CENTRAL ASIA IN THE EURASIAN SECURITY SYSTEM: THE PROBLEM OF FORMING MULTILATERAL DIALOGUE

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Abstract:

Central Asia is seen as mezonegion in the context of macro-regional security. To analyze this, P. Katzenstein's theory of loose regional structure is used according to which a safety issue associated with the globalization processes that destroy the system of nation-states as actors that make decisions. Identification of trends in the formation and development of a regional security system depends on the interaction of internal and external actors. In particular, the Eurasian security software issues are present in the interests of the external powers (the US, Russia, China) and domestic (Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, etc.), and the balance of the system is determined by the formation of the multi-stakeholder dialogue.

Keywords:

The Central Asian region, Eurasian security, the theory of a loose regional structure of Kazakhstan.

Introduction:

The Central Asian region is one of the hotbeds of instability, growing manifestations of ethno-nationalist sentiment, ethnic and territorial conflicts, activation of extremist forces and others. Central Asia is the region in which different civilization models, ethnic groups, religions, cultures and socio-economic structures coexist and collide with each other. Over the past 20 years, Central Asian countries have shown some progress in the system of formation and development of cooperation in the prevention of risks in different areas of life. However, new threats and challenges that have appeared in the beginning of the twenty-first century require a much more effective regional security strategy.

At EastWest Institute roundtable, held on 28 January 2015 in Brussels, UN Special Ambassador Jenča (Ambassador Miroslav Jenča, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Central Asia and head of the United Nations Regional Centre for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia (UNRCCA) noted that in terms of the growing complexity of the regional security challenges in Central Asia raises another question of civilization character, namely: whether the countries themselves are aware of being the region. This question is related to the lack of regional structures, the interaction of the system and stable communication between the member states. In addition, this region is the subject of competitive major powers (China, US, Russia) for natural resources and leadership in Central Asia. Therefore, the issue of security as one of the most difficult for the Eurasian macro-region should be addressed, first of all, within the countries of the region themselves.

Given its geopolitical situation, the Central Asian states are eager to collaborate both with each other and with powerful neighbors (primarily Russia, China) to find new outlets on the world market (the revival of the Great Silk Road, the construction of railways and transport routes, etc.). As an obvious tool for dialogue and at the same time the formation of a common regional identity are different forms

of trans-regional collaborations - from the Eurasian Economic Union to the Union of Central Asian countries.

Theoretical Framework:

Central Asian Studies in the regional security context are associated with the general interest in the issue of international security and the habitats of conflict. The first general regional studies appeared in the early 20th century. Further development of the security issues found in the late 1940s, and was associated with a specific interest in integration projects in the region after the Second World War and the US-Soviet rivalry in the framework of the Cold War (Nye, 1968). At the same time the security was justified as a theoretical concept, and as the subject of practical politics.

One of the well-established trends is to present a regional security system (Lake and Morgan, 1997; Buzan and Wæver, 2003). In particular, Lake conducts empirical studies of the former Soviet republics, using a multi-dimensional concept of regional security complex and treating this complex as one of the great elements of the regional system.

Compounded globalization leads to a consideration of the problems of regional security as the joint product of internal and external collaboration (Solingen 1998; Fawn, 2009; Achyarya and Johnston, 2003). Fawn draws attention to three important points: the regional hierarchy, the problem of overlapping security agencies and security structures predisposed to consider in relation to war and peace.

Katzenstein (2005) proposes the concept of "loose regional framework" to demonstrate the influence of global actors on the dynamics in the Asian and European regions. This concept is the basis for understanding the interaction between the center and the periphery in the formation of the region, with the process of formation taking place in several dimensions: economic interest, culture and regional identity. Globalization destroys the border between the states, making them loose, according to Katzenstein, in the place of the nation state comes a region that becomes the leading actor in the international arena, offers new solutions to old problems of nationalism, economic dominance, etc. Therefore, the strategy and structure of the security system are formed in the region. Kelly (2007) considers the regional security within the framework of the theoretical direction of the new regionalism, adapting the concept of "loose regional structure to understand the capacity of regional institutions to resolve conflicts and maintain regional security regional autonomy. A little earlier Lemke (2002) refracts the theory to explain the change of power the specificity of interaction of small and medium-sized states.

In the article, Central Asia is regarded as one of the regional projects in terms of the paradigm of new regionalism, where the participants are not only nation states but also other internal and external forces. Theory of a loose regional structure is used for the analysis of Eurasian security system, which is constructed as a field of interaction between local and global actors.

