### **ABSTRACT**

of the thesis "Kazakhstan- Uzbekistan cooperation in the perspective of Central Asia consolidation" submitted by Sembayeva Zhansaya for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in specialty 6D020200 – International Relations

The relevance of research. The relevance of this dissertation research is due to the transformation of cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The processes of the first years of independence were characterized by intensive sovereignization of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and other Central Asian states. Further processes of international cooperation between the two states, considered in the context of long-term historical and structural factors, acquire new features of their development. The two states are the most economically developed and politically stable in Central Asia. The change of political elites in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan has had a certain impact on the dynamics of international cooperation between the two states, which can become an example of deepening cooperation for other Central Asian states in order to consolidate Central Asia and its subsequent integration. Central Asia with five post-Soviet republics, stretching from the Caspian Sea to Western China, has become a new market for international cooperation.

The consolidation of Central Asia is, first of all, processes in which States participate as subjects of international relations, aimed at overcoming difficulties and developing new actions and steps that need to be taken. We consider consolidation as strengthening of cooperation, unification of individuals, groups, organizations, states to achieve a common goal or strengthen the struggle for common goals, that is, as an intermediate stage to integration. Global threats such as the development of economic ties in the context of the financial crisis, threats of Islamic radicalism, the COVID-19 pandemic, events in Afghanistan in connection with the new government and others pose new challenges for Central Asian states that fail to interact harmoniously and synchronously on the traditional spectrum of international cooperation in general. The positive dynamics of cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan should play a key role in the development of dynamic processes of socio-economic development of the Central Asian states, becoming a realistic expectation of consolidation of the Central Asian states with the subsequent crystallization of integration.

The Research Purpose. The main goal is a comprehensive scientifically based study of ways to consolidate Central Asia in the context of cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. In this regard, to achieve the goal we formulated the following objectives of the research:

- to identify theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of Central Asia in general, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in particular
  - to give an assessment of foreign experts on the consolidation of Central Asia,
- to investigate the effectiveness of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan's participation in international regional associations,

- to substantiate the importance of the dynamics of economic growth and international cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan as an example of Central Asian consolidation,
- to reveal the importance of ensuring national security in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan as a factor of successful consolidation,
- to characterize the consolidating processes in Central Asia on the basis of a multidimensional analysis of practical experience (survey results),
- to develop a theoretical model of consolidation of Central Asia in the context of cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

## The Sources of Research.

Official documents and agreements between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan.

Speeches, statements, interviews of heads of state, representatives of ministries and departments.

Works of a conceptual nature.

Doctoral and candidate dissertations on the subject under consideration.

Works devoted to any specific problem of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Central Asia as a whole.

Periodical printing.

Scientific and educational websites of institutions and organizations dealing with Central Asian topics.

### Methods of Research.

General logical methods and methods of cognition are used as analysis, comparative and comparative methods for processing the collected material from different sources. A generalization method for determining common properties and attributes of objects. The paper uses empirical and analytical methods to describe the key parameters of the problem under study. The systematic approach makes it possible to study the bilateral relations of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan with the Central Asian states as an integral phenomenon. The method of analysis is aimed at studying individual phenomena and situations, taking into account the intersections of theoretical and factual material. The method of questionnaire survey of respondents on the territory of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan is used in the work. The survey included the collection of information and its systematization with subsequent analysis, which made it possible to assess and comprehend the priority areas of development of cooperation between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, possible changes in the priorities of this cooperation as a result of scientific analysis.

## **Scientific novelty of the Thesis:**

- theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, as well as the Central Asian states as a whole, are defined,
- an assessment of foreign experts is given based on the analysis of methods and methodology for the study of Central Asia,

- the effectiveness of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan's participation in international regional associations has been studied,
- the importance of economic growth and international cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan as an example of Central Asian consolidation is substantiated.
- the importance of ensuring national security in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan as a factor of successful international cooperation is revealed,
- the characteristic of consolidating processes in Central Asia is given on the basis of a multidimensional survey,
- a theoretical model of consolidation of Central Asia in the context of cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan has been developed, including 10 elements,
  - there is a potential for new research topics.

