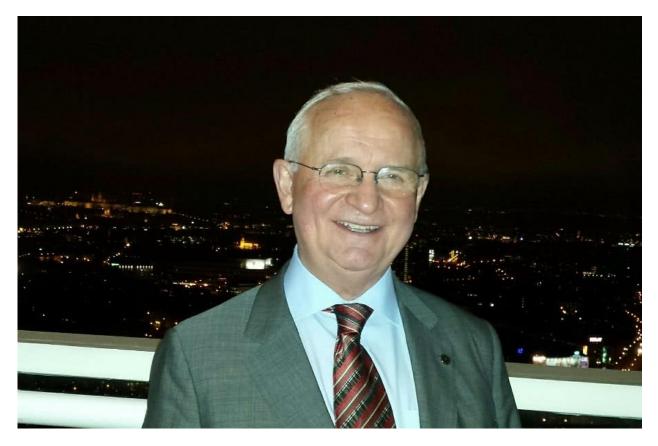
Thirdly to Kazakhstan Jan Campbell





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I didn't anticipate that the prelude to the New Great Game and Battle in January 2022 would be skipped right off the bat, and that I would be covering a topic and region that I am familiar with from the days of the USSR, perestroika, and the time of the West's hypocritical behaviour towards now 30 year old Kazakhstan. Due to the unabated interest in more details related to the content of the last articles I decided to write a third one, on three topics with a short introduction and conclusion. 1) The Great Battle, 2) The main causes of the coup attempt, 3) The Three Nations of Kazakhstan. The themes can also serve to prepare the young generation of politicians, diplomats and academic analysts in the new era that will not knock on the door and wait for permission to enter the Czech basin. I can imagine that even some sensible members of the European left and the Czech government may find in the article, if not a warning, at least a reference or food for thought. The EU situation will require both soon.

Introduction

The fact that Kazakhstan has a relatively strong resource-based economy compared to other post-Soviet countries often gives the *illusion of self-sufficiency*. Among other things, self-sufficiency represents a fatal challenge and risk for the contemporary Czech Republic and other states in Europe. That the political, economic, financial, and ethnic-social foundations of post-Soviet Kazakhstan would be shaken was predictable from the time of the *Great Game*, and for me personally inevitable. Why? Kazakhstan is geopolitically and resource-wise important, but for many years divided by, among other things, enormous corruption and ambitions. I have no documentary evidence of how many thousands of NGOs linked to George Soros' funds, the CIA and the like are still operating in Kazakhstan today. If my memory serves me correctly, in my time there were more than ten thousand non-governmental non-profit organizations (NGOs)! It is worth to know that the supposedly independent National Endowment for Democracy (NED), one of the influential US instruments abroad directly controlled by US foreign intelligence, had at least twenty civil society development programs in Kazakhstan.

The NED is a Reagan-era foundation. It was the first US institution to be included by the Russian prosecutor's office in 2015 on a list of organizations whose presence in the RF was deemed highly undesirable. At one time it was associated with the Polish Solidarity, Charter 77, the Serbian Otpor movement, etc. It was Otpor, for example, which overthrew the government of Slobodan Milosevic in October 2000 as part of the so-called *bulldozer revolution*. After the loss of the NED's position in Russia, the foundation's leadership focused its efforts on the former Soviet republics. The vast, sparsely populated three major nations, Kazakhstan as one of them, the closest ally of the RF with strong ties to the PRC, now a competitor of the West and the number one enemy of the US, offers itself as an ideal battleground in the West's New Great Game with the RF and the PRC.

President Nazarbayev's underestimation of the NGOs was clear and explainable to me, but I did not expect President Tokayev's underestimation. Therefore, this weakness of the president indicates the inadequate quality of his advisors and confirms personal experience that says that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) should be overestimated and never underestimated. Why? Because they can never document or otherwise convincingly prove their independence. This fact may help Tokayev to clear the political field and begin the spring cleaning that could allow him to get a sense of relative assurance of personal survival as well as government. The analogy applies to President Putin and the RF government. The latter is reluctant or unable to clear the Russian field and some channels of state-sponsored television of anti-Russian NGOs, even copying the EU model. Underestimation of non-state NGOs, including so called fifth columnists, is being used by the West to build and support modern-day martyrs like Guaido, Tikhanovskaya, Navalny, now joined by the billionaire ex-minister and billionaire Mukhter Ablyazov, living and in France and wanted by the police. Money doesn't smell since the days of Emperor Tito as we know.