The regional characteristics of Central Asia:

The Central Asian region is a vast area of Asia and part of Eastern Europe, and includes five states, until 1991 they were part of the Soviet Union - Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan. Location of the region as the intersection of interregional and global interests identifies specific threats, risks and potential. The region is bordered by Russia to the north, China to the east, Islamic countries Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran to the south. This circumstance is estimated

ambiguously both as favorable geographical position and as a challenge in terms of ensuring the integrity of the region, situated at the intersection of the interests of global players - the US, Russia, China.

Also, there exists the geographical isolation that has negative geo-strategic implications, i.e. the absence of direct access to international waters, incomplete logistic communication within and outside the region. For example, in 2016 the most highly developed country in the region - Kazakhstan - ranked 77, and Tajikistan ranked 153 in efficiency of logistics flows (Logistics Performance Indicators, 2016).

Geographically, the Central Asian region occupies a central position in the Eurasian region, which determines the interest of researchers both in terms of the specifics of internal development, and from the standpoint of global geopolitical dynamics. One of the first concepts of civilization (Mackinder, 1904) explains the interest of global powers in this area in terms of control over the land. Curious explanatory model is the theory of R. Sikorski, according to which the fate of global change depends on the so-called decision-making in the region. That region is represented and Central Asia. This concept explains the interest in the region by the world powers, but does not answer the question of the mechanisms of interaction at the intraregional and interregional level.

With a structured approach position, Central Asia is an example of a loose regional structure, where intraregional cooperation system is only beginning to emerge. There are several reasons for a slow development. One of the major reasons is that the Central Asian region is a conflict cluster, which is characterized by different centers of local and hidden conflicts. One of the conflicts is caused by historical and political conditions of the emergence of independent states in Central Asia and the associated problems of socio-economic and ethno-territorial nature. Other conflicts were the result of Islamic renaissance, its politicization and radicalization in the region created a very tense situation. Ethno-territorial and border problems, generated mainly in the Soviet time, because of their unresolved situations, have a serious destabilizing effect at the moment. In particular, the inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts, territorial disputes (between Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan), shortage of water resources and agrarian orientation of the economy). In addition, China's actions in relation to Black Irtysh exacerbate the problem of water resources in East Kazakhstan. Aggravation of interethnic relations in the region also contribute to demographic factors and the activation of migration processes, the growing problems of refugees and migrant workers.

Another global threat that has an increasing impact on the situation in Central Asia, is the religious factor (the dissemination of ideas of radical Islam), and also the drug problem. Numerous unresolved internal problems in Afghanistan related to security, the fight against drug trafficking and a number of other issues of social and economic nature have a negative impact on the situation in Central Asia.

The implementation of the huge economic, transport and communications capacity, which have the countries of Central Asia and on this basis ensuring of national and regional security is hampered by inconsistent approaches to address a number of key issues. On the one hand, this is a group of problems: the complexity of a historical nature including territorial and border issues, then the water and land communications. On the other hand, globalization has had an impact on the emergence of a group of problems, called "non-traditional": the growth of religious extremism, drug trafficking, human trafficking. All these problems hinder the development of integration processes in Central Asia, contain a hidden conflict potential, and as a result, reduce the overall investment attractiveness of the region. Conflict causing differences in the region concerning the mutual territorial claims, water

and energy, transport and communication problems, did not receive permission in the Soviet period, in the years of independence, further deteriorated since 1991.

The Central Asian states, unlike the Baltic States, Georgia and others (that follow to western orientation as the leading direction of its geopolitical and domestic strategies) continue focusing on Russia, and are ready to build their close economic integration relations within the Eurasian Economic Union (EurAsEC), the Shanghai cooperation Organization (SCO), etc.

By 2000, there had been significant structural changes in the politics and economics of the region, interests formed mainly as the Central Asian countries of the Central Asian region, and extra-regional actors in world politics seeking to increase their influence in Central Asia. Russia, the US and China by the year 2000 had decided on their geopolitical interests in the region and have the greatest impact on the political, economic and military-strategic situation in Central Asia. At the same time, these countries claim to regional influence, interested in strengthening its leadership in Central Asia and reduce the influence of opponents.

