*", URL: <https://www.state.gov/t/pa/ei/bgn/5487.htm>). Kazakhstan ratified the Lisbon Protocol on 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1992 whereby Kazakhstan has removed nuclear warheads. In 1994 during the official visit to Britain, Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev argued, "Kazakhstan's security guarantee will not come from possessing nuclear power but from business investment". He strongly believed in disarmament policy and argued "I do not think in today's world weapons can do anything to protect a country and our main security will be a powerful Western business presence in Kazakhstan during his official visit to Britain" (Lederer: 1994). In 1995, it removed its last nuclear warheads and closed its last Semipalatinsk nuclear test site. Thus, Kazakhstan became a non-nuclear country. Kazakh president appealed to the international community to come together to strengthen peace and stability in the world and recognized the negative effects of nuclear testing on human life and the environment. Kazakhstan soon got a status of the free nuclear zone. In return, the United State had provided huge economic assistance to Kazakhstan. The US had provided US\$7 million to Kazakhstan to eliminate the strategic offensive arms infrastructure and Kazakhstan also accepted US military training and other assistance in areas of health care, export control, economic reform, regional stability, and law enforcement (Oliker, 2007:67).

The 9/11 incident of the terrorist attack on the US has subsequently changed world politics and global balance in international politics. By the effect of the same event, the Central Asian countries suddenly begun to draw the attention of the whole world. Certainly, the September 2001 incident provided the best opportunity for the US to increase its military capabilities in the region. Additionally, Kazakhstan became an

important theatre for 'war on terrorism' policy from where America might counter its rivals Russia and China or it might delimit the Iranian influence. Former US president Bush administration adopted two principles in Central Asia: first, the US wanted to establish democratic norms and civil society to maintain peace and security through the Freedom act in Afghanistan. Second, the 'US National Security Strategy 2002', which focuses on the use of military, economic and political resources to encourage open societies that would help the US to fulfill its national interests (Kukeyeva, 2008:32). The US declared that Osama bin Laden was the leader of an international terrorist group and he was the main target of its security policy in Central Asia because he was the mastermind of the 9/11 attack. In this context, US President Bush remarked, "the great powers should build a world where they should compete for peace rather than to prepare for war" (Feigenbaum, 2006:7).

Security and non-proliferation of arms are the main cornerstones of Kazakh-US bilateral relationship. Following the 9/11 incident, Kazakh's Foreign Ministry stated, "Kazakhstan decisively condemns the terrorist attack and expressed its readiness for assistance and support to the US against international terrorism" (Nurgaliev, 2007:54). Kazakhstan had supported the US-led 'war on terrorism' Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan. It allowed the US to open its airspace and to make emergency landings at Almaty national airport of US military aircraft. Though the US does not have any permanent military base in Kazakhstan whose location is less important for providing support to Operation Enduring Freedom than other state's location. Nevertheless, the US appreciates the Kazakh officials' supports against terrorism (Weitz, 2008:125). In this regards, President Obama considers that Kazakhstan is the strategic focal point in terms of energy, human rights and combating terrorism. Since 2003, the US has granted around \$230 million dollars to Kazakhstan for strengthening its security forces and troops. Two American airbases of the US were established in Karshi-Khanabad in Uzbekistan and Manas (Kyrgyzstan) to use their airspaces against terrorism. In this situation, Kazakhstan played an important role in suppliers of rail transshipment to these American bases. The United Nations (UN) Security Council also adopted Resolution 1368 regarding 9/11 and expressed its readiness to take all necessary steps to combat all forms of terrorism in accordance with its responsibilities under the UN Charter (Rostow, 2002:481).

Kazakhstan and the US have signed a number of agreements to strengthen their security and strategic cooperation. They signed military and defense cooperation in July 2002 that is laid out in the "Memorandum of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation". This Memorandum on defense strategies developing peacekeeping capacities of *Kazbat*, naval forces, airmobile forces and thereby combating the terrorism. Moreover, it is also developing military infrastructure in the Caspian Sea (U.S. Department of state, Diplomacy in Action, (2018), "U.S. Relations with Kazakhstan" Op. Cit.). Both countries had signed a 'Five Year Military Cooperation Plan' in 2003 and Kazakhstan became the only and first among Post soviets country to have signed such document with the US. The US has provided \$92 million security assistance to Kazakhstan with emphasizes many aspects of security of Kazakhstan through several programmes which are following (McDermott: 2008:617):

i. The Financial Supervision Agency (FSA), Non-proliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining and Related Activities (NADR), mainly focused on non-proliferation programmes such as equipment, training, and other services, related to security.

