

<DIST>SIT: BURNS VAX

<PREC> PRIORITY<CLAS> UNCLASSIFIED<OSRI> RUDKMKA<DTG> 061110Z MAY 92
<ORIG>FM FBIS (b)(3)
<TO>TO AIG 4621
RHEHWSR/THE WHITE HOUSE//SIT ROOM: PASS TO BETH SANNER//
RUCKDDA/SECOND INTEL CO//ITU//

(b)(3)
RUEHIA/USIA WASHINGTON DC//P/R//
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
RUEHWR/AMEMBASSY WARSAW//POL NORVILLE//
RUFHIN/AMEMBASSY BONN//JONES OCA//
ACCT FBLD-EWDK

<SUBJ> TAKE 1 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED

<TEXT>
UNCLAS 3I/PMU LD/FAX SUP LEADER
SERIAL: (b)(3)0605111092
PASS: COPY TO (b)(3)
COUNTRY: KAZAKHSTAN
SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED
SOURCE: MOSCOW NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA IN RUSSIAN 6 MAY 92 P 5
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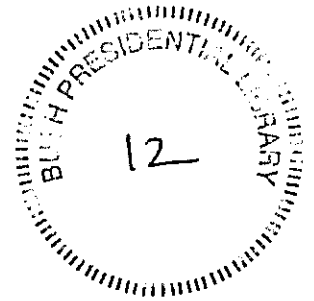
(((INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN
NURSULTAN NAZARBAYEV BY ALEKSANDR GAGUA UNDER "IDEAS AND PEOPLE"
RUBRIC; DATE, PLACE NOT GIVEN: "ANY BORDER CLAIMS TODAY MEAN
INEVITABLE BLOODSHED. IF ANYONE THINKS THAT NAZARBAYEV BEHAVES IN A
FRIENDLY MANNER OUT OF FEAR, HE IS PROFOUNDLY MISTAKEN. INTERVIEW
WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN"))

((TEXT)) ((GAGUA)) YOU WERE ONE OF THE MOST CONVINCED DEFENDERS
OF THE IDEA OF PRESERVING THE UNION. DO YOU EVEN NOW BELIEVE THAT
AT THE TIME THIS CHANCE WAS NEVERTHELESS MISSED?

((NAZARBAYEV)) NOW IT IS ALREADY NECESSARY TO MOVE ON FROM THE
REALITIES OF TODAY. BUT AT THAT TIME PEOPLE IN RUSSIAN CIRCLES WERE
SAYING THAT IT WAS NOT THE UNION BUT THE EMPIRE THAT WAS COLLAPSING.
IF WE GO BACK A LITTLE WAY INTO OUR RECENT PAST, THEN IT IS POSSIBLE
TO RECALL THAT BACK IN 1987 THE BALTS BEGAN TO HOLD TALKS ON
ECONOMIC AUTONOMY. BUT AT THAT TIME RYZHKOV'S GOVERNMENT DID NOT
WANT TO HEAR ABOUT THIS. I RECALL A SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS PRESIDUM. (AT THE TIME I WAS KAZAKHSTAN'S REPRESENTATIVE
ON IT.) THE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT ONLY WAVED THE MATTER AWAY:
THERE WILL NEVER BE ANY ECONOMIC AUTONOMY.

EVERYTHING THEN SEEMED SIMPLE AND UNDERSTANDABLE. BUT IT WAS
NECESSARY TO TAKE THIS STEP -- TO DECENTRALIZE THE ECONOMY. IN
LEADING SUCH A VAST COUNTRY IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CONCENTRATE
ADMINISTRATION IN ONE SPOT. ONLY THE CENTER DERIVED ANY "ADVANTAGE"
FROM SUCH CENTRALIZATION. EVERYTHING THAT WAS EARNED IN THE
REPUBLICS WAS CARTED OFF TO THE CENTER, AND THEN THE MONEY WAS
DISTRIBUTED VIA GOSPLAN AND THE RESOURCES VIA GOSSNAB. HERE
PERSONAL SYMPATHIES CAME INTO PLAY, THE MECHANISM OF WHO GETS HOW
MUCH OPERATED. ADMITTEDLY, THERE WAS ALSO PLANNING -- THE PLANS
WERE DISCUSSED AT SESSIONS OF THE SUPREME SOVIET. BUT THIS COULD
ONLY THEORETICALLY BE CALLED A DISCUSSION. FORMALISM WAS THE ORDER
OF THE DAY, THERE WAS NO REAL DISCUSSION, EVERYONE VOTED
UNANIMOUSLY, A LARGE VOLUME OF RESOURCES REMAINED AT THE DISPOSAL OF
INDIVIDUAL HIGHLY PLACED LEADERS. BOTH FROM THE CPSU AND FROM THE
GOVERNMENT. MUCH HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THIS, BUT, IF WE UNDERTOOK
RESTRUCTURING, IT WAS NECESSARY TO GIVE THE REPUBLICS ECONOMIC
AUTONOMY, TO DECENTRALIZE THE ECONOMY, AND EVERYTHING WOULD FOLLOW
ANOTHER CHANNEL.

BUT THIS WAS NOT DONE, AND THE CONFRONTATION BEGAN TO GROW. THEN
THE RIBBENTROP-MOLOTOV PACT WAS UNEARTHED, EVENTS TOOK QUITE ANOTHER
TURN, THE MOVEMENT TOWARD SOVEREIGNIZATION GOT UNDER WAY, IN THE
WAKE OF THE BALTIC REGION OTHER STATES TOO BEGAN TO DECLARE THEIR
INDEPENDENCE. SOVEREIGNIZATION REACHED ITS PEAK IN 1990. THE



FOURTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS TOOK PLACE IN DECEMBER. I SPOKE VERY SHARPLY AT IT. OVER THE TELEPHONE THAT EVENING GORBACHEV AIRED HIS GRIEVANCE. THE FURTHER THINGS WENT THE WORSE THEY GOT: NO ONE WAS RECOGNIZING ANYONE, CUSTOMS BARRIERS APPEARED, OBSTACLES WERE PLACED IN THE WAY OF THE MOVEMENT OF GOODS. THIS HAD NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THE ECONOMY -- BARTER, EXCHANGE IN KIND. AND IT WAS EVIDENT FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE REPUBLICS THAT EACH ONE HAD HIS OWN OPINION. IT WAS AT THAT TIME THAT THE IDEA WAS BORN OF THE READINESS OF FOUR REPUBLICS -- RUSSIA, UKRAINE, BYELARUS, AND KAZAKHSTAN -- TO CREATE A REAL FEDERATION WITH FULL AUTONOMY FOR THE REPUBLICS. UZBEKISTAN WAS THE FIFTH TO WANT TO JOIN THE COMMUNITY.

