

Some Theoretical Aspects of Studying the Foreign Policy of the Kazakh Khanate

Akbota TOKMURZAYEVA, Dauletbek RAEV, Laura ABZHAPAROVA
Department of International Relations, Kazakh Ablai Khan University of
International Relations and World Languages, Kazakhstan

Abstract. *This paper is devoted to a critical analysis and study of contemporary concepts, and the research is based on ethno-cultural and meta-theoretical ideas during the period of Kazakh khanate. The author pays a special attention to determination of scientific and theoretical roots and beginning of relations of the Kazakh khanate and Kazakh steppe civilization with the outer world and neighboring civilizations. First and foremost it has been paid attention to the theoretical, conceptual and universal meaning and significance of the notion of “international relations”. In addition to that by analyzing the inner logics of the terms such as “national interests”, “national security” it has been made an attempt to determine their role during the period of Kazakh khanate in XVII-XVIII centuries and their meta-theoretical meanings have been studied.*

Keywords: foreign policy, Kazakh khanate, national interests, national security.

If we consider the Kazakh khanate as an integral part of the universal history and if we acknowledge that in the oecumenic history no state can stand beyond the global communication, consequently it should be recognized that the Kazakh steppe civilization was never behind or out of global interactions and interpenetrations. Interestingly, neither national social sciences nor the theory of international relations has paid attention to the theoretical basis of this enormous historical truth.

It is an undeniable fact that in its every historical stage the Kazakh khanate as a state was both an object and a subject of international relations. In this sense Nursultan Nazarbayev, the first president of Kazakhstan, pointed out that “Although the Kazakh khanate as a state was founded almost five centuries ago, there is no doubt that it was a legitimate successor of all powerful empires and political entities that existed on the great steppes of Eurasia such as the Sakas, the Scythians, the Huns, the Wusun, as well as the Great Turkic Khaganate, the states of Desht-i Kipchaq and the Golden Horde.”¹

A historian M. Abuseytova by taking into consideration president N. Nazarbayev’s initiatives and historical research programs such as “Cultural heritage” and “People in the stream of history” wrote: “... In order to research thoroughly and without bias bilateral and multilateral relationships between Kazakhstan and neighboring states, extremely significant artifacts and archival documents were collected from libraries and archives of some foreign countries.”²

Taking into account president N. Nazarbayev’s following statement “By writing the history of this great steppe from a new perspective, we will be able to

¹N.A. Nazarbayev, *The sages of the great steppe*, Almaty, Sovereign Kazakhstan, 2016.

²M. Abuseytova, *The Kazakh khanate in international relations in the XVI-XVIII centuries and diplomatic experience*. Diplomatic Chronicles, II (2015), no. 51. Cf. Railya R. Vildanova, Radif R. Zamaletdinov, Madina R. Sattarova, Gulnara F. Zamaletdinova, "Tatars names as a phenomenon of traditional culture," in *Astra Salvensis*, V (2017), no. 10, p. 169.

"Some Theoretical Aspects of Studying the Foreign Policy of the Kazakh Khanate," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 35-49

educate new generations and transfer all historical heritage to them. It is obvious that this is a nationwide, and an important task of the state. ... This means we are all children and descendants of the great steppe."³ It should be noted that all aforementioned assumptions are historical realities.

This in its turn generates a legitimate question about some theoretical issues in researching the history of foreign relations of the Kazakh khanate. In our opinion, the theoretical foundations of international and foreign relations of the Kazakh khanate can be divided into the three main prerequisites: first, generally theoretical-conceptual comprehensive meaning and content of the notion of "international relations"; second, phenomena such as "national interests", "national security"; finally third, the concept of "national power".

In this perspective it is necessary to look at theoretical analysis of the concept of "international relations". In these circumstances, from the beginning of their history the Kazakh people and the Kazakh khanate have been an integral part of the world events, which can serve as a crucial foundation of the historical truth. The assumption that "On the contrary, the Kazakh khanate was able to strengthen its place in international relations" has become evident⁴. Considering that there is no state without history, the concept of "international relations" ought to view any state in the framework of history of international relations, which should be acknowledged as a scientific truth. As evidence of this hypothesis it ought to be suggested looking at the poetical works of Shalkyiz Jirau (1465-1560), a great Kazakh poet, who lived in the Middle Ages. In his outstanding works by eulogizing the accomplishments of Bakhchysarai, the Crimean Khanate, Nogai Horde, the spiritual values of Islamic religion, Kazakh batyrs (warriors) and biys (elected judges and administrators), urging his contemporaries to live in peace, he aimed to expand and widen international relations of that era⁵. In this case investigating and critical analyzing of that historical period is extremely crucial for both the state and its people in a spiritual term. Looking deeply at our own national history and getting to know theoretically our ethnic and cultural roots are quite significant. Furthermore, by learning a lot from our own history, researching its theoretical basics, we will be able to find our own way of development. This helps us to determine the scientific and ontogenetic foundation of foreign relations of the Kazakh khanate, learn its politico-historical essence.

