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**PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE 2023 AS A NEW POLITICAL AGENDA FOR THE  
REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN**<sup>1</sup> Akbayeva A.N\*, Ph.D., assoc. professor<sup>2</sup> Akbayeva L.N., Ph.D., assoc. professor<sup>1</sup>Academy and Civil Aviation, Almaty, Kazakhstan<sup>2</sup>Academy of Logistics and Transport, Almaty, Kazakhstan*\*E-mail: [a.akbaeva@agakaz.kz](mailto:a.akbaeva@agakaz.kz)*

**Abstract.** The article provides a deep political science analysis of the main provisions of the Message of the Head of State K.K. Tokayev to the people of Kazakhstan “Economic course of a Just Kazakhstan” dated September 1, 2023. In the Message, President Tokayev reviewed the current situation in the country, outlined key areas of work for the medium term, covered all the “painful” points of public life and set before the government clear vectors for the development of our society. According to the president, the continuation of the political modernization carried out in 2022 should now be structural economic transformations. Thus, the country faces a profound restructuring of relations in the triad “citizen – business – state.” President Tokayev believes that Kazakhstan has a chance for a powerful economic breakthrough. That is why it is necessary to gradually, but firmly and decisively move to a new economic model, which is led not by abstract achievements, but by a real improvement in the lives of citizens.

Three principles - fairness, inclusiveness and pragmatism – should determine the country's new economic course. The new paradigm for the economic development of Kazakhstan will be based on the effective use of our competitive advantages, as well as unlocking the potential of all key factors of production - labor, capital, resources and technology. Within the framework of the new economic policy, the practice of setting long-term ephemeral goals should be forgotten. All tasks set out in this Message must be solved within three years; for the most difficult ones, other specific deadlines will be determined. The authors of the article consider the 2023 Presidential Message to be a new political agenda for Kazakh society, in which the basis for the emerging policy will be a focus on strengthening the middle class.

**Key words:** welfare state, climate agenda, banking sector, civil service, personnel policy, political modernization, intellectual platform, liberal democratic values.

**ПОСЛАНИЕ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА 2023 ГОДА КАК НОВАЯ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ  
ПОВЕСТКА РЕСПУБЛИКИ КАЗАХСТАН**

Акбаева А. Н., к.философ.н.(Ph.D.), асс. профессор,

Акбаева Л.Н., к. философ. н., (Ph.D.), асс. профессор

<sup>1</sup>АО «Академия гражданской авиации», г. Алматы, РК.<sup>2</sup>АО «Академия логистики и транспорта», г. Алматы, РК.*\*E-mail: [akmaral-akbayeva@mail.ru](mailto:akmaral-akbayeva@mail.ru)*

**Аннотация.** В статье дан глубокий политологический анализ основных положений Послания главы государства К.К. Токаева народу Казахстана «Экономический курс Справедливого Казахстана» от 1 сентября 2023 года. В Послании президент Токаев сделал обзор сложившейся ситуации в стране, обозначил ключевые направления работы на среднесрочный период, охватил все «болевые» точки общественной жизни и поставил перед

правительством четкие векторы развития нашего общества. По мысли президента, продолжением политической модернизации, проведенной в 2022 году, теперь должны стать структурные экономические преобразования. Таким образом, стране предстоит глубинная перестройка отношений в триаде «гражданин – бизнес – государство». Президент Токаев считает, что у Казахстана есть шанс для мощного экономического рывка. Именно поэтому следует поэтапно, но твердо и решительно перейти на новую экономическую модель, во главе которой стоят не абстрактные достижения, а реальное улучшение жизни граждан.

Три принципа – справедливость, инклюзивность и прагматичность – должны стать определяющими нового экономического курса страны. Новая парадигма экономического развития Казахстана будет основана на эффективном использовании наших конкурентных преимуществ, а также раскрытии потенциала всех ключевых факторов производства – труда, капитала, ресурсов и технологий. В рамках новой экономической политики следует позабыть практику постановки долгосрочных эфемерных целей. Все задачи, изложенные в данном Послании, должны быть решены за три года, по наиболее сложным будут определены другие конкретные сроки. Авторы статьи считают Послание Президента 2023 года новой политической повесткой казахстанского общества, в котором основой формирующейся политики станет ставка на укрепление среднего класса.

**Ключевые слова:** государство всеобщего благосостояния, климатическая повестка, банковский сектор, государственная служба, кадровая политика, политическая модернизация, интеллектуальная платформа, либерально-демократические ценности.

