



History of Regional, Social and Political Relations between Kazakhstan and Turkey (1991-2020)

*Historia de las relaciones regionales, sociales y políticas
entre Kazajstán y Turquía (1991-2020)*

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to research the processes in the Turkic-speaking republics of the Soviet Union after it splits in 1991, as well as to study the subsequent aspects of the development of Kazakh-Turkey relationships in the sphere of regional politics. Since the Republic of Kazakhstan's independence, a specific sector of foreign policy has been committed to the development of comprehensive ties with industrialized nations, international politics, and socio-economic organizations. The quick creation of such ties has been the country's primary foreign policy goal. Turkey appreciates Kazakhstan's leadership position in Central Asia and considers Kazakhstan to be the most significant partner in regional relations. The methodology of this research is based on particular documents, archival data, research papers, and the origins and outcomes of such connections. This article analyses the concerns of regional socio-political collaboration between Kazakhstan and Turkey from 1991 until 2020, and its main goal is to provide a scholarly study and appraisal of the Republic of Kazakhstan's regional socio-political relations in those years. In the conclusion, one can state, that the history of Turkish-Kazakh regional relations has developed in the direction of brotherhood and mutual understanding as the Turkic people of the two countries.

Keywords: regional relations, independence, diplomacy, bilateral cooperation, diaspora.

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Resumen

Investigamos los procesos ocurridos en las repúblicas de habla turca de la Unión Soviética después de su división en 1991 y estudiamos los aspectos posteriores del desarrollo de las relaciones entre Kazajistán y Turquía en el ámbito de la política regional. Desde la independencia de la República de Kazajistán, un sector específico de la política exterior se ha comprometido con el desarrollo de vínculos integrales con las naciones industrializadas y organizaciones políticas y socioeconómicas internacionales. La rápida creación de tales lazos ha sido el principal objetivo de la política exterior del país. Turquía aprecia la posición de liderazgo de Kazajistán en Asia Central y considera que Kazajistán es el socio más importante en las relaciones regionales. La metodología de esta investigación se basa en documentos particulares, datos de archivo, trabajos de investigación y los orígenes y resultados de dichas conexiones; con ello, analizamos las preocupaciones de la colaboración sociopolítica regional entre Kazajistán y Turquía desde 1991 hasta 2020. En conclusión, se puede afirmar que la historia de las relaciones regionales turco-kazajas se ha desarrollado en la dirección de la hermandad y el entendimiento mutuo como pueblos túrquicos en ambos países.

Palabras clave: relaciones regionales, independencia, diplomacia, cooperación bilateral, diáspora.

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Introduction

The development and ongoing growth of diverse ties between the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK) and the Republic of Turkey have been a major focus of the Republic of Kazakhstan's foreign policy since its independence (Alma-Ata, 1991). It was evident that establishing regional connections with such a powerful country in the globe would play a significant role in the Republic of Kazakhstan's growth under post-independence circumstances. After all, the peoples of Kazakhstan and Turkey have a long history together. As a result, their regional socio-political ties have been improving steadily since Kazakhstan's independence in 1991. The first formal visit of Kazakhstan's President to Turkey and a meeting with the Turkish state's leadership took place in October 1992, and a number of bilateral documents were signed, elevating Kazakhstan-Turkey ties to a new level. As part of the formal visit, the heads and governments of Turkic-speaking nations—Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkestan, and Uzbekistan met for the first time in Ankara.

The fact that the Soviet foreign policy closeness has artificially hampered the mutual support of the two countries after the independence of Kazakhstan has helped to establish closer regional relations with Turkey. Moreover, it should be noted that the immediately established trust between N.A. Nazarbayev and T. Ozal, S. Demirel greatly contributed to the effective development of Kazakh-Turkish cooperation. During their visit to Kazakhstan, similar regional relations of equality and mutual respect continued, where a warm and friendly reception was organized for Turkish leaders (Asylbekov *et al.*, 2010). In other words, today the partnership between Kazakhstan and Turkey is an example for the world. Therefore, the scientific study and promotion of its importance in the field of historical science have become relevant.