ii. The Export Control and Related Border Security Assistance (EXBS) programme are to strengthen the capabilities of Kazakhstan's Border Guards and Customs agencies.

iii. The Anti-Crime Training Assistance (ACTA) programme, the State Department's Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL) aids the Kazakh Prosecutor General's office to elevate bilateral enforcement cooperation, exchange information, and fight against terrorism, narcotics trafficking, and organized crime.

iv. The United States is providing Kazakhstan with Anti-Terrorism Training Assistance and also establishing a Military Institute of Foreign Language (McDermott: 2008:617).

The United States began its security assistance programs in 1994, with the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program (Mc Dermott, 2009:4). Security assistance program started through the Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program for the denuclearization of Kazakhstan. In return, Kazakhstan received around \$240 million from the US through the CTR program. CTR program also referred to as 'Nunn Lugar Program' which has been restructured into the Defence Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA). This is still active in Kazakhstan and currently working with the Biological Threat Reduction Program, International Counterproliferation Program, etc. (Nichol, 2013: 20). After the 9/11 incident, security assistance has increased. For example, Kazakh Airmobile Force (KAZBAT) benefited from the US for the conduct of peacekeeping operations as it played an important role in Iraq. Perhaps this is one of the greatest benefit programs of the US or NATO security assistance to Kazakhstan. Moreover, during the

period of 2001-06, U.S granted equipment valued at \$8.5 million through the *Export Control and Related Border Security Assistance* (EXBS) program to Kazakhstan's security agencies for border security. In 2001, the EXBS provided to Kazakhstan Border Guards, Custom Service and supplied 130 radios to Ministry of Defence including patrol boat, x-ray machine, binoculars, laser range finders, infrastructure support, etc. The total amount of the Fiscal Year 2007 was \$26.80 million, which includes \$9.55 million for peace and security programs, \$5.72 million for democracy and governance programs. Compared to 2003, the amount of FY 2007 was less. Most of these funds were appropriated under the Freedom Support Act (Weitz, 2008: 129). Cumulative US aid budget for Kazakhstan from 1992 to 2010 was \$2.05 billion (all-agency funding), with Kazakhstan ranking fifth in aid among the 12 Soviet successor states (Nichol, 2013:23). In May 2015, the US Ambassador to Kazakhstan George Krol met with General Prosecutor of the Republic of Kazakhstan Askhat Daulbayev in Astana discuss various issues of bilateral legal cooperation including terrorism, drug trafficking transnational organized crime. America is well aware that Kazakhstan is a loyal ally of its.

### **Energy and Economic Relation between Kazakhstan and the United States**

Kazakhstan possesses huge oil and natural gas reserves, for example, around 30 billion barrels of oil reserves, along with 1.1 TCM (38.8 tcf) of natural gas are lies in Kazakh territory. Majority of the hydrocarbon reserves of the country are located in the regions of Tengiz, Karachaganak, and Kashagan (The oil and gas year, Information is power, "Kazakhstan: Refine and expand", accessed on 12 February 2019, URL:<https://www.theoilandgasyear.com/market/kazakhstan/>). Kazakhstan's oil fields are located in closer proximity to Russia in terms of geography, so the oil transportation seems to be easy, cheap and short though Russian territory, but sometimes Russia creates problems and demands high tariff for oil transportation that is not acceptable for Kazakhstan. The US is also much interested to diversify the Kazakh economy while preventing Russia's monopoly on pipeline routes. Even the Clinton administration expressed his intention to encourage multiple pipelines from the Caspian region to Western markets. Nevertheless, landlocked Kazakhstan is heavily dependent on Russia for exports of its oil and gas. In the energy production sector, Richard Morningstar, Special Envoy for Eurasian Energy discussed three main components of American energy policy. First, the US motivates the development of new oil and gas resources and promotes new technologies to discover new oil and gas fields through conversation. Henceforth, the US administration is immediately determined to reduce its dependence on Persian Gulf suppliers, because the Persian Gulf plays a significant role to supply energy to the US, but there are extremists' threats to pipelines. Thus, these ideas diverted US attention towards another potential region, which was visibly Caspian Region. As Wood Mackenzie, a leading world oil consultant argued, "The Caspian region has the potential to produce approximately 3.8 million bbl/d by 2015". Second, the US decides to help Central Asian producing countries including Kazakhstan to find new markets. Third, European countries try to receive the support of the US to protect their energy security and the U.S believes that Central Asian energy producing countries can protect the US from energy insecurity. In this context, US Senator Conrad Burns states that "Kazakh oil can the United States from energy crisis" (Thu, 2010:56).