#### ПРЕЗИДЕНТ ЖОЛДАУЫ 2023 ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫНЫҢ ЖАҢА САЯСИ КҮН ТӘРТІБІ РЕТІНДЕ

<sup>1</sup>Ақбаева А.Н., философ.ғ. к. (Ph.D.), қауымд.профессор

<sup>2</sup>Ақбаева Л.Н., философ.ғ. к. (Ph.D.), қауымд.профессор

<sup>1</sup> "Азаматтық авиация академиясы" АҚ, Алматы қ., ҚР.

<sup>2</sup> "Логистика және көлік академиясы" АҚ, Алматы қ., ҚР.

\*E-mail: akmaral-akbayeva@mail.ru

**Андатпа.** Мақалада Мемлекет басшысы Қ.К. Тоқаевтың 2023 жылғы 1 қыркүйектегі "Әділ Қазақстанның экономикалық бағыты" атты Қазақстан халқына Жолдауының негізгі ережелеріне терең саясаттанушылық талдау берілген. Жолдауда президент Тоқаев елдегі қалыптасқан жағдайға шолу жасады, орта мерзімді кезеңдегі жұмыстың негізгі бағыттарын белгіледі, қоғамдық өмірдің барлық "ауыр" нүктелерін қамтыды және Үкімет алдына біздің қоғам дамуының нақты векторларын қойды. Президенттің ойынша, 2022 жылы жүргізілген саяси жаңғырудың жалғасы енді құрылымдық экономикалық өзгерістер болуы тиіс. Осылайша, елімізде "азамат – бизнес – мемлекет" триадасында қарым-қатынастарды терең қайта құру күтіп тұр. Президент Тоқаев Қазақстанның қуатты экономикалық серпіліс жасауға мүмкіндігі бар деп есептейді. Сондықтан абстрактілі жетістіктерге емес, азаматтардың өмірін нақты жақсартуға негізделген жаңа экономикалық модельге кезең-кезеңімен, бірақ батыл және батыл көшу керек.

Үш қағида – әділеттілік, инклюзивтілік және прагматизм – елдің жаңа экономикалық бағытын айқындаушы болуға тиіс. Қазақстанның экономикалық дамуының жаңа парадигмасы біздің бәсекелестік артықшылықтарымызды тиімді пайдалануға, сондай – ақ өндірістің барлық негізгі факторлары-еңбек, капитал, ресурстар мен технологиялардың әлеуетін ашуға негізделетін болады. Жаңа экономикалық саясат аясында ұзақ мерзімді эфемерлік мақсаттар қою тәжірибесін ұмытып кету керек. Осы Жолдауда баяндалған барлық міндеттер үш жыл ішінде шешілуі тиіс, ең күрделісі бойынша басқа да нақты мерзімдер айқындалатын болады. Мақала авторлары Президенттің 2023 жылғы Жолдауын қазақстандық қоғамның жаңа саяси

күн тәртібі деп санайды, онда қалыптасып жатқан саясаттың негізі орта таптың нығаюына ставка болады.

**Түйін сөздер:** әл-ауқат мемлекеті, климаттық күн тәртібі, банк секторы, мемлекеттік қызмет, кадр саясаты, саяси жаңғырту, зияткерлік платформа, либералды-демократиялық құндылықтар.

Message from the Head of State Kassym-Jomart Tokayev to the people of Kazakhstan “The Economic Course of a Just Kazakhstan”, which he presented on September 1, 2023, is in many ways fateful. Against the backdrop of ongoing geopolitical and climatic cataclysms, the internal agenda somehow found itself on the periphery. There was an accumulation of certain disappointments, fears, and not entirely favorable expectations. The post-January social trauma was too strong and was not fully rehabilitated.

The combination of various insinuations and incidents that make up our current reality has greatly undermined social optimism and citizens' confidence in the future. The public environment was constantly poisoned by various information flows. What was needed was a powerful political agenda that could remove the elements of disorientation in society and mobilize it for constructive action.

Given this public background, expectations from the Message were quite high. Not only because the topic of political changes began to be discussed in public, but precisely because the president, as he previously voiced, intended to propose a new economic model for the country's development.

In world practice, different approaches are used, but the dominant one is the development of such a model, which is characterized as a Welfare State. The classic welfare systems are the Scandinavian countries. Their characteristics are high government social expenditures and high taxes. At the same time, energy resources are a strong support for the Scandinavian model of general welfare, as for example, this can be observed in Norway.

Meanwhile, discussions on the Welfare State continue, given the eternal dilemma between social welfare and market principles of self-sufficiency.

