

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY MANAGEMENT IN CENTRAL ASIA

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Abstract: The paper analyzes international security management in Central Asia. Based on the reports of international organizations, the most vulnerable areas of public life are identified. Typical risks, dangers and threats are identified for each of the areas based on an analysis of the precedents in the region. The paper study is based on the synthesis of historical experience of diplomatic relations and deduction determination of risks, dangers and threats to various spheres of public life of the state as well as comparative analysis of the security management strategies of individual countries of the region. The article presents a comparison of security management strategies of various countries of Central Asia. Regional experience in diplomatic relations and modern regulatory base of security issues are analyzed.

Keywords: international security management, interstate cooperation, Central Asia, international relations

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Introduction

Central Asia has an important geopolitical significance, the processes occurring here have an impact on the state of stability of the entire Eurasian continent. Therefore, the security management of Central Asian countries (collectively and of each country separately) plays one of the important roles in solving pressing issues to strengthen international security (Communiqué of the International Conference on Security and sustainable development in Central Asia under the auspices of the UN, 2017). An analysis of contemporary international relations shows that the Central Asian region was, remains and will be in the medium term an arena of global geopolitical confrontation (Begichev et al., 2019). The reason for this is that the Asian region is rich in resources (raw materials, human resources), which are needed by economies with actively developing and developed industries. Energy plays a crucial role in the economic development of the country, therefore, the energy sector often becomes a key aspect in protecting the state from internal and external threats (Kvon et al., 2019).

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Due to the interest of the influential countries of the world in the oil and gas resources of Central Asia, there has been the rivalry between the United States, Europe, Russia and China (Denoon, 2015). Moreover, in 2010, scientists have already begun to talk/began talking about Chinese expansion in the region of Central Asia (Scobell et al., 2014). The Chinese strategy for the countries of Central Asia was formed (Fallon, 2015). At the same time, international security issues are viewed not as a separate subject of research, but in the context of the New Great Game and the so-called Chinese expansion in the region (Stegen and Kuszniir, 2015).

While some countries strengthen their positions individually, Asian states protect their interests in the region through collective state security management, through bilateral, trilateral agreements and such interstate associations as ASEAN. Collective security is mainly implemented through the management of capital flows and the control over raw materials in the region and less through military and industrial complexes. At the same time, an increase in human and physical capital, population growth, and a high level of trade openness are becoming new competitive advantages for countries in managing state security and maintaining economic and political independence (Zandi et al., 2019; Tsindeliani, 2019; Gulaliyev et al., 2019).

Based on the foregoing, the objectives of this article are:

- analysis of the current geopolitical situation in the countries of Central Asia;
- analysis of problems existing in the field of international security management;
- determining the most effective managerial solutions for existing and possible new problems;
- exploring new geopolitical challenges in Central Asia at the present stage, taking into account the existing and potential threats to international security management in the region.

Literature Review

In 1991, the Central Asian republics gained independence. Among them, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. Since then, each state has its own system for the protection of the vital interests. During their first steps as independent countries, the republics determined the set of relevant values and created their own systems for the protection of national interests (Kamilov, 2005).

One of the biggest problems in the field of international security is the attempts of other states to implement their foreign policy, thanks to the resources of Central Asia, while being guided only by their own interests, which can damage the countries of Central Asia. Russia and the United States consider the resources of Central Asia to meet critical needs. Central Asia is interesting to Russia primarily for the expansion of military potential in the region, as well as for the development of new raw materials and for the control of oil transportation (Temizel et al., 2019).

For China, Central Asia is a zone of potential dominance, as well as the maximum economic impact on the Central Asian countries, and a source of cheap natural resources. In China, oil and gas pipelines of various capacities were built: "Kazakhstan - China" and "Turkmenistan - China". They are designed to ensure reliable supply of hydrocarbons to China from Central Asia, which, in turn, with an increase in oil and gas production is designed to strengthen its position. The China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) built the Central Asian gas pipeline from a concession in Bagtyarlyk in northern Turkmenistan through Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan to Xinjiang in north-west China with a length of 2.2 thousand kilometers. The implementation of the project "One Belt - One Road", which provides for the formation of the "the Silk Road economic belt", where the main role is assigned to the countries of Central Asia, will further strengthen China's position in the region (Kazantsev, 2008).

