

KAZAKHSTAN AND THE UNITED STATES: STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP IN A NEW GEOPOLITICS

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Abstract. The partnership between the US and Kazakhstan is taking on new dimensions in the context of the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the growing influence of China, and the increased activity of other actors in the region. In the face of geopolitical instability, Kazakhstan seeks to preserve and strengthen its sovereignty and independence, based on a multi-vector foreign policy strategy. Therefore, the strengthening and expansion of the American vector is actualizing.

The US strategic interest decline in Kazakhstan and the region as a whole after the withdrawal of allied troops from Afghanistan led to their practical displacement of Central Asia to the periphery of American foreign policy. However, the war in Ukraine once again attracted the attention of Washington to the Central Asia region. As a result, the C5+1 dialogue platform was created, the “U.S. Strategy for Central Asia for 2019-2025” was adopted, and the region was mentioned in the US “National Security Strategy of 2022”.

These documents define the main characteristics of relations between Kazakhstan and the US. The authors of the article analyze the coincidence of Washington's strategy with the main national interest of Kazakhstan. Both sides are interested in mutually beneficial cooperation in areas such as economy, energy, education, and security.

Despite the fact that the American vector in the Kazakhstan foreign policy is inferior in intensity to the Russian, Chinese, and even European ones, the strategic partnership between Astana and Washington allows both sides to address their own and common tasks within the framework of regional and international security and cooperation.

In the current situation, the expansion of the Western direction in foreign policy, especially in the context of the development of relations with the United States, can play an important role in ensuring balance in the region and strengthening the sovereignty of the state.

Key words: strategic partnership, The United States, Kazakhstan, geopolitical turbulence, multi-vector, security, foreign policy, national interest

Basic provisions

In the context of geopolitical turbulence, the question of preserving and strengthening the American vector of Kazakhstan's foreign policy is becoming more

pressing. This means taking the strategic partnership between Washington and Astana to a new level.

In the context of geopolitical turbulence, the United States has re-evaluated the strategic importance of Central Asia and its role in its global strategy. Washington is now offering a constructive agenda for the entire Central Asian region. This is evidenced by the creation of the C5+1 dialogue platform, the adoption of the “U.S. Strategy for Central Asia for 2019-2025”, and the mention of the region in the “National Security Strategy of 2022”.

An analysis of the degree of convergence of interests and opportunities will allow to make forecasts for the preservation and strengthening of the American vector of Kazakhstan's foreign policy.

Introduction

The contours of modern relations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the US are in the focus of academic interest in connection with the evolution of the geopolitical situation in the region.

The research question of the article is to identify the coincidence of the Washington's strategy in the region and the main national interest of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the basis of an analysis of the foreign policy strategies of the US and Kazakhstan. Despite the difference in the tools and motivations of both states, the foreign policy strategies provide significant complementarity.

To address the issues raised in the article, the authors analyzed national and bilateral documents, using theory and methodology that allows them to answer the questions posed in the article.

Description of Materials and Methods

The modern relations between Kazakhstan and the United States require analysis through the prism of various theories, such as realism/neorealism, liberalism/neoliberalism, constructivism, geopolitical theory, and others.

According to the theory of realism/neorealism, the relations between Kazakhstan and the US are conditioned by common interests in the field of security. Kazakhstan seeks to strengthen its independence and sovereignty, while the United States is interested in maintaining stability and security in Central Asia. Both countries also seek to develop economic cooperation: Kazakhstan is an important source of natural resources, while the United States occupies a leading position in the world economy.

From the perspective of liberalism/neoliberalism, the relations between Kazakhstan and the United States can be viewed as cooperation in various areas.

The theory of constructivism emphasizes that the identity and interests of states are formed in the process of interaction. In this context, both countries are gradually developing more positive relations, which contributes to strengthening their cooperation.

The theory of geopolitics asserts that the geographical location of a state is an important factor determining its policy. The geographical location of Kazakhstan in

Central Asia makes it a key player in the region, which attracts the US attention to maintain stability and security in this area.