The former Foreign Minister of Kazakhstan, Tokaev also wrote in his article that 'Kazakhstan is very grateful to the US that has played an important role for recognizing Kazakhstan's sovereignty in terms of economically as well as politically'. Further, he argued that US– Kazakhstan bilateral cooperation has started since country's independence, during this period the country was suffering from inflation, high level of unemployment, lack of necessities, border disputes with Russia, China, and other Central Asian states and ethnic problems. In such scenario, the United State has provided proper guidance to Kazakhstan in terms of political and economic developments, for instance in the economic field, Kazakhstan liberalizes its economy, privatized the major industries (Tokaev, 2004:93). Kazakhstan adopted 100 new laws to attract foreign investors particularly the US in oil and gas sector. Moreover, these factors had contributed to Kazakhstan for achieving gross domestic product growth rates of 9 to 12% annually between 2000 and 2006 (Cohen, 2008:14). Chevron American company is one of the largest international oil companies and also is the largest producer in the production of hydrocarbons in Kazakhstan. Chevron has been working in Kazakhstan even during the Soviet era. In 1993, Chevron became the first major Western oil company to operate in Kazakhstan. In 2008, Dave O'Reilly, as a Chevron CEO stated that "Chevron is proud to be the first Western oil company to invest in Kazakhstan and we're prouder still to think of what we've built together" (Chevron: Major Expansion at Tengiz Field in Kazakhstan Completed (2008), (Online web) Accessed 5 January 2014 URL <http://www.chevron.com/news/currentissues/tengiz/>). Chevron is presently involved not only in the development of the Tengiz field but also in the major Karachaganak, Kashagan, Korolev oil fields as well as in the expansion of the CPC pipeline. The reserves of Korolev are estimated to be 2 billion barrels oil and production started in 2001 and in 2012 TCO had extracted 24.2 million tons of oil that were more than



30% of the country's production (Chevron: Major Expansion at Tengiz Field in Kazakhstan Completed (2008), (Online web) Accessed 5 January 2014 URL <http://www.chevron.com/news/currentissues/tengiz/>). The American companies such as Chevron, Texaco, Exxon Mobil, ConocoPhillips, and Kerr-McGee/Oryx are largely engaged in Kazakh projects such as Tengizcheroil (TCO), AGIP KCO, Caspian Pipeline Consortium, Karachaganak Integrated Organization, etc. (Embassy of The Republic of Kazakhstan: Kazakhstan- US Relations).

In the energy and economic realm, both countries signed several agreements in 1992 in order to promote mutual trade and investment in the Kazakhstani energy sector. In 1994, the Charter on Democratic Partnership and in 1996 'Treaty on the Avoidance of Dual Taxation' was signed between both sides. Since 1993 American companies have invested approximately \$ 14.3 billion in Kazakhstan. The American companies are mainly investing in many fields such as Kazakhstan's oil and gas industry, telecommunications, business sectors, and electrical energy sectors. The U.S Agency for International Development (USAID) in 1993 has also provided technical assistance programmes to support Kazakhstan in the fields of privatizations, fiscal and financial policy, commercial law, energy, health care and environment protection with the aim of to accommodate Kazakhstan support its economic reforms and fully integrate into the world trade system ( McDaniel: 2013). During 2001, Kazakhstan and the United States made a successful effort to the creation of U.S-Kazakhstan Energy Partnership. In 2002, the US recognized Kazakhstan as a market economy. During the period from 1992 -2005, the US aided Kazakhstan with almost US\$ 1.205 billion. Since 2002, the Joint Kazakhstan-American Energy Partnership Commission (JEPC) has operated under the leadership of Kazakh Minister of Oil and Gas Mynbayev and U.S. Deputy Secretary of Energy Poneman. The purpose of this commission is to develop and to implement an action plan in all areas of energy partnership and holds meetings annually. Since 2006, Kazakhstan has jointly implemented the Economic Development Program with the US Government, in which Kazakhstan initiated the period for 2012. The aim of this program was to encourage diversification of the Kazakh economy, increase the economy's competitiveness and achieve sustainable economic growth (Weitz: 2012). Apart from this, during the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of joint venture Tengizchevroil in April 2013, Kazakh president Nursultan Nazarbayev stated that "Within 20 years, Chevron has invested \$20 billion in the project to develop the Tengiz deposit and Kazakhstan made a profit of \$77 billion " (Mukhtarov: 2013).