The European Union acts in more detail, considers Central Asia as a source of challenges to European security, as well as bilateral and multilateral cooperation. At the same time, the Europeans are adapting to the realities of the region in order to avoid additional risks. The main interest for Europeans is Central Asian energy, the fight against threats emanating from Afghanistan, and cooperation in the field of education (Eldar, 2011).

The participating states of Collective Security Treaty (CST) have formed the Committee of Secretaries of Security Councils (CSSC). CSSC has established the need to form new directions in security measures in the CIS and Central Asia in particular (Communiqué of the International Conference on Security..., 2017). The CSSC became one of the supreme advisory bodies alongside the Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the Council of Defence Ministers. The Committee was focusing on the current problems in Western and Caucasian regions and in Central Asia such as international terrorism, drug trafficking, the illegal spreading of weapons, and etc. (Kropatcheva, 2016). Situations that emerge in Central Asia are considered the most dangerous to the CIS countries. As these situations aggravate, creating a serious threat, the chance of Uzbekistan joining the CSSC becomes stronger. The said creates conditions for the formation of various regional collective security systems in Central Asia. Conceptually new and more effective tools are required for managing state security. These tools should cover aspects not only of minimizing market risks, but also ensuring the competitiveness of the state - for example, concepts of good governance and effective government (Meyer, 2019).

Research hypothesis: Central Asia is not a region that significantly affects the security of the world, therefore it is exposed to a wide group of risks (political, economic, demarcation) at the same time.

Methods

In the course of the study, the following methods and paradigmatic approaches are used:

- synthesis of historical experience of diplomatic relations of Central Asian countries;
- deduction determination of risks, dangers and threats to various spheres of public life of the state (through analysis of the precedents in the region);
- comparative analysis of the security management strategies of individual countries of the region based on reports of international organizations (interstate associations and non-governmental organizations);
- assessment of the views and approaches to security management issues through the prism of the existing international legal regulation.

Results

Problems of ensuring international security

Creating a “bar component” system to provide the necessary level of protection against risks and threats is challenging due to the lack of view regarding the security-related interests in the Central Asian region. The widely acknowledged treats to Central Asian security today are those posed by the activity of international terrorist groups. Aside from them, there are religious and extremist movements that take place alongside an increasing social differentiation, alongside the continuing international conflicts, and alongside the vague policies for national development (Kamilov, 2005).

A number of threats to regional security is still associated with the collapse of the bipolar structure of international relations, with a sharp decrease in superpower regulation and the loss of a stable balance. Such a situation objectively led to the emergence at the subregional and regional levels of new challenges associated with the attempt to implement geostrategic and geopolitical interests of regional countries conserved in the Cold War period (Więclawski, 2017). For the inland countries of Central Asia, in our opinion, security can be provided at the cross-border level, which will require, in practice, abandoning the traditional canons of geopolitics between countries and reconsidering a narrowly understood approach to national interests (Kurowska-Pysz, Wróblewski & Szczepańska-Woszczyna, 2018). First, this refers to the potentially conflicting sphere of ethnic relations, border settlement.

The economic and political ties of the countries of the region among themselves and with other states have a significant impact on international security. Among the larger countries of the region (Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan), the leading foreign economic partners are non-regional countries - Russia, China, the USA, Iran. Despite the pressure of a number of countries competing with them (primarily the United States), significant political and economic support for other projects, they

will probably not be able to radically outweigh the objective geopolitical determinants for Kazakhstan.

Nevertheless, for example, in Afghanistan, the destruction of an external threat has shifted the focus from the external to the internal. In this regard, the internal security aspect of the Central Asian states turned out to be no better than the external one (Milks, 2014). In this regard, the internal security aspect of the Central Asian states turned out to be no better than the external one. The internal problems of the states of the region together constitute the region-wide problems and there are a great many of them today. “It is practically possible to make an endless list of potential or real-life risks and threats in the field of security, as well as problems that need attention” (Radjabov, 2016). They are manifested in the economic, political, social, spiritual and cultural, environmental, and information spheres and partially reflect the state of regional security in Central Asia. Each problem is destructive in its own way for the regional security of Central Asia, is classified according to its sphere of manifestation, and has its own specifics. Some problems are a consequence of accelerated modernization (for example, the Aral problem) carried out by the USSR, others are due to under-modernization (for example, a poor communication link), and still others as new ones due to the crisis of the last decade (e.g. migration).