Kazakh-Turkish cooperation in the cultural and humanitarian spheres, which has become a spiritual and friendly friendship between the two brotherly countries, has been characterized by high intensity. Encouraged by the common language, religion, history, and culture, this relationship is aimed at the participation of representatives of the parties in cultural events, the practice of exchanging creative delegations, and the development of fraternal ties between the cities and regions of the two countries. It is obvious that the Kazakh-Turkish relations authors are studying the regional relations of states at the international level. The relations between the countries of the world are multi-vector. For example, they consist of specific areas such as economic, political, and cultural ties. The subject of research is the history of the regional socio-political partnerships between Kazakhstan and Turkey. That is, considering the regional relations between the two countries, it can be also seen the ongoing processes of world-class relations. From these processes, it can be studied the development, prospects, and co-development of states with the rest of the world (Joint Declaration..., 1995; Ayagan *et al.*, 2010; Akpynar *et al.*, 2018).

The article's major goal is to provide a scholarly study and appraisal of the Republic of Kazakhstan's regional socio-political relations from 1991 to 2020.

Materials and methods

New data from the Archive of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Republic of Kazakhstan, 2021), were used to write the research article. In addition, the analysis of research papers related to diplomacy and international relations was carried out. The methods of historiography, objectivity, historical comparative analysis, and historical sequence were mainly used in the theory and methodology of historical research. Each topic has its research methodology. The most important issue is the historical study and research of interstate relations.

During this study, various scientific methods were used, including the study of archival and international sources, cross-analysis, induction and deduction, and retrospective analysis. The First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, in his book *Era of Independence*, said:

From the first days of independence, Kazakhstan has expressed its readiness and intention to establish mutually beneficial relations with all countries. In April 1993, the President of Turkey T. Ozal paid his first official visit. We visited the mausoleum of Kh.A. Yassawi in Turkestan and a number of cities together. Speaking at the Supreme Council, the Turkish leader noted that "Turkey is doing and will continue to help Kazakhstan because the development of one nation contributes to the development of another." (Nazarbayev, 2017)

In relation to that, Akpynar *et al.* detail that

Agreement on cooperation between the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and the Turkish Republic” signed by N.A. Nazarbayev and T. Ozal during his first official visit to Kazakhstan should be received. The agreement addresses issues of strengthening and comprehensive development of relations between the two countries. The agreement also provides for the development of international cultural relations, information, cultural and humanitarian relations between the two countries, training of specialists in various fields, and opening of representative offices. (Akpynar *et al.*, 2018)

Also, Russian scientist Perepelitsa (2007) wrote that

Cultural ties play an important role in building bilateral relations, but they are not a priority. This is due to the fact that cultural contacts do not immediately bring income. However, the implementation of many projects and activities in the socio-cultural sphere requires large financial resources. However, the development of Kazakh-Turkish relations is of great interest, as researchers focus only on some aspects of socio-cultural cooperation between Kazakhstan and Turkey. (Perepelitsa, 2007)

Theoretical and methodological issues of studying the history of Kazakh-Turkish relations, which began to form in the early 1990s, should be the focus of the study of the regional partnership history between such countries. To accomplish so, it's critical to assess the documents' relevance from the outset of bilateral collaboration, based on the two nations' shared interests, to study them from a historical perspective, and to approach the matter using theoretical and methodological approaches.

Results and discussion

When the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic declared its independence on December 16, 1991, the Republic of Turkey became the first state to recognize it. Turkey's desire to establish diplomatic relations with Kazakhstan and Central Asia as soon as possible can be considered a historical fact. After all, the history, origins, mentality, religion, customs, and traditions of these peoples are known from history. Therefore, the rapprochement of these countries at the regional level is a natural phenomenon. For the first time in the history of Kazakhstan and Turkey, the leaders of the two countries held talks on March 14, 1991, and on March 15 signed a bilateral “Agreement on Cooperation between the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and the Turkish Republic.” After the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan by the Association, the independent state was faced with documents and agreements on regional socio-economic, legal, and cultural integration by international requirements. Most researchers in this field point out that this process is still ongoing and evolving.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey S. Demirel paid an official visit to Almaty on April 29, 1992 to develop friendly relations between Kazakhstan and Turkey. N.A.