The concept of a multi-vector foreign policy is a fundamental principle of the Kazakhstan foreign policy strategy. It expresses the desire for multifaceted interaction on the world stage.

The concept of balanced diplomacy is also applied in the study of Kazakhstan's foreign policy. It is important to note the differences between balanced and multi-vector diplomacy: the latter does not necessarily imply uniformity or balance. Balanced diplomacy, although it may not be uniform, takes into account the interests of major states. In this context, pragmatism plays a key role for both Kazakhstan and the United States.

The approach based on pragmatism determines the development of relations between Kazakhstan and major states based on their practical benefit, giving preference to practical benefits over political intentions and ideological factors. Pragmatism manifests itself mainly in the economic sphere. Economic opportunities play a significant role in the diplomatic capital for major states in the region. Whoever is able to offer more economic advantages to Central Asian countries will be a more desirable partner.

Results

The analysis of theoretical and methodological approaches showed that the strategic partnership between the United States and Kazakhstan in the new geopolitical conditions should be considered using a comprehensive approach, including various theories and concepts, the main of which are realism, liberalism, constructivism, and geopolitical theory, which allow to explain the problems set out in the article.

Central Asia is an important part of American Eurasian policy. The large-scale transport and logistics projects of China and the policy of Russia on integration with Central Asia determine the geopolitical nature of the “C5+1”. An important task of the multilateral format is to protect American interests through the so-called construction of the region. American strategists attach importance not only to the raw materials, transit potential of the countries of Central Asia, but also to their subjectivity, i.e. the ability to develop independently from the will of major players.

The war in Ukraine again shifted the focus of Washington to the Central Asia region. The return of American interest can be explained by various reasons, the main of which are related to anti-Russian sanctions, to the business interests of American companies in Kazakhstan, to the advancement of the C5+1 dialogue platform to a new level.

In the context of geopolitical turbulence, the United States has come to a much better understanding of the strategic importance of Central Asia and its role in its global strategy. Washington is now offering a constructive agenda for the entire Central Asia region. Ambitious long-term plans and goals, which are fully reflected in the “U.S. Strategy for Central Asia for 2019-2025” [1], are outlined in the “U.S. National Security Strategy of 2022” [2].

The United States continues to link the Central Asian region with the problems of Afghanistan. At the 2023 US-Central Asia summit, the sides expressed their desire to strengthen cooperation in the field of security, calling it the “cornerstone” of maintaining the sovereignty of the countries of the region.

In general, Washington realizes that a new strategic approach to the region should include the issue of opening and developing transport corridors from Central Asia to the south. Otherwise, the countries of Central Asia may deepen their dependence on China and Russia.

Determining the degree of coincidence of interests and opportunities will allow us to make forecasts for the preservation and strengthening of the American vector of Kazakhstan's foreign policy.

Discussion

Expert opinion. In the new geopolitical reality, relations between the United States and Kazakhstan have become the subject of close attention by both domestic and foreign researchers. Foreign authors note a new trend in Kazakhstan's foreign policy: a move away from its traditional ally Russia after the mass protests in 2022 and President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev's request for help from the CSTO, as well as the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

Therefore, Ukrainian researcher Domenko believes that one of the important factors in the rapprochement between Kazakhstan and the United States is the fact that further development of allied relations with the Russian Federation is becoming dangerous for Kazakhstan. The Russian war is also likely to accelerate efforts to diversify Kazakhstan's imports and exports via Caspian sea routes and beyond Russia to mitigate the effects of sanctions [3].

Researcher Ghegelashwili believes that, in turn, the United States will use all possible means to create a viable competition against Chinese and Russian projects, as well as various formats of regional integration of all five Central Asian countries, creating effective projects in all spheres of their political, economic, and cultural life to become as attractive as possible for the region. The author also notes that “the desire of both the United States and the EU to occupy a key position in the region will depend not only on the success of their policies, but also on the position of the Central Asian countries in the context of their right choice between the main key actors” [4].

