**SUMMARY**

**of the Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) on “6D020200 - International Relations” by Makasheva Zhanat on “The National Interests as a Factor in the Implementation of the Sovereignty of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the context of the Emerging World Order”**

**The Relevance of the research topic.** From the mid-2000s to this day, Kazakhstan, like other post-Soviet states, has been under pressure from Russia on the sovereignty and national interests of Kazakhstan. As indicated in the terminology of the theory of regional security by Barry Buzan and Ole Wever, the process of securitization in relation to Russia began to intensify in Kazakhstan, that is, the process of perception by society of a threat from a neighboring country. Pressure on sovereignty is perceived as a threat to the territorial integrity of Kazakhstan, an attempt to change the national identity of Kazakhstan and its multi-ethnic society, limiting the freedom to implement the country's multi-vector foreign policy is discussed in society.

The war between Russia and Ukraine, which began on February 24, 2022, has significantly increased Russian pressure on the sovereignty of Kazakhstan. In turn, as events show, Kazakhstan's desire to protect its sovereignty and national interests is growing. For Kazakhstan, as President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev noted, the principle of territorial integrity and all other principles of international law are very important as the basis of the system of modern international relations. The unjust war of Russia against Ukraine strengthens the national identity of Kazakhstan, the unity of a multinational society and state.

**The Object of Study.** Interaction of Kazakhstan with regional and global powers in the context of geopolitical confrontation between the great powers and the transformation of the world order.

**The Subject of Study.** The policy of asserting and strengthening the sovereignty and national interests of Kazakhstan at the regional and global level in the context of the geopolitical confrontation between the great powers and the transformation of the world order.

**The Goals and Objectives of the Study.** Analysis of the state, threats and risks to the sovereignty and national interests of Kazakhstan in the context of the geopolitical confrontation between the great powers and the transformation of the world order.

To achieve this goal, the following **tasks** are set:

- To analyze the theoretical and conceptual foundations of territorial integrity as a fundamental national interest of independent Kazakhstan;

- To determine the methodology for researching the national interests of the Republic of Kazakhstan;

- To reveal the policy of protection and strengthening of territorial integrity as the main priority of domestic and foreign policy of Kazakhstan;

- Substantiate national identity as the most important condition for the existence of the nation, state, its sovereignty and security of Kazakhstan;

- Reveal the multi-vector foreign policy of Kazakhstan as the most important condition for the sovereignty and assertion of the national interests of Kazakhstan;

- Show the complex and contradictory nature of relations between Kazakhstan and Russia in matters of sovereignty and national interests of Kazakhstan;

- Substantiate that the hegemonic course of Russia in the post-Soviet space has led to an increase in the perception of Russia by the public consciousness of Kazakhstan as a threat to its sovereignty and national interests;

- To reveal that the change in the public consciousness of Kazakhstan, caused by the war of Russia against Ukraine, led to the perception of Turkey as the main ally of our country in defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity;

- Conduct an expert survey to identify the transformation of public consciousness on the most important issues of sovereignty and national interests of Kazakhstan.

**The Degree of Study of the Topic.** Since the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the issues of its sovereignty and national interests have been in the focus of attention of the scientific and expert community in Kazakhstan and abroad. The research traditions of Kazakhstan have developed as one of the states of Central Asia and the Eurasian space. This makes it possible to study issues of sovereignty, security and national interests of Kazakhstan through the prism of its relations with Russia and China. In addition to the regional aspect, in order to study the issues of sovereignty, national interests and security of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the global aspect of these issues is important, primarily through the prism of the geopolitical conflict between the United States, China and Russia, which has recently escalated and, in addition, because of Russia’s war against Ukraine.

The above concepts are based on the works of foreign scientists, including Akiner S., Allison R., Anchesi L., Busygina I., Dave B., Idan A. and Shaffer B., Laruel and Peyrouse, Olcott M.B., Stevens S.A. etc.

As Kazakhstani and foreign experts have repeatedly pointed out, the intensification of the geopolitical confrontation between these great powers increased pressure on the sovereignty of the Republic of Kazakhstan, made it difficult to realize its national interests and put its national security in front of threats and threats. risks, including aspects such as national identity and territorial integrity, it was necessary to study the resulting problems.

This Thesis was based on the work of foreign experts who made a great contribution to the expert analysis of the concept of sovereignty from a theoretical point of view. Here we mention works that reveal the traditional idea of ​​sovereignty as the main symbol of the state, including Hinsley F.H., James A. and so on. Regarding this issue, it can be noted that in modern scientific literature there is a revision and criticism of the traditional understanding of sovereignty. This criticism, in particular, is connected with the rethinking of the concept of the nation state, its place in relations with the nation, regional and global international institutions. In this regard, Barkin J.S. and the work of B. Cronin, R. Dayermond, L. Glanville, S. D. Krasner, Z. Laidy, and others. Their reviews helped to reveal the level of knowledge of the topic.

The contribution of the local scientists to the study of sovereignty, national interests and national security of the Republic of Kazakhstan is significant. In this regard, Akimbekov, E. Aliyarov, E. Baidarov, K. Bayzakova, A. Ermekbaev, Zh. Zardykhan, R. Kadyrzhanov, O. Kasenov, F. Kukeyeva, S. Kushkimbaev, M.E. Tukumov and others are very relevant in the disclosure of topics.