Nazarbayev noted that the experience of restructuring the Turkish economy on the basis of maximum encouragement of entrepreneurship and attracting investment in social development is a valuable experience for Kazakhstan. S. Demirel expressed satisfaction with the development of various relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan and the desire to further develop them on the basis of specific programs. On the same day, the official opening of the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in the Republic of Kazakhstan was held in Almaty. N.A. Nazarbayev and S. Demirel signed a joint statement, the heads of government signed an agreement on mutual assistance and investment protection (Asylbekov *et al.*, 2010; Ketners, 2015). The expansion and strengthening of Kazakh-Turkish relations in the socio-political sphere is closely connected with the active role of T. Ozal. In March 1991, he paid his first visit to Kazakhstan. During the visit, an agreement on the development of socio-economic and cultural relations between Kazakhstan and the Republic of Turkey was signed. This agreement was the beginning of Kazakhstan's entry into the international arena, which influenced both its further development as an international player and active supplier of raw materials, and a long-term partner for many countries in Europe and Asia. Particularly active attention was subsequently paid to relations with Russia and China (Republic of Kazakhstan, 2021).

In September 1991, the President of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev's delegation begins an official visit to Turkey. It was noted the importance of introducing the Republic of Kazakhstan to the world community, attracting investment in the economy, modern technologies and technical equipment, management, and organizational practices, serving to further bring the two brotherly countries closer. During the visit, many official documents were adopted in the areas of cooperation. First of all, the Declaration on the principles and goals of relations between Kazakhstan and Turkey was signed. In the first steps of independent development, Kazakhstan needed Turkey's political support to join the world community on a legal basis. Certainly, that the spiritual, linguistic, cultural, and historical commonality of the Kazakh and Turkish peoples played an important role. The geopolitical situation in Turkey, which is an equal part of Europe and Asia, the desire for full membership in the European Community, the goal of building a democratic state based on the recognition of human rights, and the direction of foreign policy confidence of the Kazakh leadership reflected in European integration (Burabaev, 2002; Stepanchuk *et al.*, 2016).

In May 1993, S. Demirel was elected President of the Republic of Turkey. On October 16-18, 1994, the President of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev's official visit to Turkey has begun. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Kazakhstan and Turkey was signed by the Presidents of the two countries in Ankara on October 17. The Treaty also signed a protocol on political consultations between the Foreign Ministers of the two countries. This agreement marks a new and very important stage in the development of relations between the two countries (National Archive of..., 2021). The First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, N.A. Nazarbayev, wrote that

My first official visit to Turkey in October 1994 raised bilateral relations to a higher level. Friendship and partnership agreement signed with new President S. Demirel and Prime Minister T. Chiller. During the first difficult years of Kazakhstan's independence, Turkey provided

significant foreign policy support to Kazakhstan. Regular high-level Kazakh-Turkish meetings contributed to the deepening of economic and cultural cooperation. In the middle of 1995, more than 150 Turkish companies were registered in Kazakhstan and direct flights were launched. Hundreds of young Kazakhstanis study in Turkey every year, and Turkish students' study in Kazakhstani universities. (Nazarbayev, 2017)

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Turkey was the first country to recognize Kazakhstan's independence. Previously, Turkey was known as the Motherland, while Central Asia was known as the Homeland. T. Ozal, who came to Central Asia on an official visit with the title of President, admired "Atamekenim" and one of the reasons for his affection for Turkic peoples, especially the Kazakhs, was that he read Kh.A. Yassawi's writings, which are well-known across the Turkic world. In Turkestan, Kazakhstan, he also established the Khoja Akhmet Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University (Nazarbayev, 2003). On the basis of this agreement, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic A.Kh. Arystanbekova and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey A.A. Kurtzebe protocol on mutual consultations between the two ministries was signed. It should be noted that this is the first time such a protocol has been signed since the establishment of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In connection with the agreement signed between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey S. Demirel in the field of socio-cultural development in 1992, the historical and cultural environment of Turkestan was restored. It is planned to create a center of folk art (Republic of Kazakhstan, 2021).