The authors of the article “Features of US Foreign Policy towards the States of Central Asia” call Kazakhstan a permanent regional ally of the United States, emphasizing the pragmatic nature of cooperation between partners. They also believe that Kazakhstan's multi-vector foreign policy “is in dissonance with the regional imperatives of the United States,” as Astana seeks to gain the maximum benefit from cooperation with Washington while building good neighborly relations with Russia and China [5].

Another point of view is held by the authors of the article that examines the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war. They note that, faced with the current increasingly complex domestic and international situation, President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev supports the principle of

pragmatism aimed at protecting national security and raising Kazakhstan's international status [6].

At the same time, a number of researchers emphasize that Washington should take into account the strengthening of the Chinese vector of Kazakhstan's multi-vector foreign policy: “Despite its official alliance with Russia, Kazakhstan's foreign policy is more closely linked to China” [7].

With regard to the return of US interest in the CSTO region, experts believe that “in the future, US strategy in Central Asia is expected to be based on the expediency of attracting regional allies and stimulating contradictions to deter geopolitical rivals in the region” [7].

In conclusion, the analysis of scientific literature on the topic of the study showed that cooperation between Kazakhstan and the United States in the new geopolitical reality is characterized by a variety of assessments and forecasts. This is due to the fact that the cooperation process is not yet complete, and its outcome depends on many factors.

In the foreign policy concept of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020-2030, priorities are shifted from individual countries to regional and multilateral cooperation. In the bilateral context, only neighboring countries, the United States and the European Union, are specifically highlighted. (Foreign Policy Concept of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2020-2030) [8].

The relations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the United States are characterized as a strategic partnership, including cooperation in the economic, energy, security, education, and culture spheres.

The evolution of cooperation between Kazakhstan and the United States has gone through several stages. During this time, Washington has determined not only the degree of importance of the region for American interests, but also the degree of its willingness to be involved in the affairs of Central Asia (CA). As a result of the actions of the United States, Russia's monopoly in the region was destroyed. American administrations gained the opportunity to change the balance of power and participate on an equal footing in the geopolitical rivalry in CA.

After the events of September 11, 2001, the most important factor influencing Kazakhstan-US relations was the US anti-terrorist operation and the joint fight of the CA countries against international terrorism. US interest in the region was determined by the large-scale fight against international terrorism. As a result of the global anti-terrorist war, the Central Asian direction was included in the general context of the fight against international terrorism. The changed geopolitical situation after September 11, 2001, actualized relations between the United States and the CA countries, which were to help overcome the strategic difficulties and difficulties of access to the territory of military operations, which the American troops had to face during the Operation “Enduring Freedom” in Afghanistan.

However, after the withdrawal of allied troops from Afghanistan, US interest in the region declined as a result of post-Afghan policy and the “pivot to Asia” strategy

The shift of Kazakhstan and Central Asia to the periphery of US foreign policy can be explained by several factors.

First, as early as 2005, Washington, within the framework of the Greater Central Asia project, proposed to base its regional policy on the principle of geopolitical pluralism. The essence of this project is to unite the states of Central Asia and Afghanistan, as well as some other neighboring regions, into a single geopolitical whole. This marked new approaches in Washington's Central Asian policy, which are part of a strategy for the global restructuring of large geopolitical spaces in Eurasia (for example, the "Greater Middle East")

Washington called on Moscow and Beijing not only to participate, but also to act as guarantors and donors of the region's modernization process. The political part of the Greater Central Asia project sets the task of convincing Russia and China that the United States does not intend to weaken their positions in the region. Moreover, the United States planned to invite these states as guarantors of the region's modernization process.

At the same time the United States clearly define its interests in the Central Asian region. It should be noted that even skeptics admit that the historical ties between Russia and Kazakhstan, the length of the common border, the Russian diaspora in Kazakhstan, the interdependence of the economies and infrastructure of the two countries, as well as the significant disparity in military potential - all this explains the special relations between Moscow and Astana. Researchers recognize that these factors, in addition to Astana's commitment to regional integration, have pushed Kazakhstan to join the Collective Security Treaty Organization and become one of the first members of the Eurasian Economic Union. Similarly, no one doubts the importance of Kazakhstan's relations with neighboring China. The development of these relations is an indicator of the achievements of Kazakhstan's foreign policy and economic strategy since independence.