Given the enormous economic, transport and communication potential, and geopolitical situation, the Central Asian states are seeking to establish cooperation with the powerful neighbors (Russia, China) to find new outlets to the world market. The Central Asian region is a contentious area, characterized by different centers of local and hidden conflicts (related with the historical and political factors, the problems of socio-economic and ethno-territorial nature, the politicization and radicalization of Islam, territorial disputes, water scarcity, and others.). Aggravation of interethnic relations also contribute to demographic factors and activation of migration processes, problems of refugees and migrant workers. Eurasian security is hampered by inconsistent approaches of states to address these key issues. Periodic outbursts of local political conflicts (Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan) also create the Eurasian security threats.

Today, the efforts to ensure Eurasian security are focused on the joint search for adequate forms of conflict resolution, creation of opportunities to prevent them, and in case of acute situation to resolve them on a mutually acceptable basis. However, the readiness of Central Asian states to cooperate to resolve regional conflicts is not the same and has a multi-level nature of the cooperation: in the framework of bilateral relations, CSTO, SCO and other regional organizations.

Central Asia in regional collaborations:

Collaboration, designed to stabilize the situation in the region and to restrain the desire of USA, Russia and China to the monopoly on political and economic markets, is the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which united China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in 2001. Countries belonging to the core of the Central Asia Regional Cooperation Organization (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan), by playing on the interests of Russia and China to a certain extent, began to achieve much better results within the SCO than outside of this structure. Initially aimed at solving problems of military security, the SCO has become one of the areas of integration, along with the Eurasian Economic Union, led by Russia and the project "Silk Road" with China as a leader.

In the course of its development in 1996 "The Shanghai Five" not just included Uzbekistan in its structure in 2001, but also included two affiliated members - India and Pakistan, four states on the rights of observers and six dialogue partners.

One of the most important tasks of the SCO is the promotion of cooperation on security issues in the region, the fight against terrorism, separatism and extremism. However, as noted by M. Crosston (2007), the challenge for the SCO would be conflicting micro integration projects that generate distrust and lack of group solidarity.

In SCO, China, along with Russia is playing a leading role, actively expanding its influence over other members: the Central Asian states. In particular, in 2014 China took over the conduct of "Mission of World", one of the most important military events of a block that had a symbolic meaning as a manifestation of China's desire to dominate the SCO. For Beijing, Central Asia - primarily Kazakhstan - is an area of geo-strategic interests. Gradual expansion of the SCO represents two sides of the same policy: recognizing prospective alliance between Russia and China, and the opposition to the US promotion (Drobot, 2009) [1]. China uses the strategy of bilateral agreements in the region as an example of Russia that allows stabilizing relations with each of the alliance partners. In terms of deteriorated relations with the EU, Russia is using the SCO to strengthen its relations with the East, and to enhance dialogue with Beijing. The role of the SCO in the world of politics in the light of these trends will increase significantly, and it is likely that the organization will be one of the most influential geopolitical forces.

Until the mid-1990s, US foreign policy priorities can be expressed by the metaphor of "Russia in the first place", which meant little interest in the Central Asian region. However, by the mid-1990s, foreign policy has been adjusted in connection with the broad investment into oil and gas sector of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. According to Z. Brzezinski, the US cannot prevent the emergence of Eurasia in such a state, or coalition of states, with the participation of Russia, China and Iran, which could restrict or weaken the US influence in the region.

Z. Brzezinski believes that the region tends to conflict development in the geopolitical situation and defines the US objectives in the region. "The problem is, whether America will be able to prevent the emergence of a dominant and antagonistic Eurasian power" defines America's ability to exercise global primacy (Brzezinski, 1997) [2]. US seek to prevent the restoration of Russian strategic control of this territory, as well as the creation of a political union between Moscow, Beijing and Tehran. At the same time the United States need to cooperate with Russia to prevent destabilization in Eurasia. US see Central Asia as part of a broader geopolitical design represented in the various strategic concepts: the Baltic-Black Sea-Caspian Democratic Union, the Greater Middle East (GME), Greater Central Asia (BCA), etc. However, according to experts, any form of US-Russian confrontation threatens to split the Central Asia.

In the second half of the 90s, one of the most important economic and geostrategic dominant for US Caspian it was defined Caspian Sea as part of the US energy interests. The reserves of hydrocarbons in the Caspian Sea could reduce US dependence on Middle East energy resources. In addition to economic benefits, there is direct political dominance - blocking the aspirations of Russia and Iran to preserve the Caspian as an internal body of water of coastal countries.

