

ABSTRACT

of the thesis «Transformation of the PRC's foreign policy strategy and Kazakh-Chinese cooperation within the «Belt and road» submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in the specialty «6D020900 – Oriental studies» by Beisenbayev Olzhas Tussupbekuly

General description. This dissertation examines the political and diplomatic dimensions of cooperation between Kazakhstan and China within the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative (abbreviated as BRI) and how it impacts the People's Republic of China's foreign policy strategy. The study looked at bilateral relations' theory, practical mechanisms, and dynamics. The evolution of Chinese foreign policy in the period from 2013 to 2023 is analyzed through the prism of the Silk Road Economic Belt initiative announced by Xi Jinping during his first visit to Kazakhstan in 2013, also through the lens of the concept of a “community of common destiny for mankind” and other initiatives of the PRC leadership.

Relevance of the research. As the "architecture" of international relations evolves, the PRC is theoretically expanding its diplomatic strategy, foreign policy, and ties with neighboring countries. China's influence on the region and around the world is growing as a result of its intermediate conceptions, ideologies, and projects as well as its long-term strategy. China's foreign policy concepts over the years have been tied to its goals of economic globalization, strengthening regional security and stability, and internal state mobilization.

Following the establishment of independent countries along its western frontier, China initiated a range of new approaches to foreign policy that focused on organizing its diplomatic ties with nations across the region and the globe.

It is important to note that contemporary China's foreign policy approach considers its ancient political philosophies, such as "big and small country" and "center-periphery." However, China of today contributes novel ideas to its approach, putting out political concepts having both internal and exterior contours, such as "a new type of international relations" and "socialism with Chinese characteristics in a new era." The ideas behind the "Belt and Road" and the "common destiny of mankind" are seen as the diplomatic handwriting of Xi Jinping and his administration, if "peaceful development" and "harmonious world" are the legacies of Hu Jintao.

Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed the idea of the "Silk Road Economic Belt" in Astana in 2013, which involves more responsibility for the country's economic and foreign affairs. According to the BRI's idea, political and economic development will promote peaceful co-development, enhance trade and economic ties between nations at all levels, and improve mutual trade. As a bordering state and partner nation, the PRC's strategic challenges and sociopolitical processes have a close connection in the case of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The competition for transit logistics in Central Asia and the need for mutual integration are growing in light of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, the trade and economic confrontation

between the United States and China, and the closure of international transport networks.

Conducting comprehensive and objective research on the concepts, BRI, and the dynamics of China's foreign policy transformation is important today. Short-term studies are typically conducted under the limitations of a single project, focusing only on specific aspects, so theory and conceptual framework analysis is still an important issue. It is crucial to examine the goals of the PRC's regional and global governance through the lens of its foreign policy initiatives in order to uphold the country's sovereignty and protect its interests. In our opinion, more study is required in Central Asia before infrastructure and economic initiatives can be jointly used for regional development and political decision-making.

An object of research. The PRC's current foreign policy and relations with the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The subject of research. Theoretical aspects and practical processes of Chinese foreign policy; the evolution of diplomatic and political ties with Kazakhstan within the context of new ideas and initiatives.

The purpose of the research. An objective assessment of the PRC's position within the context of international relations, the course of its foreign policy over the past ten years, and its ties to Kazakhstan through the BRI and foreign policy concepts.

The following issues are those that the research is expected to address:

- identifying the theoretical basis and empirical problems of Chinese foreign policy;
- analyzing the PRC's new initiatives and current foreign policy paradigm;
- examining the connection between the Belt and Road initiative and the "community of a common destiny" and how they are being implemented in the region;
- analyzing China's diplomatic rhetoric in the context of the Belt and Road;
- examining the prospects and challenges of the "Digital Silk Road" as the current course of the "Belt and Road."

The study's theoretical and methodological basis.

A review of the theories of international relations from the Chinese, Russian, and Western schools was conducted while investigating Chinese foreign policy. The key issues and theories of science are outlined within the framework of the idea of global governance, and the Chinese theory of "moral realism" is taken into account.

In the context of the subject matter being examined, the subsequent techniques were employed:

- Empirical research materials were presented, sourced from electronic resources at local libraries, foreign institutes, and higher education institutions.
- breaking down the depth of the topic's research into phases, in addition to desk research and discourse analysis of earlier publications by international specialists.

- an analysis of theories from Chinese, Western, and Russian schools of thought was conducted, along with ideas put forth by Chinese Communist Party leaders.

- Performed a content analysis of media materials from Chinese embassies and government agencies as well as accounts on social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter.

An online survey was administered to one hundred city dwellers to gauge their opinions of Chinese initiatives. emails to Almaty, Astana, and surrounding areas.

Scientific originality of the study.

1) The idea of global governance and the Chinese theory of international relations were used as the lenses through which to view the PRC's evolving foreign policy as well as the features of its regional and global development.