On June 9, 1998, a new summit was held in Astana, the new capital of Kazakhstan. Leaders of Turkic-speaking countries also took part in the opening ceremony of the new capital of Kazakhstan. S. Demirel told reporters in Ankara before the meeting that the main purpose of the meeting was to strengthen ties with fraternal peoples and strengthen the influence of the international community of Turkic-speaking countries, leaving behind long-standing obstacles in the historical process (Kara, 2011). Trade and economic regional relations between Kazakhstan and Turkey are developing steadily. In the early 2000s, Kazakhstan completed \$ 1.5 billion worth of construction work, valued at \$ 5 billion. Currently, more than 30 Turkish companies are accredited in Kazakhstan, more than 90 Kazakh-Turkish joint ventures operate. Turkish business can be found everywhere (Karasaev *et al.*, 2012). On October 20, 2000, the tenth President of Turkey, A. Sezer, visited the 1500th anniversary of Turkestan. The victory of A. Sezer, who was not seen in the Turkish society in the election of the tenth President, and S. Demirel, who was in the political arena for twenty years, was a surprising victory. For the first time, the President of Turkey A. Sezer met with the President of Kazakhstan. He met with N.A. Nazarbayev at a United Nations summit in New York and in Antalya. Then he came to Kazakhstan to the sacred city of Turkestan, which became the common spiritual capital of the Turkic world (Burabaev, 2002).

During the official visit to Turkey of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev in May 2003, it was noted that relations between Astana and Ankara had reached the level of a long-term partnership. President of the Republic of Kazakhstan

N.A. Nazarbayev and President of Turkey A.N. Sezer's multifaceted contacts were also widely discussed at the meetings. In October 2007, during the visit of the President of Turkey A. Gul to Kazakhstan, N.A. Nazarbayev made proposals for the establishment of the Interparliamentary Assembly of the countries. The trade turnover between Kazakhstan and Turkey amounted to 1.5 billion dollars. At a meeting in 2008, the two leaders promised to increase this figure to US\$5 billion by 2010. 1674 enterprises with Turkish capital operated in the market of Kazakhstan. The total amount of Turkish investments amounted to 560 million dollars. The two Kazakh-Turkish universities in Kazakhstan are a reflection of cooperation in the field of education (Ayagan *et al.*, 2010). President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev at the IX Summit of Turkic Speaking States in Nakhchivan, Azerbaijan, on October 3, 2009, assessed the role of Turkic civilization in human civilization and proposed the establishment of an international research center to study the past, present and future of the Turkic world. The proposal was supported by the Turkic-speaking countries, and on May 25, 2010 the Turkic Academy, a research center, was opened in Astana, the capital of the Republic of Kazakhstan (Yenseov, 2018).

In this regard, the International Research Center for the Study of the past, present and future of the Turkic World —it is important to increase the efficiency of the Khoja Akhmet Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University to develop cooperation in science and technology on the basis of the existing regulatory framework. Events such as Days and Weeks of Kazakhstan are organized in Ankara (Tuimebaev, 2013). In regional social relations between Turkey and Kazakhstan, it is worth mentioning the Kazakh and Turkish diasporas living in the two countries. The Kazakh Diaspora in Turkey appeared in 1940-1950. As a result of the conflict in China, they passed through China, India and Pakistan and arrived in Turkey in a difficult situation, which cost a lot of money on a long trip. At that time, only 1.800 people survived. At that time, the Turkish government welcomed the Kazakh brothers and allowed them to choose a place to live. Most of compatriots chose the suburbs of Istanbul and settled there, preserving their kinship. They live in Zytunburyn district in the city center, Kazakent, Cefox, Uskudar Kushikshezheme microdistricts. Their number varies.

