

**UNIVERSITY OF
WORLD ECONOMICS &
DIPLOMACY
(UWED)**



ISBN 978-9943-4663-7-1

March 2017

**CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS &
REGIONAL SECURITY STUDY
LABORATORY**

**COLLECTION OF RESEARCH
PAPERS ON TRENDING
REGIONAL & GLOBAL SECURITY
(YOUNG RESEARCHERS PROJECT)**

**International
Relations
Department
UWED**

**UNIVERSITY OF WORLD ECONOMICS & DIPLOMACY
CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS & REGIONAL SECURITY
STUDY LABORATORY**

**COLLECTION OF RESEARCH PAPERS ON
TRENDING REGIONAL & GLOBAL SECURITY
(YOUNG RESEARCHERS PROJECT)**

TASHKENT – 2017

CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS & REGIONAL SECURITY STUDY LABORATORY

The laboratory is a profile research / advisory unit of the University of World Economics & Diplomacy (UWED), acting on the basis of legislation of Uzbekistan, recommendations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Uzbekistan and in accordance to UWED Scientific Council decisions.

The laboratory carries out its activities in the prescribed manner through shaping understanding of different aspects of Security & Peace in scope of Regional and Global agenda and perspectives of economic cooperation, conducting academic studies and researches solely and together with leading centers of international academic community.

Copyright © 2015 Contemporary Conflicts & Regional Security Study Laboratory

Contemporary Conflicts & Regional Security Study Laboratory
54 Mustaqillik avenue, Tashkent, 100077 Uzbekistan
www.uwed.uz

Collection of Research Papers on Trending Regional & Global Security Issues prepared by leading graduate students & young researchers at the Contemporary Conflicts & Regional Security Study Laboratory, University of World Economics & Diplomacy

Reviewed and recommended by Academic Research Coordination Board of the University of World Economics & Diplomacy (Protocol № 3 issued date on January 31, 2017)

Editorial Board:

U.Khasanov, PhD, Head of Contemporary Conflicts & Regional Security Study Laboratory, UWED
N.Tulaganova, ScD, Professor at the International Relations Department, UWED
A.Umarov, Senior Research Fellow, ScD candidate, UWED
X.Kholmamatov, Researcher, BA in IR, UWED

ISBN 978-9943-4663-7-1

***To the 25th Anniversary of the
University of World Economics &
Diplomacy***



“Today, I deem it necessary to once again underscore the very idea, which is important from the principle point of view: Uzbekistan and its magnanimous people are consistently and solidly upholding the position of conducting a peaceful policy and implementing the principles of respectful approach to national and universal values...

We will organize the close cooperation with foreign states, above all, the neighboring countries, as well as the international institutions in line with today’s requirements and based on mutual trust and consideration of mutual interests.

*The relations of cooperation with businessmen, who have demonstrated themselves as reliable partners, will certainly be continued in Uzbekistan.”**

Shavkat Miromonovich Mirziyoyev
President of the Republic of Uzbekistan

* From Inaugural Speech of the President-Elect of the Republic of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev, December 14, 2016. (Official web site of Press-Service of the President, Republic of Uzbekistan. <http://prezident.uz/en/news/5395>)

Table of Contents

IN LIEU OF PREFACE _____	9
Impact of the Current Situation in Afghanistan on Regional Security _____	11
On Specifics of Contemporary Conflicts _____	20
Uzbekistan Struggling Against Extremism & Terrorism _____	25
Eastern Europe in Modern Geopolitical Discourse _____	30
TNCs in International Relations: Theory, History & Modernity (Selected Literature Review) _____	42
US Interests in Afghanistan After 2001 _____	49
Uzbekistan & ASEAN: Perspectives of Cooperation _____	55
Globalization & Central Asia: Challenges, Threats & Responds _____	63
Korean Dilemma: Past & Future _____	71
Quantitative Analysis of Uzbek-Japanese Cooperation _____	76
On Controversies of Current US - Saudi Relations _____	84
Contemporary US Approaches to Trans Pacific Security _____	91
On Specifics of Current US - British Relations _____	97
On Some Aspects of US Policy towards Afghan Crisis _____	100
Comparative Analyses of US Global Military Power _____	107
Water as Conflict Prone Factor in Regional Politics _____	114
Understanding Rivalry Concept in International Relations _____	120
Energy Policy Concept in International Relations _____	124
Prospects & Challenges of the Turkish-Russian Relations on Syria _____	131
On Sino - American Rivalry over the Asia Pacific _____	140
On Integration Problems in Ex-Soviet Territories _____	148
On US Policy Towards Syrian Conflict (Quantitative Analysis) _____	153
Contemporary American Energy Policy _____	163
Israeli Foreign Policy Towards Middle East _____	173
Understanding Mackinder's Legacy Today _____	185
Cooperation of the Republic of Tajikistan with the Islamic Republic of in the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization _____	200

IN LIEU OF PREFACE

In this collection of University of World Economics & Diplomacy research papers senior and graduate students tried to scholarly review the whole complexity of regional and global developments through different prisms - political, economical, social, environmental and others.

Notably, many aspects of their analysis became surprisingly new and original or rarely considered in works of domestic authors. In presented analysis they raised such issues as: *Impact of the Current Situation in Afghanistan on Regional Security* (N.Tulyaganova), *US Interests in post 9/11 Afghanistan* (A.Umarov), *Uzbekistan & ASEAN Cooperation Perspectives, Challenges* (G.Djuraeva), *Threats and Responds to the controversial process of globalization in Central Asia* (R.Huramov), *Past and Future of Korean Crisis* (Y.Ara), *Quantitative Analysis of Uzbek-Japanese Cooperation* (Y.Mahmasabirova), *On Integration Problems in Ex-Soviet Territories* (X.Kholmamatov), *American Foreign Policy Towards Syrian Conflict (Quantitative Analysis)* (A.Tuhtasinov), *Understanding Mackinder's Legacy Today* (A.Boltaev) and many others.

For example, N.Tulyaganova, UWED Professor, wrote an article on *"Impact of the Current Situation in Afghanistan on Regional Security"* describing the specifics of this long lasting conflict and its probable future. A.Umarov, a Senior Research Fellow, ScD candidate at UWED attempted to view dominant approach in leading schools of American academia in the article entitled as "US Interests in Afghanistan after 2001". He states that *"...a country dominant in Eurasia would almost automatically control the Middle East and Africa"* and which openly describes an essence of foreign policy of the USA in Afghanistan for the last nearly 40 years. Another young researcher Y.Makhmasobirova reveals the essence of quantitative analysis of Uzbek-Japanese in which she considered main dimensions of the cooperation between Uzbekistan and Japan. She identified two frames for analysis. First one as cooperation in multilateral frame studied by examination of regional and international institutions and dialogues, and the second one as bilateral level. She properly disclosed the qualitative changes in Uzbek-Japanese relations by using quantitative-comparative methods.

Young and very bright researcher visiting UWED as Hankuk University Graduate Student, You Ara devoted her analysis to one of the mattering topics of Global agenda - Korean Dilemma, its past and future. As she noted *"...since the national division of Korean peninsula in year 1945, unification of the South and the North have been always an issue not only for the North and the South but also for the whole global community"*. She understands *"...the reunification of Korean peninsula is 'a double-edged sword'"*, and points out *"...South Korea's main goal is to prevent war near Korean peninsula and to unify the North"*. Her colleague T.Abdullaeva, MA Student at UWED, paid attention on some peculiarities of Regional Water Security in her article "Water as Conflict Prone Factor in Regional Politics". Promising Senior BA Students A.Boltayev and K.Jurakhonov, in their researches tried to consider modern geopolitics and global rivalry among big powers through the scope of conceptual legacy of leading scholars and thinkers.

These articles became a good result of complex approach of researchers to different topics prevailing in contemporary analysis of international relations, including

prospects of cooperation of various states with Central Asian region, especially with the Republic Uzbekistan. The fact that Central Asia becoming a vital crossroad in World affairs between the West and the East had the special interest in almost every research and which promoted the significance of this volume.

No doubt, such analysis of foreign policy gives a good chance to young scholars to understand fundamental basis of different mechanisms of regional and global politics, and most importantly the sense of national diplomacy, which thoroughly defined in the Concept of Foreign Policy of our republic. According to this document "Modern foreign policy of Uzbekistan is shaped taking into consideration the dynamically changing international political realities of the XXI century which demand implementation of an active, initiative and pragmatic foreign policy course, timely and adequate response to emerging challenges."*

Collection of Research Papers on Trending Regional & Global Security Issues written and prepared by leading graduate students & young researchers at the Contemporary Conflicts & Regional Security Laboratory of UWED and has significant level of scholarly approach in conducting academic analysis and may serve as a source of theoretical source on potential perspectives of International affairs.

The views of researchers in this volume reflect personal opinion of every author and do not necessarily coincide with the official position of the University.

U.Khasanov, PhD

*Head of Contemporary Conflicts &
Regional Security Study Laboratory,
University of World Economics & Diplomacy*

* <http://mfa.uz/en/cooperation/policy/>

Impact of the Current Situation in Afghanistan on Regional Security

N.Tulyaganova
Doctor of Political Sciences,
Professor of IR Dept., UWED

The armed conflict in Afghanistan continues for more than 30 years and no longer attracts the public's attention. Afghanistan suffers from passivity donor support, because the international community's attention is focused today in Syria and Iraq. The situation in the country doesn't not change for the better, in fact the conflict has become one of the most complicated international problems for Uzbekistan, as well as for all the states of Central Asia. There are several fundamental factors that are relevant to the present, but to a greater extent to the future of this country and the potential for the future of the region. Among them should be, of course, be noted drug production in Afghanistan and the sluggish response of the world community to the situation, transformational trends in the ideological and financial support for terrorism and extremism due to the emergence ISIS in this country.

Experts of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime talk about the two main causes of drug "boom" in Afghanistan. The first - the tenfold difference in prices between the drug and agricultural crops. The second reason is directly related to the collapse of the economy. It is believed that the main socio-economic factors of opium economy in Afghanistan are:

- High profitability of opium compared with agriculture;
- Availability of the necessary conditions for the cultivation of the opium poppy (natural conditions, used technology, cheap labor force);
- Possibility of long-term storage;
- Provision of loans to farmers by drug traffickers;
- Transformation of opium (as a commodity) in:
 - A source of savings and profits;
 - Sharing and pre-payment means;
 - The collateral agent for the loan;
 - Power weapons illegal groups;
 - Source of funding for terrorist organizations and organized criminal groups.
- Removing the profit from drug trafficking, much higher than its cost.¹

Since 2009 there has been a tendency to increase instability in the northern provinces of Afghanistan. Since 2013, the process began to accelerate and gain momentum, reaching a peak in 2015, when it was established several anti-record. Anti-government armed group² (AUG) gained control over most of Afghanistan than at any time since 2001. They were able for the first time to seize the provincial capital - the city of Kunduz; Afghan security forces (CRS) back control of the city just two weeks of

1 Смагулов А. Афганистан. Опыт восстановления и реконструкции 2001-2009 годы. Кабул. 2010. Стр. 329-330

2 «Сеть Хаккани», Исламская партия Афганистана Г. Хекматиара. Но ведущую роль там играет Движение «Талибан» (ДТ).

heavy fighting, when AUG orderly retreat. Anti-government armed groups captured in 2015 another 23 administrative centers in different districts in Afghanistan (in 2014 - only four). In 2015, it was recorded during the biggest reference to relevant statistics civilian casualties (about 90% of these losses - from the actions and ASB AUG): 11002 people, including 3545 - the dead, 7457 - wounded. Between 1 January and 31 March 2016, the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan has registered 1.943 victims among the civilian population³.

Increasing civilian casualties in the conflict ASB and AUG in the north-eastern, northern and western provinces reflects the intensification of clashes the government and pro-government armed groups with the armed opposition. This is mainly explained by the desire to become the representatives of the AGB "daytime governors" and communicate their will not only "at gunpoint, but also from the standpoint of official authority."⁴

The data provided by the Government of Afghanistan, as well as the data collected by the United Nations indicate that the Conflict of anti-government armed groups and the Afghan security forces the number of civilian casualties in 2009 increased by 35%, reaching a growth of 530% in the regions adjacent to the Central Asia⁵. At the same time, the situation in the regions adjacent to Pakistan, revealed the stability and even a slight improvement in the situation.

The main reason for the instability of growth has been the influx of militants, primarily due to armed groups from Pakistan and Afghanistan military areas. Reasons of such migration is still not fully identified. Most likely, the reason lies in the intensification of anti-terrorist operations carried out by the authorities of Pakistan, especially intensified after the terrorist attack in Peshawar in 2014.

Of course, it is important to not ignore the role of external actors in the current situation in Afghanistan, in particular, the close relationship of the situation in the region with political will the major actors such as the US, Russia, EU and China.

We consider these in more detail.

The US role in the current situation in Afghanistan is determined by the beginning of military operations in cooperation with NATO in Afghanistan. Operation "Enduring Freedom" began on October 7, 2001, on the basis of UN Security Council resolutions, and was a response to a terrorist act of September 11, 2001 in the United States. From 1 January 2015, non-combat mission to Afghanistan of NATO called "strong support" have been acted. In early 2016 the United Nations has extended the mandate of the mission until 17 March 2017. Today, about 12 thousand of NATO troops train and advise Afghan security forces. By mid-2017 in the country will remain 5.5 thousand of US troops and NATO in the military bases at Bagram, Jalalabad and

3 Новый этап кризиса в Афганистане и безопасность Таджикистана. Доклад международного дискуссионного клуба Валдай. // <http://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/geografiya-ugroz-budushchee.-afgan/>

4 Civilian casualties in Afghan War are unabated in 2016/April 17/2016/ URL:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/18/world/middleeast/civilian-casualties-in-afghan-war-are-unabated-in-2016.html>

5 Ali M. Latifi. Death toll in Taliban bombing and gunfight rises to 64; Afghan president calls the attack «inhuman». 20.04.16. // <http://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-afghanistan-bombing-20160420-story.html>

Kandahar, which play great importance for the counter-terrorist operations. Since the beginning of 2016 the US military in Afghanistan are fighting against the fighters of the Islamic State, looking for a foothold in the province of Nangarhar. Government of Ashraf Ghani expands US counterterrorism mission in Afghanistan, fighting groups associated with Al-Qaeda, as well as an offshoot of the Islamic state, which is estimated to be between 1,000 and 3,000 fighters⁶. Over the years, the US has failed to achieve the expected results, but to save his face and influence in the region, the government was pleasant to leave its troops in Afghanistan after 2016.