The internal position of the Central Asian states is strongly reflected in their policies, concepts, strategies and tactics for ensuring national and regional security. It also reflects on the situation in neighboring states, including the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China, from unconventional threats, challenges and risks, identify the sources of their occurrence on the example of Central Asia and the Caucasus - the “Southern tier” (southern tier).

Table 1. Possible consequences of the transformation of some risks in the CARs by examples

| Security areas | Risk | Danger | Threat |
|-----------------------|---|---|--|
| Economic | Increase in the external debt of states | Manipulating creditors over their foreign and domestic policies | Partial loss of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity |
| Political | manipulation of inter-ethnic relations | polarization of society | the emergence of hotbed of instability |
| Social | weak social sector funding | mass demonstrations | The overthrow of power or order; revolution |
| Ecological | expansion of the space of desertification | internal migration | reduction of the gene pool, labor resources |
| Military | weak funding from the ministry of defense | military corruption | assistance to overthrow the constitutional order |

| | | | |
|---------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| Informational | TV shows on scenes of violence, cruelty | increase in the number of people with increased psychosis and neurosis | total spread of violence and robbery |
|---------------|---|--|--------------------------------------|

In general, in the countries of Central Asia there are problems in all areas listed in the table, which is a threat to international security.

Modern Central Asia is under the scrutiny of world centers of power, largely determined by the development of vectors of regional and global international relations. Globalization, as such, no longer exists: the world is rather small and sensitive to any fluctuations in the international community and leading world powers.

EU sanctions to Russia 2014-2016 dealt a serious blow to the economies of the countries of Central Asia. Investments, remittances from migrant workers and turnover have decreased significantly, while inflation, unemployment, capital outflows have increased dramatically, as well as discontent among the local elite and the population. The crisis will damage government spending and lead to more lost years in the region, which never recovered from the post-Soviet collapse in infrastructure, social services and education. In the worst case, a crisis can lead to unrest. Long-term significance for the region will depend on how long the crisis lasts and how serious it will become. But the long-term implications for the economic development of the region are already taking shape (Schenkkan, 2015).

Central Asian International Security Cooperation

Today, the security of Central Asia does not have any regulatory document on which it should be based, but consists of various bilateral and multilateral security agreements between countries of the region. Obviously, there is still no uniform system of formation and regional security in the Central Asian region. Moreover, there are different approaches to the formation of a national security policy in each republic, which is mainly determined by the military policy of a particular state.

The experience of the UN Preventive Diplomacy Center located in Ashgabat is extremely important. This is the first UN agency aimed at the implementation of early warning measures in terms of maintaining security based on a thorough study of the situation in various areas of the life of the states and the region. Since the region has not yet emerged as an international space, cooperation on many common development issues continues to be “loose” and torn, and the activities of the center itself have been formalized, becoming the calendar of protocol events.

Speaking about the participation of Central Asia in international organizations, it is necessary to pay attention to such organizations:

- The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose main task is to ensure the security of the participating countries, to protect their sovereignty and territorial integrity. In this context, the CSTO is one of the most important international structures, with the goal of strengthening military security in the region of Central Asia (Conference on security and co-operation in Europe final act 1975);

- The Collective Security Treaty Organization, established to create the Collective Security Treaty Organization as a military alliance (The Prospects of a New Cold War, 2009);
- The Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia - the largest continental forum that lays the foundations for the economic development of the countries of Central Asia (CICA) (Declaration of Principles Governing Relations between CICA Member States, 1999);
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization - provides for the construction of the "Economic Belt of the Silk Road" and the promotion of the Eurasian Economic Union separately, and the conjugation of their activities. The SCO considers cooperation in the field of security, including and first and foremost the fight against international terrorism, as one of its most important tasks.

