

# ХАЛЫҚАРАЛЫҚ ҚАТЫНАСТАРДЫҢ ҚАЗІРГІ ЗАМАНҒЫ ПРОБЛЕМАЛАРЫ MODERN PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS СОВРЕМЕННЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

## “SOFT POWER” IN RELATION OF CENTRAL ASIAN STATES: THE PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR ACTIONS

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**Abstract.** This article analyzes theoretical provisions of the concept “Soft power” and its application by various participants in the Central Asia; considers specific forms and directions for the implementation of “soft power” by Russia, the U.S., EU and China in relations with the countries of the region. Russia sets the task of working with Russian-speaking audience; the U.S. pays much attention to Internet technologies in work primarily with youth audiences. The United States and the EU focus on a variety of programs; China seeks to exert influence through official channels, focusing on language and culture.

**Key words:** “soft power”, Central Asia, Russia, USA, EU, China, NGOs.

**Аңдатпа.** Бұл мақалада «жұмсақ күш» тұжырымдамасының теориялық тұжырымдамалары және оны әр түрлі қатысушыларының Орталық Азия мемлекеттеріне қолдануы, Ресей, АҚШ, ЕО және Қытай тарапынан өңір елдеріне қатысты «жұмсақ күшті» іске асырудың нақты нысандары мен бағыттарын қарастырады. Ресей өзін орыс тілінде сөйлейтін аудиториямен жұмыс істеу міндетін қойып отыр; Америка Құрама Штаттары ең алдымен жастармен интернет-технологиялар арқылы жұмыс істеуге үлкен көңіл бөледі. Құрама Штаттар мен ЕО әртүрлі бағдарламаларға бағытталған; Қытай тілі мен мәдениетіне ерекше назар аудара отырып, ресми арналар арқылы ықпал етуге ұмтылады.

**Тірек сөздер:** «жұмсақ күш», Орталық Азия, Ресей, АҚШ, ЕО, Қытай, ҰЕҰ.

**Аннотация.** В данной статье анализируются теоретические положения концепции «мягкой силы» и ее применение различными участниками в отношении стран Центральной Азии; рассматриваются конкретные формы и направления реализации «мягкой силы» со стороны России, США, ЕС и Китая в отношениях стран региона. Россия ставит перед собой задачу работать с русскоязычной аудиторией; США уделяют большое внимание интернет-технологиям в работе преимущественно с молодежной аудиторией. Соединенные Штаты и ЕС сосредоточены на различных программах; Китай стремится оказывать влияние через официальные каналы, уделяя особое внимание языку и культуре.

**Ключевые слова:** «мягкая сила», Центральная Азия, Россия, США, ЕС, Китай, НПО.

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**Introduction.** In the modern world, the power impact, primarily military, is becoming increasingly obvious limitations for a number of reasons: the use of force can lead to unpredictable growth of the conflict; the use of precision weapons in the collision with the methods of warfare does not always ensures victory etc. And although power methods have not disappeared from the arsenal of influence, the resource of influence in the world politics is undergoing serious changes (Lebedeva 2014, P. 99). In this regard, the possibility of «soft power» is of particular interest.

According to J. Ney, “soft power” implies attractiveness for other certain provisions,

phenomena, actions, etc. (Nye 2002, p.9). In this approach, the attractiveness of the example is opposed to the methods of coercion and forced submission. It is understood that attractiveness should be not only purely external (in this case there is no difference with propaganda), but in essence. Unfortunately, often when interpreting the ideas of J. Nye, these crucial moments are ignored. And this is despite the fact that the effects of using the “soft” and “hard” forces are different. There is no sharp transition between these methods, as well as between such actions as rendering “soft power”, on the one hand, and manipulation, on the other.

“Soft power” as an instrument of influence especially intensively begins to be used in the XXI century, although the reasons that encourage states to turn to it are different. For the U.S., the September 11, 2001 attacks were a turning point. The USA tried to form a positive image of their country abroad, especially in the Muslim world.

Somewhat later Russia, although without such dramatic events, has set a similar goal - the formation of a positive image of the country abroad. As a result, the “Russkiy Mir” Foundation and the State Academic Diplomacy Foundation were created, A.M. Gorchakov, whose task was to support and spread the Russian language, develop public diplomacy. In 2008, the Federal Agency “Rossotrudnichestvo” was created, the most important activities of which are the development of humanitarian cooperation with foreign countries and work with compatriots who find themselves outside Russia.