Subsequently, first and foremost, an important question is raised on what is the significance of examining international relations as a phenomenon in an academic and theoretical sense. In our point of view theoretically international

³ N.A. Nazarbayev, *The sages of the great steppe*.

⁴ H. M. Abzhanov, *Problems of formation and development of the Kazakh Khanate in the context of world history*. International scientific-practical conference "Kazakhstan: history, society, culture", dedicated to the 550th anniversary of the formation of the Kazakh Khanate," Almaty, Kazakh Ablai Khan UIR&WL, 2015, p. 342. Cf. Iuliu-Marius Morariu, "Aspects of political theology in the spiritual autobiographies of the Orthodox space? New potential keys of lecture," in *Astra Salvensis*, V (2017), no. 10, p. 130.

⁵*The songs of five centuries: 2 volumes*. Collected by M. Magauin, M. Baidildaev. Almaty, Zhazushi, 1989, 1, 384.

relations as a phenomenon can be defined as a complex of socio-political reality in scientific perspective terms, and the global scene in which various independent societies and organizations, political entities, states, and many other actors interact, communicate, develop mutual relations, and have impacts on each other.

In researching international relations the theory as a main principle determines regular repeating interconnections of the reality. In the field of international relations by interconnecting separate phenomena with each other, classifying them into categories, from the perspective of emerging measurements they are interpreted. Secondly, a view that considers the theory a result of a special outcome of scientific research. Abovementioned assumptions are extremely significant for our research because in examining the foreign policy of the Kazakh khanate in the framework of the system of international relations they provide us with a concrete approach and direction in determining theoretical issues.

One of the major questions here is to step ahead in determining the role and functions of the theory in understanding and explaining the concept of international relations. We consider the role of the theory as the following: 1) that facilitates to systematize and group general knowledge, which supports our scientific studies; 2) that contributes to forming general notions that help analyze the Kazakh khanate as a subject of international relations; 3) that defines permanent cause and effect relations in the foreign policy of Kazakh khanate, and that determines the main laws of international relations; 4) and finally that defines the major principles of international relations as well as including the foreign policy of the Kazakh khanate. The main functions of the theory in international relations can be regarded as the following: first, it helps us to understand the specific features of bilateral and multilateral relations of Kazakh khanate with other political entities as an actor of international relations. Secondly, it shows the evolution and dynamics of the relationships of the Kazakh khanate with neighboring states on the international arena. Thirdly, it serves to determine the objects of relationships, consistent patterns and laws.

A subsidiary question that determines theoretically international relations can be a paradigm that acknowledges the system of international relations as a single and comprehensive politico-historical phenomenon during the period of the Kazakh khanate. This in turn, is interconnected to a comprehensive view on universal history. What is the importance of this view in understanding history of international relations as a sequence of limitless and concrete problems? What is its role in understanding the future of any society? There are two main ways of explanation of this question in academic literature: first, the view that considers history and historical processes comprehensive and single phenomena. This traditional view was defined and used by the humanists (the enlighteners, utopian socialists, positivism, classical German philosophy, Marxism, existentialism, proponents of the concept of an industrial and postindustrial society). Second, a view that regards history as a simple arithmetic aggregate or complex of different cultures, countries, ethnic groups, continents, and civilizations (a Russian historian Nikolay Danilevsky who lived in XIX century, a German philosopher and historian Oswald Spengler, Pitirim Sorokin, Nikolai Berdyaev, Arnold Toynbee, etc.).

"Some Theoretical Aspects of Studying the Foreign Policy of the Kazakh Khanate," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 35-49

The first theory is more significant to our research. The proponents of this theory tend to divide history into several main periods. For instance, Henri de Saint-Simon, a well-known French social theorist and thinker, by continuing traditions of humanists, divided history into several periods such as polytheism, monotheism and industrial. At the same times, August Comte, an outstanding French philosopher and the founder of positivism, suggested that history should be divided into theological, metaphysical, and positivist stages. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, a prominent German philosopher and thinker, divided history into four periods, Marxism by taking into account a theory of general history, divided history into agrarian, industrial and post-industrial stages. The movement in these historical periods was regarded as the main meaning of historical development and progress of human society. It means that any society develops and advances through periodical consistent patterns, one period shapes prerequisites of the next period, even makes it possible to go from one period to another. It should be noted that there is the continuity between periods, and the integrity of general history will be ensured. From this perspective, the Kazakh society during the Kazakh khanate was an integral part of world development as a phenomenon, which has to be seen as an important period of its development. By taking into consideration historical sources, it should be emphasized that the foundation and establishment of the Kazakh khanate as a state was indisputable a product of difficult periods of world, continental and regional history. On the other hand, it is obvious that each khanate system had to go through different historical stages. Moreover, it coincided with the period when Europe moved from the period of Renaissance to Modern era. Simultaneously, eastern states witnessed the dismemberment and fall of the nomadic empires⁶. In this case, it should be pointed out that the emergence and rise of the Kazakh khanate coincided with a difficult period of continents and civilizations. Consequently, the Kazakh khanate from the time it was founded up to the moment when it disappeared, had to go through various and difficult historical periods. For example, scholars and historians tend to divided the foundation period of the Kazakh khanate into the main following stages: 1) the autumn of 1457 – the spring of 1458; 2) 1458-1461/62; 3) 1461/62-1469/70; 4) 1470-1471⁷. In addition to that scholars have shown that the history of the Kazakh khanate consisted of pre-classical, classical and decline stages, and only classical period itself lasted 250 years, during which the khanate was ruled by 17 khans (monarchs)⁶.