NATO is worth drawing considerable attention, since not one of the Central Asian countries is a member of this organization and not a single bilateral partnership document gives NATO a mandate to solve the security problems of the Central Asian states. (NATO official website, 2019)

The appearance of Central Asian countries in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) still has no intelligible public explanation. Nevertheless, today the OSCE is fragmentarily integrated into the security system in Central Asia. One of the significant elements of the security concept is the thesis that the security of the OSCE region is inextricably linked to the security of the neighboring regions. In connection with the need to assist Afghanistan, this thesis is set out in the Astana Declaration (Astana commemorative declaration towards a security community, 2010).

The International Conference on Security and Sustainable Development in Central Asia under the auspices of the UN "Central Asia: One Past and Common Future, Cooperation for Sustainable Development and Mutual Prosperity" was held on November 10-11, 2017 in Samarkand. The forum was organized by the Uzbek side together with the United Nations Regional Center for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia (UNRCCA) and the Regional Office (Central Asia..., 2017).

The following factors influence the formation mechanism of views on and approaches to security issues:

- Mutual relations between parties (if they have political power or influence);
- Relations between the clans inside the state and the level of their presence in the security sector;
- The personality of the political leader and his capability, the old-fashioned views of the leadership in a context of bipolar apprehension of the world and incapability to change quickly for assessment of the political forces and new realities;
- Interrelations with neighboring countries;
- Presence and influence of a strong security sector (Kamilov, 2005).

Results discussion

It is important to understand that the socioeconomic structure and cultural specificity of a particular society (including the attitude to power and religion) have a rather strong influence on decision-making in the field of security management. Researchers often omit these aspects. However, de facto, the structure of public institutions and features of economic relations form the basis for the development of the country and the region (Poliakov & Olcott, 2016). The individual countries of Central Asia also came to the attention of Western researchers; mainly British and American experts are engaged in their research. There are practically no works devoted to interaction in the humanitarian sphere in the Central Asian region, there are only separate works in which certain aspects of the problem under study are touched upon (Mankoff, 2012).

In addition, the problems of security in Central Asia were deeply intrigued by scholars from the Arab world. They are closely watching the processes occurring in the region, in general, however, cultural and humanitarian issues, perhaps with the exception of education and science, remain out of sight (Satke, 2014; Beheshtipur, 2015)

Some scientists are inclined to support this or that side in international cooperation, in their opinion it is with a particular country in Central Asia that the level of threats to national security will be reduced, and new perspectives in development will open up. According to Swanström, only closer cooperation with China can reduce Russia's influence in the field of security, but it is important to remember that the Central Asian states are not ready to exchange one master for a new one. In addition, the US will be in a better position from the expansion of bilateral security cooperation with Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan (Swanström, 2015).

A.V. Malashenko's work "Central Asia: What Does Russia Count on?" analyzes the Russian policy in the region, examining various factors and aspects of its interaction with Central Asian states, including the "Islamic factor", the problem of labor migration, Russia's rivalry with other international actors and others. According to the author, the United States, China, the Muslim world are challenging Russia in the region (Malashenko, 2012).

The issues of humanitarian cooperation are considered in the collection of articles "Kyrgyzstan-Russia: Milestones of Humanitarian Cooperation", prepared based on the materials of the international symposium. In the course of the study, dissertations were also involved in which various aspects of the problem under study were revealed. Thus, R.S. Faizov focuses on the large role of Kazakhstan, whose president is promoting the ideas of Eurasianism in humanitarian cooperation, in particular, in the field of education and culture (Faizova, 2011)

Other researchers do not consider proper cooperation with any one country, but advocate wider cooperation in the field of international security, because of the

weakness or even lack of such cooperation, including Russia, which has the greatest military and political presence in Central Asia (Popov, 2016), they see one of the main threats to international security after the withdrawal of the main NATO forces from Afghanistan (Cornell, 2013; Rumer et al., 2016)

The analysis of these approaches assumes that the expansion of international cooperation will be the most rational way of solving existing problems. As already mentioned in the article, the countries of Central Asia are of particular interest to all progressive countries, so each of them, implementing their policies or signing some agreements, will primarily pursue their own interests. A broad international cooperation will put the Central Asian region in a more advantageous position when the choice of "partner" will be given to them.