Russia has repeatedly confirmed willingness to participate in the Afghan knot unraveling together with UN and all relevant stakeholders. Afghan issues remains a priority for Russia, the Russian Defense Ministry and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. For its part, in October 2015, Russia proposed a collective plan to stabilize the situation in Afghanistan. This plan included promoting socio-economic development, equipping and training of law enforcement agencies of the IRA, the suppression of the financing sources and channels of supply of weapons to extremist organizations⁷.

In general, according to Russia to stabilize the situation in Afghanistan and Central Asia:

- first, to assist the leadership of Afghanistan and other Central Asian states in the equipping and training of enforcement agencies to improve the efficiency of their operations against the extremists;
- secondly, to maximize the use of all possible institutions to promote socio-economic development of the region and the provision of humanitarian assistance to the population of Afghanistan;
- third, joint efforts to block the sources of funding, arms supply lines and material resources extremist organizations operating in Afghanistan.
- another area of stabilizing the situation can become counter extremist ideology⁸.

Japan, which has allocated more money than any country⁹ to assist in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, demonstrated that it is a valuable and reliable partner in supporting the development and security initiatives across Afghanistan. Last time the Japanese government has announced the allocation for Afghanistan 31.3 million. Dollars of humanitarian aid for emergency needs in March 2016. Funds were transferred through the relevant departments of the United Nations and has been spent on the fight against hunger, the provision of assistance to the remaining homeless Afghans, mine clearance, assistance to needy children and the repatriation of refugees returning home from Iran and Pakistan. Also, Japan is a leading donor to the Afghan

6 Andrew Tilghman. ISIS in Afghanistan: U.S. forces OK'd to attack emerging offshoot. 20.01.2016//
<http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/01/20/us-military-afghanistan-gets-green-light-targeting-islamic-state-offshoot/79067120/>

7 <https://ria.ru/analytics/20161007/1478667779.html>

8 http://structure.mil.ru/structure/forces/navy/news/more.htm?id=12060200@egNews&_print=true

9 2,49 млрд. долл. США

National Police, providing half of the payment of salaries of police officers through the Trust Fund to Support the forces of the UN Development Programme rule of law.

Assistance, carried out by Japan, covers four categories: humanitarian assistance, political processes and governance, the strengthening of security and reconstruction. The priority for Japan is to try to strike a balance between security and development, to provide a stable transfer of power in all areas of the Afghan government. For this reason, Japan's contribution to humanitarian assistance, the political process and management is invaluable, but the most important investments it makes to the strengthening of security and reconstruction.

In Japan, the recovery area approach consisting to provide the tools necessary for the prosperity of the Afghan people, and to provide emergency aid to those most in need. For this aim, Japan is helping to build roads, wells, clinics and schools, and provides assistance to many projects of rural development.

The German Government stressed that it would continue to assist Afghanistan in such areas as economic development, the training of Afghan military, civil and public reconstruction. German Ambassador to the United States noted that the FRG is a loyal and faithful partner of Afghanistan¹⁰.

The position of the United Kingdom on the situation in Afghanistan, was announced at the beginning of February 2017 by the British Minister of State for the Armed Forces M.Penningom. In particular, he stated that a possible increase in the British military presence in Afghanistan. "The current situation in Afghanistan remains serious, in connection with which the UK can ask about putting more troops," - said Mike Penning, speaking in the committee on defense affairs of the British Parliament. Currently, as part of the NATO mission "strong support" in Afghanistan are serving 450 British troops¹¹. The minister said that the presence of British troops in Afghanistan - "This is a very important issue for peace and stability in this country."

"Statements by Mike Penning is pretty suitable within the logic of the new UK strategy which is intended to increase the influence of London in Afghanistan against the backdrop of still vague Washington's strategy - commented the expert of the Center for Modern Afghanistan Studies (CMAS) Andrei Serenko. This strategy can be effective only in the successful combination of political, economic and military elements. Political activity of British diplomacy has already been marked by Afghan and Pakistani observers. On the eve of the spring, when it is expected another escalation in the security situation in Afghanistan, the increase in the number of British troops could be claimed in the Helmand Province and some other areas of the country. The advent of the British special forces, of course, will not lead to the defeat of the Taliban, but it can not completely prevent the collapse of the situation in key episodes of combat"¹².

10 Germany reaffirms support to Afghanistan/ URL: <http://ariananews.af/latest-news/germany-reaffirms-support-to-Afghanistan/>

11 <http://afghanistan.ru/doc/107308.html>

12 <http://afghanistan.ru/doc/107308.html>

The PRC leadership is concerned about the consequences of the withdrawal of NATO troops, but China itself in battle is not going to join with the "Taliban", although in August 2016, Afghanistan, China, Pakistan and Tajikistan created a quadripartite alliance to combat terrorism. China's efforts are directed to ensure that the Afghan government did not allow the penetration of militants and Islamic preachers in Xinjiang. The successes of the Taliban attacks may spur Uighur militants in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China. In addition, in the case of the Taliban movement success, Chinese entrepreneurs access to the mineral resources of Afghanistan, the cost of which is estimated at \$3 trillion., will be difficult. China supports a stable Afghanistan. China's advantage in comparison with the Western powers and Russia is that it has a reputation of a neutral player. In addition, China has a strong influence on Pakistan, which is the main sponsor of the "Taliban". Thus, we can talk about Beijing's desire to take a more meaningful than ever before, among the nations, to help Afghanistan. Chinese companies have begun to invest in Afghanistan, a lot of investment, such as the largest investment project of China - Development of "Aynak," the world's largest deposits in the Afghan province of Logar. The tender was won by the Chinese company China Metallurgical Group Corporation in the spring of 2007, but its major development of the Chinese and could not proceed due to lack of security. In 2010, China allocated 3.5 billion. US dollars to develop copper mines in Afghanistan¹³. China is investing heavily in the development of trade routes in Central Asia. In September 2016, the Afghan city of Hairatan the first time in the history of the train arrived from China, which was carrying mainly equipment¹⁴.

Speaking about the threats emanating from Afghanistan, we still need to also keep in mind the kind of symbolism of the term "Afghan threat", because today the geography of threats, risks and challenges are much broader than just the specific "Afghan factor".

All that the "Afghan" complex generates several questions: Is it true those assessments and analysis of the situation in Afghanistan, which have a place in the international public space? Do they coincide with the estimates set out in the Central Asian countries?

Estimates proposed by countries and international organizations, which seem to have a valid and recognized by the other actors of international life in the interests of Afghanistan as a whole does not inspire a positive perception of the situation in that country. Positions that detect the difference, and sometimes even the polarity of interests of participants of the "Afghan process," provoke the formulation of distinct content of proposals and recommendations, and, most importantly, the development prospects of assessments of the situation and, ultimately, concrete plans and actions of the states concerned.

In this connection, it should be also mention the fact that, according to some experts, "now the people of Afghanistan belongs to the international community with a

13 http://carnegieendowment.org/files/china_role_afghanistan.pdf

14 <http://www.bbc.com/russian/news-37296916>

large grain of salt, compared with the beginning of the presence of international troops in Afghanistan in 2001"¹⁵. Lack of confidence - this is the most sensitive, particularly in the political and humanitarian sense, a factor that, unfortunately, exists in regard to Afghanistan and its neighbors.

To date, the main evaluation parameter, which adhered to Uzbekistan, formulated as follows: - Afghanistan remains, and (presumably) will continue to be a major source of cross-border criminal phenomena and other hazards. And, most likely, in the short term, this approach of Uzbekistan, in general, coincides with the positions of other Central Asian states, not only will not change, but rather worsen under the impressive influence of events in Syria and Iraq as a whole geographical area from Maghreb to Afghanistan, where nation states are destroyed, grows rigid confrontation and conflicts between countries in the region, as well as extra-regional actors.

The situation in the long-suffering Afghanistan is becoming more alarming today as a result of the growing activity ISIS in this country. The current Minister of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan Salahiddin Rabbani said on this occasion: "Now they (ISIS) are not very numerous and are one of the many groups, also at war with the" Taliban ", but we must take this threat very seriously, given their growing popularity."¹⁶ "

This kind of assessment generate relevant questions. Is it possible, though presumably referring to the possible improvement of the situation in Afghanistan, to consider the country as having a positive potential as a country with which there will need to build some kind of constructive relationship, including politics, culture, trade and investment? And there is already necessary today to include this issue in the foreign policy agenda of the Central Asian countries?

As part of the Istanbul process¹⁷, attempts are made to construct a certain image of Afghanistan, which has seemed to change for the better and as if it could change even more, especially in the coordinates of the proposed transit infrastructure of Afghanistan and its meaning in conjunction Central and South Asia.

Washington proposed the idea of "New Silk Road" is a multipurpose project, however, its implementation in many ways, is likely to be dependent on the US military, political and financial investment sponsorship and political, above all, the support of this project by Russia and China. Should we add here also, for example, and the problem of trust between the participating countries of transit - electric project (KASA-1000) and TAPI.

At the beginning of February 2017 in Moscow took place international consultations on Afghanistan, which was attended by representatives of Russia, Afghanistan, and Iran, Pakistan, India and China. The delegations were represented by

15 Иманалиев М. География угроз. Какое будущее ждет Афганистан и его соседей в Центральной Азии?23.09.2016// <http://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/geografiya-ugroz-budushchee.-afgan/>

16 <http://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/geografiya-ugroz-budushchee.-afgan/>

17 Конференции "Сердце Азии" проводятся ежегодно и также носят название "Стамбульский процесс" — первая конференция в этом формате состоялась в ноябре 2011 года в Стамбуле. Целью "Стамбульского процесса", который объединяет стран-соседей Афганистана (как непосредственно граничащие страны, так и крупных региональных игроков), является стабилизация ситуации в Афганистане через развитие практического взаимодействия с этой страной.

special envoys for Afghanistan and senior officials. Participants of the consultations discussed the current security situation in Afghanistan, as well as regional approaches to overcoming the current challenges.

The parties agreed to step up efforts to promote the reconciliation process, while maintaining the leadership of the Kabul and compliance with the stipulated guidelines before the integration of former combatants into civilian life. In addition, the participants came to the conclusion that in order to stabilize the situation in Afghanistan requires increased efforts at the regional level, and therefore must be connected to the process of new members, particularly in Central Asia¹⁸.

What kind of future awaits Afghanistan and its neighbors in Central Asia? Diplomats, experts and specialists from various countries are seriously consider the options for the country's existence as a unitary state (1), federations (2) and confederation (3). For the most part everything correctly assess the situation in Afghanistan, it forecasts the overall negative development and offer their vision of what should be the country in the future. The standard feature should be a peaceful, stable and developing state. But no one speaks how to do this or offer projects and programs "Afghan revival" which is inappropriate for the current Afghan political forces, as well as for other external actors.

However, in fairness, it should nevertheless be emphasized that suggest a project or program that would be supported by all parties within Afghanistan itself and outside is very difficult.

Considerable importance also has a humanitarian aid delivery, which are tied up all the existing system in Afghanistan. In particular, the largest donor is Japan, which creates certain risks as being directly disinterested in the region, Japan can at any moment to cut down or even stop the funding. It is also important is the level of stability in Central Asia itself, affecting the ability to resolve internal conflicts in the region.

In an attempt to stabilize the current situation in Central Asian countries react differently to the threat of increasing instability in Afghanistan, trying to solve it through the mediation of players of different levels. Thus, Turkmenistan is in favor of diplomatic solution to the problem with the involvement of the UN, Uzbekistan relies on national forces and working closely with the US and Russia, and Tajikistan focused on national resources and assistance to regional organizations (such as the CSTO). This allows researchers to observe the search for the most effective resolution of the situation on the example of three different approaches.

There are good reasons to expect in the near future, a sharp destabilization of the situation in Afghanistan. The symptoms of this - the lack of unity in the official structures of the Kabul government's legitimacy crisis and the deepening of inter-ethnic tensions. In recent years, the country has increased the activity of ISIS militants, recently the launch of a new fighting season, the Taliban announced that also

18 В Москве состоялись шестисторонние консультации по афганскому вопросу. // 15.02.2017 17:55// <http://afghanistan.ru/doc/107368.html>

experiencing split. The current "Taliban" consists of several disparate hostile groups whose actions are largely determined by external sponsors.

Against this background, in Afghanistan there is the instability of the flow of south-eastern regions to the north of the country. Combat operations are underway in 24 of 34 provinces of the country, and the current regime have little chance to retain power. Prospects for the future in a coalition government with the participation of the Taliban also seem elusive.

Pakistan remains the leading external party in Afghan process - the opposition forces are constantly getting out weapons, money and medicines. However, in Islamabad for relations with the Kabul government does not take the responsibility but this responsibility lays on the armed forces and Inter – services intelligence¹⁹. Different groups of the Pakistani military establishment can not agree among themselves on a common strategy on Afghanistan. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the Pakistani army does not actually control the so-called "tribal zone" along the border with Afghanistan. In turn, the Government of Afghanistan periodically accuses Pakistan of aiding and abetting the armed opposition in Afghanistan, including the Taliban²⁰.

Today the situation around Afghanistan is formulated, in our opinion, of the following approaches:

1. The situation in Afghanistan continues to deteriorate in recent yers, and Uzbekistan following the situation with concern. Firstly, our country is afraid of the zone of instability from Afghanistan to the north, adjacent to the Uzbek border areas. Second, over the past 20 years, the Central Asian countries are gradually transformed from transit into a market for Afghan heroin, which killed thousands of people each year. Thirdly, the greater concern is the formation of infrastructure of ISIS in Afghanistan which is able to start exporting its practices in neighboring countries. The situation in Afghanistan greatly complicated, there exist conflicting events, and there are many interpretations. However, in the scale of a few years, quite clearly visible dynamics. The situation in parts of Afghanistan, near the borders with Central Asia, since 2009, and especially in recent years is constantly deteriorating.

2. Probably, right, those politicians and experts, who argue that the United States has a "entry" strategy in Afghanistan, but there is no clearly formulated "exit" strategy. In any case, this situation causes a certain suspicion and anxiety arguable, and signed an agreement on security between the U.S. and Afghanistan can hardly be qualified as a strategic approach to this issue. But the main element of the strategy is the lack of that, leaving the Americans to leave the country may be in even more worst and dangerous condition.