2) The concept of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the "community of common destiny" have been thoroughly examined in relation to the People's Republic of China's foreign policy. This analysis serves as a framework for evaluating the political and diplomatic ties between China and Kazakhstan.

3) The past ten years are prioritized, as they marked the establishment of a long-lasting partnership between China and Kazakhstan and the introduction of current data into the scientific community.

4) The PRC's foreign policy from 2013 to 2023 was analyzed by breaking it up into multiple periods according to the ways in which the BRI and the idea of the "community of common destiny" developed.

5) The evolution of China's diplomatic rhetoric is examined by keeping an eye on the communication channels and declarations made by PRC officials.

6) In the official language, a unified stance for a shared comprehension of the PRC's initiatives has been introduced into the scientific discourse.

7) The benefits and drawbacks of the "Digital Silk Road" as an important objective for collaboration within the BRI's framework were examined.

The findings of the research.

1) The PRC is trying to quietly change the global order that the US created in a revisionist manner. China is pushing international initiatives and transforming from a "receiving" to a "transmitting" nation of norms as an alternative to US norms. This demonstrates China's goal of achieving partial space hegemony while minimizing Western influence.

2) The aim to promote the Chinese theory of international relations is reflected in the PRC's own view of global governance. Through its foreign policy initiatives, the PRC hopes to formulate and put into effect an entirely novel group of ideas. Concepts related to foreign policy are seen in China as improvements to the theory of international relations.

3) Chinese research shows that the Belt and Road initiative is practical manner to put the idea of the "community of common destiny" into practice. Through political integration, investments, and infrastructure projects under the BRI framework, the PRC hopes to establish its own rules in developing nations; however,

some argue that the concept of "community of common destiny" refers just to its external image and ideological framework.

4) China's diplomatic rhetoric has shifted in both form and content under Xi Jinping's leadership. Proactive diplomacy by the PRC is not just propaganda; rather, it is an obligation to uphold the Communist Party rights in international discourse, establish the institutional superiority of its political model, and promote closer ties with developing nations.

5) As a result of these initiatives for 2013–2023, Kazakhstan and China's strategic ties have reached an all-new level. As part of the BRI, China sees Kazakhstan as a crucial "transcontinental bridge." As this was going on, Kazakhstan emerged as China's top trading and investment partner in the CA, lending strategic ties a "eternal" quality.

6) The "Digital Silk Road" is becoming increasingly relevant for China as it implements the BRI. China sees itself as a key player in advancing the BRI country's digital communications. The Chinese side clarified that the BRI is intended to enhance e-commerce and the telecommunications network, but the topic of digital security is still on the agenda.

7) The theory and methodology for studying Chinese foreign policy need to be significantly improved. The majority of the materials are complementary in nature, and there isn't an ongoing lack of researchers working on BRI. There is no systematic process in place for translating Chinese foreign policy initiatives into the nation's official language.

The study's theoretical and practical significance.

The results of the research can be applied in academic settings and in political consultations, particularly when examining how China's foreign policy has changed in relation to Kazakhstan and Central Asia and how its foreign policy has changed in light of shifting global geopolitical conditions. This includes examining public diplomacy and official PRC rhetoric. The anticipated findings of the research hold significant value for the theoretical and conceptual examination of the PRC's concept of a "community of common destiny," as well as for the country's recent development and future transformations. In light of these concepts, the opinion and perception of China's foreign policy strategy will be significant for the Kazakh audience as well as the larger community. As a result, the topic of developing your own plan in Kazakhstan and Central Asia with reference to the previously mentioned concepts, projects, and strategies will be addressed.

Based on an internal, coherent logic, **the dissertation's structure** is carrying out its aims and objectives. Abbreviations, the introduction, the body, the conclusion, and applications include the sections of the study.

Compliance of the thesis topic with the priority directions of science development and/or state programmes, which are implemented in the Republic of Kazakhstan. The PRC is identified as a priority country in the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in paragraph 4.2 of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020–2030, among other previously adopted long-term

and medium-term strategic documents and programs of the country. The concept for the "Silk Road Economic Belt" was adopted at the same time as the government of the Republic of Kazakhstan's "Nurly Zhol" state infrastructure initiative in 2014. Meetings between heads of state, as well as within the context of regional (China-Central Asia), international (CICA, SCO) collaboration, reflect the dynamics of bilateral political and diplomatic communication.

Doctoral student's contribution to each publication. The results of the dissertation were published in the form of 11 scientific articles, including 3 in journals that were recommended by the Control Committee of the Ministry of Higher Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan for publication in the fields of education and science, 7 in proceedings of national and international scientific conferences, and 1 in the Scopus database. In order to complete the assigned tasks, the doctoral student worked directly on creating the publication plan and dissertation structure, developing the methodology, gathering, processing, and analyzing data, conducting a social survey, writing and editing the text, creating a bibliography, applications, checking, and analysis, among other things.