Accordingly, it should be recognized that the Kazakh khanate as a state was a significant part of world history and international relations of that period. A well

⁶ H. M. Abzhanov, *Problems of formation and development of the Kazakh Khanate in the context of world history*. International scientific-practical conference "Kazakhstan: history, society, culture", dedicated to the 550th anniversary of the formation of the Kazakh Khanate. Almaty, Kazakh Ablai khan UIR&WL, 2015.

⁷ B. B. Karibaev, *Topical issues of the foundation of the Kazakh khanate*. International scientific-practical conference "Kazakhstan: history, society, culture", dedicated to the 550th anniversary of the formation of the Kazakh Khanate, Almaty, Kazakh Ablai khan UIR&WL, 2015.

known historian B. Karibayev claims that when the Kazakh khanate became a true independent political entity, it was actively involved with the regional processes as a strong actor⁷. In this sense in our opinion the main principle that shows the specific features of the concept of international relations as well as its nature as a single process has to be the comprehensive communication law. In other words, mutual cooperation and relationships, mutual influence and interpenetration of diverse ethnic groups, tribes, nationalities, states, regions and continents in different historical periods should be perceived as the state of being in constant communications and understandings, and as a phenomenon that ensures the integrity of history of the society. This may prove that the process of international relations is basically a universal constant state. It is true that there is no humankind, without communication, which means the state of being in permanent relations and communications of various countries, a communicative character of states should be its consistent patterns. For instance, according to Karl Marx, “Impact is the means of communication. World history is an outcome.” Indeed due to the geographical discoveries and explorations by Europeans, economic development and trade became a leading factor in world history. From that time global communication and integrity became a reality and their new indicators started to develop. All above mentioned communicative means and achievements on the planet gave shape to the major conditions and living standards of different nations. There is no doubt that the Kazakh khanate and Kazakh society was within the framework of this communicative space and system.

It can be assumed that the ontogenetic essence of international communications and integrity are determined by the category of the objective necessity. In this perspective the philosophical statement of Thales of Miletus, an ancient Greek philosopher and mathematician, would concern all humankind, which says “The most powerful thing is the necessity because it dominates all”. The objective necessity of world communication in history is connected with the theoretical analysis of its various prerequisites. It is known that history itself is the dominant field of cause and effect relations (causal – Tokmurzayeva A.). One of the aspects of historical conducts that are shaped by the intentional and purposeful conducts of human beings and historical events and situations might be the objective necessity. It is obvious that this is an axiom that cannot be disproven, which means the Kazakh history and the Kazakh khanate is an objective reality which is subordinated to the category of the ontogenetic necessity. In history there are two well-known concepts of interpretation of the necessity related to history itself: theological and secular. The essential meaning of the theological theory is that everything on earth and all humankind have been created and are controlled by God.

According to the theory of secularism, the concept of “necessity” is equated with the category of “law”. This tradition that was founded during the Modern period of history still continues to be significant even today. It was rationalism in XVII century that became a cause of its emergence. As one of the sides of this theoretical concept can be a view of the prominent Enlighteners which claims that history is the conventional continuation of nature. According to Georg

"Some Theoretical Aspects of Studying the Foreign Policy of the Kazakh Khanate," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 35-49

Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, a prominent German philosopher and thinker, all movements and developments in history of humankind are subordinated to the necessity law. By the same token, the Marxists by pushing forward the historical laws tend to connect the historical movement with the ontogenetic necessity of society, industrial relations and the character of productive forces which gave a birth to the law of class struggle and the law of capital accumulation.

Henry Thomas Buckle, a prominent English historian and scholar, argued that human activities and human behavior are subordinated to the laws of nature. At the same time, in contrast, Karl Raimund Popper, an Austrian and British scholar, one of the outstanding philosophers and thinkers of the XX century, by rejecting the historical law, acknowledging its role in explanation and interpretation of history, suggested that the concept of cause and effect relations should be a priority. It should be noted that it would be wrong to contrast two these main laws against each other because they as a rule serve as a complement to one another. From this point of view it should be emphasized that historians failed to understand these laws appropriately.