Although everything in Kazakhstan today is happening according to the classic canons of the colour revolutions, one fact is striking: the haste and timing. I suspect that haste will play against the organisers of the coup attempt, and that we will learn the reasons for this haste later. The fact that the response to the protests, even from President Tokayev's side, was inconsistent and sluggish from the start (promises to cut prices, to talk to the protesters and later demanding that the police disperse them) cannot be seen as anything other than a populistic and economically unjustified. The president's inconsistency, underestimation of the reasons for the protest and bad conscience led to increased protest, violence, pogroms and a very rapid change in the protesters' demands: from economic to the political agenda of the colour revolutions.

The Great Game

The Great Game, is the name of the strategic conflict between the British Empire and the Russian Empire, and later between the British Empire and Soviet Russia. The authorship of the term The Great Game is attributed to the British intelligence officer and writer Arthur Conolly (1807 - 1842). The classic period of the Great Game begins around 1813 and ends in 1907 with the signing of the Anglo-Russian treaty regulating mutual relations in Afghanistan. The revolution in Russia (1917) was followed by a second, less intense phase of the Great Game. The collapse of the British Empire after World War II allowed for the transformation of the ex-empire into the Commonwealth of Nations, the end of the Great Game and its replacement by the New Great Game. The USA, the PRC, the USSR, and today the RF are mainly active in it. In addition to research expeditions, espionage and diplomacy, the game includes military, financial and other support. For example, when the Soviets fought the *Bashmachi movement*, the British generously supported them. The Basmachi movement was a military-political and religious guerrilla movement of the Muslims of Central Asia against Tsarist and Soviet rule. Today they are NGOs.

If the then risk of war did not lead to any direct mutual war conflict, today this conflict is only a matter of time. This is also because the attempted coup in Kazakhstan will not be successful, but President Putin will be successful. He will not celebrate victory in one battle, because the New Great Game is only just unfolding and with a probability bordering on certainty will bring surprises also to the EU, not least from Kazakhstan. Until it arrives, I recommend familiarizing yourself with at least two cartoons of the Great Game.

In the attached Times cartoon from the late 19th century, the time of the Great Game of 1812-1907, the British lion and the American eagle switched places, and China, which had been driven into semi-colonial rule in the 19th century, became a powerful geo-economic and geopolitical player. It has its own political score to settle with the West. But together with the RF, both powers will try to free themselves from the semi-colonial regime as soon as possible. This is represented by the financial system, cognitive capitalism, military spending and unpayable debt. The second cartoon that is in Wikipedia, which I recommend, is an excerpt from an English satirical magazine from 1911: If there were not perfect understanding between us, I (the British lion) would be tempted to ask you (the Russian bear) what you are doing with our little friend (the Persian cat).



The main causes of the coup attempt

1. The incompatibility of the neoliberal economic model (never implemented in any Western society) created over 30 years with the mentality of the three main ethnicities of Kazakhstan. The nation is made up of an overwhelming majority of rural population. The latter still largely carry the language, culture and customs of the traditional agrarian society of the pre-industrial era. Privatisation of the agricultural industry, modelled on western industrial production, has deprived millions of villagers of their jobs. Neither the tsarist government nor the communists did this. As a result of the incompatibility and privatisation, the share of agriculture in the country's GDP has fallen from 38.0% in the Kazakh SSR to the current 3.5-5.0% which is produced by a maximum of 25.0% of the rural population of working age. Hence the migration of people from the villages to the cities where no one is waiting for them and the resulting hardly controllable risk. President Tokayev pointed it out at the time as follows: Kazakhstan already has problems with uncontrolled migration due to rural unemployment. The most important task is to create conditions for rural youth, to provide them with jobs. Otherwise, we are at risk of uncontrolled migration and urbanisation and, as a result, the need to address fundamental social and political issues. This concerns, in particular, the inhabitants of the southern regions, where the proportion of unemployed rural youth is particularly high. The World Bank experts warn that the rural population will be most affected by the covid-19 pandemic. The greatest increase in the number of poor people is expected in rural areas, which threatens to increase inequality in Kazakhstan. The aim is to protect the most vulnerable. Today we are witnessing that covid-19 is spreading like an avalanche in the countryside and no one really cares.