The Kazakh diaspora has also benefited from some of the benefits provided by the Turkish state for immigrants. For example, one-time social and financial assistance, tax breaks for start-ups, long-term loans and other assistance. The Kazakhs, with their language, religion and blood, easily settled in Turkey, quickly adapted to the new environment, and gradually began to find their place in the social and economic life of the country. The socio-economic difficulties experienced by the Republic of Turkey have also affected the Kazakh diaspora. When the Turkish government pursued a policy of selling labor, Kazakhs, along with others, flocked to the industrialized, developed countries of Europe. They worked mainly in factories and plants in German cities, mastered technical specialties and received education as much as possible. Thus, the Kazakh diaspora appeared in Germany and other European countries. Although most of them live and work in other countries, they do not want to relinquish their Turkish citizenship. Positive changes in Kazakhstan, the independence of the native land have made a big difference in the lives of Kazakhs in Turkey. They have established comprehensive ties with the historical homeland and began to move to Kazakhstan,

creating joint ventures and contributing to the market development of the country. Turkish Kazakh youth are admitted to universities under the quota allocated by the Ministry of Education of Kazakhstan to the representatives of the diaspora and study in the desired specialty (Asylbekov *et al.*, 2010).

Many Kazakh families moved to Kazakhstan from Turkey. However, due to the relatively normal situation in Turkey, there has been no mass relocation to the country, which is experiencing difficult socio-economic changes and difficulties. However, the growing threat of young people not knowing their mother tongue have become a source of concern for Turkish Kazakhs. They have created various funds to preserve their traditions and conduct educational work. One such fund was called “East Turkestan.” The purpose of the “Kazakh Foundation”, founded in 1987 in Turkey, is to introduce Kazakhstan and Kazakhs to the world, to educate children and create conditions for young people to study in European, American and Japanese universities, to connect traditions and more. The foundation has more than 400 members. It was chaired by O. Jigit, deputy chairman Z. Selebi, Member of the organizing committee—professor of Istanbul University, Doctor of historical sciences A. Kara, head of international relations M. Taiji. Founded in 1992, the Kh.A. Yasawi Foundation for Knowledge and Intelligence includes many members of the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey and Europe. They raised money, built a religious building with a library, a kindergarten, a cultural, sports and recreation room, and opened a madrasah (Martinkovic, 2005; Ayagan *et al.*, 2010).

In March 1997, the Kazakh Cultural Center was established in Istanbul. At the request of the Embassy of Kazakhstan, representatives of the diaspora built a 7-storey cultural center on the land leased from the Zatonburyn district for 49 years. The Embassy of Kazakhstan assists to the center in the field of reference, education, equipment, and various literature in the Kazakh language. However, all of these funds are funded by the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey and citizens of that country, and they operate independently of the Kazakh Embassy (National Archive of..., 2021). At the same time, the types of activities between the Kazakh and Turkish diasporas living in Kazakhstan and Turkey have been identified, and concrete measures have been taken. According to official data from the 90s the twentieth century “the number of Kazakhs in Turkey does not exceed 20 thousand” (Republic of Kazakhstan, 2021). In the course of joint activities in a spirit of mutual understanding, the relations of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the Kazakh diaspora in Turkey have been fruitful. The same can be said about interstate cooperation with the Turkish diaspora in Kazakhstan.

Turkish Ethnocultural Center Akhiska was established in February 1991, making a significant contribution to the social development of the Turkish diaspora in Kazakhstan. The Turkish Ethnocultural Center, which discusses the issues of the Turkish community in Almaty and directs its work, has been called the Turkish Ethnocultural Center Akhiska since 1994. Currently, the Astana branch has been operating since 2007. The purpose of Akhiska is to contribute to the mutual enrichment of ethnocultural aspects of the peoples of Kazakhstan; participation in cultural and educational activities such as the study of the life of the Turks, the protection of their interests and needs in the state and public organizations, the study of history among the Turkish people, the preservation of language, culture, the revival of customs, rapprochement of fraternal Kazakh and

Turkish peoples; participation in the development, training of specialists in educational institutions of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Turkey. In general, the mobilization of Turks in the republic for the prosperity of the country. According to official statistics, there are 104.792 Turks in the country (Agency for Strategic..., 2021).