**“Soft power” and features its use in Central Asia.** One of the most interesting regions to address these theoretical issues is Central Asia. This region formed largely by states that were previously part of the USSR. Today it is the near abroad for Russia. The Russian language is largely preserved in the region; it has a large number of Russian compatriots. From point of view of the development of integration processes, the Central Asian region is included in the CIS, as well as represented by Kazakhstan in the Customs Union. In 2013, a memorandum on deepening cooperation with the Eurasian Economic was signed by Kyrgyzstan. As a result, it is not surprising that Central Asia continues to be a strategically important region for Russia.

At the same time, Central Asia turns out to be a significant region for other states, as well as for the whole world. Central Asia is rich in resources, which is of interest from many states. It should be noted that Central Asian countries border on such a problematic state as Afghanistan, which can have a destabilizing effect on their neighbors. Under these conditions, it is obvious that influencing the Central Asian states is important not only for Russia. As a result, the strategies of different countries belonging to different civilizations and having their own examples of attractiveness clash here.

**Russia’s “soft power” policy in Central Asian region.** Russia understands well, what value is, Central Asia has for itself and for the world as a whole. Understanding the importance of Central Asia for Russia is reflected in the 2013 Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, which states that “the primary tasks are to neutralize these threats emanating from the territory of Afghanistan, and to prevent destabilization of the situation in Central Asia and the Caucasus” (The concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation 2013). A number of other Russian documents also note the special role of this region. Similar evaluations are given by Russian experts, emphasizing the importance of using “soft power”. Thus, it is indicated that in Central Asia “the

Russian language, Russian culture and the Russian-speaking information space ... should be considered as comparable in degree of importance to economic or military-political instruments for the realization of Russian interests” (Naumkin 2013, p. 48).

Russia has a certain advantage over other countries in the application of “soft power” in Central Asia. First, the region of Central Asia is included in the integration processes in the post-Soviet space, and therefore, the interaction is closer than with other states outside the region. Secondly, the Russian language is still prevalent in Central Asia, although the scope of its use is shrinking. Thirdly, there are ties with Russia – due to family, friendship and professional ties. In addition, immediately after the collapse of the USSR, Russia narrowed its interest in Central Asia, which immediately led to a reduction in its influence in the region. And only from the beginning of the XXI century, this interest began to rekindle intensively. In general, it seems that the potential advantages of Russia in the region are still greater than that of other non-regional actors.

Central Asia is attracting the attention of Russian experts. This is evidenced by the data of the Foundation. A.M. Gorchakov, as well as the Russian International Affairs Council (INF). Analysis of the publication activity of the Fund. A.M. Gorchakov shows that he is rather attentive to the Central Asian region. In the beginning of January 2014, 488 articles were prepared for the corresponding request prepared by the Foundation, while in Europe - 676, USA - 760, and Asian-Pacific Region - 23. Analytics on Central Asia are well represented in the INF. At the beginning of 2014, the number of articles on Central Asia is about the same as in Eastern Europe, a little more than a hundred (Publications of Foundation of Public Diplomacy of A. Gorchakov on Central Asia 2013-2015; Publications of Russian International Affairs Council on Central Asia 2010-2016). At the same time, a comprehensive report was prepared in the INF, as well as a workbook for the region (Sergeev 2013).

As for the practice activity of Russia in Central Asia, it is more focused on such structures as the Russian World Foundation and Rossotrudnichestvo, focusing on the development of the Russian language and working with compatriots. The Russkiy Mir Foundation has its centers and offices in Central Asia. Their task is to promote the Russian language and Russian culture in foreign countries. For example, the number of centers and offices of Foundation are presented in Central Asian states: in Kazakhstan - 3 Russian centers; in Kyrgyzstan - 2 Russian centers and 1 office of the “Russian World”; in Tajikistan - 1 Russian center; in Uzbekistan - 4 cabinets of the “Russian World”; Turkmenistan has neither Russian centers nor Russian World offices. For comparison: in Mongolia, where Russian compatriots are still less - 1 Russian center and 3 cabinets of the “Russian World”, as well as in South Korea, and in Czech Republic - 1 Russian center and 4 cabinets of the “Russian World” (Russian

World Foundation, 2017). Of course, it is impossible to mechanically determine the number of structures represented by the influence exerted by "soft power". There are various reasons that determine their discovery, including needs, the position of local authorities, financial considerations, etc.