3. Approaches of states - Afghanistan's neighbors - to the problem of the withdrawal of the international forces are contradictory in the sense that, on the one

19 Is Al Qaeda back in Afghanistan? The diplomat/ April 15 2016// URL: <http://thediplomat.com/2016/04/is-al-qaeda-back-in-afghanistan/>

20 Ali M. Latifi. Death toll in Taliban bombing and gunfight rises to 64; Afghan president calls the attack «inhuman». 20.04.16. // <http://www.latimes.com/world/asia/la-fg-afghanistan-bombing-20160420-story.html>

hand, the majority of them would like to see the Americans left the country, but on the other hand, there is an understanding that the withdrawal of international forces can provoke escalation of "negative" in all its forms - and then a heap of military-political, socio-humanitarian and economic turmoil and the further "spread" of the conflict beyond Afghanistan. It should be added that there weren't objections against the intention of the President Obama to leave US troops in Afghanistan after 2016.

4. The Central Asian countries are gradually beginning to form and strengthen the understanding that to "Afghan problem", as it were, once delegated to the United States and other major countries, it is necessary to the extent possible in some way connected or there can be offered disloyal projects. However, it should be noted that the reconstructed infrastructure connections on the Tajik-Afghan and Uzbek-Afghan border that can contribute to the alignment of the most basic economic and trade cooperation and other channels of communication, inspire at least some optimism.

On Specifics of Contemporary Conflicts

U.Khasanov, PhD

*Head of Contemporary Conflicts &
Regional Security Study Laboratory, UWED*

The stability of many countries and whole regions is shaken by conflicts connected with interethnic and inter-confessional tensions, religious extremism, and aggressive separatism. The course of international developments was indeed greatly impacted by the end of the "bipolar system" and still echoing to contemporary international development. United States not only found themselves in current World less protected against the old "diseases," but faces the new ones too. More interestingly, adequate or effective mechanisms to ensure international stability in the face of these new changes were not found yet.

The main features of these changes are connected with the departure from the world arena of the Soviet Union as a superpower, the disintegration of its gigantic sphere of influence, the emergence in its place of new independent states, and regional political arena. These include the crises in Syria, Iraq, the series of conflicts in Caucasus region, including replicating trans-border clashes in Nagorno-Karabakh and conflict in Ukraine as prime case. This issue became a troubled spot in International agenda and remains under the close look of leading political analysts almost everywhere.

Today, latest development of the situation in Ukraine makes it top agenda issue for World Politics, whether it would be the dramatic fall of oil prices, continuous recession in Euro Zone, stagnation and deepening crisis in overall economy of Russia and etc.

Puzzling out existing contradictions, mutual grievances and accusations and which have already have caused high intensity of emotions particularly in some Russian and Western Media, is becoming a hard task. In the process of covering and interpreting Ukraine-Russia relations, and based on the public consciousness you may observe two predominant and opposing points of view on the nature of bilateral relations and the triggers of conflicts between both of them. These are two extremely different or even opposing viewpoints on the issue: pro-Western and pro-Russian.

So what are the reasons for such extremes in the assessment of the current crisis situation in Ukraine? Thorough analysis of Russian - Ukrainian bilateral relations in post Soviet era can shed a light on fundamental and objectively existing contradictions and problems, primarily linked with division and stationing of the Ex-Soviet Black Sea Fleet and issues, related to the Sebastopol Naval base legal status. Especially, the monitoring the situation in Crimea and Northern Black Sea Coast shows that Ukraine as an independent state has its interests in this geopolitical area. On the other hand, this issue primarily linked with the sphere of traditional interests of Russia, too. Therefore, any Russian leader would probably face such dilemma of national security balancing

between preservation its direct access to its Black Sea Naval bases pressuring to Ukraine and at the same time, trying to keep the status quo with the West.

The relations between Ukraine and Russia were marred by mutual border claims, dual citizenship and other issues of smaller caliber. Aside from all the political rhetoric, it is a logical process of shaping of divergent national interests of both of them. They were not always opposite and not the same. Different attitude to the NATO expansion to the East usually serves as a striking example of this inconsistency of national and geopolitical interests of the both of them until now.

In addition to the above political and economic factors, there are similar cultural values and general patterns of thinking stemming from long and controversial history of the both nations, often perceived as "soft power". Without taking into account the specifics of this element in the context of this situation makes any effort to give a more or less coherent response to emerging issues almost impossible. For example, **the Pereyaslav Treaty of 1654**¹ on unification of Cossack Hetmanate and Tsardom of Moscovy, in spite of long history of scholarly controversial interpretations, had played a significant role in the shaping specific stereotypes and mindset of the elite and public perception in Ukraine and Russia.

Following this, many Russians, Ukrainians and even other ethnicities living in both countries still consider that Ukraine has been an integral part of Tsarist Russia since XVII century, for almost 360 years of their mutual history. This thesis is used as an argument in favor of claims to bring Ukraine back to Russia. In fact, only the north-eastern part of present-day Ukraine was part of the Russian state (then - Russian Empire) starting from *The Truce of Andrusovo of 1667*² according to which Russia and Poland divided Ukraine mainly along the Dnieper River. Russia received the rest of the Ukrainian territory in the last two decades of the 18th century in three partitions of Poland (except Galicia, which became the part of the Austria in 1772 and remained that way until the defeat of Austria-Hungary in 1918, by the end of World War I).

In spite of many different views, current regions of Ukraine in South, including Odessa and Crimea have never been a part of Ukraine. As a result of the Russo-Turkish war this territories became a part of the Russian Empire at the end of the 18th century. At the same time, Galicia, Bukovina and Trans-Carpathian Ukraine have never been a part of the Russian Empire. They were annexed on Stalin's decision during the World War II previously being as part of Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Western Ukraine reunited with the Soviet part of Ukraine in 1939. Before that it was part of the Poland. These facts make the concept of "historical unity" of Ukraine with Russia clear or, at least in some of its aspects. Here lies one of the serious reasons for internal tensions within the Ukrainian society, the consequences of which will be felt

1 See: Basarab, J. Pereiaslav 1654: A Historiographical Study (Edmonton 1982) Braichevsky, M. Annexation or Unification?: Critical Notes on One Conception, ed and trans G. Kulchycky (Munich 1974) Hrushevs'kyi, M. Istoriiia Ukraïny-Rusy, vol 9, bk 1 (Kiev 1928; New York 1957) http://www.worldheritage.org/articles/Treaty_of_Pereiaslav

2 From: Presidential library materials: Полное собрание законов Российской империи, с 1649 года : [Собрание 1-е: по 12 декабря 1825 г.]. - Санкт-Петербург : В типографии Второго отделения Собственной Его Императорского Величества канцелярии, 1830-1851. - 30 см. <http://www.prilib.ru/en-us/history/pages/item.aspx?itemid=811>

for many years ahead, creating difficulties and obstacles on the way to becoming and establishing unified Ukrainian state. After all, another factor that makes their identities different is not only aspects of political development, linguistic and ethno-cultural factors, but also the religious aspect. Russian population is predominantly Orthodox while Ukrainians, starting from the 16th century, typically practice Orthodox and Catholicism. This is due to the fact that different regions of Ukraine in different timelines belonged to Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary or Romania. In this regard it is quite natural for the majority of Ukrainian population to consider their country as part of the Eastern and Central Europe, and not simply as former republic of the Soviet Union. And such geopolitical orientation is becoming increasingly popular in the Eastern Ukraine as well.

As per the aforementioned point, independent Ukraine maintains good relations with its immediate neighbors – Poland, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and Czech Republic. They recognize Ukraine as an independent country within the existing borders. Romania has territorial claims towards Ukraine, but never calls into question the status of Ukraine as an independent state.

For Russia “near abroad” means former Soviet territories that are now members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), with the exception of Georgia and Ukraine now. It is noteworthy that the reason for Georgia’s withdrawal from the CIS was also a military conflict with Russia. To date, CIS inter alia includes such countries as Moldova, Armenia and Tajikistan. These countries have very little commonalities except for the fact that they were parts of former Soviet system, and even earlier of Russia. For Ukraine, “near abroad” means the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which have never been a part of the USSR. This has a serious impact on the understanding of the place of Ukraine on the political map of Europe and the world at large.

Geopolitically Ukraine is linked to and an integral part of Central European and Black Sea region. Without any doubt, some challenges in Russian-Ukrainian relations reflect the fact that in Russia there is no unanimous agreement as to the delimitation of its borders, stable state, and the national identity of its people. For instance, there is a serious problem of non-Russian nationalities within national-territorial autonomies. Such types of internal complexities result in tightening of Russia’s foreign policy towards neighboring countries – former soviet republics. This applies not only to Ukraine, but also to Estonia, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, and some other countries. Quite fairly, some Russian political analysts believe that Russia should deal with the fact that there is an independent Ukraine. Thinking about possible models of behavior to ensure peace in their bilateral relations it would be useful to refer to the experience of building confidence in such relations like US-Canadian, US-British, Finnish-Norwegian and some others.

Good to mention energy factor in this context. It is well known that fuel and energy capacities of Ukraine for the time being were dependent on Russia. The modern

structure of the complex (coal, nuclear and hydropower) became obsolete and its future in light of the increasing crisis of the economy becomes ephemeral. Therefore, sustainable development of this sector of economy of Ukraine is possible only at the expense of stable import of energy resources, primarily oil and gas from abroad. Thus, according to the experts of the consulting company Baker Tilly Ukraine, natural gas accounts for the largest share among the primary energy sources in Ukraine (about 40%), however, own production accounts for only a third of consumption. Provided that appropriate investments are made, Ukraine will be able to meet its needs in gas based on its own resources, and stop to be a country that is forced to constantly depend on gas imports.³ Here they also note that in the last 15 years, the annual volume of gas extraction is in the range from 18 to 21 billion cubic meters. According to the draft energy strategy of Ukraine it is envisaged that till 2030 the production of natural gas in Ukraine will be increased up to 44.4 billion cubic meters in 2030, which will provide 90% of the gas consumed in the country.⁴

Anyway, in light of the uncertainty in Ukraine, possibility of expanding domestic sources in the near future seems too ambitious. Hopes for the organization of oil and gas from shale shelf of Azov and the Black sea have not yet produced concrete results. The possibility of using oil-refining enterprises of Ukraine also does not look promising today. More than 25% of the capacity in this field is not used.

Today, Ukraine's position in the oil and gas sector will be reduced to the resolving the problem of diversification of sources of supply of raw materials and rejection from the practice of dependence on Russia. Ukraine had looked at the issue of diversification of energy supply through possible connection to projects related to the Caspian oil (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan). On the other hand, it is necessary to take into account that about 4 thousand km of Russian oil pipelines passes through Ukraine, as well as the the main gas pipeline through the Balkans to the West. Thus, the capacity of the pipeline of the Russian Federation on the border with Ukraine is 288 billion cubic meters, on the border of Ukraine with Poland, Romania, Belarus, Moldova - 178.5 billion cubic meters, including with the EU countries - 142,5 billion cubic meters.⁵

Despite all these attempts and contradictions, Ukraine will still remain the largest and economically strongest state in the post-Soviet space after Russia, being the most important trading partner, which crucially influences the strategic situation in Central and Eastern Europe. Many experts remind us the core idea of Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Advisor to President Jimmy Carter about the importance of Ukraine in the "geopolitical pluralism" and "containment of Russian expansion."⁶ In some concept papers that are popular in Western political circles, Ukraine is considered as the main counterweight to Russia.

3 http://www.bakertilly.ua/media/Gazovydobuvannya_v_ukrayini.pdf

4 Ibidem

5 UNIAN Energy Weekly Issue July 10, 2011, №4, (004)

6 Chris Ernesto The Eurasian Chessboard: Brzezinski Mapped Out "The Battle for Ukraine" in 1997

<http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-urasian-chessboard-brzezinski-mapped-out-the-battle-for-ukraine-in-1997/5373707>

In the context of its rapprochement with NATO, there are fears in Ukraine itself that it would play the role of a kind of "buffer" between Russia and the rest of Europe that will not allow it to enjoy the fruits of cooperation, neither in the East nor in the West. Finally, extremely tough stance of the U.S. and Europe towards Russia on the situation in Ukraine can significantly upset the balance in Europe and push it [Russia] to rather severe steps. Since for Russia the relations with Ukraine are much more important than it seems at first glance. This point widely stressed in researches of many prominent scholars in the West.⁷

A few words deserves the rocket industry of Ukraine. Machinery Production Association "Yuzhmash" (Russian portmanteau), once a segment of the nuclear shield of the USSR, was a key engineering structure in production of Soviet Intercontinental ballistic missiles SS-17 (known as "Spanker" in NATO reporting name) SS-18 (known as "Satan") and SS-27 (known as "Sickle B") and it has annual production capacity up to 120 ICBMs. In other words, the bipolar balance of power between two giants of World politics during the Cold War, as well as Soviet, and later Russian strategic missile defense system was largely maintained by relevant engineering and technological potential of this unique machinery complex. Again this complex is mainly paralyzed by the crisis in this part of the World and its future unpredictable.

In the context current environment, the development of the situation hardly indicates the possibility of normalization of Russian-Ukrainian relations in the near future. Confrontation and mistrust in relations between the former allies is not the good example for the fate of Europe, and many parts of the world.

⁷ John J. Mearsheimer. Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin. Foreign Affairs SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER ISSUE 2014

Uzbekistan Struggling Against Extremism & Terrorism

B.Ochilov, PhD

*Leading Researcher & Senior Lecturer
on Geopolitics at IR Dept., UWED*

The purpose of this paper is to scientifically describe widespread research topic, the fight against extremism and terrorism, mainly from the perspective of the government of the Republic of Uzbekistan. The task doesn't include demonstration of certain "autonomy" of actions of Uzbekistan, due to the fact that the republic has been involved in addressing these issues in number of frameworks such as international political-diplomatic and military-technical cooperation. From an empirical and pragmatic point of view, the article also doesn't list states that cooperate with Uzbekistan in the fight against extremism and terrorism taking into consideration comprehensive nature of the field. In addition, the paper is based on an exclusive author's estimates, and this case does not require a significant historiographical implementation and methodological ground.