Due to Kazakh's natural resources, the western companies are heavily involved in Kazakhstan, thus the issue of investment in Kazakhstan is at the center of US foreign policy. In Kazakhstan, there are more than 180 joint ventures between US and Kazakhstani firms as well as more than 80 US companies which are completely engaged in trade, production, and banking. Landlocked position and weak infrastructure of Kazakhstan makes the country lead a more active foreign policy based on the energy factor (Yesdauletova, 2009: 31). Expressing their satisfactory remarks in the economic and energy field, in 2015, the US Ambassador to Kazakhstan, George Krol said that "The United States and Kazakhstan, I would say, have been made for each other. And we have pledged to deepen this strategic partnership and increase our economic and business interaction. In this part, we have agreed that we will work on the development of our commercial cooperation". (US Ambassador speaks about cooperation between US and Kazakhstan", *TengriNews*. URL:[https://en.tengrinews.kz/politics\\_sub/US-Ambassador-speaks-about-cooperation-between-US-and-260606/](https://en.tengrinews.kz/politics_sub/US-Ambassador-speaks-about-cooperation-between-US-and-260606/)). In 2017, the bilateral trade between the two countries stood up to 1.636 billion dollars including imports from the US to Kazakhstan worth 1.244 billion dollars and exports from Kazakhstan to the US reaching 392.3 million dollars. (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Kazakhstan, "Kazakhstan – United States relations", URL: <http://mfa.gov.kz/en/content-view/sotrudnichestvo-respubliki-kazakhstan-s-soedinennymi-shtatami-ameriki>)

### **US Programmes to Promote Kazakh Democracy**

The United States is much interested to establish democratic norms and values in Central Asia including Kazakhstan. The US former president Bush argued that the terrorist activities are increasing mainly in the Islamic countries due to lack of democracy. It is imperative to introduce democratic norms in Central Asia to get rid of terrorist activities. United State has been promoting NGOs, civil society, human rights organizations and political reforms in Kazakhstan through various programmes. United State Agency for International Development (1992) is one of that programs and it is the US independent federal government agency, which is helping in Kazakhstan to build a democratic culture by supporting civil society, encouraging independent judiciary, independent media, human rights and rule of law with the help of Government of Kazakhstan. The Kazakhstan Civil Society Strengthening (KCSS) works with the Civil Society Organization (CSO) at the national level that is funded by USAID for the democratic reforms. The International Republican Institute (IRI) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) two institutes implemented by the U.S, that conducted more than 58 training sessions for political reforms (Counterpart

International, “Kazakhstan Civil Society Strengthening (2011-2014)”, URL: <https://www.counterpart.org/projects/kazakhstan-civil-society-strengthening/>). The US also encouraged Kazakhstan to implement its National Human Rights Action Plan 2009-2012 and Legal Concept for 2010-2020 (Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan (2010): *Joint Statement on the meeting between President Obama and Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev*, Washington). In this context, the US funded the ‘Institute for War and Peace Reporting’ and Kazakhstan International Bureau for Human Rights and Rule of Law’ (KIBHR) are giving training to human rights defenders at international legal standards in Kazakhstan. In the field of independent media, the US begun a media defense project as the “American bar Association's Central European and Eurasia Law Initiative (ABA/CEELI)”. The aim of this project is to establish an independent judiciary and also provide training to lawyers to defend media and journalists in the court. Apart from this, US human right NGOs Freedom House, OSCE/ ODIHR, are also active in Kazakhstan. The US also funded local NGOs for increasing the participation of women in governance. As a result, media and citizens accessed to court proceedings as well as transparency of court increased to implement decisions. ( Embassy of the United States: Supporting Human Rights and Democracy: U.S. Record 2004-2005 on Kazakhstan, URL: <https://www.usembassy.kz/documents/support-hrr-kaz-en.html>)