Conclusion

Central Asia has a unique geostrategic position. The region acts as a kind of buffer zone between Russia and China. The Central Asia serves a transit area connecting Southern Caucasus, China and countries bordering the Caspian Sea. Upon that, the region may be a backstage where the illegal trafficking takes place. Between Russia and Afghanistan, these problems emerge as a result of the Afghan tragedy and the civil war in Tajikistan. Areas between Russia and Iran/Afghanistan are confronted with different models of Islamic statehood. Iran and Turk-speaking countries like Azerbaijan influence the region by a contrast of Turk (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) and Persian/Farsi (Tajikistan) cultures. Finally, the influences of the India-Pakistan rivalry can be felt across the Southeast Asian territory.

Central Asia is not one of those regions that significantly affect the security of the world, so they are under several threats at the same time. The main threat to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan is the risk of losing independence and forgetting about the region's own interests when the United States, China, Russia and the EU are fighting for influence. Therefore, it is the expansion of international cooperation that will help the countries of Central Asia to protect their interests, defend their positions and ensure security in the region, both from external and internal threats.

Integration processes do not end only within the economic and political spheres; contacts in the humanitarian field are an important and integral part of them. Further development of this process will contribute to the national interests, the formation of the Central Asian security system.

It should be noted that for all Central Asian states the challenges and risks are very similar and require coherence of approaches to humanitarian cooperation, which is considered as one of the security factors. Based on this, the Central Asian region needs not only to expand international cooperation, but also to unite efforts, approaches and development vectors among the countries of the region itself. Humanitarian relations create the necessary conditions for the countries of the

region to achieve political stability and socio-economic well-being, and, as a result, national security.

The results of this study might be used to improve state security management if taking into account the following:

- the state's internal policy;
- the planned indicators of the state budget;
- the availability of a sufficient resource base to ensure long-term security of vulnerable areas of public life without market imbalances in the distribution of resources.

Further studies may reveal the specifics of the state security strategies formation. Though such studies will need to focus on the geographic diversification of foreign economic activity and the openness of economies. Further studies will also need to clarify how the state management of raw materials in Asian countries impacts world prices. The latter should be in terms of strengthening and weakening of individual regions' economic security.

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MIĘDZYNARODOWE ZARZĄDZANIE BEZPIECZEŃSTWEM W AZJI CENTRALNEJ

Streszczenie: Artykuł analizuje zarządzanie bezpieczeństwem międzynarodowym w Azji Środkowej. Na podstawie raportów organizacji międzynarodowych zidentyfikowano najbardziej wrażliwe obszary życia publicznego. Typowe ryzyka, niebezpieczeństwa i zagrożenia są identyfikowane dla każdego z obszarów na podstawie analizy precedensów w regionie. Opracowanie oparte jest na syntezie doświadczeń historycznych w stosunkach dyplomatycznych oraz dedukcji, określaniu ryzyka, niebezpieczeństw i zagrożeń dla różnych dziedzin życia publicznego państwa, a także analizie porównawczej strategii zarządzania bezpieczeństwem poszczególnych krajów regionu. W artykule przedstawiono

porównanie strategii zarządzania bezpieczeństwem różnych krajów Azji Środkowej. Przeanalizowane są regionalne doświadczenia w stosunkach dyplomatycznych oraz nowoczesna baza regulacyjna kwestii bezpieczeństwa.

Słowa kluczowe: zarządzanie bezpieczeństwem międzynarodowym, współpraca międzypaństwowa, Azja Środkowa, stosunki międzynarodowe.

中亚的国际安全管理

摘要: 本文分析了中亚的国际安全管理。根据国际组织的报告, 确定了公共生活中最脆弱的领域。根据对该地区先例的分析, 确定每个地区的典型风险, 危险和威胁。本文的研究基于对外交关系的历史经验的综合, 并推论了对国家公共生活各个领域的风险, 危险和威胁的确定, 并对该地区各国的安全管理策略进行了比较分析。本文对中亚各国的安全管理策略进行了比较。分析了外交关系中的区域经验和现代安全问题的管理基础。

关键字: 国际安全管理, 国家间合作, 中亚, 国际关系。