The military presence in Central Asia (with the opening of US and NATO military bases in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan) allowed the United States to solve geopolitical problems: impact on the third world's oil and gas field in the Greater Caspian; as well as the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China; isolate Iran; to strengthen the control over Afghanistan; control the nuclear standoff in the Indian subcontinent. In the 2002 document, "Act in support of freedom in Afghanistan," Afghanistan and Central Asia are viewed as a whole, as well as the United States marked the desire to

promote democracy and civil society, not only in Afghanistan but also in Central Asia. The official publication of the American media also announced the intention to help those in the region to reform the economy and society, and after the resolution of the Afghan conflict. In 2004, the United States put forward the strategy of creating a "Greater Middle East", including, and Central Asia.

To maintain and strengthen its position in the region, US (after the "Tulip" revolution in Kyrgyzstan and the anti-government protests in Andijan (Uzbekistan) in an effort to weaken the influence of Russia and China) have begun to adjust their tactics in the region. According to experts, the main US bet on Kazakhstan is the desire to prevent the strengthening of Russia's positions in the oil and gas sector of Kazakhstan and the predictability of the policy of Kazakhstan in the oil and gas co-operation. US-Kazakhstan economic relations developed quiet successfully in the twenty years. Americans invested more than \$ 15 billion in the economy of Kazakhstan, more than 50 % of which was in the oil and gas sector (List of the US companies in Kazakhstan). United States, while continuing the policy of diversification of transportation of hydrocarbons to the world markets, in the first place, seeking to connect Kazakhstan to the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline, cooperation in the framework of the Caspian pipeline consortium, as well as participation of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan to build the Trans-Caspian prospective gas pipeline to supply natural gas to the European market via the ports of Turkey. US seek to ensure Turkmenistan's participation in the construction of the Trans-Caspian pipeline, and most importantly - the consent to export Turkmen gas through this route.

According to some experts considering the TAPI project as a geopolitical victory of the United States against China and Russia emphasizes that the main inspiration of the project was Washington who is not interested in strengthening the position of Russia, Iran and China. They note that the protagonists of big politics are not the United States and Russia, and the United States and China. The US is interested in a number of cross-border projects, including in strengthening relations with Kazakhstan as an important partner in the Central Asian region (Nichol, 2010).

A striking example of the contradictory interests of the states in the struggle for natural resources is the Caspian problem. One of the key problems of the region - the international legal status of the Caspian Sea (whether it is a water area of the sea or a lake). Because of this, the CIS countries and Iran occupy opposite positions on the issue of the region's section. United States recently made fundamental changes on the problem of so-called TAPI (Turkmenistan - Afghanistan - Pakistan - India) and the construction of the Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline (TC) on the bottom of the lake from Turkmenistan to Baku, which is not in Russia's interests. Bilateral relations, advocated by Russia and Kazakhstan, are a stabilizing factor, but are palliative and do not solve the problem as a whole. According to experts of the British Chatham House Institute (Malashenko, 2013), the struggle for energy resources may even lead to armed conflict. Do not exclude the experts and the use of force on the part of Iran, as Tehran feels deprived of the Caspian wealth. The situation exacerbated with the territorial dispute between Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan due to border problem of the Absheron field in the Caspian Sea, i.e. the map of the Caspian Sea has another hotspot instead of the frozen conflict. The problem is exacerbated in the summer of 2010 in connection with the ultimatum demand that Turkmenistan does not take into account the Absheron Peninsula in determining the median line.

Russia seeks to resolve territorial disputes through bilateral agreements with other countries, but their actions are limited to the northern part of the Caspian Sea. Azerbaijan seeks to conclude agreements, under which it would have always remained a transit country, especially when it comes to the delivery of Turkmen gas to Europe via Ukraine. Kazakhstan agrees with TC gasket under the Caspian Sea to

the Black Sea, to fill the Nabucco pipe with its raw materials. Iran focuses on environmental issues, noting that this issue comes out on top after the tragedy in the Gulf of Mexico. [4] China's influence increased in the region. A key role is played here by the construction of a gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to China. In fact, China is seeking to make Central Asia its reserve base. The winner in any case is Turkmenistan, which is ready to transport gas through a pipe Nabucco to Europe and TAPI pipe.

Caspian reserves are huge, and the competition for control of the Caspian oil and gas fields is quite natural. At the same time it reflects not so much economic as political interests of a number of countries, notably the United States, seeking not so much to "stake out" the oil deposits in the Caspian region as to ensure its dominance in it and thereby prevent the possible superiority here of Russia, China and Iran.