International political events that have been unfolded at the beginning of the 21st century require rethinking the nature of extremism, terrorism, organized crime and other transnational threats.¹ The issue is closely connected with the process of "mutagenesis" in extremism and terrorism, constantly changing their structural-functional and organizational activities.

It seems that the meaning and essence of religious and political extremism is not only theoretical, but also carries practical value. It reveals the essence of this phenomenon, puts forward the task of formulating evidence-based recommendations for the study of extremist-ideological religious systems. It is important to see the impact of disclosure of research procedures to conscious, psychology and behavioral sentiments of believers, the development of complex measures for the state and public to combat extremist ideology.²

In this context it is appropriate to agree that religious extremism is legally considered as a set of illegal acts committed by religious groups or individual adherents.

Organizational and structural complexity of extremism manifests itself in reactivation of anti-social attitudes, illegal acts, in particular psychological disposition of members of extremist organizations.

It is clear that the ideology of extremism always starts with incitement of hatred towards the believers who confess other faiths; it is a psychological basis for extremist activity.

Such actions are often accompanied by acts of terrorism and other anti-social, illegal phenomena. Utilizing religion, extremist organizations in majority of cases force

1 See V. Minaev "Globalization and terrorism: contradictions and threats in 21st century" conference proceedings 2008. Moscow: Russian humanitarian university p.467

2 Number of researches and developments have been prepared in this regard, the meaning of which is to disclosure of the basic characteristics of the extremist activity. For instance, see Y. Antonyan "Extremism and its causes" Moscow: Logos, 2010. p. 286 ; I. Ponkin, "Issues of state policy in sphere of countering extremist activity." Moscow: Direct Media, 2014 p. 432

citizens to commit criminal offenses. In addition, extremism has broad capabilities of penetration into society, thus threatening the security of the state, society and individual.

Uzbekistan has track record of successful anti-extremist and anti-terrorist activities, as a result maintains social and economic stability, and society has reliable protection from malicious ideology, enhances citizens' legal consciousness.³ An integral part of the basic measures to ensure the security and sustainable development are scrutinized administrative and law enforcement measures.

Economic stability in Uzbekistan has been achieved at the expense of the social orientation of the socio-political and economic transformations. Civil rights and freedoms are closely related to the implementation of the principle of tolerant coexistence of all world religions, equality before the law of all faiths, therefore religion plays an important role in Uzbekistan.

The country has a flexible mechanism of social protection of the population carrying targeted and balanced character. It has achieved macroeconomic stability, investment attraction, steady state support of small and medium-sized businesses, which generally laid the foundation for the gradual promotion of structural socio-economic transformations. So, one of the results of these reforms is the lack of sharp social stratification.

At the same time, vigorous measures have been carried out in the legislative and executive branches of the government. National legal framework guarantees freedom of religion, respect for the interests of citizens, regardless of their religious affiliation. The international legal instruments on freedom of religion have been implemented in Uzbekistan. The legislation of the republic guarantees the right of citizens to freely profess any religion.

The intercultural dialogue has also been increasing in Uzbekistan, interfaith interaction and tolerance has been strengthening. Creation of non-governmental ethno-national and cultural centers has been contributing to the formation and consolidation of the institutionalization of inter-ethnic relations.

Along with the expansion of inter-confessional relations, significant attention has been paid to the principles generally accepted in the world to create equal conditions and opportunities for all believers. Certainly, these are connected to the efficient use of resources of national development ideology, including issues of state policy on religion. At the same time, non-interference in internal affairs of religious organizations is one of the key principles of the state.

In order to effectively combat terrorism, the government had adopted a package of measures aimed at ensuring the fundamental principles of freedom of religion. The public council on confessions has been established at the Religious affairs committee of OliyMajlis, Parliament of the Republic of Uzbekistan. It includes representatives of

³ There have also been number of researches on this aspect. See E. Soto, "The Other Path: The economic response to terrorism", 2008. Chelyabinsk Society, p. 301; A. Bondarenko and N. Efimov, "Military counterintelligence: From the "Smersh" to counter-terrorism operations" 2010. Moscow: Kuchkovopole, p. 399 p; The meaning of these works lies in the study of the discrete nature of the extremist and terrorist activities, refracted through the prism of a logical or illogical organization of the international community in the field of global security.

number of religions. There are no conflicts on religious grounds due to the measures taken by the government of Uzbekistan.

Terrorism is the ideology of the "threshold of extremes", which contempt hatred towards other forms of religion.⁴ When we speak of neutralization of recurrence, there is a need for appropriate surgical strikes on their sources of funding, the destruction of organizational and structural components of terrorist activities, including the superstructure elements represented by leaders and organizers.⁵

The affiliation of Islam with terrorism would be an absolute error. In most cases, the state supports traditional Islam that breaks the reactionary forces, thus undermining the basic components of the so-called "terrorist underground."

In order to achieve this raining of qualified religious personnel, organized network of Islamic schools in support of the government. Tashkent Islamic University has been opened, religious temples have been built and renovated, and capacity building courses for clerics have been organized at the International Centre Imam Al-Bukhoriy (Samarkand region.) Eidul –Fitr as well as Eid al-Adha has been declared as national holidays, the Koran and Hadith collected al-Bukhoriy and at-Tirmidhi were translated into Uzbek and published.

In 2007, by decision of ISESCO Tashkent was nominated to the status of the capital of Islamic culture, and series of events were held to strengthen religious tolerance and cooperation among religions. In addition believers in Uzbekistan freely celebrate all religious holidays, and with the support of the government they make pilgrimage to holy places in Saudi Arabia. All religious organizations have the editorial and publishing capabilities.

In Uzbekistan, it is believed that the extremist ideology can only be tackled on the basis of strong ideological grounds. In this regard, particular attention is paid to the humanitarian principles of traditional and tolerant Islam, that is not all that there is in the Middle East, as well as in other parts of the world.⁶ The curricula of educational institutions of the country include the study of the history of world religions, spirituality and enlightenment.

Self-administration institutions has been playing crucial role in preservation of national traditions, creating a healthy atmosphere in the family, religious education, spiritual and moral education. An appropriate legal framework has been established to suppress of all forms of extremism and terrorism. Uzbek criminal law provides for liability for terrorism. National legislation provides frameworks of individuals and

4 Terrorism has been on the focus of a lot of books, monographs and other types of publications. They all boil down to one idea - terrorism is not just a threat with universal scale in 21st century, but also entails significant distortions in the understanding of human society. See V. Vasilenko "Terrorism as a social and political phenomena" 2002. Moscow: Publishing House of RAGS p. 218; |State, society and business - against terrorism: Materials of International Conference Russia. Antiterrorist Insurance Pool (RATIP) Finansy.- M., 2011.- № 12.- pp 51-53, etc.

5 In this regard, attention can be drawn to following researches M. Lebedev "International cooperation in the fight against terrorism: the role of business". Journal of World Economy and International relations. 2007 № 3 pp. 47-53; Vlasov, Poponova D. "Improving measures to combat money laundering and terrorist financing" Industrial and commercial law: Comments to the law, Minsk: Belarusian Association of legal advisers, 2014.- № 12.- pp. 52-57.

6 See A. Vasiliev "Listen to At-Tahrir voice: the anniversary of the beginning of the Arab revolutions" Moscow: Sovremennik.- 2011.- № 12. pp. 14-159

organizations for the fight against terrorism. Among these organizations are the National Security Service, Interior Ministry, State Customs Committee, the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Emergency Situations and others. In addition to the state institutions whole society should be responsible to maintain stability and fight against extremism and terrorism.

In accordance with the international agreements, Uzbekistan supports the international community's efforts to combat terrorism. It actively participates in 13 UN Conventions treaties related to counter-terrorism. Cooperation with the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee, the country has actively participated in its activities and contributes to the efforts of the International Coalition.

Uzbekistan attaches great importance to the activities of the SCO to maintain regional security, combating international terrorism and other regional security challenges.⁷ As a signatory to the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism, Tashkent is convinced that the establishment of a regional anti-terrorist structure RATS of SCO is an important component of security in Central Asia. SCO develops common approaches of the member states in organizing the fight against terrorism, separatism and extremism. The competent authorities carry out joint activities in the prevention of international criminals, detection and suppression of activity of the organizations and people involved.

From our point of view, there are no states that don't care about the rise of extremist and terrorist threats, and states now focus on the need to confidence building measures in the fight against these challenges.

Analysis of the studied material makes us to come up with following conclusions:

1. In our opinion, the responsibility for solving the problems associated with extremism and terrorism lies primarily with the state. The study of this phenomenon, its manifestations and development of constructive methods of dealing with them are the most important task of the state. On the other hand, to solve the above mentioned problems the social structure and organization should be intermingled, designed to provide direct support to the government through the implementation of urgent social problems, "tied" to the communicative and a high degree of social organization. The prophylactic and preventive methods that can solve urgent social problems, initially neutralizing extremist ideology and terrorism are in utmost significance.

2. One of the most important areas of the fight against extremism and terrorism is the need to undermine their social roots. It is, above all, the financing of criminal activities. In this case, it seems preferable to formulate a special program or a set of measures against the economic makeup of extremism and terrorism.

3. In our view, marked by the specificity of religious extremist organizations expect the development of religious education programs in educational institutions and the media in order to provide them with the necessary substantive support. Priority should be given to proactive measures regarding the formation of the consciousness of

⁷ There are many publications on SCO, for instance see S. Onischuk. "Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the fight against the "three evils" (extremism, separatism and terrorism) in Central Asia" Moscow: Arms and economics, 2011 № 1 pp. 38 -47

believers on the basis of all religious values together to achieve tolerance in society and, above all, to the representatives of other faiths, as well as mutual understanding and rejection of destructive behavior.

4. The fundamental adherence to own conceptual vision of security issues allows Uzbekistan to create an atmosphere of interfaith harmony. The country is ready to continue to share its experience, to engage actively with all stakeholders in the anti-extremist and anti-terrorist struggle.

5. The need for a deep understanding of the indivisibility of security threats in the world of common interests in the fight against new challenges and threats should become the "normal" behavior of all the nations of the world. The nature of events proves that multilateral and bilateral cooperation on the world stage can and should be the leading line in strategy, due to the fact that even a very strong state will not be able to achieve a successful outcome alone.

Eastern Europe in Modern Geopolitical Discourse

Z.Zaripova Ph.D
Researcher at IR Dept,
UWED

Eastern European region, very actualized in the last decade of XXth century as a result of the socialist system's collapse and the expansion policy of NATO and EU, deserves a careful consideration on the positions of the various theories and disciplines. Interest in the East European discourse at the beginning of XXIst century has not been lost as the countries in the region are still at the center of geopolitical transformations.

Nowadays, there is a whole range of issues related to the research of the Eastern European region. What represents the region today, what is its geopolitical status, which political processes are taking place there, how proceeds the adaptation process of new member-countries to the European Union framework, what are the strategies of foreign policy in the region. All of these issues may be studied in the context of several disciplines of political science, and, of course, geopolitics comes to the foreground.

Eastern Europe does not still possess a lasting international definition and clear geographical boundaries, and its territory had been constantly changed in the course of history. "Definitions of Eastern Europe are just as much as the number of the researchers in the region", - says the team of authors in one of the most authoritative research on this issue¹.*

In the early 1990s, the wave of "velvet revolutions", although the revolution in its fullest sense was only in Romania, led to the formation of the group of 17 new States, enlarged by Montenegro in 2006, and by Kosovo in 2008, after a long conflict, ended by the declaration of independence.

The geopolitical importance of the Eastern European region, in fact, cannot be underestimated. In his work "The Geographical Pivot of History" H.J. Mackinder proposed global geopolitical model of the world, according to which the axial region of geopolitics is situated in the inner spaces of Eurasia. He first introduced the concept of "Heartland" and "World Island" entered to the categorical core of geopolitical science. "Heartland", in his view, is constituted from the three continents - Asia, Africa and Europe.

According to Mackinder, Eastern Europe is a key region for the strategic rivalry between the "continental" (Russia, Germany, France) and the "sea" (England, USA) powers. Heartland, a continental basis of Eurasia, consists of Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia. As it is known, Eastern European region during World War I and II

1 «The Balkans», Global Perspectives: A Remote Sensing and World Issues Site/ Wheeling Jesuit University. Center for Educational Technologies. 1992-2002.

* However, according to the decree of the UN the Eastern Europe consists of the States situated in East of European Continent- Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and the ex- Yugoslavian States: Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia; ex- Soviet countries: Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and European part of Russia. Austria, Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland form together the Central Europe. But, the last three ones are frequently considered as Eastern European countries.

was “bone of contention” between the major geopolitical players and got a definition of “buffer zone” or “sanitarian cordon” between East and West. The end of the bipolar world in the late XXth century led to the formation of a new world order, and the question of the Central and Eastern European region came back to the forefront. Geopolitical imperatives of the region at the beginning of the new century are so peculiar that this area does not lose its significance. This region continues to be subject of the claims for dominance and influence by leading States.

A modern interpretation of Mackinder’s concept has very bright outlines in frame of the realities of political processes, which confirms the relevance for the explanation of the essence of modern international relations. Based on the persistent promotion of NATO into Eastern Europe and Central Asia, we may note that renaissance of Mackinder’s concept is characterized by the collapse of the Soviet Union. At least, the administration of the alliance operates in full accordance with the ideas of British geopolitician: establishing control over Eastern Europe to control the Heartland, and thus to dominate in the world.² Mackinder’s concept remains actualized in the geopolitical context of the XXIst century, due to the fact that Eastern Europe and Central Asia stay as a space of rivalry for influence between the leading powers.

Returning to the geographical and geopolitical characteristics of Eastern Europe, we may agree with the following statement - “listing out the States to the different regions, as a rule depends on the geopolitical situation. Namely, the change of the balance of power between the major geopolitical players led to “transitions” of countries from one sphere of influence to another, which consequently determines new boundaries of the regional divisions, and that differs from the geographical division of space.”³ Consequently, during the study of the region in frame of the perspectives of the XXIst century, a new political space in Europe should be taken into account:

- Western Europe - member countries of the EU and NATO (Belgium, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, France, Great Britain, Denmark, Ireland, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Austria, Finland, Sweden, Iceland, Norway, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Bulgaria, Romania), candidates for membership (Croatia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro) and neutral Switzerland.

- Central Europe-Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova.

- Eastern Europe - the European part of Russia.