Second, the withdrawal of allied troops from Afghanistan and, as a consequence, the decline in US interest in Kazakhstan and the region as a whole, which is explained by the low level of strategic interest of Washington in the Central Asian region. The terms "Central Asia" and "Kazakhstan" practically disappeared from the discourse of the American President Obama, which was evidence of the loss of significant interest of the United States in Kazakhstan and the region as a whole, which is not an arena of large-scale disasters, nor a source of serious security threats [9].

The Trump administration, for a number of reasons, adjusted the foreign policy course of the Obama administration on the futility of this direction.

Geopolitical competition between Washington, Moscow, and Beijing is not self-sufficient for Central Asia. The countries of Central Asia have their own interests and priorities, and they are not simply pawns in the great power competition.

The United States for a long time remained the only major external force that did not have a consultative mechanism for making joint decisions with the countries of the region, which could not but affect the effectiveness of the US foreign policy towards Central Asia. The picture changed in the 2000s. On the one hand, the post-Afghan period shows a shift in foreign policy priorities to the Asia-Pacific region, which weakened Washington's interest in Central Asia. On the other hand, there is

evidence of a new American regional policy, expressed in the formula “C5+1”, the implementation of which will allow the region not to remain on the periphery of the global US strategy.

A whole complex of geopolitical and geo-economic factors (the start of the implementation of the ambitious Chinese “Belt and Road” initiative, the sanctions confrontation between Washington and Moscow, the Ukrainian crisis, the war in Syria, the fall in world prices for major export commodities, etc.) contributed to the development and adoption of “C5+1”. The main criterion was the fact that Central Asia is directly or indirectly related to all these events, which, in turn, are in the sphere of US interests.

Thus, the “C5+1” format allows Washington to pursue a regional policy that compensates for the geopolitical influence of neighboring powers. One possible option would be the so-called “offshore balancing”, which involves changing country priorities, choosing a key partner; recognizing the interests and capabilities of other external forces; finding the right balance between security and democratic values; more effective use of existing levers of influence on the situation.

It should be remembered that the United States and the European Union, as well as Asian states - Turkey, Japan, and South Korea, already have similar formats for interaction with the countries of Central Asia. This format is perhaps the most powerful in terms of propaganda and cultural relations. The EU has a special representative for Central Asian affairs and a well-developed regional strategy. The American format is also becoming regular and is reaching a new level in the context of the Ukrainian crisis.

New geopolitics. The war in Ukraine has once again shifted Washington's focus to the Central Asia region. The return of American interest can be explained by the following reasons:

First, it is related to anti-Russian sanctions. The United States and the European Union have repeatedly warned of the introduction of secondary sanctions against countries that violate the sanctions. Western partners are concerned about the indicators of the significantly increased trade between Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation (30% in 2022) [10].

Representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom visited Astana to warn the country against helping Russia to circumvent sanctions. In response to the requests of Western partners, Kazakhstan completely banned the supply of military goods to Russia, while a special license will be required for dual-use goods. The Traderadar website has been launched to help monitor goods and companies that have been sanctioned. There is also a special system that allows you to track all sanctioned goods that pass through the Kazakh border by electronic invoices.

At the same time, official persons from Astana noted that the interdependence of the economies of the two states, membership in the EAEU and the absence of customs borders between the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan make it many times more difficult to comply with sanctions.

In response, US Secretary of State Antony Blinken promised that Washington would allocate \$25 million to the countries of the region under the “Economic

Sustainability Initiative”. This initiative will allow Central Asia to “develop trade routes and attract private sector investment and not be dependent on just one country”. This statement indicates that the United States would not want to put too much pressure on Kazakhstan, as China has become more active in the region [11].

Second, the business interests of American companies in Kazakhstan play an important role in bilateral relations. US firms operate in a wide range of sectors, including energy, petrochemicals, mining, engineering, construction, transportation, agriculture, and IT. The majority of American economic interests are still concentrated in the energy sector, where Chevron is the leader among the 700 American firms doing business in the country. In order to expand trade cooperation, the Chamber of Commerce launched the US-Kazakhstan Business Council in 2020 [12].