All historical events are determined by some causes, which means any historical event or development is regarded as results of reasons and consequences. This gives a birth to an axiom which claims that there are no events and developments in history without causes. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel argued that "history is a process of development through reasons". Explanation or interpretation of any phenomenon means to determine its causes. There are no causes beyond concrete situations. This is the nature of cause and effect relations. They are integrity and unity of reality, situations, singularities and repetitions, similarities, dissimilarities, and commonalities. This can be explained by the motives of human behavior and conducts, which are seen as an important source of construction or building an environment for individuals. Personal or collective interests, goals, desires and aspirations of humankind shape their character motivations. Their overall results are regarded as a law. Adam Smith, an outstanding Scottish philosopher and economist, who lived in XVIII century, defined the price theory or theory of value. The laws of class struggle can be included into the level of developing causes into laws.

The role of the Kazakh khanate in regional and international relations in XVII-XVIII centuries which is the main focus of this research paper has to be in the framework of the phenomenon of necessity. It should be noted that the necessity ought not to be regarded one-sidedly and there should not be a biased approach because it became a law for all countries that were active in international relations. For instance, in the second part of XVIII century the Qing Empire in its trade relations with the Kazakh khanate and economic policy towards the Kazakhs took into account the concept of necessity. In this case the Qing dynasty stated that "...Kazakhs breed a great amount of horses. By bartering and exchanging horses with them it is necessary to satisfy the demands of inner and remote areas."⁸ Those

⁸ It was taken from N. Mukamethanuly's translation and citation. "*The palace memories of the Qing emperor Gauzun*," Scripts in Chinese. Photocopies, Taipei, p. 2013, 543.

historians who studied thoroughly these periods of the history of the Kazakh khanate, have pointed out to the decisive role and impact of the phenomenon of necessity⁹. All events and situations that based on the necessity can be proven by historical facts in the Chinese records.¹⁰ Thus this has to be a practical expression or aspect of the category of objective necessity.

The second significant theory for this research paper is the phenomenon of “national interest”. This theory is basically formed or consisted of several crucial elements such as national security, development of national economy (economic determinism), and establishing and maintaining a world order (establishment and development of mutual relationships and cooperation with neighboring countries, external expansion, imperial or hegemonic ambitions of neighboring states). Before going into details in analyzing the phenomenon of national interest, it is necessary to look at its natural connections with the concept of “national security”.

It should be pointed out that in the framework of the theory of international relations the category of “national interest” has always been analyzed and studied in close connection with the concepts like “national security” and “security” as well. This means that “national interest”, “national security” and “security” as phenomena are an integral part of a single system. All these theories and phenomena simultaneously emerged when human communities and civilization appeared. The concept of “security” first and foremost means the “absence of threat or danger”, as well as it encompasses the notions such as “defend interests”, “being able to counter any threats”, etc. The concept of security can be divided into geopolitical levels according to types, size, and spatial-geographical impact of threats as the following: international global security, international regional security, national security, and local security¹¹. It should be noted that all in all the security issues have deeply and thoroughly researched in the theory of international relations.

Basically, since human history has started the concept of defending own territory from foreign and domestic enemies has always been a core element of ancient phenomena such as national interests and national security. Philippe Moreau Defarges, a prominent French political scientist, claims that every state has to reconsider its own national security in accordance with its territory^{12,13}. The concept of “national interest” was first used as an instinct of defending own country and countering threats by the US president Theodore Roosevelt at the

⁹ N. Mukamethanuly. *Diplomatic relations and the issues of Chinese Studies. Monographic studies*, Almaty, Lessons of history, 2010.

¹⁰ It was taken from N. Mukamethanuly's translation and citation. “*The palace memories of the Qing emperor Rinzun*”, p. 548.

¹¹ L. M. Ivatova, A.S. Kajdarova, A.T. Muhitdinova, *The theory of international relations*, Almaty, Kazakh university, 2014.

¹² Ph. M. Defarges. *Introduction to geopolitics*. Moscow, Concord, 1996.

¹³ G.K. Akhverdyan, "The concept of national security in the context of globalization processes. Moscow," in *The theoretical journal "Credo New"*, II (2010), p. 10-14.

"Some Theoretical Aspects of Studying the Foreign Policy of the Kazakh Khanate," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 35-49

beginning of the XX century¹⁴. An American political scholar D. Fisher by investigating and systematizing the main threats to national security pays a special attention to the classification of their causes. In this case, he regards natural phenomena, geographical factors as a part of threats¹⁵. The concept of “national interest” is considered a political category that encompasses the methods, approaches, forms and tools through which the national interests are realized on a national and international level¹⁶. Furthermore, the concept of national security is consisted of categories such as state security, local (area) security, private or personal security (structures, establishments, firms, businesses, individuals). The state national security policy is supposed to counter any threats to the country, as well as ensure sustainable development of the state.