The great social and economic compatibility of European Union’s “new members”, for example, with Ukraine, and not with France and the Netherlands, could assume their grouping in one Central regional division named as a great Central European macro-region (Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland Slovakia, Slovenia,

2 Борисова Е. Оценка значимости идей Маккиндера в современных реалиях. Ж. Центральная Азия и Кавказ (специальный выпуск) № 4(40), 2005г. с.25

3 Исмаилов Э. О геополитической функции «Центральной Евразии» в XXI веке. Ж. Центральная Азия и Кавказ №2(56), 2008 с.8

Czech Republic, Estonia, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova).⁴ In our view, this approach reflects the realities of modern geopolitics of the region.

Reasoning in terms of classical geopolitics, geographical position of the region conforms to the definitions of objectivity and subjectivity, self-sufficiency or insufficiency of the sovereignty of Eastern European States, we may say definitely that due to geopolitical factors, they are again the objects of interest. NATO and the EU are the two main mechanisms of this influence's realization. Expansion of NATO's zone of influence, the invitation of Eastern European countries to NATO, placement of missile defense system's base in Eastern Europe, clearly demonstrate the importance of this region for the security of the North Atlantic alliance. In fact, the EU enlargement and accession, following rouse of the expansion of NATO, at first in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and after in Slovakia and the Baltic States, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia and Croatia, and the desire of other states to join EU, show the strategic interests of West in the region. "Neither the dynamics of macroeconomic indicators or comparisons with the level of development on average in the EU, nor the pace of economic and political reforms inspire the hope that they are able to the relatively painless integration into the united Europe."⁵

In modern geopolitics, whatever part of the world is not concerned, US interests as a player, which claims to dominance and influence in the world, are manifested clearly and indirectly. With regard to the European region, Z. Brzezinski writes: "But above all, Europe is an essential geopolitical bridgehead of America on the European continent. Geo-strategic interests of America in Europe is huge. In contrast to America's relations with Japan, the Atlantic alliance entrenches American political influence and military power on the Eurasian continent. At this stage of the US-European relations, when the allied European nations still depend on the security provided by the Americans, any expansion of Europe automatically becomes a direct extension of American influence's boundaries....

A policy for a united Europe will also have to address—though jointly with the Europeans—the highly sensitive issue of Europe's geographic scope. How far eastward, should the European Union extend? And should the eastern limits of the EU be synonymous with the eastern front line of NATO? The former is more a matter for a European decision, but a European decision on that issue will have direct implications for a NATO decision. The latter, however, engages the United States, and the U.S. voice in NATO is still decisive. Given the growing consensus regarding the desirability of admilling the nations of Central Europe into both the EU and NATO, the practical meaning of this question focuses attention on the future status of the Baltic republics

4 Исмоилов Э. О геополитической функции «Центральной Евразии» в XXI веке. Ж. Центральная Азия и Кавказ №2(56), 2008 с.9.

5 Ланцов В.А, Ачкасов С.А. Мировая политика и международные отношения. Москва Аспект Пресс 2011.

and perhaps also that of Ukraine. There is thus an important overlap between the European dilemma discussed above and the second one pertaining to Russia.”⁶

Nevertheless, it would not be entirely correct to say that only the West took the decision. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the majority of Eastern European countries, feeling their inadequacy in terms of preserving the security, began to identify themselves with the rest of Europe and NATO, as only NATO could provide this security. And only the entry of Eastern European countries to NATO provoked their fast acceptance into the EU. The relatively rapid entrance of the candidate countries to the EU in 2004 may be more argued with the geopolitical motivations, than civilizational ones.

For example, the association agreement with Turkey was signed in 1963, and in 1987 Turkey filled a formal application for membership.

However, Turkey, even after all these debates and discussions, is not accepted in EU.⁷

So, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the region became very important for NATO, and hence for US and the EU. These structures in some sense have achieved their objectives, and their policy is qualified in Russia, for example, as a politician who continues the policy of “cold war”. In terms of strategic approach, well-known in the theory of international relations, or on the fact of the development of NATO strategies, the expansion to the East could be treated as an focus on the “zero-sum” game, where the winner is the West and now dominates in this region. The category of space is extremely important in geopolitics, it is through the prism of this category the discourse on the problems of Central, and Eastern Europe is continued.

In geopolitical terms, the region, which had the opportunity and experience to integrate within their own regional space (“Visegrad Group”)⁸, preferred integration into the wider context of the EU. Ideas of unification into a single central and eastern European space were put forward a long time ago, and they were alternative “pan-European” projects. This approach is the vision of “cultural and civilizational self-determination of Eastern Europe in the framework of the “Grand Europe”. These ideas had become a part of history, but they re-voiced in connection with the challenges of the global financial crisis in 2008, which severely affected countries of Eastern Europe.

During the transformation of the world order and globalization, it is very difficult to keep the tools and methodology, limited by the scope of strategic studies, as the

6 Бжезинский З. Великая шахматная доска (Господство Америки и его геостратегические императивы). М., 1994г.

7 Turkey is not accepted in EU. “Europe demands on Turkey to open its ports and airports for naves and airplanes of Cyprus, which is a member of EU since 2004. In its turn, Ankara affirms, the country will satisfy this demand if EU recognizes Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and ends its economic blockade. The parties could not decide for months who should do the concessions, and EU froze the negotiations on eurointegration of Turkey. According to Euronews, this decision was made by Ministers of Foreign Affairs of EU. In fact, only 8 from 35 points of agreement will be frozen, as free movement of goods and services, financial spheres, agriculture and rural development, fishery, transport policy, customs relations, foreign policy. <http://www.vz.ru/politics/2006/12/12/60665.html>

8 It was organized as a result of meeting of the Presidents and Prime Ministers of three post-socialist countries-Lech Valensa (Poland), Vatzlava Gavela (Czechoslovakia), and Joseph Antala (Hungary) on February 15, 1991 in Hungarioan city Visegrad, where the agreement on common intention towards integration into european structures was signed.

processes taking place in international relations are complex and ambiguous, and requires variable analysis tools.

The School of “Analysis and Conflict Resolution” offers a theory of transformation. Within this theory, change of context, players and the problem, caused the conflict, gives the opportunity to rise a new quality of relations. With regard to Eastern Europe, the context has changed: “The Cold War is over”, the coordinate system was modified, the entry into the EU and NATO became the overall objective of the Eastern European countries. As for the players, they have also altered - the interests, needs and goals has been changed, mostly in frame of the status “buffer zone”. As for the problem, it was the clash of interests and values of the West and the USSR. Is the problem transformed? There is no single definition, because the conflict of interests of the West and the Soviet Union is gone, but still in terms of the analysis of security issues Eastern European countries perceive the East as a threat. Confrontation is preserved, parties enlarge the old alliances or create new ones. In general, this context is modified not only by geopolitical aspects, but also by geo-economic ones, as Eastern European region is a huge market, the control of which is important to the economies of both the West and Russia.

One of examples of the transformation is the solution of the issue of borders in Eastern Europe in the post “Cold War” period. As we know, the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and the Treaty of Trianon in 1921 created boundary problems in Eastern Europe. The result of these problems was the minority status of some ethnic groups, dominated before. A particularly difficult problem for Eastern Europe is the problem of the Hungarian irredentism.⁹ Approximately 3.5 mln. Hungarians live in neighboring countries. Approximately two mln. in Transylvania (Romania), 600,000 in Slovakia, 450,000 in Serbia (province of Vojvodina), small groups in Slovenia and Croatia. One of the difficult issues was the Hungarian question in Slovakia and Romania. Offering to the signing of the Paris Pact on Stability, the EU thought about the solutions to this complex boundary issues. Seven Eastern European countries signed a pact in March 1995, Hungary and Romania at the time were not ready, but under pressure from NATO and the EU had still signed it in 1996. The solution of this question just might be an example of the transformation of the context and issues, as both countries pursue greater goal - to participate in the European institutions. However, in the context of the Eastern European security ethnic question still remains the explosive one.

Theoretical study of transits shows that transition processes are not almost self-sufficient, i.e., along with internal factors, the situation is always affected by external factors. The external factor was the most determining one in the cases of many Eastern European countries. This also applies to the questions of decision-making in foreign policy. In the context of the Eastern European region, the principle of so-called

⁹ <http://dic.academic.ru/> Irredentism is a political principle or policy directed toward the incorporation of irredentas within the boundaries of their historically or politically related unit. The notion irredenta means a territory historically or ethnically related to one political unit but under the political control of another. It should be noted that not all irredents supports the idea of unification of lands where they live with the territory of titular State, based on economic or other reasons (for instance, Hungarians in Slovakia, Romania (North Transylvania), Serbia and in Ukraine).

organizational mimicry is clearly manifested.¹⁰ Nation States, as any other organization, are prone to imitation. Of course, the main impetus came from NATO and the EU, but in Eastern Europe also showed an intrinsic motivation to join the Union. The countries that are not yet the EU members try to be equalized with member States, and this situation homogenizes the processes occurred in various countries of Eastern Europe. Thus, we should expect further expansion of EU to the South-Eastern Europe, as Slovenia and Croatia has entered to this organization, and the number one issue in the foreign policies of Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, is also joining the EU. Based on this mind, the EU is developing the dialogue with these countries, binding decision of problematic issues in the development of relations between the countries on the perspective of EU membership.

Theory of International Relations, which investigates the impact of external factors on the transformation processes, identifies four ways of such impact- control, diffusion, consent, domestication (tameness). For Eastern European countries is the most suitable model is “tameness” or binding conditions, a category introduced by Schmitter, which means “ a conscious use of coercion by establishing special conditions for the distribution of benefits from international institutions.” In this case, the EU and NATO have demonstrated this method.¹¹

“The EU has become a central goal for Eastern Europe, the main donor and the main arbiter and controller of the success of their reforms on the principles of the market economy and liberal Western democracy. Therefore, during the preparation for the eastward expansion, the EU had the opportunity to truly unprecedented impact on the restructuring of the political institutions and the whole system of public administration in the candidate countries and has developed mechanisms to transform their political and economic systems.”¹² Now this policy is particularly evident in relation to the countries of South-Eastern Europe (former Yugoslavia). Serbia, turned to EU, must fulfill a number of conditions, one of the most important is to establish a dialogue with Kosovo, on which the EU insists, on what in other circumstances Serbia would not have gone or have not considered a long term dialogue.¹³

Today’s measurement of the Eastern European region, more precisely, of its countries is very ambiguous. From one side, they are members of the EU and NATO, and their main goal now and for the near future is the adaptation and implantation of their economy and politics into the pan-European institutions. But, on the other hand, they do not fully accept the principle of “subsidiarity”, which involves the transfer of sovereignty to the EU. For example, during the signature ceremony of the “Treaty of

10 А.Н. Никитченко. Транснационализация демократии. (Третья волна демократизации в свете теории международных отношений). Полис №5, 1996г.

11 А.Н. Никитченко. Транснационализация демократии. (Третья волна демократизации в свете теории международных отношений). Ж. Полис №5, 1996г.

12 АчкасовВ. А, Ланцов С.А. Мировая политика и международные отношения. Учебник М. Аспект – Пресс 2011г.)

13 In 2004 was a biggest expansion of firstly NATO, and after EU, when 10 States became members of EU- Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Hungary. In 2007- Bulgaria and Romania entered to the organization, and in summer of 2013 Croatia became the last member. Nowadays EU consists of 28 member-States.

Lisbon”¹⁴, President V. Klaus did not signed it, until the constitutional changes and the affirmation of the conclusion of the Constitutional Court. He then stated, “The Czech Republic lost its sovereignty.”

In the pan-European conditions, and the geopolitical sense, as powerless players, the Central Eastern European countries are now trying to pursue their own interests, aimed at the creation of the so-called “Safety buffer zones” already on their borders, further east.

Mostly the Eastern European countries’ fears are associated with Russia, with its foreign policy. In this regard, they are very interested in promoting “European Neighborhood Policy” (ENP)¹⁵, adopted by the EU, which extends the geopolitical boundaries of Eastern Europe and focuses on the traditional zone of influence of the so-called Russian post-Soviet space (Ukraine, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus and Georgia).

They had believed that being highly engaged by the problem of the Iranian nuclear program, “Arab Spring”, the reconstruction of Afghanistan and Iraq, the US and NATO would not see the threat coming from Russia, which threatens the security of eastern European countries. For example, they anxiously sensed Russian integration projects within the Euro Asian Community (ЕвразЭС), as it differs from the goals and ideas of the EU, and its economic regimes are in opposition to the free trade zone, proposed by the EU. The revival of the idea of military cooperation within the CSTO framework and functioning of military bases in Armenia and Ukraine, the expansion of its military presence in Georgia were also perceived as a permanent threat.¹⁶ They fear that one of the main instruments of Moscow’s pressure is Russia’s energy strategy for the development of gas supply routes “Nord Stream” and “South Stream” and Europe’s dependence on supplies from Russia is treated in the Eastern Europe more than alarming. Thus, in an open letter to the Eastern European politicians Barack Obama pointed out that the German policy today is closer to Russia than to the Eastern Europe and the countries of the NATO alliance. Therefore, in March 2009, Berlin vetoed the floating of EU funds in the Nabucco project, but it was an alternative to gas pipelines from Russia. Germany also was against to plans of admitting Georgia and Ukraine into EU Membership, and relatively mild, according to the Eastern European politicians reacted to the Russian invasion in Georgia. In this country’s history Eastern Europe feels a certain isolation and, particularly Poland and Lithuania worry about whether Germany will be able to protect them in case of Russian attack. Eastern Europeans also believe that the United States must act to restore their confidence. “America needs to

14 Lisbon Treaty (official name Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community) — is an international agreement signed in Summit on December 13, 2007. It amends the failed European Constitutions project and changes other agreements on European Union to reform the system of EU.

15 At the same time with the expansion of EU in 2004, EU proposed to 6 independent ex-Soviet countries - Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine- to participate in the program “ENP European Neighborhood Policy” in association with 10 South Mediterranean countries. This initiative was directed to the formation of “axis of friends” around European Union by increasing the trade and investment, supporting economic and politic reforms in these States.