There are representative offices of Rossotrudnichestvo in all five Central Asian countries, and in Kazakhstan in two cities: Almaty and Astana. The agency holds meetings of compatriots in the region (Regional conference of Central Asian compatriots, 2011), interacts with partners, promotes the development of humanitarian cooperation (Uzbekistan and Russia are developing humanitarian cooperation, 2013) and the development of cooperation between universities in the region and Russia (Report of Rossotrudnichestvo, 2012), etc.

Higher education is an area that opens up great opportunities for the realization of the "soft power" of the state in general (Nye, 2004) and Russia in particular (Lebedeva, 2009, P.200; Torkunov, 2012, P.85). Preparation of foreign students involves participation in the formation of political, economic, technical and other types of elites of foreign countries. In 1990, 126,500 foreign students studied in the USSR, which accounted for 10.8% of all foreign students in the world (Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, 2012). After the collapse of the USSR, the number of foreign students in Russia has decreased, which is also connected with a decrease in the territory and with it the universities. In the middle of the 2000s, there were positive changes in the field of higher education in Russia, in particular, the number of foreign students increased. However, the number of students from Central Asian states remains relatively small (Vlasov, 2013).

Students from Central Asian countries can also post to branches of Russian universities, in particular, branches of Moscow State University, which are located in Astana and Dushanbe. Also working and functioning joint universities. Such is the Kyrgyz-Russian Slavic University named after B.N. Yeltsin, the simultaneous subordination of Russia and Kyrgyzstan. Another opportunity for students from Central Asia to get acquainted with the system of higher education in Russia is the network universities of the CIS and the SCO. The CIS Network University covers universities from Central Asia – the states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. The SCO University Network from the Central Asian states includes universities of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

The idea of a network university, which allows students from participating universities to study at partner universities, is fruitful. Moreover, Russia, located both in Europe and in Asia, has faced the challenge of a potential gap in the educational space: Russian universities located in the European part are guided largely by the European higher education area, while universities in the Asian part of Russia to Asian-Pacific Region. In this situation, the

network universities of the SCO and the CIS could become a good "hub" connecting both educational spaces and absorbing the positive aspects of each of them. In general, the whole problem of network universities is how this idea will be implemented in practice.

Deepening cooperation in the field of education is not only a good potential for the development of cooperation in the field of education and science between universities, but also for improving relations between states as a whole, as well as for the development of integration processes. It seems that the possibilities of "soft power" in integration processes are underestimated. Integration in the post-Soviet space began to develop in the economic sphere. However, taking into account the fact that humanitarian ties still exist, they should be used to enhance the same economic integration.

It is obvious that the "soft power" of Russia in the region of Central Asia is not limited to the considered structures, as well as directions. The Russian media, the cinema, theaters, etc. have great opportunities in region. For example, in Kazakhstan, the Russian media are widespread: almost half of the radio stations in the country are Russian or operate under Russian licenses; Russian channels are well represented [6]. On the whole, it is obvious that Russia is using "soft power" for its presence in the region through the paying great attention to the media, and yet insufficient - to higher education.

**"Soft power" policy of other states in Central Asia.** Russia is not the only country that recognizes the importance of the Central Asian region. The United States, the European Union, China, Iran, Turkey, India, Japan and other states are striving to influence the region through the "soft power". In Central Asia, various American and European funds and non-governmental organizations are active, through which grants are implemented and soft power is exercised, including USAID, Soros Foundation, IREX, K. Adenauer Foundation, F. Ebert Foundation, Goethe Institute, German Service academic exchanges (DAAD) and others (Vlasov, 2013). For example, USAID implements programs in the following areas: health care (primarily, programs aimed at combating AIDS and tuberculosis); development of democracy, human rights and local self-reliance phenomenon; environment and climate change; economic growth and trade. On the territory of Central Asia, with the exception of Tajikistan, the American Peace Corps acted, whose mission was to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries, assistance in understanding other peoples by the Americans, and assistance in qualified personnel. At present, the Peace Corps operates only in Kyrgyzstan.