The basic methodological approach here is that individual effort is required to become part of the welfare state. As we see it in the European Union or in the USA. The fight against poverty has now becomes their main task. At the same time, it is solved both by tax and systemic measures. In the USA, for example, amendments to tax legislation have been adopted regarding the adoption of a three-year tax holiday for large families. In the United States, the main task is to overcome child poverty. This complicates the tools for solving the problem, since it requires taking into account the social and parental environment around the child.

The climate agenda is another very serious line along which the world is transforming. Against the backdrop of well-known natural disasters and new temperature records, the number of climate skeptics in the world has decreased significantly. Today, many countries are involved in solving green economy issues, even those that are traditionally based on the consumption of fossil fuels. It is already becoming obvious that humanity, with its rate of demographic growth and consumption, has no other choice but to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by reducing the energy intensity of industry and consumption.

But we can highlight two more points that can characterize successful countries that are able to implement an economic model that would be sensitive to both the social aspect and the climate one.

This is a deep internal culture and the preservation of the democratic vector of development. Each of these aspects has its own structures, elements that ultimately make a nation wealthy. Deep internal culture is the ability of people to live together. These are responsibility, courtesy, complementarity and many such characteristics that accompany a society where people harmonize with each other, with the environment, with institutions, etc.

Maintaining the democratic route is key if we say that success in implementing the economic agenda depends on freedom of thought. Creativity, innovation - all this is the result of freedom. In a “censored” society it is impossible to talk about freedom of thought and creativity.

The main essence of the evolution of capitalism in the West in the last 70-80 years is an increase in its sensitivity to society and social demands. So-called modern capitalist societies are based on a strong work ethic, dedication. At the same time, the main corporate players, financial institutions, banks strive not so much to make a profit, which is generally natural for the market, but rather to implement certain missions. Reputation and image are much more important to them in these contexts than current profits.

Thus, the presidential message responds to such development challenges. The main turn proposed in the message is the introduction of such changes and activities that would help transform the Kazakh economic system in order to create a welfare state. His initiatives serve this purpose: the National Fund for Children, the introduction of large companies with an attractive investment portfolio to public IPOs.

The important thing is that the president raised a serious question with Kazakh banks. The question is about their viability in terms of contributing to the development of society, and not perceiving the population as a tool for creating profit. This clearly has presidential connotations, which is further reinforced by his demand to attract foreign banks to increase corporate lending.

In our opinion, this can be said to be a fundamental challenge for the Kazakh banking sector. Banks, in essence, represent the core of capitalism. This is where capital is accumulated. However, modern banks in the West are somewhat different from those in Kazakhstan. First of all, progressiveness, focus on customer needs and market development, expanding opportunities so that the market expands and can consume more of the bank’s services.

It is impossible not to say what the president says regarding the state of personnel in the civil service. This, obviously, is a clear signal that the head of state is not satisfied with the quality of personnel and how this entire system of public administration works. In the post-pandemic period, there has been a shift in the system of global competencies, in the labor market, in recruiting, and in technology. The introduction of artificial intelligence technologies is currently underway. Naturally, this affects the shift in the requirements for civil servants.

Now the Kazakh state apparatus is going through a phase of generational change, when the old generation of professional civil servants is replaced by a new one. It’s like in big sports, there are periods when teams, athletes, and dynasties change. And during this period, it is difficult to achieve great results, but there is no other way out, since the team has already declared itself and is in the first league. She needs to play to continue to keep up the bar. If you give up now, it will be difficult to recover later.

Personnel policy needs modernization in many aspects. Not only in institutional and educational terms, but also in political ones. It is no coincidence that the president said that a personnel reserve would be created for political civil servants. This means that the level of attention to the political level of civil servants is rising. If you look at the example of Western countries, political officials there are really politicians. They are members of parliament and propose and defend policies in competitive parliamentary debates. That is, the government and parliament must have an internal combustion engine drive belt that drives these two levers. Politicians must have driven in the electoral struggle. They must achieve victory in elections in a competitive struggle, using all their strength. Therefore, it is important for them to keep their promises and retain the electorate so as not to lose in the next elections.

In this regard, it is very important that the president says that the potential of Kazakhstani political parties will be used for the purposes of personnel policy. And this is part of the great main path that the head of state has built – this is the continuation of political reforms.

This is the uniqueness of our destiny and the political process that we are observing. Kazakhstan is one of the few countries in the region that maintains a democratic vector of development. This is

one of, perhaps, the most difficult tasks that have to be carried out in the context of new waves of authoritarianism in the world, which Western experts point to. Even our closest neighbors are finding it difficult to cope with this.