AT THAT TIME, INCIDENTALLY, IT WAS STILL POSSIBLE TO CHANGE SOMETHING. WE DECIDED -- THIS WAS MY INITIATIVE AND THAT OF BYELARUS (NIKOLAY DEMENTYEV WAS THEN CHAIRMAN OF THE SUPREME SOVIET) -- NOT TO DO THIS SURREPTITIOUSLY, AS IT TURNED OUT LATER, BUT TO GO TO GORBACHEV AND SAY: THE UNION OF THE FIVE REPUBLICS CAN BECOME THE BACKBONE OF A NEW STATE, A NORMAL FEDERATION. SUBSEQUENTLY IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ATTRACT THE REMAINING REPUBLICS INTO IT. BUT OUR THREE ATTEMPTS ENDED IN FAILURE: GORBACHEV (WITH AND WITHOUT RYZHKOV) COMPLETELY REJECTED THIS OPTION. YELTSIN AND I TOO ((MY I S YELTSINYM)) WENT TO HIM WITH THIS PROPOSAL -- WITH THE SAME RESULT. IT WAS AT THAT TIME THAT GORBACHEV BEGAN TO EXPEDITE THE NOVO-OGAREVO NEGOTIATIONS. A COMMISSION WAS SET UP, THEN IT WAS TRANSFORMED INTO WORKING GROUPS. HE CONTINUED TO BE A CHAMPION OF THE CENTRAL POWER, THE PRESIDENCY, THE GOVERNMENT. AND WE ASSEMBLED WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS, WHICH GREATLY COMPLICATED OUR WORK: EACH OF THEM DEMANDED RECOGNITION FOR HIMSELF.

(MORE) 6 MAY [REDACTED] (b)(3) 0605.002/[REDACTED] (b)(3) 06/1259Z MAY

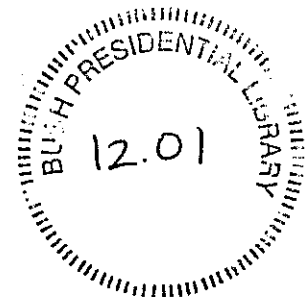
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RHEHWSR/THE WHITE HOUSE//SIT ROOM: PASS TO BETH SANNER//
RUCKDDA/SECOND INTEL CO//ITU//

(b)(3)
RUEHIA/USIA WASHINGTON DC//P/R//
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
RUEHWR/AMEMBASSY WARSAW//POL NORVILLE//
RUFHIN/AMEMBASSY BONN//JONES OCA//
ACCT FBLD-EWDK



<SUBJ> TAKE 2 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED

<TEXT>

UNCLAS 3I/PMU LD/FAX SUP LEADER

SERIAL: (b)(3)D605111192

PASS: COPY TO (b)(3)

COUNTRY: KAZAKHSTAN

SUBJ: TAKE 2 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED

REF: (b)(3)D605111092 MOSCOW NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA RUSSIAN 6
MAY//RECOGNITION FOR HIMSELF.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) IN A WORD, FROM THE VERY OUTSET IT WAS CLEAR THAT NOTHING WOULD COME OF ALL THIS. SO AFTER THREE MONTHS' WORK -- FEBRUARY, MARCH, AND APRIL OF LAST YEAR -- WE ARRIVED AT THE FORMATION OF A CONFEDERATION. BUT THE TREATY SIMPLY WAS NOT SIGNED. A STRING OF MISTAKES AND THE UNSCRUPULOUS POSITION ADOPTED BY THE COUNTRY'S HIGHEST LEADERSHIP WITH OUR ACQUIESCENCE GREATLY HARMED THE BUSINESS. NOBODY -- INCLUDING ME -- SURMISED WHAT WAS TO HAPPEN IN AUGUST. IF YOU REMEMBER, YELTSIN ARRIVED IN ALMA-ATA 17 AUGUST TO EXCHANGE INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION FOR A BILATERAL TREATY. NEITHER I NOR HE SUSPECTED ANYTHING ABOUT THE PREPARATION OF A PUTSCH, ALTHOUGH WE KNEW THAT LUKYANOV WAS SPEAKING OPENLY OF THE INADMISSIBILITY OF AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE REPUBLICS. WE WERE ALSO AWARE OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NOVO-OGAREVO PROCESS -- IT WAS SHARPLY NEGATIVE.

BUT AUGUST IS BEHIND US. AND NOW, HOWEVER STRANGE, IMMODERATION MANIFESTED ITSELF IN RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY ON THE WAVE OF VICTORY, NOTES OF CHAUVINISM WERE HEARD IN SPEECHES. AND WHAT WAS THE RESULT? CENTRIFUGAL TENDENCIES WERE REBORN IN THE REPUBLICS. IN RESPONSE, UKRAINE DECLARED ITS INDEPENDENCE. AND AT THAT TIME WE BEGAN TO UNDERSTAND: WHAT WE HAVE BEEN CONTEMPLATING WILL NOT COME ABOUT.

((GAGUA)) AT THE SAME TIME, THE RUSSIAN LEADERS HAVE SAID THAT, ESSENTIALLY, THE CIS IS THE CONTINUATION OF THAT SAME UNION OF FOUR YOU HAVE JUST BEEN TALKING ABOUT.

((NAZARBAYEV)) THIS ARGUMENT HAS BEEN MADE, BUT MORE ABOUT THAT LATER. BUT RIGHT NOW I AM RECALLING HOW EVERYTHING HAPPENED. AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS I WAS INSTRUCTED TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF ALL THE LEADERS OF THE REPUBLICS. WE FORMED A COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLICS, A COUNCIL OF THE UNION. IN EFFECT THE CONGRESS ENDED ITS EXISTENCE. THERE REMAINED A BICAMERAL SUPREME SOVIET SYSTEM. WE FORMED THE STATE COUNCIL, WHICH EMBRACED THE STATES' HIGHEST LEADERS. I PROPOSED AT THAT TIME THAT WE SIGN AN ECONOMIC TREATY.

HOWEVER, THE MEMBERS OF THE STATE COUNCIL BEGAN TO DISPLAY DISSATISFACTION WITH THE FACT THAT GORBACHEV COMMANDED THE SESSIONS. THEREFORE PROPOSALS BEGAN TO BE HEARD TO ASSEMBLE WITHOUT THE PRESIDENT OF THE USSR, AND IF REQUIRED, TO ELECT A CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COUNCIL.

IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT A MEETING OF HEADS OF STATE WAS NECESSARY TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE CONCLUSION OF AN ECONOMIC TREATY. AFTER CONSULTING WITH THE LEADERS OF THE REPUBLICS WE BEGAN TO PREPARE A DRAFT OF THIS TREATY. I INVITED THE MEMBERS OF THE STATE COUNCIL TO ALMA-ATA. THIS DISPLEASED GORBACHEV. HE DID NOT

COME, BUT SILAYEV, AS HEAD OF THE INTERSTATE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, CAME, AND YAVLINSKIY'S GROUP WORKED ALONG WITH HIM. AND IT MUST BE STATED THAT IT HAD PREPARED EXCELLENT DOCUMENTS. ANYWAY, WE SUCCEEDED IN ASSEMBLING 11 HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT, AND WE SIGNED THE ECONOMIC TREATY. THANKS TO THIS WE WERE ABLE TO HOLD THE ALMA-ATA MEETING OF 1 OCTOBER LAST YEAR, AND THE ALREADY COMPLETED DOCUMENTS WERE SIGNED IN THE KREMLIN'S ST. GEORGE'S HALL.