The United States actively uses its resource centers (centers at embassies, small bi-library centers, etc.) to implement "soft power" in the region. The number of American resource centers in Central Asia is comparable to Russian: 52 and 55, respectively



(Fominykh, 2010, p.73). However, only in Kazakhstan the Russian centers significantly prevail over the American ones, while in other countries of Central Asia the picture is just the opposite. At the same time, the United States initially paid great attention to the use of Internet technologies in foreign policy, creating the sites of its official representative offices. With the advent of social networks, the embassies and U.S. resource centers in Central Asia began to actively use Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, MySpace. Russia is far behind in this area (Fominykh, 2010, P.74). In general, unlike the Russian large funds, there are numerous, but smaller, Western NGOs operating in Central Asia (Vlasov, 2013). There is also a broader perspective of the activities of Western foundations. For example, health and environmental issues are virtually absent as Russian areas of work in Central Asia.

It is noteworthy that the European Union, declaring the importance of educational programs, human rights, etc., spends large sums on economically beneficial projects. Thus, the EU, in accordance with the adopted Strategy of Assistance to Central Asia (European Community Regional Strategy, 2007) for the period 2007-2013 allocated for the development of relations with Kazakhstan 531. 105. 397 euros, which were distributed as follows: human rights and development democracy 83,536,309 euros; education - 89 618 457 euros; business development in Kazakhstan - 109,880,866 euros; development of transport networks and energy resources - 131,766,778 euros; environmental protection and water - 52,905,656 euros; opposition to common security issues - 63 397 330 euros (Overview of the European Union, 2013).

Like the EU, China uses “soft power” to promote their economic interests in Central Asia. However, China, to a significant degree, relies on official channels, and not on civil society structures. For example, in 2005, the PRC created a Chinese-Kazakhstan subcommittee on cultural and humanitarian cooperation, which holds regular annual meetings (Kazinform, 2013). China seeks to ensure its economic interests in the region largely through the removal of cultural and language barriers, drawing attention to the development of the Chinese language, its culture and lifestyle in the region (Serebryakova, 2011, P.74).

All states pay attention to education in the region. The United States implements soft power through educational, cultural, and educational programs. Among them: centers for teaching English; student exchange programs; programs to improve teaching in secondary schools; programs to improve the qualifications of university teachers.

Germany and China act in a similar way, opening Goethe and Confucius institutes in Central Asia, respectively, conducting student exchanges. In addition to individual programs in the field of education, the USA created the Kazakh-American

University (KAU) in Almaty, synthesizing the American and Kazakhstan higher education systems. KAU is a member of the association of American colleges and universities. In general, according to a number of specialists, Russia, despite existing long-standing traditions in the provision of educational services to immigrants from Central Asia, today is still inferior in this area to the USA and Europe (Naumkin, 2013; Vlasov, 2013).

**Own “soft power” of Central Asian states: the case of Kazakhstan.** Central Asian states themselves use the potential “Soft power”. Kazakhstan, which is one of the most dynamically developing countries in the post-Soviet space, is particularly active in this area. So, in accordance with the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan “On the republican budget for 2013-2015” provides annual allocation of budgetary funds for the formation of the tourist image of Kazakhstan. And the amount of these funds increases from year to year: in 2013 - 296,695 tenge, in 2014 - 317,462 tenge, in 2015 - 339,685 tenge, in 2017 – 384,570 tenge (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2012). At the same time, Kazakhstan uses the grant allocated to it. According to Index Mundi In 2011 Kazakhstan received grants (excluding grants for the development of technical cooperation) in the amount of \$ 209,260,000, which is significantly more than in 1991, when grants in the amount of 2 were allocated to Kazakhstan \$ 490,000. Although Kazakhstan, like other Central Asian states, occupies rather modest positions by volume of received grants (TNS Research Company, 2015).

Kazakhstan pays great attention to the development of non-governmental organizations. The first six NGOs appeared in Kazakhstan in 1989, and in 2001 their number reached 1,767 (UNDP, 2002). In 2006, by the Decree of the President, the “Concept of development of civil society in Kazakhstan for 2006-2011” was adopted, which gave impetus to the further development of NGOs in Kazakhstan. By 2011, there were a few thousand registered NGOs (The Concept of civil society in Kazakhstan, 2011). At the same time, a number of NGOs act as state or implement the goals set by the state.

In the field of higher education, the international scholarship of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan “Bolashak”, which allows Kazakhstan citizens to get higher education abroad, is interesting (Center for International Programs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2017). A prerequisite for obtaining this scholarship is the successful completion of studies and further work in Kazakhstan. Also in Astana, at the initiative of the president, the Nazarbayev University was opened, which is taught in English by teachers from leading universities in the world. Finally, in accordance with Article 5, paragraph 2 of the “Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Education”, “all educational institutions, regardless of their form of ownership, must ensure knowledge and development of the Kazakh language as state, as well as the study

of the Russian language and one of the foreign languages in accordance with the state compulsory standard for each level of education" (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Education, 2013). Such initiatives of Kazakhstan, as well as its economic growth, can be attractive not only for the of the countries region, but also for many other states, that is, they have "soft power".