Special attention should be paid to the new trend of rare earth metal mining. In the context of the development of alternative energy sources and the demand for the production of high-tech components, such as semiconductors, solar panels, etc., American companies are expanding their investment in the extraction of critical minerals and rare earth elements.

Third, the dialogue platform C5+1 has reached a new level. President Biden personally met with the presidents of the Central Asian countries on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly session (September 2023). The conclusion of cooperation to “new heights” raises the question of the need to fill the concept of “strategic partnership” between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the United States with a new meaning. To do this, it is necessary to analyze the coincidence of Washington's strategy in the region and the main national interest of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Despite the differences in the tools and motivations of both states, their foreign policy strategies provide significant complementarity. At the present stage, the main characteristic of Kazakh-American relations is pragmatism, that is, it is not about any real strategic rapprochement (the American “vector” of Kazakh politics is inferior to the Russian, Chinese, and even European ones), but rather about mutually beneficial cooperation in the economy, as well as maintaining stability in the region.

Strategic cooperation will allow Astana and Washington to address their own and common challenges within the framework of regional and international security and cooperation. Kazakhstan can strengthen its multi-vector foreign policy while maintaining the American vector.

Determining the degree of overlap of interests and opportunities will allow us to make forecasts for the preservation and strengthening of the American vector of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In the context of geopolitical turbulence, the United States has come to understand much better the strategic importance of Central Asia and its role in its global strategy. Washington is now offering a constructive agenda for the entire Central Asian region.

Strategic documents

Ambitious long-term plans and goals, which are fully reflected in the US Strategy for Central Asia for 2019-2025. [1].

The strategy is divided into three main areas. In the geopolitical terms, the CA, especially Kazakhstan, is analyzed through the prism of Russian influence. Washington recognizes Russia's special role in the economic (Kazakhstan's membership in the EAEU), military-political (Kazakhstan's membership in the CSTO), diplomatic and humanitarian spheres. Kazakhstan cooperates with Russia in the SCO format as well.

However, the United States clearly defines its role in the region, declaring support for and strengthening the sovereignty and independence of the Central Asian states, individually and as a whole, which should be carried out with consistent US involvement in the areas of economy, energy, security, democracy and politics, and governance issues of the Central Asian states.

After the return of the Taliban to power in 2021, as a reaction to what happened, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan quickly expressed their position within 48 hours, stating that their embassies in Kabul continue their activities. The Central Asian countries, with the exception of the Tajik government, have expressed their willingness to maintain trade and economic relations with the Taliban on the condition that the Taliban do not allow the use of their territory for planning or committing aggression against neighboring states.

Representatives of the Central Asian countries are increasingly talking about the need to stabilize Afghanistan and include the country in trade and logistics chains, which will allow opening trade routes to Pakistan and India, which is especially important in the context of the war in Ukraine and anti-Russian sanctions. Afghanistan has access to the nearest large markets of Pakistan and India, as well as the Middle East, which are of high trade interest for Kazakhstan. In August 2023, Kazakhstan held a business forum with Afghanistan, to which a delegation of the Taliban was invited. Kazakhstan signed contracts with Afghanistan worth \$200 million [13].

For Washington, the Afghan agenda is not only related to security issues, but also to the possibilities of maintaining its presence in the region. Through the CA, it is possible not only to restore the US military presence in a hybrid form, but also to send humanitarian aid together with the European Union. Washington understands that the export of Kazakh grain to Afghanistan allows 80 percent of the country's population to survive.

These and other factors explain Washington's support for the idea of creating a UN Regional Center for Sustainable Development Goals for Central Asia and Afghanistan in Almaty.

Thus, the Central Asian foreign policy of the United States can be considered not only through the prism of economic issues, but also through the prism of security problems. It is obvious that the interests of Astana and Washington in relation to Afghanistan coincide.