THEN TOO A FUSS WAS KICKED UP AROUND THIS: RUSSIA'S SUPREME SOVIET WAS DISSATISFIED AND DEEMED THIS ACTION TO BE UNLAWFUL. BUT THE DOCUMENT WAS SIGNED ALL THE SAME. AND IT WAS NECESSARY TO GIVE ALL THE REPUBLICS THE OPPORTUNITY TO DO SOME WORK ON IMPLEMENTING THIS ECONOMIC TREATY. BUT GORBACHEV WITHOUT FAIL WISHED TO CONSOLIDATE MATTERS WITH A POLITICAL UNION, SUPPOSING THAT AN ECONOMIC UNION IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT A POLITICAL ONE. SO THAT IN EFFECT A GOVERNMENT WAS CREATED IN THE SHAPE OF THE INTERSTATE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, ON WHICH SAT ALL THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLICS. THEY BEGAN TO FORMULATE AGREEMENTS ON AN INTERBANK UNION, A SINGLE RUBLE AREA, A COORDINATED POLICY ON THE PRIVATIZATION OF PROPERTY, THE DESTATIZATION OF OWNERSHIP, AND PRICE LIBERALIZATION, ALONG WITH CUSTOMS AND MILITARY TREATIES. WORK WAS DONE ON A VERY LARGE SCALE!

WE DEEMED IT ESSENTIAL TO PURSUE FURTHER WORK ON COORDINATING THE REPUBLICS' ECONOMIES.

((GAGUA)) THE MAIN THIN THAT HELD EVERYONE TOGETHER THEN WAS THE MUTUALLY DEPENDENT ECONOMY...

((NAZARBAYEV)) PRECISELY. I BELIEVE THAT THE FOUNDATION OF THE WHOLE STATE IS AN ECONOMY WHICH GUARANTEES PEOPLE A NORMAL LIFE. CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION IN MY REPUBLIC ACCUSE ME OF THE FACT THAT -- THEY CLAIM -- WE ARE LAGGING BEHIND THE DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS AND EVEN WERE THE LAST ONES TO DECLARE INDEPENDENCE. BUT POLICY MUST BE CONSTRUCTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REALITIES. I BELIEVE THAT, THANKS TO THIS, WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN PRESERVING THE STABILITY OF THE ENORMOUS MULTINATIONAL STATE OF KAZAKHSTAN. INDEED, THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE REPUBLICS WAS PUSHING US IN THE DIRECTION OF PROCLAIMING INDEPENDENCE. BUT WHERE'S THE SENSE IF THE PROCLAIMED INDEPENDENCE IS MERELY A DECLARATION, A GOOD INTENTION, AND IS NOT SUPPORTED ECONOMICALLY?

(MORE) 6 MAY (b)(3) 0605.003/(b)(3) 06/1300Z MAY

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01<SSN> 8960<STOR> 920506091750 MSG000326452670
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RHEHWSR/THE WHITE HOUSE//SIT ROOM: PASS TO BETH SANNER//
RUCKDDA/SECOND INTEL CO//ITU//

(b)(3)
RUEHIA/USIA WASHINGTON DC//P/R//
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
RUEHWR/AMEMBASSY WARSAW//POL NORVILLE//
RUFHIN/AMEMBASSY BONN//JONES OCA//
ACCT FBLD-EWDK

<SUBJ> TAKE 3 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED

<TEXT>
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SERIAL: (b)(3) 605111292
PASS: COPY TO (b)(3)
COUNTRY: KAZAKHSTAN
SUBJ: TAKE 3 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED
REF: (b)(3) 605111092 MOSCOW NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA RUSSIAN 6 MAY///NOT
SUPPORTED ECONOMICALLY.

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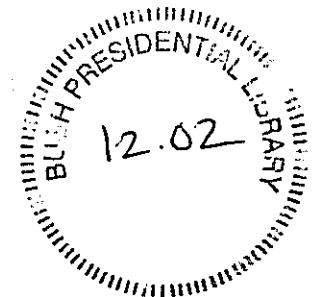
((TEXT)) SO, NOW WE ARE ALL INDEPENDENT, BUT THE ECONOMY CONTINUES TO HOLD US ALL IN ONE HARNESS. IF THE PARLIAMENTS HAD RATIFIED THE AGREEMENT ON AN ECONOMIC UNION WHICH WAS SIGNED, THEN LIFE ITSELF WOULD HAVE LED US TOWARD UNIFICATION, AS IN EUROPE, FOR EXAMPLE: INITIALLY THEY CREATED THE COAL AND STEEL ASSOCIATION, WHILE FURTHER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION CREATED THE FOUNDATION FOR THE EMERGENCE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. WITH US, THIS PROCESS COULD HAVE MOVED EVEN FASTER. BECAUSE THERE REMAINED CLOSE ECONOMIC AND HUMAN TIES, MIXED MARRIAGES, FRIENDS. BUT THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH PATIENCE.

I WAS UNABLE TO GO TO THE FIRST MEETING OF HEADS OF STATE, MY VICE PRESIDENT ATTENDED. UKRAINE DID NOT WISH TO ACCEPT A POLITICAL UNION. AT THE MEETING IN ALMA-ATA THE REPRESENTATIVES OF ESTONIA AND LATVIA ALSO INSISTED THAT THE UNION WAS ONLY ECONOMIC. THEY WISHED TO PARTICIPATE IN IT AS OBSERVERS AT FIRST. RUSSIA, FOR ITS PART, STATED THAT IF UKRAINE DOES NOT WANT TO ENTER A POLITICAL UNION, THEN A UNION IS IMPOSSIBLE. I HAVE ALWAYS SAID: LOVE CANNOT BE COMPELLED. IT IS NECESSARY TO CREATE ANY SORT OF UNION WITH THOSE WHO DESIRE THIS. AND INDEED, IT WAS STIPULATED IN THE DOCUMENTS THAT EACH REPUBLIC JOINING THE UNION HAS THE RIGHT TO VOLUNTARY WITHDRAWAL UPON GIVING, SAY, SIX MONTHS' NOTICE.

ON 9 DECEMBER GORBACHEV INVITED US TO COME AND SEE HIM AND DISCUSS THE SITUATION -- YELTSIN, KRAVCHUK, SHUSHKEVICH, AND MYSELF. BUT BEFORE THIS BORIS NIKOLAYEVICH CALLED ME TO SAY: "I WANT TO FLY TO BYELARUS TO SIGN AN AGREEMENT; KRAVCHUK TOO WILL BE FLYING IN. BEFORE FINALLY MEETING WITH GORBACHEV I WANT TO ASCERTAIN HOW FAR WE CAN GO ((NA CHTO MOZHNO 'VYRULIT')). I MUST COME TO THE MEETING WITH GORBACHEV KNOWING THE OPINION OF KRAVCHUK AND SHUSHKEVICH." WHEN ON THE EVENING OF 8 DECEMBER I FLEW INTO VNUKOVO I WAS INFORMED THAT YELTSIN WAS CALLING FROM MINSK. ON THE TELEPHONE HE AND SHUSHKEVICH PROPOSED THAT I IMMEDIATELY FLY TO BYELARUS AND JOIN THEM. WHY? YELTSIN REPLIED: "WE ARE COMPILING DOCUMENTS RIGHT HERE AND WE WOULD LIKE KAZAKHSTAN TO BECOME THE FOURTH." I DIDN'T GO.