2) The unrealistic expectations of Kazakhs from their own state and the immediate elevation of the status of an *autochthonous national language*. The sphere and its application are limited by the size, number of functions, and the small number of people proficient in the language at the government level. The transition from the communicative level of an autochthonous young written language (which was given a written form in the early 20th century) to the level of a state language to match the multi-functional written languages used in all spheres of life in Western societies has failed. Why? I have lectured on this countless times in many places.

Kazakhstan is among the 106 countries - members of the United Nations, in which the functions of the state language (formally and informally) are attributed to the languages of former empires with a high level of communication. The hopes of workers, craftsmen and professionals who received professional education in Kazakh language for employment in the neoliberal model of economy were not justified. Therefore, they became a major obstacle on the way to the real transformation of the Kazakh nation with all the ensuing consequences. One of them is that the vast majority of Kazakhs who already had or received professional education in their native language became outsiders in the labour market in their own country's economy.

The reality of Kazakhstan's modernised economy is also a tragedy. There is not a single sector (unless we consider show business) in which villagers, bearers of Kazakh language and culture, could find work. They make up 2/3 of the so-called self-employed. As we know, these are people without permanent employment. There are about 4.5 million self-employed people in Kazakhstan. I do not know the exact number of the unemployed, but I assume that there are more of them than reported by Goskomstat RK. They also have to be considered. The rapid transformation of the system of training middle- and higher-skilled professionals and scientists, with the help of copying and uncritical acceptance of predominantly Western standards, has created a means of promoting Western lifestyles and supplying goods and services by multinational companies. The result, in my personal view, has been more than trivial: a catastrophic decline in the quality of education, a deficit in critical thinking, a disconnection of the education sector from the realities of the domestic labour market, intractable problems in employing holders of modern diplomas, and efforts to get a Western certificates and diplomas at any cost, including corruption.

3. Limitation of the institutional field of economic activity of citizens. This was extremely limited to private property entities in the absence of other forms of ownership. This has left millions of people without work, for whom the question of employment has become a matter of life and death. Any form of ownership that was intended to serve the collective economic and other interests of certain social groups and local communities was, and perhaps still is today, forbidden. Why? Because this niche has been occupied by thousands of foreign NGOs pursuing the objectives of their foreign benefactors. The poor quality of employment regulation has failed to overcome the objectively collectivist nature of the national mentality of the main masses of the population. This was already the main problem of the subjectively paternalistic Russian-Soviet model of state that Kazakhstan inherited from the Russian Empire and the USSR. Therefore, the young state of Kazakhstan had to define, implement and finance a series of social programs aimed at promoting social dependence and paternalism among millions of people who were objectively incapable of private enterprise. The welfare programs therefore became a major burden on the state budget. By delegating the solution of social problems to corrupt and incompetent officials, corruption flourished like a fairy tale. In Kazakhstan's conditions, it is fatally inevitable, covering all resources and spheres of society. That is why the fight against corruption will never be successful, as I wrote, among other things, in one of the chapters of the book Consent Not Needed (Campbell, J., 2016, ISBN 978-3-00-052470-7).

4. Kazakhstan has uncritically adopted the mantra of IT and a global economy largely monopolized by the transnational corporations (TNCs) of the US and a few of the so-called developed countries. This has brought Kazakhstan into full dependence and network of neoliberal economic ideas defined by TNCs. According to it, normative bases of legal, energy and other systems, education standards, as well as infrastructure monopolies were developed. This is a chapter in itself, which politicians in the Czech basin should also study if they do not want to read only notes from Brussels.