Diversification of transportation routes is one of the key tasks for landlocked Central Asian countries. The implementation of southern trade corridors will allow them to gain access to seaports and become part of the global supply chain and trade network. For example, the creation of the Lapis Lazuli Corridor will allow the transportation of goods from Afghanistan to Europe and back through Turkmenistan,

Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey. The corridor will pass through the Afghan dry ports of Akina in Faryab province and Torgundi in Herat province. The project is designed to promote the economic development of Afghanistan by including Afghanistan in the network of international transportation corridors linking Kabul with the Caspian countries and Europe [14].

Central Asian participation in new international transportation corridors, such as the Trans-Caspian International Transport Route (Middle Corridor) and the Lapis Lazuli Corridor, helps to diversify economic and logistical ties and reduce dependence on Russia and China.

The development of trans-Caspian transportation corridors is in the sphere of the United States' main geostrategic interests. On the one hand, such logistics allows American and European capital to actively penetrate into Central Asia. On the other hand, it allows Central Asian countries to actively develop independent economic ties from Russia and China. Therefore, the US Strategy for Central Asia calls for support for the CASA-1000 electric lines, connectivity in the region, and transportation links with Afghanistan, including the Lapis Lazuli Corridor route from the Caspian Sea through Afghanistan to Pakistan

However, after the major events that changed the geopolitics around the region (the withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2021 and the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022), the implementation of this strategy became very difficult. A new strategy has not been proposed by Washington.

In general, the American capital realizes that a new strategic approach to the region should include the issue of opening and developing transportation corridors from Central Asia to the south. Otherwise, Central Asian states could deepen their dependence on China and Russia.

The second aspect, concerning the overlapping interests of the United States and the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK) in the field of security, is the situation that has developed between Astana and Moscow after the start of the Russian military invasion of Ukraine. This problem is directly related to the situation in Afghanistan.

Although there are conspiracy theories about a possible Russian invasion of the five Central Asian countries in order to implement the geopolitical idea of President Putin to "recreate the Soviet Union 2.0," such theories, for many reasons, cannot be taken seriously. However, given the Afghan context and the weakening of Russia's ability to act as a security guarantor for the Central Asian countries, the states of this region will seek to diversify their political, economic, and military relations with non-regional actors.

The main theses of the document "The US Strategy for Central Asia" receive additional accents in the context of the "National Security Strategy" under the leadership of President Biden (NSS). The latter represents a more pronounced focus on security, emphasizing the mechanisms for promoting the vital interests of the United States in the global context. In this context, the use of all components of national power is declared to achieve supremacy over strategic competitors, overcome common challenges, and shape the "rules of the game" [1].

The central idea of the Strategy is to focus on competition with China and deterring Russia. These goals are intended to be achieved through domestic

investment, the formation of a coalition of like-minded states, and the modernization of the military. The Strategy is based on the principles of interdependence, which ensures the strengthening of allied and partnership relations in order to protect common and shared values. These values are aimed at preserving and expanding the flows of goods, services, energy, people, and technology. By “flows” here, we mean strategic efforts to create conditions for common interdependence in a competitive and dangerous global environment.

The 2022 National Security Strategy (NSS) departs from a simplistic view in defining the United States' competitors and enemies. Thus, naming Russia and China among the main states from which a strategic challenge to the security and economic mutual development of the world comes, the Strategy suggests a differentiated response to these challenges.

It is undeniable that in the near future, relations between the United States and Russia and China will remain confrontational. However, the approaches and mechanisms of influence on these countries will depend on the degree of their influence on the world order being formed by the United States.

In the context of modern international realities, Russia appears as a destroyer of the established order, while China is seeking to create its own architecture of the world order. In relation to Russia under the leadership of Putin, there are significant doubts about the possibility of developing programs of cooperation and partnership. The United States, resorting to sanctions, trade policy, financial instruments, and direct military support for Ukraine, demonstrate that Russia cannot be considered as a partner, and therefore must remain in the status of an unequal competitor.

In the context of the confrontation between Russia and the West, the United States acts as a supporter of the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the countries of the region.

Democracy issues remain a focus of American policy in Central Asia. The Washington administration has stated its intention to promote the strengthening of democratic processes and the resilience of the states of the region.