16 Pawel Swiezak International Challenges for regional security in Central and Eastern Europe. Poland, EU protracted conflicts. [www.bbn.gov.pl\(download\)/1/10498](http://www.bbn.gov.pl(download)/1/10498)

show that all countries of NATO are equal, regardless of the size and geography of the United States US administration should participate more active in the development of alternatives sources of gas supplying to Europe (such as Nabucco)".¹⁷

In 2014, EU launches a program "European Endowment for Democracy", which extends the "European Neighborhood Policy". It involves the promotion of a democratic society in the neighboring eastern countries of EU- Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, on the so-called "Grassroots" i.e. at the societal level. The program "European Neighborhood Policy", which involves the above countries, presumes signing of association agreement, which means the political association and economic integration through the establishment of a free trade area between six partners^{18 19}.

Hence, in November 2013, at a summit in Vilnius, there was a question about the negotiations on association with Ukraine. It should be noted that this issue was a priority for the development of the EU during Lithuania's headship. Nevertheless, in case of Ukraine, there were a number of obstacles, Viktor Yanukovich refused to sign an agreement, and the negotiations were not continued. Later it was decided to sign a contract with at least five countries at once, because in either case, there would be a dilemma for the EU's external policy, which will lead to the division into "special neighbors" and those, which remain behind. The issue of Moldova was observed separately, because the country meets the EU requirements and for this State was designated as a perspective member of the EU.

In 2013, Association Agreement with Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, Belarus, Armenia and Azerbaijan was supposed as one of the important stages of the partnership for EU. It implied also the free trade agreement (DCFTA) and the liberalization of the visa regime between the EU and these countries. This year was considered as a key-point in the implementation of this program. At that time, the EU considered that Moldova would pass to the second and final stage of the liberalization of the visa regime. Ukraine adapted the laws, Georgia took part in the program from 2013. Talks with Armenia and Azerbaijan were at an early stage, Belarus ignored the EU's offer and as protest, Brussels applied sanctions against Minsk. On April 4, 2014, an agreement on visa-free regime between the Republic of Moldova and EU was signed.²⁰

Ukrainian government's decision to suspend the process of preparing for the signing of an association agreement between Ukraine and the European Union, has caused a wave of protests in Ukraine and resulted a new color revolution in the country, called "euromaidan", which was ended by the change of government and the political orientation of Ukraine.

17 Swante Cornell Obama's Eastern European Problem. www.realclearworld.com.

18 Challenges for European Foreign Policy in 2013. Renewing the EU's role in the world. Frida. A European tank for global action 2013. www.fride.org/.../challenges-for-european-foreign-policy-in-201...

19 Belarus is not entered to the negotiations on association, the negotiations with Azerbaijan do not include the issues of free trade.

20 News of the channel «Euronews» from 4.04.2014

The situation around Ukraine at this stage is still quite complex and unpredictable and this situation once again confirms the importance of geopolitical motives in the actions of both the West and Russia. Given the traditional division of Ukraine on the West and East, where there are a significant number of ethnic Russians, a way out of the political crisis, to which the country entered, will be quite severe.

Russia's reaction to the steps of geopolitical changes of this space really were very sharp, and in the opinion of many researchers, aggressive in which the latter manifests itself as a geopolitical pole which should be taken into consideration. This reaction was expressed in the Crimea annexation in March 2014, in the support and recognition of the actions of self-proclaimed LNR and DNR in the east of Ukraine.

In response to these actions, the EU and US introduced a series of political and economic sanctions against Russia. The initiator of the imposition of sanctions with a view to the international isolation of Russia was the US government. In the parties' further actions we are observing the classic format of "cold war" the times, openly acknowledged by all participants.

2015 was marked by a crisis in the EU characterized by illegal migration of refugees into the EU from many countries of the Middle East, North Africa and Afghanistan, where the wars continue. In July 2015, the center of public attention turned out to be the plight of migrant workers, some of whom broke into the UK from France via Calais Euro tunnel, others stormed the border of Hungary. Already in July 2015 the bulk of the migrants (almost 50 thousand) tried to enter Europe, was detained in the Greek islands; Hungarian authorities reported 34 thousand 800 detainees; 12.5 thousand migrants precipitated the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla²¹.

A redistribution of migrants, who need international protection, in all EU countries was the main point of the "Agenda" of several EU summits in this year. This topic has seriously affected the nature of development of policy within the EU countries and between them. It is a factor associated with the solution of the UK about BREXIT, i.e., exit from the EU.

How could migration crisis affect the nature of the integration process in the EU? Does it affect the integration process? Will it lead to disintegration in the political sense with a threat of exit of other countries from the EU where Eurosceptics can come to power? It is very interesting how the new EU members will behave, especially in terms of economic opportunities, given by the visa-free regime for their citizens. This can be fraught with the danger of limiting proposals on jobs that may qualify for refugees to whom are given the opportunity to work and adapt to the new environment. In geopolitical terms, the "new great migration of peoples" can be troubled by risky manifestations of conflict, as C. Huntington notes, in ethnic, national or religious grounds, some elements of which have already taken place in recent years.

21 Потемкина О. Европейская повестка дня по миграции. Новый поворот в иммиграционной политике ЕС? <http://www.sov-europe.ru/2015/4/Potemkina3.pdf>

Events of 2016 confirm that the confrontation of the poles, which put pressure on the countries of Eastern Europe, still persists. In November of this year in Moldova and Bulgaria held elections where the pro-Russian candidates Igor Dodon and Rumex Radev won. "Apparently, the pro-Russian candidates won the presidential elections in Moldova and Bulgaria. Moscow received new allies in their efforts to regain influence in Eastern Europe, which it considers as its backyard. And probably one force which suffers from the two polls is the European Union", - says, in its turn, the Wall Street Journal. Meanwhile, Der Spiegel writes that in the Central and South-Eastern Europe "the ghost of the growing influence of Russia is haunting: whether coups and secessionist scenario, demands of the termination of the anti-Russian EU sanctions, or pro-Russian candidates in the elections - for every place in the region events long Putin's hand has been seen. It is also noted that the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, his Slovak colleague Robert Fico and Czech President Miloš Zeman demand to end anti-Russian sanctions, Head of Macedonia Nikola Gruevski has also repeatedly addressed Putin for protection", - the newspaper said.²²

Reuters reports the analytical paper "The Kremlin scenario: an understanding of Russia's influence in Central and Eastern Europe", which reads: "Moscow has attracted the sympathy of politicians, tends to dominate in the energy markets and in other sectors of the economy and undermine anti-corruption measures in an attempt to influence the government of Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Serbia and Slovakia. Russia is pursuing a campaign that includes economic and political measures, the purpose of which - the manipulation of the five countries of Central and Eastern Europe, to discredit the Western liberal democratic model and the damage to transatlantic relations, said in the report of US private research group."²³

Modern geopolitics enriched and burdened by geo-economic dimensions, where the energy factor plays an important role. The EU believes that Russia is actively using gas factor as a political lever in international relations. The dependence of the EU on Russian gas supplies brings the anxiety and the search of alternative sources of gas providing. In its turn, Russia is taking steps to strengthen its position in a dialogue with recalcitrant partner. At present, the Eastern European countries, as well as Ukraine, fear that the development of the "South Stream" pipeline will increase the influence of Russia in the EU's energy policy, as Russia will be able to not only redirect transit, but simply disconnect Eastern European countries such as Ukraine, from the gas supplying, but it will not hurt its supplies to the wealthier European countries.²⁴

Actual EU foreign policy steps towards Eastern Europe, with an expanded vision of geopolitical space, including the European part of the former Soviet Union, suggest that in the near future this region will be an important element of the great geopolitical

22 <http://verelq.am/ru/node/12889> Россия усиливает влияние в Восточной Европе: СМИ 15.11.2016 - 16:57

23 <http://ru.reuters.com/article/topNews/idRUKBN12E1D8> Россия проводит в жизнь план тайного влияния в Европе – исследование

24 Challenges for European Foreign Policy in 2013. Renewing the EU's role in the world. Frida. A European tank for global action 2013. www.frida.org/.../challenges-for-european-foreign-policy-in-2013...

struggle for space. And the six “threshold” countries – civilizationally, historically close to Russia, will be transformed into the instability zone .

Poland believes that Ukraine and other five countries, must change their foreign policy based on balancing between the interests of the major powers and should join Europe. From the standpoint of the interests of the Eastern European countries, a slowdown of the EU enlargement process and the weakening of the European institutions because of the crisis could lead to the risk of separation in this part of the European continent, between the EU and NATO members, and between those with undefined status.²⁵

The prognosis, of course, is that Russia will disagree with. Russia, possessing an imperialistic genotype does not intend to lose the geopolitical zone of its vital interests and will seek to preserve it. Putin’s project “Eurasian Economic Community” directed precisely to return these six post-Soviet countries, in which the EU also so interested.

The logic of the modernization and transformation of the system shows that the key is the emergence of the nation-state, its economy and the system, which is easier to realize in the framework of one state. The integration projects, as a rule, are the second stage of development. Eastern analysts understand this, but in many respects, the geopolitical base have pushed them to integrate. The national development is a problematic issue that should be resolved in a large EU, already imposed on other problems. European mosaic could change its shape for the long term, but nowadays any state in Eastern Europe do not consider the option of leaving the EU. In these circumstances, Europe, divided into “old” and “new”, wants to make “neo-new Europe” too, which becomes a separate, very problematic area, both in political and economic terms.

Geopolitical process in Central and Eastern Europe today is developing in the logic of classical geopolitics of Karl Haushofer’s²⁶ times or it outlines critical geopolitics, where the question of subjectivity is linked to new member states and the applicants in the EU. There subjectivity is not just formal restrictions of territories that should be owned, but it is the fate of small nations to be absorbed by more powerful States.

The study of Eastern European countries’ experience is useful in terms of timing and strategy of integration within a small regional area or in a large integration association.

Comparative analysis of different regions is not so much a sense of value, because each region has its own, inherent to the countries of the region, geopolitical, cultural and economic features with strong historical and civilizational grounds. In addition, from

25 Pawel Swiezak. International Challenges for regional security in Central and Eastern Europe- Poland, the EU and protracted conflicts. Department of strategic analyses National security bureau. www.bbn.gov.pl/download/1/10498/PawelSwiezak.pdf

26 For Haushofer, the main power of State was providing and expanding its vital space. By enlarging its vital space, he noted, a dynamic State ensures for itself a big economic autocracy, or independence from its neighbors. Rising this kind of liverty was an indicator of real super power. The main method of territorial expansion of this kind of power was, in his opinion, absorbing of more powerless countries. <http://uczebnik-online.net/book/566-geopolitika-uczebnoe-posobie-krupnickij->

this point of view, comparing regions of Central Asia and Eastern Europe in many ways is impractical. But, in general, during the study the experience of Eastern European countries, analyzing their integration choices, economic development strategy, a very rational substantiation for concerned research may be found. In this sense, for the Central Asian countries (most of which entered to the Eurasian Economic Community) it would be useful to study the experience of Eastern European countries, in particular, regarding to the solution of the problems of the national economy within the framework of integration, achieving preferences within integrative associations, as conditions and opportunities in different countries vary, forming a foreign policy and align it within the supranational institutions, and as part of the integration system, developing an outlet strategy from all sorts of crises.

TNCs in International Relations: Theory, History & Modernity (Selected Literature Review)

N. Muminova, PhD

*Assistant Professor/Senior Lecturer
at IR Dept, Uwed*

Abstract

Current article is dedicated to the study of foreign literature and the works of scholars of our country focused on transnational corporations (TNCs), the key factors, (regular) trends and political aspects of TNCs' activities, and comprehensive study of the sources on British East India Company and trade-economic, socio-economic, political, cultural, geopolitical and military-strategic directions of its activity.

Key words: *transnational corporations (TNCs), international business, political aspects of TNCs' activities, foreign policy, Uzbekistan, British East India Company, Great Britain, India.*

In the context of a changeable international politics the analysis of (i) the political aspects of TNC activities, (ii) genesis and nature of their development, (iii) TNC strategy and locational choices, (iv) the “capabilities” of national capital to structuring and positioning in the world TNCs, (v) the process of creation and development of the national enterprises that have emerged on the international level and have gained transnational nature, and (vi) other general and specific determinants of “multinationality” is essential and crucial for countries, which gained and maintained their national independence and sovereignty.

For identifying the key factors, (regular) trends and political aspects of the TNCs' activities it was constructively and reasonably to study the genesis of this phenomenon through the activities and strategies that were uniquely represented by the British East India Company. From the dialectical perspective of globalization, which, respectively, reflected in certain periods: 1) 1500-1800; 2) 1800-1945; 3) 1945-1990; 4) the modern period¹, the essence and nature of contemporary global TNCs are anticipated by European trading companies of the XVII century, and predominantly, the British East India Company. Started as an ordinary trading company it had transformed into the state-structured body (apparatus), which had been managing the conquered territories and colonies in the East. Established by political act – the Charter of Queen Elizabeth – in 1600 as a trade company, for more than 250 years of its existence it had become a political-economic and military-strategic instrument of foreign policy of Great Britain. Comprehensive study of the British East India Company and trade-economic,

¹ According to periodization of globalist S. Amin. See: Samir Amin. Capitalisme, imperialism, mondialisation // Recherches internationales. – Paris, 1997. – № 48 (Printemps). – P. 33-47. – cited in: Хорос В. Глобализация и Периферия // Мировая экономика и международные отношения. – 1999. – №12. – С. 113.

socio-economic, political, cultural, geopolitical and military-strategic directions of its activity help to identify patterns of development and political aspects of contemporary TNCs.

Several aspects of the research relevance and importance of the political context in TNCs international activities are traced: (i) in the contemporary system of international relations as a non-conventional actors, (ii) in the geopolitical processes as agents of state's foreign political strategy, (iii) in the study of the genesis of these phenomena uniquely represented by the British East India Company, (iv) under the conditions of transition economy and formation of corporate diplomacy of states that approved their national independence and sovereignty, (v) in the modern political science that studies the processes of integration between countries, regional associations, international organizations and international business-structures, (vi) in the development of new trends in Uzbek political science that studies the geopolitical and political-economic parameters and criteria for the country's competitiveness in the global arena and elaboration of its own competitive strategy, (vii) during the global financial-economic crisis, considering together all these aspects (viii) within the perspectives of foreign political and economic strategy of Uzbekistan, that were determined by First President of the Republic of Uzbekistan I.A. Karimov and are continued by actual President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Sh.M. Mirziyoyev.