In terms of assessment of national security issues and of methods of their embodiment there are some significant theories and concepts on the level of international security. Among them the most widespread and influential is the theory of political realism, which was thoroughly elaborated and promoted by Hans Joachim Morgenthau, an outstanding American scholar and expert on the study of international relations, as well as his followers. For example, Hans Morgenthau made an attempt to determine the major reasons of seeking to defend their national interests of states in their struggle for ensuring own national security while Walter Lippmann, a well-known American political commentator and scholar, linked national security to the concept of national war or defense. At the same time, Arnold Wolfers, a prominent American political scholar and expert, by connecting the concepts of “security” and cooperation with each other, assessed security as one of the crucial values of the state. The most important elements or principles of national security in the framework of the theory of political realism are national interests, the escalation of confrontations between or among states, and the decisive role of strengths and power of the state. Consequently, political realism paid attention to justification of the sovereignty of the state as the right to maintain the balance of power and countering threats, wars, and confrontations, joining different alliances, realization of its domestic and foreign policy objectives¹⁷.

With the establishment of a new world order and emergence of new challenges and threats the essence of the concept of national security has become broader. Besides the traditional types of security, new forms of security have emerged, for which military confrontations and conflicts are not a necessity. In this perspective the concept of national security has begun to be viewed from global dimension. Ensuring such kind of security scale has become the main objective of interstate cooperation. With respect to the traditional concept of “national security”, it is carried out by means of unilateral activities in a competitive situation.

¹⁴D. Fisher, *Non-military aspects of security: a systematic approach. Specialized information*, Moscow, RAN INION, 1994.

¹⁵G.Y. Semigin, *Political encyclopedia: In 2 toms*, 1st volume, Moscow, Thought, 1999.

¹⁶S.A. Lantsov, F.I. Usmonov. *Security problems in the theory of international relations*. Available at: <http://www.politex.info/content/view/437/30/>, accessed 12. 01. 2018.

¹⁷P.A. Tsygankov, *The theory of international relations*, Moscow, Gardariki, 2003.

Cooperating and getting united on the international level in terms of ensuring national security is still complicated because states are still continuing to use military threats and force in settling misunderstandings and conflicts among states. Opponents of political realism argue that making military aspects of national security a top priority eventually leads to strengthening an international national security system. For example, P. Tsygankov, a well-known Russian scholar, claims that as long as states exist security cannot take a comprehensive and total character, which means it will continue to have a comparative character, and will depend on a political will. It should be emphasized that international relations cannot be only within interstate influences, and at the same time international politics should not be only in the framework of the foreign policy activities of states. Nonetheless, the role of states as important actors of international relations should not be underestimated¹⁸.

Many scientists urge that national security should be regarded as a political value. In this perspective some Russian scholars by studying the issue of national security tend to link it to the concept of national security that was dominant during the Soviet period, which means the Soviet concept of national security has not yet lost its significance even today. In sense of chronological framework the first “National Security Concept” of the Russian Federation was adopted in 1997, the second concept three years later. In 2009 “The National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2020” was adopted. A concept of national security that is well-known and used in Russia and Kazakhstan generates diverse opinions. In particular, the notion of “national” consists of some elements which have mainly ethnic character. Therefore, in some literatures is suggested that so-called the concept of “national-state security” should be used. First, the notion of “nation” is translated from Latin into Kazakh as “people”. That is why when it comes to the concept of national security, first and foremost it is based on an idea that security of all states should be ensured and taken into consideration without any distinctions. Secondly, “national interest” and “state security” ought not to be confronted against each other. Stability of a system ensures the high level of its internal and external security. Subsequently, national security predominantly depends on the stability of a country, as well as economic, political, social, military, and other processes in society. National security as a concept first and foremost implies that a primary priority should be the process of ensuring sovereignty and integrity of society, a single economic and defense system of the state, proper functions and development of society. Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, a prominent Kazakh statesman and diplomat, by supporting the foreign policy doctrine of the Republic of Kazakhstan states that “The Kazakhstani leadership has determined the main directions of the foreign policy of the country, which included the following: successful integration of the country into world community, ensuring the national security of the state...”¹⁹. “The National Security law of the Republic

¹⁸ K. Tokaev. *Diplomacy of the Republic of Kazakhstan*. Almaty, 2002.