At the same time, the 2022 NSS shows a more flexible attitude to this issue and does not recognize the need to transform authoritarian regimes into democratic ones in order to ensure security. Moreover, the White House currently expresses support for regimes that refuse to use force to change borders in the world. This departure from the United States' tough stance on democracy and democratization can be seen as an attempt to resolve the problems of coexistence and cooperation between countries with different historical, cultural, and ideological views in the 21st century.

For Central Asian countries, this is not only an opportunity to preserve, but also to strengthen their foreign policy focused on cooperation with the United States. The continuation of this cooperation can help the Central Asian states maintain the balance of power in the region, given the activation of other key players. The expansion of economic cooperation contributes to the development of the region through attracting investment, increasing trade volumes and technology exchange. It is important to note that the United States' share in the total trade turnover in Kazakhstan was 2.9% in the first half of 2023. They are also among the top 5 countries in terms of import volumes to Kazakhstan. In other Central Asian

countries, the United States significantly lag behind the traditional partners of the region - Russia, China, Turkey and the countries of the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) [15].

An analysis of US foreign policy documents on Central Asian countries shows that Kazakhstan-US relations are primarily determined by pragmatism. There is not so much strategic rapprochement (while the American vector of Kazakhstan's policy is inferior to the Russian, Chinese and even European ones), but rather mutually beneficial cooperation in the economic sphere and maintaining stability in the region.

In the context of the new geopolitical situation, the United States is increasing its activity towards Central Asia, as evidenced by the summit in the “C5+” format in New York. President Biden met with the five leaders of Central Asia for the first time, and the New York Declaration on “Sustainability through the C5+1 Security, Economic and Energy Partnership” was adopted. This testifies to the desire of the American leadership to deepen its impact in the region, especially in the context of the growing tensions between Russia and the West. This point is significant in the revision of US policy towards Central Asia.

Conclusion

In the context of changes in the geopolitical situation in the Central Asian region, Kazakhstan's multi-vector foreign policy has demonstrated its effectiveness, providing the country with the opportunity to maintain strategic partnerships with both regional and non-regional actors. However, the competition between major powers in this region creates additional challenges for the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In this regard, the countries of Central Asia, including Kazakhstan, are seeking to establish mutual counter-balances and counter-positions. This striving provides them with greater operational freedom and helps to prevent possible unilateral domination or control over the region by any one power.

In the current situation, the expansion of the Western direction in foreign policy, especially in the context of the development of relations with the United States, can play an important role in ensuring equilibrium in the region and strengthening state sovereignty. Despite the fact that the American “vector” in Kazakhstan's policy is inferior in intensity to the Russian, Chinese, and even European ones, the strategic partnership between Astana and Washington will allow both sides to address their own and common tasks within the framework of regional and international security and cooperation.

The main characteristic of relations between Kazakhstan and the United States is pragmatism, expressed in mutually beneficial economic cooperation and the desire to maintain stability in the region.

In the context of the new geopolitics, Central Asia is returning to the position of a geostrategic region, important for the national security interests of the United States.

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ҚАЗАҚСТАН МЕН АҚШ: ЖАҢА ГЕОСАЯСАТТАҒЫ СТРАТЕГИЯЛЫҚ СЕРІКТЕСТІК

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Аңдатпа. АҚШ пен Қазақстан арасындағы әріптестік Ресей мен Украина арасындағы әскери қақтығыс, Қытайдың ықпалын күшейту және осы өңірдегі басқа да өңірлік және өңірлік емес қатысушылардың жандануы жағдайында жаңа ерекшеліктерге ие болуда. Өңірдің айналасындағы геосаяси тұрақсыздық жағдайында Қазақстан көпвекторлы сыртқы саяси стратегиясына сүйене отырып, өзінің субъективтілігі мен тәуелсіздігін сақтауға және нығайтуға ұмтылады. Сондықтан американдық вектордың нығаюы мен кеңеюі өзекті болып отыр.

