

ABSTRACT

of the thesis «The foreign policy concept of the Republic of Turkey at the current stage» submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)
in the specialty «6D050500 – Regional studies»
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General description of the work. This dissertation is devoted to the analysis of the formation and evolution of Turkey's foreign policy from the moment the modern republic was founded in 1923 to the present. Within each historical stage, the key factors and trends in the development of Ankara's international strategy were considered.

The relevance of the research topic. Turkey, after Recep Tayyip Erdogan came to power at the beginning of the 2000s, underwent a radical transformation in terms of raising its own economic and military-political status on the world stage. In this regard, many outside observers point to a parallel growth in the external ambitions of the current Turkish leadership, which could potentially have a serious impact on the entire geopolitical architecture of the region surrounding the republic. Therefore, the study of the foreign policy of modern Turkey is seen as a rather urgent issue in the framework of the emerging new global structure.

Meanwhile, the scientific significance of the research topic is additionally due to the strategic nature of the Kazakh-Turkish relations. Back in October 2009, during the visit of the first President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, to Turkey, an agreement on strategic partnership was signed between the two countries. This event demonstrated the great value of Ankara in the foreign policy of Nur-Sultan. From the very beginning of independence, Kazakhstani leaders systematically built a multi-vector course that involves the establishment of trusting ties with all key international players.

At the same time, common historical roots, in particular belonging to a single Turkic-speaking space, have always been an important bonding factor in the formation of special relations between the two states. At one time, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it was Turkey that was the first to recognize the independence and sovereignty of Kazakhstan. Since then, cooperation in all sectors has been actively strengthened.

In the humanitarian sphere, interaction takes place through such collective structures as TURKSOY, the Turkic Academy, the Turkic Culture and Heritage Foundation and other similar specialized bodies. Cultural and scientific cooperation is also built on the basis of bilateral agreements. Here it is necessary to emphasize the educational aspect. In Kazakhstan, there is an extensive network of prestigious school institutions - lyceums "Bilim-Innovation". It is worth noting the work of partner universities represented by the University named after Khoja Ahmet Yasawi in the city of Turkestan and SDU located in the Almaty region.

The process of rapprochement between Ankara and Nur-Sultan directly affected the deepening of economic ties. Today, Turkey is one of the five largest trading partners

of Kazakhstan. It is important to emphasize that in the light of recent events around the Ukrainian-Russian war, further diversification of transport routes is becoming highly important for the Republic of Kazakhstan. In this regard, the trans-Caspian corridor through Turkish territory is seen as a very promising direction. This moment was mentioned by President Tokayev during his official meeting with Erdogan in the Turkish capital in May 2022.

Joint economic and humanitarian projects serve as the foundation for the intensification of political ties. In this regard, a rather significant event was the transformation of the Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States into a full-fledged organization in the fall of 2021. Thus, the Turkish vector is increasingly becoming an integral component of the Kazakh concept of foreign policy balancing.

Against the background of the above, the problem of a serious shortage in the Republic of Kazakhstan of the production of high-quality analytical works on Turkish topics is relevant. This kind of gap first of all makes it difficult to develop one's own vision of the situation. In this case, the analysis and forecasting of Turkey's foreign policy is largely based on the conclusions of foreign authors, which can often be ideologically motivated in their assessments. Therefore, it is essential for the Kazakh scientific community to formulate its point of view regarding the issue under study, taking into account national interests.

The object of the study is the foreign policy concept of the Republic of Turkey in the context of the transformation of the international order.

The purpose of the dissertation research is to identify priorities, problems and opportunities in the implementation of the main goals of modern Turkish foreign policy based on the analysis of the theory and practice of the evolution of the foreign policy concept of the Republic of Turkey.

Within the framework of this goal, the author set the corresponding **tasks**, mainly related to the relevance of this dissertation work:

1. Based on the analysis of the main theories of international relations, determine the methodology in the study of the foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey.

2. Explore the evolution of the foreign policy of the Turkish state from the isolationism of President Ataturk to the policy of neutrality during the Second World War.

3. To identify the factors of transformation of Turkey's foreign policy strategy for rapprochement with the West during the years of the Cold War.

4. To study the factor of the Justice and Development Party in the context of the evolution of the country's foreign policy under the rule of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

5. To study the role of the concept of neo-Ottomanism in the formation of the state strategy of Turkey in the international arena.

6. Reveal the factors that determine Turkey's relations with the West, which are complex and multi-valued.

7. To study the current state, opportunities and prospects of the strategic partnership between Kazakhstan and Turkey.

The chronological framework of the study covers the period from the establishment of the Turkish Republic to the present day. This is due to the fact that even at the beginning of the formation of republican Turkey, internal and external factors were formed that determined the current trends in Ankara's foreign policy concept.