THE FOLLOWING DAY, AT 1200 HOURS AS SCHEDULED, I ARRIVED TO SEE GORBACHEV. I BELIEVED THAT WE WOULD BE HAVING A ONE-ON-ONE DISCUSSION. THEN SUDDENLY I SAW YELTSIN. THEN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT HE TOO DID NOT KNOW THAT I WOULD BE WITH GORBACHEV. HE TOO HAD BEEN INVITED ALONE...

THIS IS ALL HISTORY NOW. BUT FOLLOWING THE MINSK MEETING THERE WAS TALK OF THE SLAVS GETTING TOGETHER. AND THE MUSLIMS WILL NOW



ALSO GET TOGETHER SEPARATELY. THE CONFRONTATION AT THAT TIME WAS VERY DANGEROUS, AND WE WERE VERY CLOSE TO IT. WE HAD A DRAFT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ASIATIC CONFEDERATION. SUCH A GLOBAL CONFRONTATION COULD HAVE LED TO ANYTHING AT ALL IF YOU CONSIDER THE FACT THAT THERE ARE ALSO TURKIC-SPEAKING REPUBLICS IN RUSSIA. THEN, AT NIYAZOV'S INVITATION, WE MET IN ASHKHABAD AND DISCUSSED THIS SITUATION. SEVERAL DRAFTS WERE DRAWN UP. WE DWELT ON THE FACT OF JOINING THE CIS AS STATES WITH EQUAL RIGHTS. IN THIS CONNECTION OUR DOCUMENT CONTAINED A PROPOSAL ON THE LEGAL REGISTRATION OF A NEW FORMATION AND THE LIQUIDATION OF THE USSR. THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE BELOVEZKSKAYA MEETING DIDNOT ACCEPT OUR PROPOSALS, EXPLAINING THIS BY THE FACT THAT THEY ALONE WERE THE FOUNDERS OF THE UNION OF SOVEREIGN REPUBLICS AND THAT THEIR PARLIAMENTS HAD ALREADY RATIFIED THE DOCUMENT ON THE CIS.

((GAGUA)) APROPOS OF THIS, WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ON THE FUTURE OF THE COMMONWEALTH?

((NAZARBAYEV)) RIGHT AT THE START YOU SAID THAT I WAS A SUPPORTER OF A RENEWED UNION. MOVING ON FROM THIS, I WISH TO SAY THAT IF WE WERE TALKING ABOUT THE OLD UNION, THEN THIS WOULD BE THE CONTINUATION OF THE EMPIRE, OF THE TOTALITARIAN REGIME. BUT NO ONE WAS SPEAKING ABOUT SUCH A UNION. I WAS SPEAKING ABOUT CIVILIZED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NORMAL FRIENDLY STATES. AS FOR THE CIS... NOW, AFTER WE HAVE ADOPTED SEVERAL DOZEN DOCUMENTS, THERE IS NO ONE TO MONITOR THEIR FULFILLMENT. UKRAINE, FOR INSTANCE, SEES THE COORDINATING ORGANS WHICH I PROPOSED CREATING AS A REVIVAL OF THE IMPERIAL CENTER. ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF ANY CENTER.
(MORE) 6 MAY (b)(3) 605.004 (b)(3) 06/1300Z MAY

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01<SSN> 8961<STOR> 920506092010 MSG000326452810
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<DIST>SIT: VAX

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<TO>TO AIG 4621
RHEHWSR/THE WHITE HOUSE//SIT ROOM: PASS TO BETH SANNER//
RUCKDDA/SECOND INTEL CO//ITU//

[REDACTED] (b)(3)
RUEHIA/USIA WASHINGTON DC//P/R//
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
RUEHWR/AMEMBASSY WARSAW//POL NORVILLE//
RUFHIN/AMEMBASSY BONN//JONES OCA//
ACCT FBLD-EWDK



<SUBJ> TAKE 4 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED

<TEXT>
UNCLAS 3I/PMU LD/FAX SUP LEADER
SERIAL: [REDACTED] 605111392
PASS: COPY TO [REDACTED] (b)(3)
COUNTRY: KAZAKHSTAN
SUBJ: TAKE 4 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED
REF: [REDACTED] 605111092 MOSCOW NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA RUSSIAN 6 MAY///OF
ANY CENTER.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) THE ONLY GOOD THING FROM TODAY'S CIS IS THE FACT THAT WE GET TOGETHER, MAKE CONTACT, AND TALK OVER SOME PARTICULAR ISSUES. IT WOULD BE WORSE IF IN THIS DIFFICULT TIME WE ALTOGETHER CEASED TO MAKE CONTACT AND CONSULT EACH OTHER. PARTICULARLY ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THE ECONOMY MEANS INTERDEPENDENCE. FOR INSTANCE, WHAT POSITION HAVE THE MACHINE-BUILDING PLANTS OF UKRAINE, BYELARUS, AND THE OTHER STATES ENDED UP IN WHICH OBTAIN SUBASSEMBLIES FROM THOUSANDS OF SUPPLIERS? THOSE WHO ARE NOT RECEIVING MACHINES AND EQUIPMENT FROM THOSE PLANTS ARE IN AN EVEN WORSE STATE. THIS PICTURE IS IDENTICAL THROUGHOUT THE FORMER USSR. DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD TO A MARKET ECONOMY WE NEED COORDINATING ORGANS WHICH COULD EASE THE DISORDER IN THE ECONOMY. THERE IS NO SUCH THING TODAY IN THE CIS. MOREOVER, AT THE LAST MEETING IN KIEV THE PEOPLE OCCUPIED THE SQUARE THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE DAY, DEMANDING UKRAINE'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE COMMONWEALTH. ITS PRESIDENT, KRAVCHUK, SPOKE APPROXIMATELY ABOUT THIS VERY THING AT A NEWS CONFERENCE. TO ONE'S GREAT REGRET, RUSSIA'S RELATIONS WITH UKRAINE AND MOLDOVA HAVE DETERIORATED. DIFFICULT TIMES.

FOLLOWING THE KIEV MEETING, AND ALSO AFTER THE MEETING OF GOVERNMENT DELEGATIONS IN URALSK, WE AND THE LEADERSHIP OF RUSSIA AGREED TO PREPARE A LARGE-SCALE STATE TREATY ON FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION. IT IS NECESSARY TO SPECIFY ALL ISSUES -- ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND MILITARY. IN THE ALMA-ATA AND MINSK AGREEMENTS WHICH WE ALL SIGNED IT IS RECORDED THAT EACH STATE CAN HAVE ITS OWN ARMY AND ITS OWN CURRENCY, BUT AN AGREED PROCESS HAS BEEN ENVISAGED FOR THEIR CREATION. IF A STATE WITHDRAWS FROM THE RUBLE ZONE, THIS MUST NOT HARM ITS NEIGHBOR.