¹⁹ *The national security law of the Republic of Kazakhstan*, 2012, № 527-IV. Available at: <http://adilet.zan.kz/kaz/docs/Z1200000527>, accessed 12. 01. 2018

"Some Theoretical Aspects of Studying the Foreign Policy of the Kazakh Khanate," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 35-49

of Kazakhstan" that was adopted in 2012 showed that national security is basically a complicated and multifaceted system²⁰. In this case regional integration is widely considered to be one of the main conditions of ensuring national security. For example, Nabizhan Muhamethan, a well-known Kazakh scholar and historian, asserts that "China as one of the leading nuclear powers plays a crucial role in maintaining Asian and global security. Therefore, in terms of ensuring own national security Kazakhstan needs China's support"²¹. Basically, the concept of national security can be seen in the principles of national interests, in a broader sense in contemporary process of globalization of the world, and its role and impact can be noticed in global communications of states.

All abovementioned assumptions are related to the fact that the most important category that plays a decisive role for national security is actually the concept of "national interest". This means that the concept of "national security" is closely connected with the category of "national interest" in theory of international relations. It is well-known that "national interest" is regarded as one of the ancient concepts in human history, and at the same time it has generated heated discussions and controversies among scholars in the field of international relations. Nevertheless, it should be noted that these two main concepts are not only close but seen as elements or parts of one category. Theoretically the phenomena of "national security" and "national interests" are foundations of foreign policy of states and their activities on the international scene. This category was adopted as a foundation of political, economic, and cultural relationships among ancient Greek states, and was practiced in internal and foreign policy activities of their allies. Likewise, in contemporary period all states are conducting and realizing their foreign policies in accordance with their national interests. During the XVII century when first elements and principles of international law emerged, which designed to regulate the relationships of sovereign national states, simultaneously the category of national interests came into being as well. History of diplomacy and international relations shows us that the Westphalian of international relations that was founded in 1648, and which predominantly based on the tough competitions and rivalries of sovereign national states has existed for more than three hundred years. Furthermore, it is obvious that the Westphalian system has not lost its significance yet despite going through many centuries. In the framework of this system on the one hand different national states sought to expand their influences, and at the same time some of them were determined to prevent any state from establishing its control over others on the other hand, which made competitions extremely severe and tough. Consequently, all these contradictions and inconsistencies of their national interests caused misunderstandings and military conflicts on different levels. Because of these rivalries and conflicts national states had to search for allies or establishment of a politico-military coalition to counter a violator of the balance of power, and to defend their national interests.

²⁰Zh.M. Medeubaeva, *The theory of international relations: textbook*, Astana, L.N. Gumilev ENU, 2006.

²¹It was taken from N. Mukamethanuly's translation and citation. "*The palace memories of the Qing emperor Gauzun*," p. 543.

Accordingly, the capability of the head of a state to engage his country with a military alliance or ability of creating such an alliance was regarded as crucial factors that determined the role and place of state in world politics. As a rule, such political and military alliances were temporary, established when they were necessary, and after the end of conflicts disbanded. During the Cold War two major politico-military alliances such as the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO) were a crucial tool of severe and tough ideological confrontations between the two worlds that lasted almost for half a century. While first alliance has already ceased to exist, the latter has been quite successful in changing its priorities, expanding eastward, encompassing all former socialist republics in eastern and central Europe, and seeking to establish its rule throughout the world²².

By looking into the history of the Kazakh khanate in the second part of the XVII century, one can see some concrete activities and important views on the issues of national interests. Such views and concepts were predominantly generated and promoted by political, military and spiritual leadership of the Kazakh khanate namely such as Kazakh khans, biys, orators, poets, and batyrs (warriors). For instance, some scholars who have deeply studied the Kazakh folklore point out that Kazakh biys (elected judges and administrators) were broadly considered promoters of national interests, and when it was needed they truly made great contributions to resolving any significant issues of both internal and foreign in accordance with national and state interests²³. On the other hand, it was argued that biys as political and social institute of the Kazakh society had been struggling for defending national and state interests for a long time specifically from the ancient times until XX century²⁴. This serious assumption can be proven to be genuine and right by historical statements of the following outstanding Kazakh biys: “Do not sit idly by if your friend is attacked by an enemy” (Asan biy), “You have warriors who are capable of raising a flag, you have brave men who are ready defend their homeland, and you have wisdom and a way of life that was inherited from your ancestors. If you kneel before your foes, you will be suffering” (Tole biy), “If your motherland is attacked by your enemies, take up arms and defend your country” (Jetes biy), “When your foes at the gate, then it is your duty to defend your homeland to the last drop of your blood” (Bertis biy); “We are willing to die for our fatherland and people” (Aktamberdy Jyrau), “We are supposed to protect our land, and never surrender” (Dospanbet Jyrau). In addition to that its should be noted that during the second part of XVII century in official letters of the Persian Shah Abbas II to Tauke Khan, a Kazakh ruler, a great deal of issues were discussed related to national and states interests. A Kazakh scholar Kuanyshbek Kari by investigating the content of these letters stated that “The Persian Shah paid a special attention to the Khan’s family tree (Tauke Khan – Tokmurzayaeva A.), especially the Persians were well aware of the fact that he was a descendant of Genghis Khan. Therefore, when it was needed in their letters the Persian shahs as a

²² A. Nysanali, *Three prophets*, Almaty, 1992.