Theoretical and methodological base of the research. In the course of the analysis of the problems studied in the dissertation, the author used a set of theoretical and methodological approaches aimed at studying various aspects of the state's foreign policy. In this context, the theory of geopolitics is defined as the main theoretical approach, which makes it possible to identify the key factors influencing the formation of the foreign policy concepts of the Turkish Republic in certain historical periods. Thus, the geopolitical location of Turkey is considered one of the decisive factors in the development and implementation of the foreign policy strategy of the state.

In the process of analyzing Turkey's foreign policy concept, the author of the dissertation turned to the theories of neorealism and the balance of power, which contribute to the discovery of key factors that led to a significant transformation of Turkey's foreign policy strategy during Erdogan's rule.

Meanwhile, the theories of liberalism and interdependence provide an opportunity to explain Ankara's desire to simultaneously remain in the western (NATO membership, ongoing EU accession process) and eastern (participation in the OIC, the Turkic world) political, economic and cultural spaces.

In addition, the method of comparative analysis was used. Here, the objects of comparison, on the one hand, were the history of Turkey's foreign policy in the twenty-first century, on the other hand, the processes in the country's foreign policy in the previous period. Another method was interviewing various experts, mainly Kazakhstani specialists. It was important to find out the view from Kazakhstan on the foreign policy concept of the Republic of Turkey, since the dissertation will also pay attention to Turkey's foreign policy towards the Central Asian region.

The scientific novelty. The dissertation research presents the following scientific results that determine the novelty of the work:

- for the first time in Kazakh historiography, a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the foreign policy concepts of the Turkish Republic was made at the present stage of its development.

- The theoretical approaches used by the author of the dissertation (geopolitics, balance of power, securitization) make it possible to reveal the features of the formation of Turkey's foreign policy as a Eurasian state. These characteristics remain relevant in any historical period and can be applied to the analysis of the foreign policy of other Eurasian states.

- for the first time in Kazakh historiography, the factors that conceptualize the formation and implementation of Turkish foreign policy in historical retrospective are analyzed.

- the author offers his own scientific view on the neo-Ottoman ideology of President Erdogan in the context of a changing geopolitical reality.

The practical significance of the study. The practical significance of the dissertation lies in the possibility of using the conclusions and recommendations obtained as a result of the study in the preparation of subsequent studies on the theory and practice of regional states. The materials of the dissertation may be of interest to the foreign policy structures of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the formation of bilateral relations. The materials of the dissertation can be used by employees of think tanks and NGOs.

Provisions proposed for defense.

1. When analyzing the problems set in the dissertation, one should rely on the main theories such as geopolitics, balance of power, securitization, which reveal the features of the formation and implementation of the foreign policy concepts of the Republic of Turkey, determined by its geopolitical location at the junction of Europe and Asia. These characteristics remain relevant in the study of any stage of the republican period in the history of Turkey. This approach makes it possible to develop a methodology for studying the foreign policy of states with similar Turkish parameters, which means its repetition (methodology).

2. An analysis of the development of the foreign policy concepts of the Turkish state since Ataturk revealed the main course towards modernization and Westernization, which meant the desire to integrate into the Western community. This vector, to one degree or another, was supported by subsequent ruling elites. However, President Erdogan has moved away from this direction, which could change Turkey's foreign policy strategy.

3. The basic ideology / concept of Erdogan's foreign policy is neo-Ottomanism, the characteristics of which are debatable from defining it as a neo-imperial project to a tool for the natural expansion of Turkey's influence at the regional and global level. The author of the dissertation believes that Erdogan's neo-Ottomanism should be viewed as a desire to achieve the status of a leading regional power, while maintaining interaction with the West.

4. In the changing geopolitical reality, strategic partnership with Turkey opens up prospects for Kazakhstan, which means new opportunities for cooperation in geopolitical, economic, cultural and civilizational terms. In geopolitical terms, this implies the strengthening of the Turkish vector, in economic terms, the diversification of trade relations and transport routes, and in cultural and civilizational terms, the strengthening of Turkic unity.

Evaluation of results. The main provisions and conclusions of the dissertation were published in domestic and foreign publications, discussed at a meeting of the

Department of International Relations and World Economy of Al-Farabi Kazakh National University.

3 articles were published in journals recommended by the Committee for Quality Assurance in Education and Science of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan:

1.Public diplomacy and soft power of Turkey in Kazakhstan// Bulletin of KazNU. Series of IR and WE. – 2019. – №2(86). – P. 16-25

2.The COVID-19 pandemic and the «digital» prospects of ISESCO // Bulletin of KazNU. Series of IR and WE. – 2021. – №3(95). – P.39-47

3.Prospects for Turkish-American relations under a Biden presidency// Bulletin of Karaganda University. History. Philosophy series. – 2021. – №3(103). – P.109-115

1 article published in an international scientific journal included in the Scopus data base:

Kazakh-turkish lyceums: promotion of gulenism in Kazakhstan// Central Asia and the Caucasus. – 2020. – Vol.21 – ISS 2. – P.17-27

The structure of the thesis consists of an introduction, three sections, a conclusion and a list of references.