**Conclusion.** "Soft power" is widely used both by external and internal actors in relation to Central Asia. At the same time, participants use different strategies and influence different groups of the population. So, Russia sets the task of working with a Russian-speaking audience; The United States pays a lot of attention to Internet technologies, primarily referring to the youth audience; The U.S. and the EU focus on a variety of programs, including environmental and health care; China seeks to influence through official channels, emphasizing language and culture; The EU and China use "soft power" in many respects to realize their economic interests.

In turn, Kazakhstan is taking measures that also look attractive to many. All actors use their official structures, as well as non-governmental organizations. Although the strategies of the implementation of "soft power" by different actors compete with each other, being focused on different aspects and on different groups of the population, in the end they do not form a zero-sum game.

It should be noted that the practice of implementing "soft power" does not always correspond to the understanding that J. Nye puts into this concept (this is well illustrated by the example of Central Asia). Often under the "soft power" refers to any impact not by force. It seems that the emphasis on attractiveness opens up great opportunities for

exerting influence. However, for this it is necessary to build a strategy and determine:

- firstly, why is "soft power" realized (which short-term and long-term goals are set);
- secondly, to choose the groups of population, which will be primarily focused on "soft power";
- thirdly, to assess what can be attractive for these groups and in what ways this attractiveness can be demonstrated.

In this case, of course, it is important to take into account what and how other actors in the region are doing with the help of "soft power".

So, in conclusion, it is necessary to note that nowadays a variety of different countries including great powers, regional powers use an instrument of foreign policy such as soft power to achieve their goals in international relations. Though the economic leaders of the world do have enough amount of money to promote their languages, give scholarships for foreign students and grant loans for developing countries, the regional powers or, even more, developing countries which pursuets a goal to join the club of privileged states have to allocate funds for the soft power.

"Soft power" policy of the main actors in international arena has either a positive and negative sides. The positive aspects consists the development of the economy, attracting investment, the development of education etc. Negative sides are not to become dependent of the states on foreign countries; keep sovereignty; development of civil society should be based on their national traditions, culture, customs, language, etc. Every country should set a limit or barrier so that it does not fully penetrate into all sectors of society; every nation has not lost its language, traditions, customs, and culture in about 20 years, and so on.

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## ТРУДОВАЯ МИГРАЦИЯ И ПОЛИТИКА ПРИВЛЕЧЕНИЯ ТРУДОВЫХ МИГРАНТОВ

**Аннотация.** В странах ЕС проблема миграции является одной из самых актуальных, так как миграция влияет на социально-экономическое, культурное и политическое развитие.

Перед странами-реципиентами появляется ряд проблем, связанных с экономическим обеспечением прибывающих, их интеграции в новые условия, среди которых проблемы национальной и религиозной толерантности, соблюдение прав человека и обеспечение национальной.

**Ключевые слова:** трудовая миграция, Европейский союз, миграционная политика.

**Аңдатпа.** ЕО елдерінде көші-қон мәселесі ең маңызды болып табылады, өйткені көші-қон әлеуметтік-экономикалық, мәдени және саяси дамуға әсер етеді.

Реципиент елдердің алдында келушілердің экономикалық қауіпсіздігіне байланысты, олардың жаңа шарттарға интеграциялануы, соның ішінде ұлттық және діни толеранттылыққа, адам құқықтарын қорғау мен ұлттық қауіпсіздікті сақтауға байланысты бірқатар мәселелер туындайды.

**Тірек сөздер:** еңбек көші-қоны, Еуропалық Одақ, көші-қон саясаты.

**Abstract.** In the EU countries, the problem of migration is one of the most pressing, as migration affects the socio-economic, cultural and political development.

A number of problems appear in front of the recipient countries related to the economic security of the arrivals, their integration into the new conditions, including problems of national and religious tolerance, respect for human rights and ensuring national security.

**Keywords:** labor migration, European Union, migrational policy.

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В настоящее время одним из важных звеньев современной мировой экономики стала международная трудовая миграция населения.

Сегодня в миграционный трудовой обмен вовлечены многие страны мира.

Следует заметить, что трудовая миграционная политика активно выполняет