The natural priority in the study of the TNC, which received coverage in the international business theory, belongs to the American and European schools. The development of the international business theory, demanded by theoretical improvement of trade, investment, and production activities of various multinational companies, started in the 60s of the twentieth century within the Harvard Multinational Enterprise Project of Harvard Business School and researches of J. Dunning at Reading University (UK), Ch. Kindleberger at MIT, R. Caves, R. Vernon at Harvard University. Based on the Harvard Business School method of case-study, about 400 TNCs from the United States, Western Europe and Japan have been studied within twelve-year project. Since then this method had become a traditional one for American business researchers.

The basis of foreign studies of multinational enterprises was presented originally and mainly through economic topics related to the study of foreign direct investment in the host country by J. Dunning (1958), product-cycle theory by Vernon R. (1966), theory of internalization by P. Buckley, M. Casson (1976), which were later replaced by more broad country-oriented, political, technological and other characteristics of "eclectic paradigm" by J. Dunning (1980), who considered "firm-specific", "internalization" and "country-specific" advantages, continued by A. Rugman (1981), R. Caves (1996), and M. Wilkins (1997)².

² See: Dunning J.H. *American Investment in British Manufacturing Industry*. – London: Allen and Unwin, 1958; Vernon R. *International investment and international trade in product cycle* // *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. – 1966. – Vol. LXXX. No. 2(May). – P. 190-207; Buckley P.J., Casson M. *The Future of the Multinational Enterprise*. – London: MacMillan, 1976; Dunning J.H. *Toward an eclectic theory of international production* // *Journal of International*

International business in its historical retrospective was being developed in the works of J. Jones, M. Wilkins³. Various models of the interaction of governments and international businesses were investigated by J. Wilson, M. Shimai, R. Grosse⁴. Theory of strategic leadership as a source of competitive advantage, competitive cluster advantages (increase in productivity, inducement of innovations, the development of new business lines) prevailing over the traditional advantages of certain country (natural and human resources, territory and population) was substantiated by M. Porter⁵. Within the politics of international economic relations multinational enterprises were studied by J. Spero and J. Hart⁶. A wide range of various dimensions of international business theory was considered by J. Daniels and L. Radebaugh⁷. Issues of corporate governance and corporate social responsibility, “behavior” of the business structures in the civil society and their responsibility towards groups of interests were studied by A. Kolk, R. Van Tulder, J. Kline⁸.

The most important sources of research on TNCs of different countries are represented by the publication of annual reports “World Investment Report”⁹, thematic issues of the “Transnational Corporations” journal¹⁰, special papers of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), UN program on TNCs which was

Business Studies. – 1980. – Vol.1. No.1. – P. 9-30; Rugman A. Inside the Multinationals: the Economics of Internal Markets. – New York: Columbia University Press, 1981; Caves R.E. Multinational Enterprise and Economic Analysis. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; Wilkins M. The conceptual domain of international business / International Business: An Emerging Vision. Ed. by B. Toyne and D. Nigh. – Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1997. P. 31-50; also Rugman A.M. Forty years of the theory of the transnational corporations // Transnational Corporations. – New York and Geneva, 1999. – Vol.8. No. 2. – P. 51-70.

3 See: Jones G.G. The Evolution of International Business. – London: Routledge, 1996; Jones G.G. Merchants to Multinationals. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; Wilkins M. The History of Multinational Enterprise / The Oxford Handbook of International Business. Ed. by A. M. Rugman and T. L. Dewar. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

4 See: Wilson G. K. Business and Politics: A Comparative Introduction. (2nd ed.) – Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1990; Шимаи М. Роль и влияние транснациональных корпораций в глобальных сдвигах в конце XX столетия // Проблемы теории и практики управления. – Москва, 1999. – № 3; Idem. Государство и транснациональные компании // Проблемы теории и практики управления. – Москва, 1999. – № 4. URL: <http://www.uptp.ru/>; Grosse R. The bargaining view of government-business relations / International Business and Government Relations in the 21st Century. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. P. 273-290; International Business and Government Relations in the 21st Century / Ed. by R. Grosse. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

5 See: Porter M. The Competitive Advantage of Nations. – New York: The Free Press, 1998.

6 Spero J.E., Hart J.A. The Politics of International Economic Relations. – New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997.

7 See: Дэниелс Дж. Д., Радеба Ли Х. Международный бизнес: внешняя среда и деловые операции. Пер. с англ. / Под ред. Л.И. Евенко. – Москва: Дело Лтд, 1994.

8 See: Kolk A., Van Tulder R., Welters C. International codes of conduct and corporate social responsibility: can transnational corporations regulate themselves? // Transnational Corporations. – New York and Geneva, 1999. – Vol.8. No.1. – P. 143-180; Kolk A., Van Tulder R. Setting new global rules? TNCs and codes of conduct // Transnational Corporations. – New York and Geneva, 2005. – Vol.14. No.3. – P. 1-27; Kline J.M. Political activities by transnational corporations: bright lines versus grey boundaries // Transnational Corporations. – New York and Geneva, 2003. – Vol.12. No.1. – P. 1-25.; Kline J.M. TNC codes and national sovereignty: deciding when TNCs should engage in political activity // Transnational Corporations. – New York and Geneva, 2005. – Vol.14. No.3. – P. 29-53.

9 See: World Investment Reports 1991-2016. – New York and Geneva: United Nations, UNCTAD, 1991-2016.

10 See: Transnational Corporations. – New-York and Geneva, 1999. – Vol. 8. No. 1., No. 2; Transnational Corporations. – New-York and Geneva, 2003. – Vol. 12. No. 1; Transnational Corporations. – New York and Geneva, 2005. – Vol. 14. No. 3; et al.

transferred to the UNCTAD in 1993. Moreover, a 20-volume set of UN Library series on TNCs is of special value¹¹.

Commercial and industrial monopolies represented in various organizational forms of cartels, syndicates, trusts, corporations and conglomerates were considered critically in terms of ideological clichés of the Soviet period, that were expressed in the negation of private property, the capitalist path of development and the market economy, and therefore, researches on financial and industrial groups, TNCs in economics and political science in Russia and post-Soviet area were generated only since 90s of the twentieth century. Issues of relations between TNCs and nation states were constructively considered by A. Movsesyan and S. Ognivtsev; institutional issues of financial-industrial groups and their investment and credit support were explored by L. Makarevich; the levels of companies' transnationalization were explored by I. Vladimirova; the student's tutorial on TNCs in modern international economic relations was developed by L. T. Gradobitova, T. Isachenko; foreign direct investments and the activities of TNCs were considered by F. Gubaydullina; the multilateral aspects of the economic power and strategies of Russian TNCs were explored by A. Liebman and B. Heifetz; issues of social responsibility of business and corporate citizenship were studied by S. Peregudov, N. Lapina¹². Transnational corporations and transnational banks as non-traditional actors of the modern structure of international relations were considered very succinctly in the context of the general issues of the theory of international relations and geopolitics in textbooks by K.S. Gadjiyev, A.V. Torkunov, P.A. Tsygankov¹³. Issues of international trade, the world market grouping, TNCs in the context of historical periods, the integration cycles, political, economic and financial

11 See: The United Nations Library on Transnational Corporations. The Theory of Transnational Corporations / J.H. Dunning (ed.). – London and New-York: Routledge, 1993. Vol.1; Transnational Corporations: A Historical Perspective / G. Jones (ed.). – London and N.Y.: Routledge, 1993. Vol. 2; Governments and Transnational Corporations / T.H. Moran (ed.). – London and New-York: Routledge, 1993. Vol. 7.

12 See: Мовсесян А., Огневцев С. Транснациональный капитал и национальные государства // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. – Москва, 1999. – №6. – С. 55-63; Макаревич Л. Российские неофициальные финансово-промышленные группы: опыт самоорганизации и привлечения ресурсов // *Общество и экономика*. – Москва, 2000. – № 9-10. – С. 135-200; Макаревич Л. России и странам СНГ нужен локомотив мощных национальных компаний // *Общество и экономика*. – Москва, 2001. – №1. – С. 5-56; Владимирова И.Г. Исследование уровня транснационализации компаний // *Менеджмент в России и за рубежом*. – Москва, 2001. – №6. URL: <http://mevriz.ru/articles/2001/>; Градобитова Л.Д., Исаченко Т.М. Транснациональные корпорации в современных международных экономических отношениях. Учеб. пособие. МГИМО. – Москва: АНКЛ, 2002. – 124 с.; Губайдуллина Ф. Прямые иностранные инвестиции, деятельность ТНК и глобализация // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. – Москва, 2003. – № 2. – С. 42-47; Либман А., Хейфец Б. Экономическая власть и стратегии российских ТНК на постсоветском пространстве // *Общество и экономика*. – Москва, 2006. – №11-12. – С. 152-165; Социальная ответственность бизнеса и корпоративное гражданство // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. – Москва, 2005. – №11. – С. 3-13; Перегудов С. Корпоративное гражданство на Западе и в России: концепции и практика // *Общество и экономика*. – Москва, 2006. – №11-12. – С. 78-91; Лапина Н. Социальная ответственность бизнеса: какое будущее для России? // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. – Москва, 2006. – №6. – С. 31-38; and others.

13 See: Гаджиев К.С. Введение в геополитику. – Москва: Логос, 2000. – 432 с.; Современные международные отношения. / Под ред. Торкунова А.В. – Москва: РОССПЭН, 2000. – 584 с.; Цыганков П.А. Теория международных отношений. – Москва: Гардарики, 2003. – 590 с.

aspects of globalization were studied by L.Sintserov, N. Kosolapov, V. Evstigneev, N.Zagladin, V. Medvedev¹⁴ and others.

In political science of our country the study of political aspects of TNCs' activities is relatively new and little-studied area. The conceptual framework of this issue was developed in the works of G. Karimova¹⁵ who has viewed in geopolitical, political and economic ways the basic parameters and criteria for assessing the competitiveness of countries, the need for the country's own competitive strategy, categories of competitiveness of countries with transition economies based on the example of Uzbekistan. Studies of such political scholars of our country as G. Karimova, N. Kasimova, U. Khasanov, M. Munavvarov and economists as A.Hikmatov, A. Rasulev, A. Bedrintsev, N. Sirajiddinov, A. Isadjanov, Sh. Yuldashev, A. Isahodjaev¹⁶ on issues of (i) political and economic aspects of the country's integration into the world community, (ii) security and Uzbekistan's foreign policy imperatives under processes of globalization, (iii) integration into the world economy, (iv) structural changes in the economy, (v) governmental regulation of the economy, (vi) corporate governance, (vii) investment processes, (viii) the competitiveness of the economy of Uzbekistan stipulated the logical necessity of research issues focused on TNCs' activities and the significance of their political aspects.

To identify the key factors, (regular) trends and political aspects of the international activity of modern TNCs it was constructive and feasible approach to study the genesis of these phenomena that uniquely represented by the British East India Company. A single work, that would narrate all major dimensions of the East India

14 See: Синцеров Л. Длинные волны глобальной интеграции // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. – Москва, 2000. – №5. – С. 56-64; Косолапов Н. Глобализация: сущностные и международно-политические аспекты // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. – Москва, 2001. – №3. – С. 69-73; Евстигнеев В. Финансовая глобализация – явление и методологический инструмент // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. – Москва, 2001. – №3. – С. 74-76; Загладин Н. Глобализация в контексте альтернатив исторического развития // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. – Москва, 2003. – №8. – С. 3-10; Медведев В. Глобализация экономики: тенденции и противоречия // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. – Москва, 2004. – №2. – С. 3-10; and others.

15 See: Каримова Г.И. Категории конкурентоспособности стран с переходной экономикой на примере Узбекистана. – Москва: Российская экономическая академия, 1998. – 34 с.

16 See: Бедринцев А. Узбекистан в мирохозяйственных связях: интеграционное взаимодействие // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. – Москва, 1999. – №2. – С. 99-103; Расулев А., Бедринцев А. Модель «открытой экономики» Республики Узбекистан – основа углубления интеграции в мирохозяйственные связи в XXI веке // *Общество и экономика*. – Москва, 1999. – № 7-8. – С. 163-172; Хикматов А. Государственное регулирование экономики в ходе рыночных реформ в Узбекистане // *Общество и экономика*. – Москва, 1999. – № 3-4. – С. 146-160; Касимова Н.А. Соединённые Штаты Америки в региональных интеграционных процессах (политико-экономический аспект). – Ташкент: ТГУ, 2001. – 164 с.; Сиражиддинов Н. Узбекистан: путь к экспорториентированному развитию // *Мировая экономика и международные отношения*. – Москва, 2002. – №7. – С. 88-92; Юлдашев Ш., Исаходжаев А. Инвестиционные процессы и проблемы роста конкурентоспособности экономики Узбекистана // *Общество и экономика*. – Москва, 2004. – №9. – С. 148-166; Расулев А., Чепель С., Оленицкая Л. Проблемы обеспечения устойчивого экономического роста в Узбекистане (с учётом опыта стран Восточной Азии) // *Общество и экономика*. – Москва, 2006. – №3. – С. 100-116; Исаджанов А. Проблемы обеспечения экономической безопасности в условиях глобализации // *Международные отношения*. – Ташкент, 2006. – №3. – С. 48-53; Проблемы внедрения корпоративного управления в Узбекистане. – Ташкент: ЦЭИ, 2006. – 75 с.; Мавланов И. Экономическая дипломатия. – Ташкент: УМЭД, 2007. – 319 с.; Мунавваров М.З. Императивы внешней политики Республики Узбекистан в условиях глобализации и информатизации международных процессов.: Автореф. дис... канд. полит. наук. – Ташкент: УМЭД, 2007. – 25 с.; Хасанов У.А. Введение в теорию международных отношений. – Ташкент: УМЭД, 2007. – 222 с.

Company's activity (beginning with trade, socio-economic, political, military, geopolitical and completing with the cultural one) since its creation/inception in 1600 until its liquidation in 1858, hadn't been generated. A wide range of literature on the British East India Company had been divided relatively into five blocks that were comprised per se from (primary) sources, the studies of foreign British, Indian and Russian authors, and the works of scholars of our country.

Saturated factual records that determined the source database were identified by (i) works of J. Malcolm "A memoir of Central India", J. Mill's "History of British India", E. Warren "British India in 1843", A. Burnes' "Travels into Bokhara", K. Marx's "The East India Company, its history and results", a collection of governmental and parliamentary acts of Great Britain related to the period of the East India Company¹⁷; (ii) the works of contemporary researchers, who appealed to such archival files/materials as: "Blue books" on India (collections of official documents and written reports of British officials, the Board of the Company, from India to Great Britain, published by the decision of the British Parliament); collections of Acts and documents of Parliament related to the period of the East India Company and later; British parliamentary reports "Hansard Parliamentary Debates"; etc.