## The main provisions for thesis submission:

- 1. The traditional theories, approaches and concepts used in the study of Central Asia, such as world systems, realism, political elites, observations) and new ones (relational proximity, plasticity of states) contributed to the analysis of interstate strategies of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Kazakh-Uzbek cooperation should play a key role in the development of dynamic processes in Central Asia. The consolidation approach is considered as the first step towards regional integration of the Central Asian States.
- 2. Foreign analytics has developed its own methodology and methodology for studying international cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, integration of Central Asian states. They show activity and farsightedness in those problems that are considered controversial and poorly studied, which makes it possible to better understand the logic of the transformations taking place in the Central Asian states.
- 3. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan focus on cooperation with international organizations such as the EurAsEC, SCO and CSTO. Although Uzbekistan is not a full member of some of them. The development of the EurAsEC and the SCO can develop taking into account the geo-economic interests of the Central Asian states. On the other hand, the presence of the EurAsEC and the SCO can be an excellent motivation for the Central Asian countries to create their Central Asian cooperation through consolidation.
- 4. Analysis of the dynamics of economic cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan shows that by investing funds and efforts in the process of economic development, it is possible to achieve sustainable growth and ensure stability and security, taking into account reasonable reindustrialization. The common problems observed in the Central Asian countries should become drivers of successful cooperation and interaction. The relational proximity between the Central Asian states, the common historical and cultural past of the Central Asian peoples, the common natural environment and mutually complementary economic and industrial sectors all this contributes to the consolidation of Central Asia.

5. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are developing their own mechanisms and strategies to ensure security in their territories. At the same time, the rise to power of the Taliban in Afghanistan poses new threats and challenges for the whole of Central Asia, especially for Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

6 Based on the survey, the opinion of the Kazakh and Uzbek communities on the consolidation of Central Asia was identified. The comprehension and acceptance by the Kazakh and Uzbek societies of actions in one direction contains the key to the success of cooperation between the two states as an example of positive interaction playing a key role in Central Asia. But the consolidation of the Central Asian states as the initial stage of regional integration will enable the development of a number of new elements, new scenarios that will bring it into regional compliance and minimize negative transformations in the geopolitical and geoeconomic imperatives of the modern world.

7 In the context of international cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, it has become possible to develop a theoretical model of consolidation of Central Asia, including 10 elements located on a vertical and horizontal axis. The location on the vertical axis of the institutional structure, including a management model based on a decision-making model, and the location on the horizontal axis of the processes of political, economic and socio-cultural development will lead to the crystallization of the consolidation of Central Asia, which, in turn, will lead to effective regional integration.

# Substantiation of the novelty and importance of the results obtained.

The revealed new approaches to the study of cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan as a relational proximity and a plastic state made it possible to identify adherence to the principles of sovereignty and political independence of the two countries in the decision-making processes of interstate interaction, which are markers of consolidation and strengthening of cooperation between the two Central Asian states as a whole. The studied effectiveness of the participation of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in international regional associations has shown contradictory facts, both unifying and separating factors. The analysis and characterization of consolidating processes in Central Asia is carried out on the basis of a multidimensional survey. It is shown that the issues of ensuring national security in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and Central Asia as a whole are one of the conditions for successful consolidation of Central Asia with its subsequent integration. The theoretical model of consolidation of Central Asia in the context of cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, developed in this study, includes a set of tools and mechanisms to achieve the consolidation of Central Asia on the example of cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

This study corresponds to such directions of development of science and state programs as "Strategic Development Plan of the Republic of Kazakhstan until 2025", Strategy "Kazakhstan-2050", "National Security Strategy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2021-2025", "Concept of foreign policy of the Republic of

Kazakhstan for 2020-2030", Message of the Head of State K.-Zh.Tokayevs to the people of Kazakhstan "The unity of the people and systemic reforms are a solid foundation for the prosperity of the country" (1.09.2021).

The results of the dissertation research, including the model of consolidation of Central Asia in the context of cooperation between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, can be used in government agencies, research centers, international regional organizations, diplomatic agencies. The practical significance of the work is to be used in higher educational institutions in the educational programs "International Relations", "Regional Studies", "Political Science", "Sociology" at all levels of bachelor's – master's – doctoral studies.

Results of the scientific work was reflected in 6 scientific articles published by the doctoral student, which 3 of them in the journals of recommended by the Committee for Control of Education and Science of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2 articles in the materials of the international scientific- practical conferences and 1 article in international journal indexed by the Scopus database. The work on the articles was carried out independently in the following format: definition of methodology, collection and systematization of material, analysis, curation, preparation of the initial version, editing, final version of the article.

The structure and volume of the thesis. The structure of the dissertation consists of an introduction, three sections, nine subsections, a conclusion and a list of sources used. The total volume of work is 138 pages.