In Kazakhstan, the exchange is traded in USD and the international securities settlement system uses Clear Stream. The internet and IT, the SWIFT clearing system and the credit rating agencies are owned and controlled by Western companies. Similarly for auditing and consulting. In this way, Kazakhstan has deprived itself of the possibility of qualitative changes in the national economy, limiting the functions of its government to ensuring quantitative and qualitative GDP growth, the parameters of which are determined exclusively by the interests of Western states, Japan and, above all, the USA.

5. The experience of the economic reforms of the last 30 years, their ideology focused on private interests and westernization of the local population's behaviour, has only served the private business of the state bureaucracy, its cronies (who have acquired foreign advisors) and foreign

companies. The rest of the population, in whose history there were and could not have been any preconditions for private initiatives based on Western traditions and culture of property use, proved to be unprepared for so-called free market operations and relations. The neoliberal vision of the economy has brought Kazakhstan to a state of stagnation. It allows the corruption-rich ruling clique to be completely complacent, not to think critically and to be inattentive, and therefore unmotivated to adapt to the objective changes brought about by the spirit of the times. In return, stagnation allows a critical mass of discontent, futility and loss of dignity to accumulate in the people.

6. The traditional decision-making mechanism of the Russian model of state and social organization. The mentioned mechanism of decisions made at the very top of the power pyramid and their implementation only down the vertical, failed. The current generation of scientistseconomists in power has similarly failed. They were brought up in a neoliberal academic environment, they perceive the economic system created in Kazakhstan and in the world as the only possible one, and the proposals prepared for the government, which I knew partly well, never went beyond the paradigm set by the West. Within that framework, there was never any place for organic economic reforms and development in Kazakhstan. This should be based on the progress of science and education as the main conditions for the broad participation of the masses in the modernisation of themselves and the country, and not on the uncritical adoption of Western recipes. As a result, at least a third of GDP is made up of non-residents of the RK! The double rule (external and internal) caused by conflict of interests, corruption and the described causes - in the geopolitical context that takes into account the new military power and the role of the RF in the world, forced the puppetmasters of Kazakhstan to act in haste with violence, pogroms and unproven accusations against the RF using mass media.

A little history from Kazakhstan

There are actually three different ethnicities living in Kazakhstan. They differ not only in the place where they live, but also in the way they behave and look. These three sub-ethnicities are called *Zhuz*. The Kazakhs themselves say about them:

The older Zhuz resembles the Uzbeks in appearance. It has an ancient history, knows the hot climate. That's where Nazarbayev and most of the Kazakh elite come from. Not many people speak Russian in Auls, but it is also where Almaty is located. The younger Zhuzas are characterized by more Iranian genetics, closer in appearance to Kurds, Assyrians and Caucasians. There are more ethnic Russians in the area where they live than elsewhere in Kazakhstan. The area is more orderly and characterised by a more peaceful development. Perhaps that is why the capital Almaty has been moved to the centre of the younger Zhuza´ area, the newly built Astana, now Nursultan, tomorrow perhaps Astana again. The youngest Zhuzas are close in appearance to the Mongoloids. They are the most numerous human race, probably in the world. This race is quite savage, aggressive and free-thinking. It lives on the southwestern edge of the Green Zone of Kazakhstan (with Aktau as its capital and important port city), where it is said: Give the youngest Zhuza to protest and pogroms in a region where uranium, gas and oil were discovered only around 1958, and since have been of a great interest to transnational companies?

Those who are more interested in Kazakhstan may encounter a term I can't translate better than as *babaism*. The term means something like stupidity or backwardness in life. And this is typical of the Kazakh interior. Against the backwardness of Kazakhstan stands the hope they represent - the *Shala Kazakhs*. In an inoffensive translation, the *half-Kazakhs*. In a provocative translation, the new Kazakhs have often been called the *asphalt Kazakhs*. The native steppe means practically nothing to them, or little, much less cities with asphalt streets built by the Russians. New Kazakhs

one can meet in Moscow, Paris, London, Rome or Prague, among other places, dress according to the latest fashion trends and can be indistinguishable from the Chinese. They are Russian-speaking, often don't even speak their native Kazakh, and have a better command of English. They are educated people with a European way of life and thinking. Most of them, of course, live in Almaty and Astana.