Ауғанстаннан одақтас әскерлер шығарылғаннан кейін АҚШ-тың Қазақстанға және жалпы өңірге деген стратегиялық қызығушылығының төмендеуі олардың Орталық Азияның американдық сыртқы саясаттың перифериясына іс жүзінде көшуіне әкелді. Алайда Украинадағы соғыс тағы да Вашингтонның назарын Орталық Азия аймағына аударды. Нәтижесінде С5+1 диалог алаңы құрылды, АҚШ-тың Орталық Азия бойынша 2019-2025 жылдарға арналған стратегиясы қабылданды және аймақ 2022 Ұлттық қауіпсіздік стратегиясында атап өтілді.

Бұл құжаттар Қазақстан мен Америка Құрама Штаттары арасындағы қатынастардың негізгі сипаттамаларын анықтайды. Мақала авторлары Вашингтон стратегиясының Қазақстанның басты ұлттық мүдделерімен сәйкестігін талдайды. Екі тарап та экономика, энергетика, білім және қауіпсіздік сияқты салаларда өзара тиімді ынтымақтастыққа мүдделі.

Қазақстан саясатындағы американдық «вектор» қарқындылығы жағынан ресейлік, қытайлық және тіпті Еуропалық векторларынан төмен болғанына қарамастан, Астана мен Вашингтон арасындағы стратегиялық әріптестік екі тарапқа да өңірлік және халықаралық қауіпсіздік пен ынтымақтастық шеңберінде өздерінің және ортақ міндеттерін шешуге мүмкіндік береді.

Қазіргі жағдайда сыртқы саясаттағы батыстық бағыттың кеңеюі, әсіресе Америка Құрама Штаттарымен қарым-қатынасты дамыту жағдайында, аймақтағы тепе-теңдікті қамтамасыз етуде және мемлекеттің егемендігін нығайтуда маңызды рөл атқаруы мүмкін.

Тірек сөздер: стратегиялық серіктестік, АҚШ, ҚР, геосаяси турбуленттілік, көпвекторлық, қауіпсіздік, сыртқы саясат, ұлттық мүдде

КАЗАХСТАН И США: СТРАТЕГИЧЕСКОЕ ПАРТНЕРСТВО В НОВОЙ ГЕОПОЛИТИКЕ

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Аннотация. Партнёрство между США и Казахстаном приобретает новые черты в условиях военного конфликта между Россией и Украиной, усиления влияния Китая, и активизации других региональных и нерегиональных участников в данном регионе. В условиях геополитической нестабильности вокруг региона Казахстан стремится сохранить и укрепить свою субъектность и независимость, основываясь на многовекторной внешнеполитической стратегии. Поэтому актуализируется укрепление и расширение американского вектора.

Снижение стратегического интереса США к Казахстану и региону в целом после вывода союзнических войск из Афганистана привело к их практическому перемещению Центральной Азии на периферию американской внешней политики. Однако война в Украине снова привлекла внимание Вашингтона к региону Центральная Азия. В результате была создана диалоговая площадка С5+1, принята Стратегия США по Центральной Азии на 2019–2025 годы, и регион упомянут в Стратегии национальной безопасности 2022.

Эти документы определяют основные характеристики отношений между Казахстаном и Соединёнными Штатами. Авторы статьи анализируют совпадение стратегии Вашингтона с главным национальным интересом Казахстана. Обе стороны заинтересованы в взаимовыгодном сотрудничестве в таких областях, как экономика, энергетика, образование и безопасность.

Несмотря на то, что американский «вектор» в политике Казахстана уступает по интенсивности российскому, китайскому и даже европейскому, стратегическое партнёрство между Астаной и Вашингтоном позволяет обеим сторонам решать свои собственные и общие задачи в рамках региональной и международной безопасности и сотрудничества.

В текущей обстановке расширение западного направления во внешней политике, особенно в контексте развития отношений с Соединёнными Штатами, может сыграть важную роль в обеспечении равновесия в регионе и укреплении суверенитета государства.

Ключевые слова: стратегическое партнёрство, США, РК, геополитическая турбулентность, многовекторность, безопасность, внешняя политика, национальный интерес

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