A MILITARY QUESTION: IF RUSSIA AND UKRAINE CREATE AN ARMY, THEN LET EVERYONE CREATE AN ARMY. THEN WE CAN ENTER INTO A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE, LIKE NORMAL INDEPENDENT STATES. BUT WHY MUST THIS BE DONE SURREPTITIOUSLY, THEREBY COMPLICATING THE SITUATION, WHICH IS FRAUGHT WITH UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES?

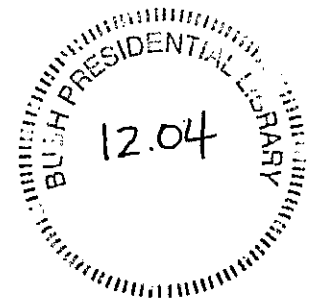
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<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01<SSN> 8962<STOR> 920506092132 MSG000326452892
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<DIST>SIT: VAX

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<TO>TO AIG 4621
RHEHWSR/THE WHITE HOUSE//SIT ROOM: PASS TO BETH SANNER//
RUCKDDA/SECOND INTEL CO//ITU//

[REDACTED] (b)(3)
RUEHIA/USIA WASHINGTON DC//P/R//
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
RUEHWR/AMEMBASSY WARSAW//POL NORVILLE//
RUFHIN/AMEMBASSY BONN//JONES OCA//
ACCT FBLD-EWDK



<SUBJ> TAKE 5 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED

<TEXT>
UNCLAS 3I/PMU LD/FAX SUP LEADER
SERIAL: [REDACTED] 605111492
PASS: COPY TO [REDACTED]
COUNTRY: KAZAKHSTAN
SUBJ: TAKE 5 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED
REF: [REDACTED] 605111092 MOSCOW NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA RUSSIAN 6
MAY//WITH UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES?

TEXT:
((TEXT)) ((GAGUA)) THE KIEV MEETING WAS PICKETED BY CRIMEAN TATARS DEMANDING ASSISTANCE FOR THEIR RETURN TO THEIR MOTHERLAND. ACCORDING TO INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THEIR SPOKESMEN, IT APPEARS THAT YOU DID NOT SUPPORT THESE DEMANDS.

((NAZARBAYEV)) THAT IS NOT TRUE. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THE DISTORTION OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE MEETINGS OF THE HEADS OF STATE IS ONE OF THE REASONS WHY I PROPOSED THAT THESE MEETINGS BE BROADCAST ON TELEVISION. INDEED, I HAVE ALWAYS SUPPORTED THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE CRIMEAN TATARS TO RETURN TO THEIR MOTHERLAND. BUT THE ISSUE OF WHICH SPECIFIC CIS STATES SHOULD GRANT MATERIAL ASSISTANCE TO THIS PROCESS, AND HOW MUCH, REQUIRES SPECIAL EXAMINATION.

((GAGUA)) AND WHAT IS KAZAKHSTAN'S POSITION ON MILITARY QUESTIONS? I EXPECT YOU ARE OFTEN ASKED ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS?
((NAZARBAYEV)) I THINK WE WILL CONCLUDE A TREATY WITH RUSSIA ENVISAGING ALL THESE QUESTIONS. AT THE MEETING OF THE LEADERS OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS AND KAZAKHSTAN IN BISHKEK WE EXAMINED THIS SITUATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE STATEMENT MADE AT THE RUSSIAN CONGRESS ON THE CREATION OF A SEPARATE ARMY. YOU WILL RECALL THAT RUSSIA ALWAYS SAID THAT IT WOULD BE THE LAST TO ANNOUNCE THAT.

ACCORDING TO THE TREATY, THERE IS A SEPARATE ARMY ON THE TERRITORY OF KAZAKHSTAN WHICH IS NOT SUBORDINATE TO THE TURKESTAN MILITARY DISTRICT, BUT COMES UNDER THE CIS JOINT ARMED FORCES. THE COMMANDER OF THE ARMY IS APPOINTED BY MY DECREE. IF RUSSIA FORMS ITS OWN ARMY, THEN NATURALLY KAZAKHSTAN WILL DO THE SAME. BUT THIS QUESTION MUST BE RESOLVED BY CIVILIZED TREATY METHODS. I THINK THAT BOTH RUSSIA AND KAZAKHSTAN NEED A COORDINATED DEFENSE STRATEGY.

AS FAR AS NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE CONCERNED, WE SIGNED A DOCUMENT IN ALMA-ATA ACCORDING TO WHICH UKRAINE AND BYELARUS ARE NUCLEAR-FREE, AND RUSSIA AND KAZAKHSTAN KEEP THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONS. ARTICLE 9 OF THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS DECLARES THAT A STATE THAT MANUFACTURED AND EXPLODED NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR SYSTEMS BEFORE 1967 IS A NUCLEAR STATE. KAZAKHSTAN HAS TESTED NUCLEAR WEAPONS SINCE 1949 AND HAS PARTICIPATED TO ONE DEGREE OR ANOTHER IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND MANUFACTURE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS COMPONENTS ((ELEMENTY)) ALSO LONG BEFORE 1967. THUS KAZAKHSTAN CANNOT BE CONSIDERED A NUCLEAR-FREE STATE. UNDER THE TREATY BETWEEN RUSSIA, UKRAINE, KAZAKHSTAN, AND BYELARUS WE FORMED A UNIFIED COMMAND OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS, THAT IS, WE LEFT THE STATUS QUO FOR THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT EXISTED UNDER THE SOVIET UNION. AT THE SAME TIME, THE QUESTION OF THEIR POSSIBLE EMPLOYMENT MUST BE RESOLVED BY THE STATES

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ON WHOSE TERRITORY THE WEAPONS ARE LOCATED. WE ALSO REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE CREATION OF TECHNICAL BLOCKING DEVICES, THAT IS, THE RIGHT TO "VETO" THEIR EMPLOYMENT. THIS SHOULD GIVE THE WHOLE WORLD GREATER CONFIDENCE.

KAZAKHSTAN RECOGNIZES THE TREATIES SIGNED BY THE FORMER USSR ON TACTICAL NUCLEAR MISSILES AND ON THE REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS AND THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IT IS READY TO START RATIFYING THEM.

KAZAKHSTAN WISHES TO BE PART OF THIS PROCESS IN FUTURE TALKS ON THE REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR ARSENALS, AND MAYBE IT WILL ENTRUST RUSSIA WITH THIS. BUT AGAIN THIS WILL DEPEND ON OUR ACCORDS WITH RUSSIA.

IT MUST BE BORN IN MIND THAT EVEN IF EVERYONE DOES REACH AN AGREEMENT ON THE COMPLETE ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, WE WILL NEED 10-15 YEARS TO IMPLEMENT IT. THROUGHOUT THIS TIME THERE WILL BE MISSILES ON THE STATES' TERRITORIES. WHY DECEIVE PEOPLE AND SAY WE ARE NUCLEAR-FREE?

KAZAKHSTAN MAY CHANGE ITS POSITION IF A NEGOTIATING PROCESS IS STARTED WITH THE NEIGHBORING NUCLEAR STATES AND THE UNITED STATES, WHICH STATES CAN GUARANTEE OUR SECURITY.