Some natives believe that they are not real Kazakhs. Yet I have the impression that even the most die-hard traditionalist would not deny that *Shala* owes its prosperity to the Kazakhs. Thanks to them, the country is different from other former Soviet republics, from which beggarly auls travel to Moscow and other big cities for work. Since the violence in Kazakhstan represents an internal struggle between clans for power, resources and redistribution of wealth, and at the same time an external struggle, which I have briefly discussed in the section of this paper devoted to the New Great Game, it cannot be ruled out that the direction and manner in which Kazakhstan will develop depends on the behaviour of the *Shala Kazakhs*. Why? Should the massive outflow of the rest of the educated people to Russia continue, President Tokayev will not have an easy times home. The Shala Kazakhs are therefore being offered the opportunity today to decide once and for all what they want, where they want the country to go and who to be friends and associated with. Why? Because today we are witnessing the realization of a few ancient maxims: 1) Divide and conquer. 2) You will never get anywhere unless you decide where you want to go. 3) More modern: if you have oil or gas, we will fly in to you to make a deal, or we will fly our bombs.

Conclusion

For separate reflection, I offer this thesis: in Kazakhstan, Presidents Putin and Erdogan are not standing in each other's way. The much anticipated conflict between Moscow and Ankara will not happen. Why? Because the potential for conflict will be neutralized by the interests of strategic interaction and Erdogan's interest in staying alive and in power. For a better understanding of what I mean, I recommend watching the news, for example in the last post of the mentioned Habertürk daily (in English something like News from Turkey) and comparing it with the content of my articles. Yesterday, I learned that Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu announced an emergency meeting of the Organization of Turkic States (OTS) foreign ministers to discuss developments in Kazakhstan on January 11. The questions arise: Why an emergency? Why so unexpected? What should be the outcome of such a meeting?

In an addendum, the Turkish daily Yeni Akit notes: *Together with Kazakhstan, we have not only expanded the borders of the Turkic world, but have begun to set the rules of the game in Central Asia.* Akit does not explain why, when the struggle in the New Great Game began in Kazakhstan, it was not the Turkic states that entered it, but Russia and its partners in the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO). Ahmet Davutoğlu, former head of the Turkish Foreign Ministry and government, now chairman of the opposition Future Party, offers a clue on Twitter. *It is also worrying that Astana has turned to the Armenian-led OSCE in connection with these events. It is the historic duty of Turkey and the Organisation of Turkic States to help overcome tensions while respecting the internal affairs of Kazakhstan. The fact that sufficient steps have not yet been taken in this direction is a sign of the weakness of the internal solidarity of the Turkic world.*

It is already clear from this little that: 1) The establishment of a Turkic military corps, described in my last article a say ago, has been postponed. 2) It cannot be ruled out that the Turkish opposition will now attack Erdogan from the position of the crack in the Turkic alliance that has appeared. 3) The RF, which is also stronger than Turkey in respect of geopolitical influence, has been given another quality card. 4) The Turkish-Azerbaijani alliance into which Christian Georgia has been drawn and in which Armenia may find itself in the function of a geographical bridge between Azerbaijan and Turkey offers a comparison with Nazarbayev's *Turkic geopolitical projects*. These

have always raised more questions than they have offered answers. Especially when there was talk of creating an alternative to the Eurasian Union, up to and including a military-political union. Therefore: Turkey's declared geopolitical ambitions in the Asian direction are objectively at odds with its actual capabilities. This is bad news for the US, UK and its allies and good news for Putin and Tokayev. He said at the last Valdai Club meeting in 2021: *Having nuclear weapons in today's world is no guarantee of security and especially economic prosperity. Sometimes it is better not to have nuclear weapons, but to attract more investment in your economy, to maintain and develop good relations with all the countries of the world, which Kazakhstan is doing in practice. Putin's remark - Saddam Hussein thought so too - was taken as a joke by Tokayev. No consent needed.*

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