One of the main directions of the center is to educate young people about patriotism, and to teach them to know their language, traditions, history, and culture. The ethnocultural center has close relations with the Turkish embassy (Toybaeva, 2016).

During his official visit to the Republic of Turkey in 2018, President of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev met with President of Turkey R.T. Erdogan. After the welcoming ceremony, talks were held between the Presidents of Kazakhstan and Turkey. At the meeting, the leaders of the fraternal countries discussed topical issues of bilateral cooperation and strengthening socio-economic relations. At this time, N.A. Nazarbayev met with representatives of the business community of the Republic of Turkey and took part in the third meeting of the High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council. During the event, investment was discussed in detail. Following the visit, several documents were signed to further strengthen bilateral cooperation. Noting that a number of important documents were signed during the visit, more than two documents totaling more than \$ 2 billion were signed by the responsible agencies and sectors of the two countries. It can be continued to increase momentum and solidarity in order to achieve a high level of relations between Kazakhstan and Turkey in all areas. Agreed to develop cooperation with Kazakhstan and intensify the work of the Turkic Council (Asankeldiuly, 2018). The developed bilateral relations between Kazakhstan and Turkey among the Turkic countries are very large and based on historical roots. Relations between the two countries do not support interference or domination in each other's internal affairs. These ties are based on democratic, fraternal relations. There is no doubt that the analysis of the current state of bilateral relations between Kazakhstan and Turkey in the field of cooperation shows that the agreements are at a high level, the scope of contacts between the two countries has a positive impact on socio-economic issues and official state policy (Imasheva, 2003; Ketners, 2020).

M. Giritliogly, a Turkish citizen who defended his PhD in History in the political and cultural sphere of Kazakh-Turkish relations in the Republic of Kazakhstan, spoke about the history of Kazakh-Turkish regional relations in higher education:

The elective course is presented on the basis of visual principles implemented in teaching, along with traditional teaching methods, through visual drawings, diagrams, and historical videos that highlight the history of Kazakh-Turkish political and cultural ties. Systematic use of visual aids (drawings, photos, historical maps, videos) in the presentation of historical data on Kazakh-Turkish relations to students should be implemented. (Giritliogly, 2021)

Therefore, it can be seen that there is a basis for teaching the history and regional social-political relations of the two countries by developing a program of teaching Kazakh-Turkish relations in higher education as a special elective course. Therefore, the

Kazakh-Turkish relations should be studied in detail. In conclusion, the Kazakh-Turkish regional relations were focused on the interests of both countries and were important and effective. In general, the history of Turkish-Kazakh regional relations has developed in the direction of brotherhood and mutual understanding as the Turkic peoples of the two countries. Regional socio-political partnership between the two countries has been recognized at a high level over time. This is evidenced by the fact that the Presidents of Kazakhstan and Turkey paid special visits to each other's countries and signed documents and agreements.

Conclusions

The foundation of regional social, political, diplomatic, and cultural ties between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Turkey was laid in 1991-1992. For the Republic of Kazakhstan, it was able to establish multifaceted regional relations with a brotherly country like Turkey, which is on the path of development in the world. This paved the way for his regional socio-political and other assistance. Kazakhstan and Turkey have laid the foundation for the socio-political development of the business community, mutual agreements, and bilateral exchange of experiences. From the Turkish side, Kazakhstan was assessed as a reliable partner in all areas on an equal footing, and expressed interest in joint activities in socio-economic, educational, cultural, and other areas. The Republic of Kazakhstan became known to Turkish society as a politically stable, democratic state, on the path of market socio-economic development.

Given the importance of the Republic of Kazakhstan's and Turkey's current and expanding regional socio-political connections, the following suggestions might be made. It is important to make documentaries on the history and significance of such bilateral cooperation between the Turkish and Kazakh states, to pay attention to its propaganda on the basis of the people of the two countries and the world. It is necessary to write research projects with the financial support of both countries with the participation of well-known politicians, scientists dealing with the results of such regional relations, the history of modernity. It is also necessary to organize scientific conferences, publish scientific articles. It is necessary to develop a special elective course program in higher education in relation to the regional socio-political development of Kazakhstan and Turkey.

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