WE BECAME A NUCLEAR STATE AGAINST OUR WILL, AND WE ARE AIMING TO BECOME NUCLEAR-FREE. WE WERE THE FIRST TO CLOSE DOWN ONE OF THE TWO LARGEST NUCLEAR ARMS TEST SITES IN THE WORLD. THE PEOPLE OF KAZAKHSTAN FOUND OUT WHAT THIS MEANS BY PAYING THE PRICE OF THOUSANDS OF VICTIMS, AND THEIR DESCENDANTS ARE CONTINUING TO SUFFER EVEN NOW. SO EVERYONE MUST UNDERSTAND OUR DESIRE TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF OUR STATE. WE HAVE NO OTHER "HIDDEN" THOUGHTS.

THAT SUMS UP OUR POSITION. WE ARE PREPARED TO SIGN ANY AGREEMENTS ON THE FURTHER REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND STRATEGIC ARSENALS.

((GAGUA)) WHAT CAN YOU SAY ABOUT RUSSIA'S ROLE IN THE CIS?

((NAZARBAYEV)) IF, INSTEAD OF STRENGTHENING THE COMMONWEALTH, THE LEADERS OF THE STATES TALK ABOUT ITS COLLAPSE AND THE FACT THAT NO ONE NEEDS IT -- WHETHER THIS BE OF THEIR OWN ACCORD, OR AS PROMPTED BY THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THEIR OWN STATES -- I WOULD RECALL: THE CIS WAS A VOLUNTARY MATTER. I SAID THAT WE INTEND TO CONCLUDE A BIG TREATY WITH RUSSIA. RUSSIA AND KAZAKHSTAN EXPERIENCE THE GREATEST INTEGRATION IN THE ECONOMY. AND IF WE DO NOT DEVELOP A POWERFUL BASE IN NONFERROUS METALLURGY IN KAZAKHSTAN, FOR EXAMPLE, THEN HOW WILL MACHINE-BUILDING PLANTS IN RUSSIA OPERATE? IF KAZAKHSTAN DOES NOT DELIVER COAL, WHO WILL SUPPLY THE 100 OR SO RUSSIAN ELECTRIC POWER STATIONS?

FOR OUR PART, WE ALSO DEPEND ON THE RUSSIAN ECONOMY. IF RUSSIA IS INTERESTED IN ITS ENTERPRISES WORKING, IT SHOULD INVEST RESOURCES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THESE SECTORS. THAT IS LOGICAL. WE ARE CONCLUDING THIS TREATY ON THE BASIS OF OUR OWN INTERESTS. GIVEN THE PRESENT COLLAPSE OF THE ECONOMY, SUCH BILATERAL AGREEMENTS ARE VERY VALUABLE.

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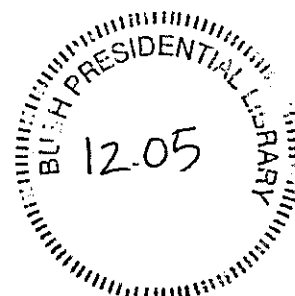
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<SUBJ> TAKE 6 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED

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COUNTRY: KAZAKHSTAN

SUBJ: TAKE 6 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED

REF: (b)(3)0605111092 MOSCOW NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA RUSSIAN 6

MAY//ARE VERY VALUABLE.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) IN RUSSIA'S ACTIONS I HAVE NOT OBSERVED THAT IT DESIRES THE COLLAPSE OF THE CIS. ON THE CONTRARY, THE DESIRE TO PRESERVE IT, TO MAKE COMPROMISES, AND NOT TO EXACERBATE THE SITUATION HAVE BEEN PERCEIVED AT OUR MEETINGS. AT THESE CONFERENCES RUSSIA HAS STRESSED ITS EQUALITY WITH RESPECT TO OTHER STATES. I BELIEVE THAT RUSSIA BEARS A HUGE RESPONSIBILITY BOTH BEFORE HISTORY AND BEFORE ALL THE PEOPLE TODAY. WITHOUT IT THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO BELOVEZHSKIY DOCUMENT, WITHOUT RUSSIA THE FORMER UNION WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN DISSOLVED, AND NOW RUSSIA'S UNIFYING ROLE IN THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INDEPENDENT STATES IS ENORMOUS. BUT AT AN ACUTE AND HIGHLY CHARGED TIME SUCH AS EXISTS NOW, WHEN THERE ARE ARMED CLASHES IN THE TRANSCAUCASUS AND THE DNESTR REGION, AND THERE ARE REFUGEES IN BOTH PLACES, THE RUSSIAN LEADERS NEED TO BE PARTICULARLY TACTFUL IN WHAT THEY DO AND SAY.

FOR EXAMPLE, AS I HAVE KNOWN SOBCHAK FOR A LONG TIME AND HAVE PROFOUND RESPECT FOR HIM, I NEVER EXPECTED HIM TO MAKE STATEMENTS ABOUT THE FORMER RUSSIAN PROVINCES WITH THE AIM OF PRESERVING RUSSIA'S INTEGRITY. AFTER ALL, TO MAKE A HISTORICAL DIGRESSION, ALL THE PRESENT CENTRAL ASIAN STATES WERE PROVINCES OR WERE BASED ON THEIR LAWS, AND THE TRANSCAUCASUS TERRITORIES WERE ALSO PROVINCES. EVEN FINLAND AND POLAND, WHICH WERE RULED BY RUSSIAN GOVERNOR GENERALS, WERE PROVINCES. SO THAT RAISING THIS ISSUE IS NOT SIMPLY TACTLESS, IT IS EXTREMELY DANGEROUS AND PROVOCATIVE. THE SPEECH MADE BY RUSSIAN PARLIAMENTARY DEPUTY GORYACHEVA, WHO AT THE LAST CONGRESS OF RUSSIAN PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES LAID CLAIM TO GURYEV AND TSELINOGRAD OBLASTS AS ANCIENT RUSSIAN TERRITORIES, VERGES ON THIS TOO. IT IS NOT JUST HISTORICAL IGNORANCE THAT CAN BE DETECTED HERE, BUT FAR MORE.

ANY BORDER CLAIMS ON KAZAKHSTAN (AND INDEED ON ANY OTHER REPUBLIC) MEAN INEVITABLE BLOODSHED TODAY. I WANT THAT TO BE HEARD. IF SOME PEOPLE THINK THAT NAZARBAYEV IS BEHAVING IN A "FRIENDLY" WAY THROUGH FEAR, AND THAT HE MAY ALLOW PART OF KAZAKHSTAN'S TERRITORIES TO BE REMOVED, THEN THEY ARE PROFOUNDLY MISTAKEN.

TODAY EVERYONE IS PREPARED TO DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT STATE. THE RUSSIANS AND THE KAZAKH PEOPLE HAVE BEEN LIVING TOGETHER FOR MANY CENTURES, AND BOTH RUSSIAN AND KAZAKH PEOPLE HAVE A COMMON FUTURE ON THIS LAND. IN KAZAKHSTAN PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THIS. THERE IS NOTHING TO DIVIDE THE ORDINARY PEOPLE. IN KAZAKHSTAN 35 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION IS RUSSIAN AND 40 PERCENT IS KAZAKH. INCIDENTALLY, TURKIC-SPEAKING PEOPLES AND PEOPLES BELONGING TO THE MUSLIM CULTURE MAKE UP THE MAJORITY.