The Kazakh government is also giving a positive response to the western countries including the US and European countries. Kazakh government continues to implement the democratic reforms, for example in 2002 Kazakhstan established an institution of the Ombudsman on human rights, in 2003 the Human Rights Commission and in 2006 the State Commission on Democracy. In 2009, Kazakhstan signed new laws regarding the media, political parties, elections, and local government. With the help of the OSCE and ODIHR as well as the US human right NGOs including Freedom House, Kazakhstan signed twenty-two amendments to achieve the perfect and clear electoral process. Moreover, Kazakhstan has begun political reforms by making multilateral system and two chambers of parliament. Despite their shared interests, the Kazak-US partnership is not unproblematic. The main complaint of the US is that Kazakhstan Government has failed to improve the liberal democratic values in the country due to lack of competitive elections and greater freedoms for opposition leaders, critical media and disappointing human rights records. Kazakh President Nazarbayev in April 2012 made interesting anti-western remarks and pushing back US influence. In the indefinite presence of US militaries in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, the SCO members in Astana Meeting in July 2005 asked the US to fix a deadline for withdrawing its troops from Central Asia (Varadarajan, 2005). Subsequently, after the Andijan unrest and incident, the US accused Uzbekistan of the violation of human rights. Reacting to this, the Uzbek President Islam Karimov ordered the US to close its air bases in Karshi-Khanabad and improved its ties with Russia and China (Rodriguez, 2005).

### Conclusion

Undoubtedly, since the 9/11 attack, the relationship between Kazakhstan and the US has deepened in the areas of counterterrorism, energy extraction, developing peacekeeping forces, strengthening Kazakhstan’s air defense forces, developing military infrastructure in the Caspian Sea, ensuring the stability of the region and logistical cooperation for the Afghan war. Some analysts believe that under the umbrella of ‘war on terrorism’, the US got a chance to enter in Central Asia where its prime goal was made to access to hydrocarbon resources. Therefore, the US was under threat due to the Taliban (Osama bin Laden) that might affect petroleum projects that are mainly governed by American companies such as Chevron and Mobil Oil. The American experts were also worried about the potential terrorist attack on Tengiz-Novorossiysk or Baku – Tbilisi - Ceyhan pipelines. Due to ample hydrocarbon resources, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan are strategically very important for western countries. Role of both states is vital in exporting oil and gas reserves from central Asia to the Western market. Thus, energy and security are the primary geostrategic interests of the US in Kazakhstan. Today energy, geostrategic and geopolitical location of Kazakhstan play an important role in determining its relations with the US, Russia, China, and EU. Recently, Nazarbayev and Trump expressed their willingness to continue their friendly and cordial bilateral ties further. Though Kazakhstan is a Muslim country but is modern pro-Western country. It is sharing a close tie in all areas with the US since the Kazakh’s independence but the US concerned about Kazakhstan’s record on democratic reforms and violation of human rights. Increasing inclination of Kazakhstan towards Europe and the US is threatening the interests of Russia and China in the region. However, Putin has prioritized the CIS countries and the Caspian region in his foreign policy and has been improving Russia’s relations with former Soviet republics. Even China is also successful in making its presence to the region and also adopted a strategy to increase its influence in Europe, Africa, and Asia through ‘the Belt and Road Initiative’ (BRI). The US sanctions against Russia forced Kazakhstan to move towards China. In such a

situation, Kazakhstan's multi-vector foreign policy is playing an important role in balancing the effectiveness of Russia, the United States, and China while securing its national interests.

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## ОТНОШЕНИЯ КАЗАХСТАН – США ПОСЛЕ 11 СЕНТЯБРЯ

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С момента обретения страной независимости Казахстан и Соединенные Штаты поддерживают тесные связи. США стали первой страной, которая сразу признала Казахстан суверенным и независимым государством 25 декабря 1991 года, на следующий день обе страны установили дипломатические отношения. С тех пор вопросы энергетики и безопасности являются краеугольным камнем двусторонних отношений. Политика ядерного разоружения Казахстана сыграла значительную роль в казахстанско - американских отношениях. Обе страны занимаются широким кругом вопросов, включая политическое, экономическое (торговля и энергетика), военное и гуманитарное сотрудничество. Казахстан не имеет выхода к морю, граничит с Россией, Китаем, Узбекистаном, Туркменистаном и Кыргызстаном и имеет общую границу с большей частью Каспийского моря. В сфере безопасности Казахстан привлекателен для США, поскольку географически находится далеко от страны, следовательно, он отдает приоритет Соединенным Штатам в своей внешней политике и программе содействия безопасности. Энергетика и торговля - еще одна область их отношений. Казахстан обладает огромными запасами нефти и природного газа. Инцидент 11 сентября с терактом в США изменил мировую политику и глобальный баланс в международной политике, укрепилось сотрудничество между двумя странами.