²³ K. Omarhanov, *The court of judges in traditional law*. 2 edition, Almaty, 2008.

²⁴ K. Kuanyshbek, *A letter of the Persian shah to Tauke khan*, Zhuldyz, 2006, p. 3.

"Some Theoretical Aspects of Studying the Foreign Policy of the Kazakh Khanate," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 35-49

rule appealed to Uzbek and Kazakh rulers, courteously putting an emphasis on the greatness of Genghis Khan²⁵. By analyzing works and activities of ambassadors that served as a bridge between the Qing Empire and the Kazakh khanate, one can assume that these diplomatic envoys' main missions were first and foremost establishment and advancement of trade cooperation between two nations, and defending and realization of national interests of their countries²⁶. Meruert Abusseitova, a well-known Kazakh scholar, has made substantial contributions to analyzing and interpreting of historical records and documents related to the issues of national interests of Kazakh khanate on the international scene. In this perspective Professor M. Abusseitova states that "These historical records are mainly related to description and interpretation of the foreign policy interests and activities of states. They were written by outstanding eastern narrators and historians of that period including: "Tarikh-i Alam Arayi Abbasi" by Iskander Beg Munshi, "Sharaf-nome-yi shahi by Hafiz Tanish Bukhari, "Imamkuli Khan name" by Suhaila, etc."²⁷. Moreover, the same scholar points out that in the middle of the XVIII century bilateral relationships between the Kazakh khanate and the Qing dynasty were close and flourishing, especially two sides were determined to develop trade cooperation making the silk and horses the main commodities. Therefore, Professor M. Abusseitova asserts that this period of the Kazakh-Qing relationships should be regarded as the one of the prosperous and bright stages of the history of the Silk Road²⁶. It should be noted that national interests played a decisive role in development of bilateral political, economic and trade relations between the Kazakh khanate and the Qing Empire, due to which a new academic-theoretical paradigm came into being. In Kazakh traditional culture there is a great deal of proverbs and principles which call for respect, good neighborliness and cooperation among various nations. Nomads and nomadic states broadly practiced and promoted such principles in their relationships with other countries. Such principles on the one hand are considered to be significant elements of foreign policy, and they teach us to evaluate history and historical events properly on the other hand. In this case every sovereign nation has to demonstrate its readiness to any domestic and foreign challenges, has to be cautious, and in defending national interests is supposed to appeal not only to its military power but as well as to its wisdom and intelligence. According to Mukhtar Shakhanov, a prominent Kazakh writer and diplomat, "Having separated from the Shaybanids in 1456, the Kazakh people established their own national statehood. Over the five centuries the Kazakh people have witnessed horrendous difficulties and undergone through tough and severe historical periods of hardships and suffering. During the Russian colonization and domination, the Kazakh people fought constantly for their freedom and independence more than three hundred times."²⁸.

²⁵G. Mukanova. *The strategy of Ablai Khan: 300 years later*. Moscow, Thought, 2011, 3, 90-92.

²⁶M. Shahanov, *Kazak literature*, Almaty, 1996.

²⁷M. Abusseitova, "The Kazakh khanate in international relations in the XVI-XVIII centuries and diplomatic experience," in *Diplomatic Chronicles*, II (2015), no. 51.

²⁸G.Y. Semigin, *Political encyclopedia*, p. 750.

All above-mentioned notions can be assessed in accordance with principles of political realism. The concept of “national interests” is a political category that predominantly linked to main goals and necessities of states. National interests are considered a basis of foreign policy activities and interests of states on the international scene²⁹. For example, Hans Morgenthau by determining the main reasons of attempts to defend their own national interests and ensure national security claimed that national security is determined and shaped by national interests. Walter Lippmann was the first scholar who began to analyze and assess the concept of national security from the perspective of the concept of national interests. As a rule national interests are determined by several complex of systems and factors that related to foreign and internal policy of states, the level of political, economic, social and legal development, geographical and geopolitical locations, national-historical traditions, and objectives and tasks of ensuring independence and national security of states.

According to a principle of political realism, the concept of “national interest” will remain an important part of international relations theory. It implies that the interconnection between national interests and national security will remain to be a debatable and controversial issue in theory international relations. Interests and security are indeed interdependent and interconnected concepts, but interests are regarded as primary, which means without national interests there is no national security and its emergence is unlikely. The essence and character of national security is determined by national interests, and in addition to that national security of any country is designed to defend and ensure national interests. Rudolf Ritter von Jhering, an outstanding German scholar and legal realist, maintained that a personal or individual security is a “legally defended interest”²⁸. Georgi Plekhanov, a prominent Russian Marxist theoretician, claimed that “any norms of security defend a certain interest”.