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REPRESENTATIVES OF ANOTHER 100 OR SO NATIONS AND PEOPLES ARE ALSO KAZAKH CITIZENS. WITHIN KAZAKHSTAN THERE ARE NO REASONS TO SET THEM AGAINST EACH OTHER. IF ETHNIC DISCORD DOES FLARE UP, THEN IT WILL BE INTRODUCED FROM OUTSIDE, AND ONLY AN ENEMY OF BOTH THE RUSSIAN AND THE KAZAKH PEOPLES COULD DO THIS. YOU CAN ONLY TREAD THE PATH OF REFORMS, IMPROVE PEOPLE'S LIVES, AND BUILD A MARKET ECONOMY IF YOU HAVE A STABLE POLITICAL SITUATION. IF IT IS NOT THERE, THEN YOU HAVE TO THROW AWAY ALL THE REFORMS AND GET INVOLVED IN WAR. ONLY I DO NOT KNOW WHOM THIS WOULD BENEFIT -- WOULD IT BENEFIT SOBCHAK OR SOMEONE? I KNOW FOR SURE THAT IT DOES NOT BENEFIT THE ORDINARY PEOPLE; THEY WANT TO LIVE IN FRIENDSHIP AND PEACE.

ONE GETS THE IMPRESSION THAT IT SUITS SOME PEOPLE TO EXPLOIT THE COSSACKS FOR THEIR OWN POLITICAL PURPOSES. IN KAZAKHSTAN SUCH ATTEMPTS ARE BEING MADE IN URALSK OBLAST, WHERE THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION IS COSSACK. I DO NOT WANT TO GET INVOLVED IN COSSACK HISTORY; A GREAT DEAL HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT IT. BUT SO MUCH TIME HAS PASSED, AND MORE THAN ONE GENERATION OF PEOPLE HAS GROWN UP, LIVING TOGETHER IN HARMONY...

I CONSIDER IT IMPERMISSIBLE TO VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ANY REASON. THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH DEVELOPING CULTURE AND LANGUAGE. ONLY YOU NEED TO OBSERVE THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF WHICH YOU ARE A CITIZEN.

OVER A MILLION KAZAKHS LIVE IN MANY OBLASTS IN RUSSIA AND AS MANY AGAIN IN CENTRAL ASIA. LET PEOPLE LIVE HAPPILY WHEREVER THEY WANT TO. THE POLITICIANS COME AND GO WHO TODAY ARE INCITING PEOPLE TO BLOODSHED FOR THE SAKE OF KEEPING THEMSELVES AFLOAT. BUT PEOPLES AND INDIVIDUALS REMAIN. THEY HAVE TO LIVE TOGETHER AND BRING UP THEIR CHILDREN. I BELIEVE IN THE WISDOM AND PATIENCE OF THE ORDINARY PEOPLE.

I AM CONVINCED THAT ALL THESE EXCESSES ARE ISSUING FROM OUR COLLAPSED ECONOMY AND PEOPLE'S BAD LIVING CONDITIONS. THE ECONOMY -- THAT IS WHAT WE SHOULD ALL OCCUPY OURSELVES WITH NOW!

((GAGUA)) ARE YOU EVER REPROACHED FOR BEING INSUFFICIENTLY RESOLUTE IN DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE INDIGENOUS NATIONALITY?

((NAZARBAYEV)) OF COURSE I AM. IN KAZAKHSTAN WE HAVE PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS OF A NATIONAL LEANING WHICH ACCUSE THE LEADERSHIP OF KAZAKHSTAN OF SUCCUMING TO THE INTERNATIONAL IDEA AND NOT THINKING OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE. WHAT CAN I SAY? ANY POLITICAL LEADER WHO IS CONCERNED ABOUT HIS PEOPLE WILL BE PRIMARILY CONCERNED ABOUT THERE BEING STABILITY IN THE STATE.

((GAGUA)) HOW DO YOU SEE KAZAKHSTAN -- AS A CONNECTING LINK BETWEEN THE SLAVIC AND ISLAMIC WORLDS OR JUST AS PART OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD?

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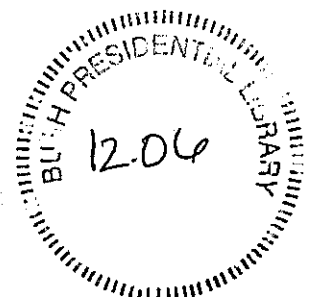
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<SUBJ> TAKE 7 OF 7 -- PRESIDENT NAZARBAYEV INTERVIEWED

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REF: [redacted] 605111092 MOSCOW NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA RUSSIAN 6

MAY//THE ISLAMIC WORLD?

TEXT:

((TEXT)) ((NAZARBAYEV)) KAZAKHSTAN DECLARED ITS INDEPENDENCE 16 DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR. WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT, BEFORE THAT WE WERE LOYAL TO THE CENTER. DURING THESE PAST FIVE MONTHS IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT IT IS TIME FOR THE REPUBLIC TO DETERMINE ITS GEOPOLITICAL PLACE AND THE STRATEGY OF ITS OWN DEVELOPMENT. IF WE DO NOT DETERMINE THESE AIMS, WE WILL BE PREOCCUPIED WITH DETAILS AND WE WILL MAKE MISTAKES. WE NOW HAVE TO THINK ABOUT THIS SUBJECT AND TAKE ADVICE FROM SCIENTISTS AND POLITICAL EXPERTS.

SO, WHAT IS OUR PLACE IN THE WORLD? CHINA IS OUR EASTERN NEIGHBOR, AND WE NOW HAVE A RAILROAD LINKING THE TWO OF US. THE LATEST TREATY, SIGNED IN BEIJING BY OUR PRIME MINISTER SERGEY TERESHCHENKO, PROMISES GOOD PROSPECTS OF CLOSE COOPERATION AND THE POSSIBILITY OF ACCESS TO THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION VIA THE SHORTEST RAILROAD ROUTE. RELATIONS WITH THE EAST ALSO MEAN RELATIONS WITH JAPAN AND KOREA. MY TRIPS TO INDIA AND PAKISTAN IN THEMSELVES TESTIFY TO THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE REGIONS FOR US.