В данном исследовании предпринята попытка рассмотреть казахстанско-американские отношения с 2001 года и их влияние не только на две страны, но и на всю международную систему, которая становится все более взаимозависимой. В исследовании основное внимание уделяется помощи США Казахстану в улучшении его пограничной безопасности, поскольку граница играет важную роль в безопасности любой страны. Границы Казахстана подвергаются многочисленным угрозам, в том числе незаконному ввозу наркотиков, незаконному обороту оружия, материалов ОМУ и транзиту боевиков через его территорию, что облегчило и интернационализовало его поиск иностранной помощи.

**Ключевые слова:** сотрудничество в области безопасности, Назарбаев, не имеющая выхода к морю страна, геополитическое значение, энергетика, торговое сотрудничество, инцидент 11 сентября

## 11 ҚЫРКҮЙЕКТЕГІ ОҚИҒАДАН КЕЙІНГІ ҚАЗАҚСТАН МЕН АҚШ ҚАРЫМ-ҚАТЫНАСЫ

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Ел тәуелсіздік алған сәттен бастап Қазақстан мен Құрама Штаттар тығыз байланыстарды қолдайды. АҚШ 1991 жылдың 25 желтоқсанында Қазақстанды егеменді және тәуелсіз мемлекет деп бірден мойындаған алғашқы ел болды, келесі күні екі ел дипломатиялық қатынастар орнатты. Содан бері энергетика мен қауіпсіздік мәселелері екі жақты қатынастардың іргетасы болып табылады. Қазақстанның ядролық қарусыздану саясаты Қазақстан - Америка қарым-қатынасында маңызды рөл атқарды. Екі ел де саяси, экономикалық (сауда және энергетика), әскери және гуманитарлық ынтымақтастықты қоса алғанда, кең ауқымды мәселелер шеңберімен айналысады. Қазақстан теңізге шыға алмайды, Ресеймен, Қытаймен, Өзбекстанмен, Түрікменстанмен және Қырғызстанмен шектеседі және Каспий теңізінің үлкен бөлігімен ортақ шекарасы бар. Қауіпсіздік саласында Қазақстан АҚШ үшін тиімді, өйткені географиялық жағынан елден алыс, демек, ол өзінің сыртқы саясаты мен қауіпсіздікке жәрдемдесу бағдарламасында Құрама Штаттарға басымдық береді. Энергетика және сауда - олардың терең қатынастарының тағы бір саласы. Қазақстан мұнай мен табиғи газдың үлкен қорына ие. 11 қыркүйек күні АҚШ-тағы лаңкестік әрекет әлемдік саясат пен халықаралық саясаттағы жаһандық тепе-теңдікті өзгертіп, екі ел арасындағы ынтымақтастықты нығайта түсті.

Осы зерттеуде 2001 жылдан бастап Қазақстан-Америка қарым-қатынастарын және олардың тек екі елге ғана емес, сондай-ақ өзара тәуелді болып отырған бүкіл халықаралық жүйеге әсерін қарастыруға әрекет жасалуда. Зерттеу барысында АҚШ-тың Қазақстанға оның шекара қауіпсіздігін жақсартудағы көмегіне баса



назар аударылады, өйткені шекара кез-келген елдің қауіпсіздігінде маңызды рөл атқарады. Қазақстан шекаралары көптеген қауіп-қатерлерге, оның ішінде есірткіні заңсыз әкелуге, қарудың, ЖҚЖК материалдарының заңсыз айналымына және оның аумағы арқылы атыс-шабыстардың транзитіне ұшырайды, бұл оны шетелдік көмекті іздестіруді жеңілдетеді және интернационализациялайды.

**Түйін сөздер:** *қауіпсіздік саласындағы ынтымақтастық, Назарбаев, теңізге шыға алмайтын ел, геосаяси мәні, энергетика, сауда ынтымақтастығы, 11 қыркүйектегі оқиға*

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