In these conditions, our country continues to move forward, carrying out important reforms on decentralization, division of budgets between levels of government, and election.

The President demonstrates his intellectual platform, which is manifested in his desire to find optimal balances. In domestic politics, the Head of State sees his task as rebalancing the political system in order to reduce the concentration of political power. At the same time, the President retains a sufficient amount of authority to maintain balance in the system during a critical period. However, gradually everyone is accustomed to living in a more balanced, “split” political system. Levels of government and officials must have both sufficient resources and responsibility to make decisions on their own.

We live in new times, when the political poles of hierarchies are becoming more and more flattened and many issues are resolved through horizontal connections, through networks. This becomes a key management principle when networks, project teams, not officials, but leaders who see their missions and are able to lead people are built within the framework of certain tasks.

An important shift that the Address demonstrates is a change in the president's political positioning. With the new Address, the President outlined two strategic political lines.

First, he intends to significantly transform Kazakhstan by the time his constitutional powers expire. He intends to build a new Kazakhstan as a whole, and therefore the main plans and programs see the end date of 2029 or 2030. That is, the president intends to become a figure of a deep, real political and economic transition, in which Kazakhstan is transformed into what we call a “Welfare state.”

The second line that attracts attention is that the president outlined the task of consolidating society at a new stage. Previously, such a task did not exist, since the authorities were engaged in dismantling a system based on the cult of personality. There were trials and criminal cases on many issues from the past. It has been a difficult period and issues related to the return of capital indicate that it is likely not yet fully completed.

The main thing is that the president defined a new approach for himself, adjusted the mission to begin to unite society, introduce elements of constructivism and optimism in conditions when the outside world today is full of uncertainty. However, the basis of this emerging policy of the president is the emphasis on strengthening the middle class. This is evidenced by almost all the promises of the presidential address, including the modernization of the public procurement system, support for medium-sized businesses, expansion of corporate lending, and development of agricultural farms. Everything we say about the backbone of the Kazakh economy – industry, electricity, agricultural production, science, innovation – all this is a powerful component of the middle class. The message about the development of creative industries is a powerful signal to revitalize the middle class, which in world literature is often called the creative class. It is the middle class that creates added value. The new economic model is designed to ensure that more national income, more funding, is distributed to the middle class.

In past years, it was precisely this segment of the social structure that somehow fell out of sight of the state, since it had to work in conditions of constant emergency. It was necessary to save lives during a pandemic, evacuate people from conflict zones, balance our foreign policy vectors, align energy policy, overcome the consequences of accidents, conflicts, and much more. The middle class found itself on the margins and, in a sense, disoriented.

There has been a revaluation of values. As experts note, in post-Soviet authoritarian countries, the middle classes were exposed to some conservative ideology. In a sense, they came to terms with the authoritarian creed of their countries and even began to find some advantages for themselves in this. However, after well-known events, after the constitutional reform, the election cycle, which resulted in a reset of power in the country, the state of the Kazakh middle class changed. He reoriented

himself to liberal democratic values. And this seems to be one of the results of the fact that Kazakhstan continues its democratic vector of development.

As researchers have already proven, there is a clear correlation between a country's political course and sensitivity to the climate agenda. Democratic countries tend to be more attentive to climate issues and the green agenda. This is because democracy is not necessarily the creation of an ideal or perfect world. It is about creating opportunities for everyone to create the world they would like to see. Building a welfare state is about freedom of choice.

And we see how the president raises questions that are aimed at strengthening competition in the country - economic, political, electoral. Of course, healthy competition. The basis of political competition is the development of a strong middle class, and, therefore, small and medium-sized businesses. This will put control and regulate the activities of monopolists so that the government's tariff policy does not look like a desire to profit from people.

The President strongly implements the criteria for a fair and responsible society. You can read the message and not understand the whole meaning in its passages, but the keys to the entire speech are given at the end, when the president spoke about the concept of "Adal Azamat".

A major step in the message is that the category of quality of life is placed at the center of public policy. At the same time, it is very significant that the president spoke for the first time about people-oriented public administration. This absolutely changes the understanding of what the state is doing now and how relations between government agencies and public groups should be changed.

The meaning of the president's message can be understood in the complex of its entire content. The President intends and expects to raise the intellectual level of public policy and the quality of governance by putting forward such deep and meaningful concepts.

Fundamentally, the message is based on a deep belief in the viability of Kazakhstan, our people and that we will be able to go through crises stronger and take an even stronger place in the new geopolitical, geo-economic and transport and logistics balances that are now being formed.

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