WE ARE ALSO AIMING TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH EUROPEAN STATES, MANY OF WHOM WANT TO WORK IN KAZAKHSTAN. IN THE PAST, ALL ROUTES TO THE EAST WENT THROUGH MOSCOW. NOW, HOWEVER, I AM SURE THAT THE ROUTE WILL INCREASINGLY FREQUENTLY PASS THROUGH KAZAKHSTAN. WE HAVE AIR COMMUNICATIONS WITH FRANKFURT AM MAIN, ISTANBUL, AND CHINA. WE ARE HOLDING TALKS ABOUT OPENING UP AIR ROUTES THROUGH BEIJING TO SEOUL AND TOKYO. WE ARE ALSO MAKING PROGRESS WITH OUR AGREEMENTS WITH IRAN AND TURKEY ON LINKING UP ((SOYEDINENIYE)) THE MAIN RAILROAD ROUTE I HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED. THAT WAY A DIRECT ROUTE TO THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA WILL BE OPENED. WE CAN HAVE ACCESS TO THE PORTS OF IRAN THROUGH THE CASPIAN SEA. WE ARE WORKING ON A PLAN FOR AN OIL AND GAS PIPELINE INTO THE PERSIAN GULF AREA. IN THIS WAY WE CONSIDER OURSELVES TO BE PART OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

NOW SOMETHING ABOUT RELATIONS WITH OUR NEIGHBORS -- THE FORMER UNION REPUBLICS IN PARTICULAR. WE ATTACH THE HIGHEST SIGNIFICANCE TO TIES WITH RUSSIA. AND THAT IS UNDERSTANDABLE. FOR MANY YEARS WE LIVED SIDE BY SIDE, AND WE HAVE MANY COMMON TASKS WHICH WE HAVE TO WORK ON RESOLVING. I BELIEVE THAT SUCH GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS IS IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH RUSSIA AND KAZAKHSTAN. AS FOR THE CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS, WHICH ARE OUR SPIRITUAL KINSMEN AND SHARE OUR ROOTS, THERE IS NOTHING TO DIVIDE US AT ALL.

AS YOU KNOW, THE KAZAKH PEOPLE ARE A TURKIC PEOPLE, THEY ARE MUSLIMS. SO THE FACT THAT THEY ARE ATTRACTED TO TURKEY AND THE ARAB STATES IS NATURAL. SOVIET POWER BARRED US FROM A CULTURE, A HISTORY, AND A LANGUAGE THAT ARE CLOSE TO OUR HEARTS.... THAT IS

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WHY THE PROCESS OF RAPPROCHEMENT IS NATURAL.

WHAT IS OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM? WE WANT TO BUILD A NORMAL DEMOCRATIC STATE WITH AN OPEN ECONOMY, AND THIS IS COMPLETELY INCOMPATIBLE WITH ANY RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM. TODAY KAZAKHSTAN IS RECOGNIZED BY OVER 100 STATES. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH 30 OF THEM. WE TELL EVERYONE: YES, WE WANT TO HAVE GOOD ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH THE MUSLIM WORLD, JUST AS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. IT MUST BE BORNE IN MIND THAT THERE ARE DIVERSE RELIGIONS IN OUR REPUBLIC. EQUALITY OF RELIGION IS ENSHRINED IN ONE OF THE ARTICLES OF OUR FUTURE CONSTITUTION. BUT NONE OF THE RELIGIONS CAN BECOME THE STATE RELIGION. RELIGION IS SEPARATED FROM THE STATE.

OF COURSE, IT IS HARD TO SAY IN ADVANCE HOW WE WILL DETERMINE ALL THE DETAILS OF OUR FUTURE GEOPOLITICAL BEARINGS. WE WOULD LIKE KAZAKHSTAN TO BE ONE OF THE BRIDGES -- OR THE SPAN OF A BIG BRIDGE -- LINKING EUROPE AND ASIA, A PEACEFUL STATE ENSURING EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL PEOPLE.

((GAGUA)) IN YOUR OPINION, DOES RUSSIA HAVE A CONCEPT OF MUTUAL RELATIONS WITH THE MUSLIM WORLD?

((NAZARBAYEV)) AT THE MOMENT IT HAS NO SUCH CONCEPT; IT DOES NOT EVEN EXIST IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE ASIAN REPUBLICS OF THE FORMER UNION. RUSSIA IS VERY BUSY WITH ITS RELATIONS WITH WEST EUROPE AND AMERICA.

YES, RUSSIA SHOULD WORK WITH EUROPE, BUT FOR THE WEST IT WILL ALWAYS REMAIN ASIAN. FOR ASIA, THOUGH, IT IS A PART OF EUROPE. IN A WORD, FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF GEOPOLITICS RUSSIA MUST ELABORATE ITS POSITION TOWARD ASIA WITH THE UTMOST SERIOUSNESS AND CLARITY. SURELY IT IS NOT A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE FOR RUSSIA WHOSE SIDE THESE STATES, ITS NEIGHBORS, ARE ON? HOWEVER, TO MY MIND, THE RUSSIAN POLITICAL STANCE ON THIS ISSUE HAS NOT YET BEEN DETERMINED.

((GAGUA)) HOW DO YOU MANAGE TO PRESERVE STABILITY IN THE REPUBLIC? MAYBE THIS STABILITY IS ONLY AN ILLUSION?

((NAZARBAYEV)) PEOPLE OFTEN ASK ME THESE QUESTIONS. TO ANSWER, YOU HAVE TO ANALYZE WHY CLASHES HAVE OCCURRED IN OTHER REPUBLICS. EVIDENTLY BECAUSE THE SMALL PEOPLES -- WHO WERE CALLED FOREIGNERS, THE BACKWATER, THE OUTLYING AREAS, AND SO ON -- YEARNED FOR FREEDOM AND NATIONAL REVIVAL, AND THE FEELING OF ETHNIC SELF-AWARENESS THAT WAS REAWAKENED IN THEM IS CERTAINLY QUITE EXPLICABLE FROM THIS VIEWPOINT. BUT MISTAKES WERE MADE AT THE APPROACHES TO THE ELABORATION OF A NEW NATIONALITIES POLICY, PARTICULARLY IN REPUBLICS WHERE THERE IS A MULTIETHNIC POPULATION. THE PROBLEMS OF ONE NATION BEGAN TO BE RESOLVED AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS, RELATIVELY SPEAKING. THE PRIORITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS WAS VIOLATED. WHAT HAPPENED WAS THAT THE INDIGENOUS NATION WAS PUT FIRST, AND ALL THE OTHERS OCCUPIED SECOND PLACE. THEY DID NOT EVEN THINK AT THE TIME THAT THIS WOULD LEAD TO MISFORTUNE FOR THE INDIGENOUS NATION. IN KAZAKHSTAN WE TOO HAVE ADOPTED A DECLARATION ON SOVEREIGNTY AND A LAW ON THE STATE STATUS OF THE KAZAKH LANGUAGE. IN THESE DOCUMENTS WE HAVE TRIED NOT TO ENCROACH ON ANYONE IN ANY WAY -- THAT IS, WE HAVE TRIED TO PRESERVE EQUALITY. BUT THE KAZAKH LANGUAGE MUST BE REVIVED. IT HAS BEGUN TO BE FORGOTTEN. A GRANDSON MAY NOT BE ABLE TO SPEAK WITH HIS GRANDFATHER IN THE NATIVE TONGUE. A TOTAL OF 700 KAZAKH SCHOOLS HAVE CLOSED DOWN. OUR WRITERS AND COMPOSERS HAD NO ONE TO WRITE OR COMPOSE MUSIC FOR. SO THE FEELING OF NATIONAL PRIDE IS QUITE NATURAL FOR KAZAKHS IN KAZAKHSTAN, JUST AS IT IS FOR RUSSIANS IN RUSSIA. FOLLOWING THE ADOPTION OF SUCH JUST LAWS, THE MAIN THING IS TO OPERATE IN THEIR SPIRIT SO THAT THE WORD DOES NOT DIVERGE FROM THE DEED.

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