It is well-known that the concept of national interests was defined by scholars (Reinhold Niebuhr, Charles Beard) at the beginning of the XX century. Later this concept was developed by many scientists such as Hans Morgenthau, George Kennan, Walter Lippmann, Kenneth Waltz, Edgar Furniss, and James Rosenau, etc. According to Hans Morgenthau, “national interests” show the permanent foundations of foreign policy of state on the international scene³⁰. Some aspects of internal and foreign interests have been researched by well-known Russian scholars such as R.L. Bobrov, G.I. Tunkin, N.N. Ulyanova, G.H. Shahnazarov, I.I. Lukashuk, Y.A. Tihomirov, etc. As a rule, political figures believe that a good policy is actually that one which easy to be explained and that is based on “national interests”. A Russian scholar P. Tsygankov maintains that it is necessary to know two things when it comes to national interests: first, internal (societal) and national interests that do not deny one another. While internal (societal) interests are influenced by international situations and changes, national

²⁹R. Ihering, *Der Geist des romischen Rechts*, 3rd volume., Heidelberg, 1968, p. 327.

³⁰H. Morgenthau, *In Defense of National Interest: A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy*. N.Y., 1952.

"Some Theoretical Aspects of Studying the Foreign Policy of the Kazakh Khanate," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 35-49

interests are mainly dependent on economic situations, social and political stability in a country. Second, in those countries that undergo through a transition period in their development, the control of strengthening of mutual influence of internal (societal) and national interests is significant³¹. Another Russian scientist Mikhail Ilyin believes that "national interests" are integral part of any independent country and civil society. State interests and the interests of civil society are interconnected with the concept of national society, and determine its content and structure"³².

All debates and opinions on the concept of national interests have shown that there are many commonalities of these main categories and principles. First, some of them acknowledge and consider "national interests" tools of analysis and assessment of foreign policies of states in the contemporary system of international relations (Arnold Wolfers, James Rosenau, and Dario Battistella). Second, it is paid a great attention to legality and importance of the concept of national interests. Third, it is suggested that the concept of national interests first and foremost demonstrates the integrity of political system and civil society. Finally fourth, it has been made attempts to separate or distinguish national interests from internal (societal) interests, though it was concluded that they do not deny each other.

According to the paradigm of liberal-idealism, the major component of national interests is the imperative of self-preservation of states. The essence and parameters of national interests are determined by goals and values of the contemporary society. Generally speaking, national interests first of all imply survival (self-preservation) and development (progress). In this case Kazakhstani political scientists by analyzing the foreign policy doctrines of the Republic of Kazakhstan connect the national interests of the country with the pace of economic development, protecting rights and interests of Kazakhstani citizens abroad, promotion and advancement of mutual relations and cooperation with all interested states³³. A prominent Kazakh scholar Nabizhan Muhamethan maintains that bilateral relationships and cooperation between China and Kazakhstan have been established and promoted in accordance with national interests³⁴. Yerlan Karin states that the concept of national security of the Republic of Kazakhstan the primary source of understanding and determining the essence of national security of the state, and it represents an official view of national interests of the country³⁵. Besides the concept of national interests are explained and interpreted through norms, values and ideological position. As a rule national interests can be primary (top), permanent, changeable, inconstant, long term and short term. For instance, K.S. Gadzhiev, a Russian political scientist, argues that top and permanent interests are determined by important geopolitical parameters. In this perspective the role

³¹ P.A. Tsygankov. *The theory of international relations*,

³² M. V. Ilyin, *Words and meanings. Experience in describing key political concepts*. Moscow, The Russian Political Encyclopedia (ROSSPEN), 1997.

³³ K. Tokaev, *Diplomacy of the Republic of Kazakhstan*, Almaty, 2002.

³⁴ It was taken from N. Mukamethanuly's translation and citation. "*The palace memories of the Qing emperor Gauzun*". p. 543.

³⁵ Y.T. Karin, *The internal political aspects of national security of the Republic of Kazakhstan*. Dissertation. Almaty, Kazakh al-Farabi National State University, 1999.

and place, status, weight and military power, capability of maintaining of sovereignty and ensuring the security of citizens of any state are considered indispensable and integral elements of national interests³⁶.

Thus as it was mentioned above, ability of states of their national interests is dependent on many factors such as social-economic situation of a country, political system, history, culture, power, and relationships with other states, etc. It is obvious that if national interests of a country are not realized it will be impossible to ensure national security. National security implies protecting and ensuring vital national interests. It should be analyzed and researched as an outcome of an analysis of all political, legal, state, national, socio-economic and historical-cultural components.

³⁶ K. S. Gadzhiev, *Introduction to geopolitics. 2nd edition*, Moscow, Logos, 2002.

"Some Theoretical Aspects of Studying the Foreign Policy of the Kazakh Khanate," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 35-49