**The Source Base.** Various sources were used in the dissertation:

Scientific and theoretical, including scientific books and articles by foreign and domestic scientists, which explore the problems of sovereignty, national interests, security of Kazakhstan in the global and regional aspects, including relations between Kazakhstan and Russia, as well as relations between Kazakhstan and other states;

State-legal, including the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, laws of the Republic of Kazakhstan, state concepts and programs on issues of sovereignty, national security, national interests of Kazakhstan, annual messages of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the people of Kazakhstan, speeches and articles of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan K.K. Tokaev and other statesmen of the country;

Diplomatic, including materials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the multi-vector foreign policy of Kazakhstan;

Media materials, including analytical materials and expert comments on issues of sovereignty, national security and foreign policy of Kazakhstan;

Scientific and empirical, including materials from an expert survey on sovereignty, national interests and foreign policy of Kazakhstan, conducted in 2022.

**Theoretical and Methodological Foundations of the Study. The** main methodological basis of the dissertation is the theory of realism in international relations. The main statement of this theory is the formula "The state as the main actor in the system of international relations". Therefore, the main concepts of the theory of realism are "state", "sovereignty", "national interests", "security", "national power" and many others. In our work, these concepts are used to study the sovereignty and national interests of Kazakhstan. To this end, sovereignty and national interests are analyzed through the prism of the concepts of territorial integrity, national identity and multi-vector foreign policy of Kazakhstan.

**Chronological Framework of the Study.** It covers the period from 1991, when the Republic of Kazakhstan gained independence, to the present day.

**Findings:**

- It is analyzed the theoretical and conceptual foundations of territorial integrity as a fundamental national interest of independent Kazakhstan;

- It is determined the methodology for researching the national interests of the Republic of Kazakhstan;

- It is revealed that the policy of protection and strengthening of territorial integrity is the main priority of the domestic and foreign policy of Kazakhstan;

- It is substantiated that national identity is the most important condition for the existence of the nation, the state, its sovereignty and security of Kazakhstan;

- It is revealed that the multi-vector foreign policy of Kazakhstan is the most important condition for the sovereignty and assertion of the national interests of Kazakhstan;

- The complex and contradictory nature of relations between Kazakhstan and Russia in matters of sovereignty and national interests of Kazakhstan is shown;

- It is substantiated that the hegemonic course of Russia in the post-Soviet space has led to an increase in the perception of Russia by the public consciousness of Kazakhstan as a threat to its sovereignty and national interests;

- It is revealed that the change in the public consciousness of Kazakhstan, caused by the war of Russia against Ukraine, led to the perception of Turkey as the main ally of our country in defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

**Defense provisions:**

1. The territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan includes the historical lands of the Kazakhs, creating conditions for the unity of the state and nation. Protection and strengthening of territorial integrity is the main priority of domestic and foreign policy of Kazakhstan. These statements are confirmed by the analysis of state documents of the Republic of Kazakhstan, scientific literature, media materials and by the majority of experts in the course of an expert survey conducted as part of the dissertation.

2. The national identity of Kazakhstan is the most important condition for the existence of the nation, the state, its sovereignty and security. National identity, forming a sense of a common civil "we", expresses the unity of a multi-ethnic society and the state in Kazakhstan. The state, as the main subject of national construction, carries out it on the basis of Kazakh and Kazakh identity. The threat to the national identity of Kazakhstan, the division of a single "we" is the war of Russia against Ukraine.

3. The most important condition for the sovereignty and assertion of Kazakhstan's national interests is its multi-vector foreign policy. In the context of geopolitical confrontation between the US, China and Russia, Kazakhstan has to experience pressure from the great powers in pursuing a multi-vector policy, primarily from Russia. In Kazakhstan, the geopolitical confrontation between the great powers is seen as a threat to sovereignty and national interests.

4. Since gaining independence, Kazakhstan has considered Russia as its strategic partner in the political, economic, military, regional and other spheres. In the 1990s and 2000s, numerous agreements were signed between Kazakhstan and Russia aimed at mutually beneficial and equal relations. At the same time, already during this period, Kazakhstan experienced pressure on its sovereignty and national interests from the side that considered Kazakhstan and other post-Soviet states as a sphere of its geopolitical influence.

5. Since the mid-2000s, when Russia began to pursue an open hegemonic course in the post-Soviet space, securitization in relation to Russia began to grow in Kazakhstan. In order to reveal the Kazakh-Russian relations during this period, the theory of regional security of Buzan-Vever was used in the dissertation. An increase in securitization was observed in the subsequent period after the annexation of Crimea and the hybrid war in Donbass.

6. The war of Russia against Ukraine led to the perception of Russia as the main threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kazakhstan, which was confirmed by the results of the expert survey conducted in the dissertation. The turning point in the public consciousness of Kazakhstan in 2022 led to the perception of Turkey as the main ally of our country in defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

**Theoretical and Practical Significance of the Research.** In scientific and theoretical terms, the dissertation contributes to the theory of international relations in the aspect of the study of sovereignty and national interests in Kazakhstan and Central Asia.

In the applied aspect, the provisions and conclusions can help deepen the understanding of the conceptual foundations of Kazakhstan's foreign policy. The provisions and conclusions of the dissertation can be used in teaching disciplines in international relations and regional studies at the universities of Kazakhstan.

**Approbation of Thesis.** The dissertation work was discussed and presented for defense at the Department of International Relations of the Faculty of Postgraduate Education of the Kazakh University of International Relations and World Languages ​​named after Abylai Khan. In total, 5 articles were published on the content and main results of the dissertation work. 3 scientific journals have been published, approved by the Committee for Quality Assurance in Science and Higher Education of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan, as well as 2 articles included in the Scopus database.

**Structure and Scope of the Study.** The structure of the dissertation consists of designations and abbreviations in accordance with the goals and objectives of the study, introduction, three chapters, nine subchapters, conclusion, list of references, as well as twenty-seven diagrams and one expert appendix.