According to Russian political scientist V. Inozemtsev, today redistribution centers of power on a global scale is likely from West to Asia than from Europe to Russia. Russia's policy towards the CIS is very inconsistent and not very successful. And the West's concern relates absolutely not to Russia, but firstly to China.

Kazakhstan, in the circumstances, is reasonable to be guided not by China and Russia, but on their own interests and balance the opportunities of Russia and China through the appeal to other countries. According to V. Inozemtsev, Kazakhstan should build a balance between Russia, the US, Europe and China, seeking to ensure that none of these centers of power did not play a dominant role. Because in any case, a clear focus on one of the neighbors will ultimately lead to hypertrophic dependence.

One of the collaborations designed to be a support for the formation of not only a common economic space, but also the basis of regional identity, became the Central Asian partnership. Talking about its development as a point of reference of the regional and global interests began in 2005. Frederick Starr published a report in the «Foreign Affairs» in July and August 2005.

Kazakhstan in the European security system:

Kazakhstan, combining a liberal economic policy and flexibility in attracting investment, has become the economic leader in Central Asia. Today, however, the economic difficulties caused by the global financial crisis and a number of other reasons have forced Kazakhstan to make two major foreign policy steps – take a loan of 13.5 billion dollars from China (in exchange for permission to buy oil and uranium assets) and to join the Customs Union with Russia and Belarus.

Kazakhstan - a point of intersection of the interests of the world's major powers. For Europe and China, it is an additional source of hydrocarbons and uranium, an alternative to supplies from Russia and the Gulf countries. For Russia, Kazakhstan is a strategically important territory, trading partner (30% of imports are Russian products) and a buffer with respect to Central Asia. Islamic states consider Kazakhstan as a competitor in the oil market. Japan interested in the main uranium deposits.

Kazakhstan uses its geopolitical position in order to strengthen its position in the global transport system, which will drag the cargo flows from Asia to Europe, which are now carried by sea route, on its territory. Path through Kazakhstan reduces the delivery of goods from Asia to Europe from 30-35 days to 12. There is a clear benefit not only in terms of reducing the time of delivery, but in terms of growth rates of economies.

Due to geographical, historical, economic and political aspects, Russia and China remain the most priority directions of Kazakhstan's foreign policy. Due to globalization processes there is a

transformation of the international system, narrowing the global space, there is a shift from the historical priorities to civilization and geopolitical. The multi-vector foreign policy of Kazakhstan is due to the diversity and multi-directional foreign policy interests of the country. A system of checks and balances does not allow the skew of multi-vector policy of Kazakhstan's foreign policy in any side. This allows Kazakhstan to occupy its own niche in the world space for twenty years. Rejection of nuclear weapons, active struggle for disarmament, the promotion of dialogue among religions, the consolidation of states to ensure global security are main priorities of Kazakhstan.

The main task of Kazakhstan's foreign policy is to provide an access to world markets. Since most goods (primarily oil) go through Russia, Kazakhstan seeks to diversify supply, using the path through the Caucasus and China. Depending on the number and nature of the investment, the balance of trade, and political support for Kazakhstan, it is building its own system of ranking potential partners in order of importance - Russia, US, China, EU, Japan, Canada, Switzerland, Russia, UAE, Israel, and Kyrgyzstan.

Conclusion:

Thus, the Central Asian region is a place of intersection of the interests of world powers (including China and the United States), seeking to strengthen its presence in the region. Particular interest of the leading countries, transnational corporations, and various financial and economic institutions in the region are due to its geopolitical position, communications capabilities, and the presence of significant reserves of natural resources. Geopolitical features of Central Asia are of considerable interest in global and regional powers and military-strategic point of view. Location of the region adjacent to the unstable Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and other unstable countries makes cooperation with them an essential element of a global, regional, and national security of such world powers as Russia and China. One of the main tasks of the United States, Russia and China is to achieve a leading position in the region and preventing the union of the two other states. Meanwhile, the US, China and Russia have both overlapping and conflicting interests in the region. Coinciding interests (fight against terrorism, drug trafficking, and others.) create the possibility of cooperation between the US, China and Russia among themselves and with the countries of Central Asia. Opposing interests lead to the conclusion of agreements of each country separately with Central Asian countries or agreement to a bilateral action of Russia and China in the framework of regional organizations.

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