Foreign studies on the East India Company are presented by the works of *French authors* as E. Lavisse and A. Rambaud, who studied various factors of rivalry between European powers and their trading companies in India; *English authors* as W. Hunter, H. Dodwell, who researched different periods of the Company's activities; K. Jones, who studied caste, religious, and social issues during the period of the Company; D. Arnold, who studied the policy of the Company in the development of science and technology of that period; N. Dirks, who analyzed the origins of the "imperial sovereignty" of Great Britain and the Company¹⁸; *Indian authors* as J. Nehru, who critically examined the political aspects of the Company's activity in the context of the independence and sovereignty of India; Prakash Om, who studied the trade and economic policies of the Company since the beginning of XVIIth – the middle of the XVIIIth centuries; J. Sarkar, who studied the causes of the fall of the Mughal Empire and the policy of the Company; R. Majumdar, H. Raychaundhuri, K. Datta, who focused on the history of India since ancient times till the modern period and presented informative materials about the Company's strategies during different periods of

17 See: Sir John Malcolm. A memoir of Central India. In 2 vols. – New Delhi, 2001; Mill J. The History of British India. In 3 vols. – New Delhi, 1972; Варрен Э. Английская Индия в 1843 году. Часть 3. – Москва, 1845. – 527 с.; Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 1750-1921./ Ed. by Keith A.B. Vol. I-II. – London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1922; Бёрнс А. Путешествие в Бухару. – Москва, 1850; Маркс К. Ост-Индская компания, её история и результаты её деятельности / Маркс К., Энгельс Ф. Сочинения. изд. 2. – Москва, 1957. Т. 9. С. 151-160.

18 See: Рамбо А. Индостан. Упрочение английского владычества с 1767 г. по 1799 г. / Всеобщая история с IV столетия до нашего времени. Под ред. Э. Лависса, А. Рамбо. – Москва, 1903. Т.8. С. 834-882.; Hunter W.W. A history of British India. In 2 vols. – London, New-York, Bombay, 1899; British India (1497-1858). The Cambridge History of India. Vol.5. / Ed. by H.H. Dodwell. – Cambridge University Press, 1955; Jones K.W. Socio Religious Reform Movements in British India. The New Cambridge History of India III-1. – Cambridge University Press, 1999; Arnold D. Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India. The New Cambridge History of India III-5. – Cambridge University Press, 2000; Dirks N. B. The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain. – Harvard University Press, 2006.

Governors-General of India¹⁹; *Russian authors* as E. Steinberg, who paid more attention to the military and political strategy and tactics of the Company during the colonial wars in the Middle East; K. Antonova, who presented a comprehensive study on Company during the beginning and end of the XVIIIth century; collective work “A New History of India” concerned with certain periods of the Company; M. Aizenstat, who highlighted the work of the British Parliament over the issues of the Company and the free-trade movement; T. Yurlova, who conducted the study of the parliamentary debates on the status of the Company and the “civilization mission” of the Great Britain in India; K. Fursov, who introduced the historical study of a certain period of the Company’s activity²⁰; and etc.

The resources on the activities of military intelligence, diplomatic and research missions of the Company in the Middle East and Central Asia received the construal in the works of authors of our country G. Khidoyatov, F. Yuldashbaeva²¹.

Thus, the research of contemporary TNCs’ activities, European trade companies of the XVII century and especially the British East India Company cross-disciplinary at intersection of political science, history, theory of international relations and international economic relations contributes to an integrated presentation of the modern TNC strategies and reveal of the political aspects and (regular) trends of their development.

19 See: Неру Дж. Открытие Индии. Пер. с англ. – Москва: Изд-во иностр. лит-ры, 1955. – 652 с.; Nehru J. The Discovery of India. – Oxford University Press, 2002. – 582 p.; Prakash Om. European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-Colonial India. The New Cambridge History of India II-5. – Cambridge University Press, 2000; Sarkar J. Fall of the Mughal Empire. In 4 vols. – New Delhi, 1991; Majumdar R.C., Raychaudhuri H.C., Datta K. An Advanced History of India. – Madras, 1991.

20 See: Штейнберг Е.Л. История британской агрессии на Среднем Востоке. – Москва: Воен. изд-во, 1951. – 212 с.; Антонова К.А. Английское завоевание Индии в XVIII веке. – Москва: Изд-во восточной литературы, 1958. – 327 с.; Новая История Индии / Под ред. К.А. Антоновой, Н.М. Гольдберга, А.М. Осипова. – Москва: Изд-во восточной литературы, 1961. – 835 с.; Айзенштат М.П. Английские буржуазные радикалы и Ост-Индская Компания 1813-1833 гг. (по парламентским материалам) / Проблемы британской истории. Под ред. И.И. Жигалова. – Москва: Наука, 1984. С. 189-197.; Юрлова Т. Ф. Народное восстание 1857-1859 гг. в Индии и английское общество. – Москва: Наука, 1991. – 142 с.; Фурсов К.А. Трансформация английской Ост-Индской компании: от купца к державе-купцу // Восток (Oriens). – Москва, 2007. – №1. – С. 56-71.

21 See: Юлдашбаева Ф. Из истории английской колониальной политики в Афганистане и Средней Азии. – Ташкент: Госиздат РУз, 1963. – 192 с.; Хидоятов Г.А. Британская экспансия в Средней Азии. – Ташкент: Фан, 1981. – 214 с.; and others.

US Interests in Afghanistan After 2001

A. Umarov

*Senior Research Fellow,
ScD candidate at UWED*

The famous ideologist of modern American foreign policy Z. Brzezinski noted exclusive geopolitical value of Eurasia. He said: "A power that dominated Eurasia would exercise decisive influence over two of the world's three most economically productive regions, Western Europe and East Asia. ... a country dominant in Eurasia would almost automatically control the Middle East and Africa"¹. These words completely open an essence of foreign policy of the USA in Afghanistan for the last nearly 40 years.

B. Buzan and O. Vever consider the USA as the unique superpower according to the final results of the Cold War. At the same time they claim that superpowers have so wide interests and huge opportunities that they can be active all over the world. Superpowers by determination are beyond logic of geography and adjacent regions in safety issues. Possession of big power, thus, tends to reject a regional imperative, and small power to strengthen it. If the small states, as a rule, are limited within the framework of the regional security complex together with neighboring countries, then great powers get into several adjacent regions, and superpowers are capable to cover the entire world.² The status of a superpower in many aspects determines interests of the USA in Afghanistan, essential military, political and financial resources which Washington could mobilize for holding a military operation and a construction of new statehood in the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (IRA).

Terroristic acts at the 11th September of 2001 were prime reason to start a military operation in Afghanistan. The USA aimed to carry on a successful campaign during the short period and to gain a foothold in this country. After the beginning of a military operation on October 7, 2001 the USA could achieve progress: forces of Taliban were hurled back to border with Pakistan and the new administration in Kabul was created. The military campaign of the USA and forces of the coalition members in IRA could be divided into six stages:

1. 2001-2003. The beginning of a campaign, entry of the US and allies' military contingents in IRA. President Bush's administration paid much attention to holding military operations in Afghanistan. A priority role of the Afghan operation allowed achieving important results for the American leadership in a short period.

2. 2003-2005. The decision about the beginning of a military operation in Iraq led to the fact that problems with achievement of effective objectives in Afghanistan remained without due regard. The military contingent remained not numerous (about

1 Brzezinski Z. A Geostrategy for Eurasia. *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1997 (Volume 76, Number 5).

2 Buzan Barry and Wæver Ole. *Regions and Powers. The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

18000 soldiers³). As a result of it, forces of Taliban managed to recover forces, to reconsider the war tactics with coalition forces and to pass to more active subversive activities.

3. 2006-2007. After deterioration of situation in IRA, growth of instability and active actions of anti-governmental forces, Washington was forced to send additional troops to this country. Total number of the US troops in Afghanistan was increased to 25000⁴. However, despite it, the Afghan problem remained in the shadow of the American military mission in Iraq. At the same time, in priorities of foreign policy there was a problem of Iran's nuclear program.

4. 2008-2009. Coming to power in Washington of new administration headed by the president B.Obama changed the strategy of the USA in Afghanistan. Obama declared that it is necessary to increase the contingent of the US troops and to gain military advantage over Taliban⁵. The new American administration set before itself the purpose, having sharply increased military presence and having achieved stabilization of a situation, to finish a mission with the withdrawal of troops.

5. 2010-2014. At the end of 2009 B.Obama announced the decision to send additional 30000 soldiers to IRA⁶. The contingent of the USA in Afghanistan reached the maximum point about 100000 soldiers⁷. Also activities of forces of the international coalition for preparation of national army and police of IRA were stirred up. According to plans of the US administration, since July, 2011 forces of the international coalition gradually began to transfer responsibility for providing security to national armed forces of Afghanistan in different regions of the country. This process was finally completed in December, 2014.

6. 2014-currently. After withdrawal of the main parts of troops it was announced the refusal about Washington's large-scale use of armed forces in the Afghan conflict. The USA decided to concentrate on carrying out special operations by using small groups of special purpose forces and preparation of the Afghan national security forces⁸. An initial task of troops' withdrawal by 2014 was not reached, the Afghan security forces didn't manage to establish complete and indisputable control over all territory of the country. As a result of it B. Obama was forced to make corrections to plan of the USA for further presence in Afghanistan, having made the decision to keep about 10 thousand servicemen after 2016⁹.

The USA pursues the following aims in IRA:

3 The military contingent of the USA in Afghanistan.// RIA News, December 2, 2009.
<http://rian.ru/infografika/20091202/196651231.html>

4 Ibid

5 Obama's Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, March 2009. <http://www.cfr.org/publication/18952/>

6 The Full Text of Obama's West Point Speech, December 2009. <http://www.spiegel.de/>

7 The list of the countries participating in ISAF and number of their contingent by October, 2010 of
<http://www.isaf.nato.int/troop-numbers-and-contributions/index.php>

8 Statement by the President on Afghanistan. The White House Office of the Press Secretary, 27 May 2014.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/05/27/statement-president-afghanistan>

9 Statement by the President on Afghanistan. The White House Office of the Press Secretary, 6 July 2016.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2016/07/06/statement-president-afghanistan>

1. Suppression of one of the centers of the international terrorism. On the Afghan territory and bordering regions with Pakistan, there are numerous bases for training the terrorists. The Taliban which was on power in Afghanistan during 1996-2001 had close relations with Al-Qaeda terrorist organization. In the Strategy of the homeland security of the USA prepared in May, 2010 it was noted that the main safety hazard of the USA is terrorism and the main enemy - the radical terrorist network "Al-Qaeda" and its followers¹⁰.

2. Military-political presence in Central Asia. In close proximity to Afghanistan there are large centers of oil and gas production (The Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf, Central Asia). Presence in Afghanistan allows the USA to perform monitoring and to exert huge impact on these regions.

3. The base for geopolitical influence in the region. Presence in this country allows the USA to perform systematic influence on such adjacent powers as the Russian Federation, China, Iran. Military bases of the USA are located on all perimeter of borders of these powers.

4. Control of strengthening the influence of different powers (the Russian Federation, China, Iran) in regions of Central and Southern Asia, the Middle East. These regions for a number of reasons have a strategic importance for the USA. Presence of other powers in these regions and growth of their influence could lead to reduction of influence of the USA.

5. Attempt to prevent further deterioration of situation in the nuclear power – Pakistan. The U.S. President B.Obama in the speech in March, 2009 on new strategy in Afghanistan paid special attention to Pakistan. The USA considers Afghanistan and Pakistan as the interconnected links of one conflict. The so-called "Zone of tribes" in Pakistan remains a stronghold for various terrorist groups. Influence of the radical Islamic organizations' has grown in Pakistan, as a result of a lack of solving many social and economic problems. Consequences of their coming to power can be unpredictable. This process causes alarm among the USA, allies on NATO, India and other adjacent countries. Promised to allocate for development of economy and improvement of infrastructure of the USA since 2010 1,5 bln. dollars of the USA within 5 years¹¹. In 2001-2007, for example, the USA provided financial aid to Pakistan through various channels in the amount of 9,6 billion US dollars¹².

6. Implementation of the concept "New Silk Road". As process of the planned withdrawal in the main part of coalition troops from IRA was approaching, the administration of the USA started the development of various models on further support the process of stabilization in the country. At the same time, as it is represented, the main objective consists in active attraction of the neighboring countries of IRA to the

10 National Security Strategy. // May, 2010. p.18-19.

11 Skosyrev V. The USA will sign the pact with Pakistan.// Nezavisimaya gazeta, October 20, 2010 http://www.ng.ru/world/2010-10-20/8_pakistan.html

12 Kamenev S. Pakistan: role of the foreign help in the solution of economic problems of the country.// Institute of Near East, April 29, 2009 <http://www.iimes.ru/rus/stat/2009/29-04-09.htm>

settlement of the Afghan conflict and gradual decrease in a share of responsibility of Washington for future social and economic development of this country after 2014.

The concept of NSR was developed to show Washington's interest in securing the regions of Central and Southern Asia by economic development. The USA tried to connect conceptually in single strategy those projects which the countries of these regions had been performing already for long time or plans to implement on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

However considering the gradual shift of accents of foreign policy of the USA from regions of Central and Southern Asia to the Asia-Pacific region, perhaps, the importance and attention to the NSR project from Washington will decrease over time. Along with unavailability of administration of the USA to allocate financial resources for implementation of the concept, it can lead to slow implementation or suspension of projects within NSR. At the same time, observed rivalry of the USA, the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China can be projected by the alerted relation of Moscow and Beijing to plans of Washington for implementation of NSR.

In our opinion the strategy of the USA in relation to Afghanistan has a number of shortcomings:

1. Increase in the military contingent in Afghanistan didn't help to solve the problem of settlement of a situation in this country. This step led to growth of the victims, both among local population, and among foreign militaries. The army of the USA lost 2392 servicemen during 15 years of presence in IRA¹³. During the period from 2001 to 2016 about 111000 people were killed and more than 116000 were wounded during the war in Afghanistan, from them more than 31000 civilians¹⁴. As a result the discontent among local population with presence of the international coalition in IRA increased.

Expenses of the USA on a military campaign in Afghanistan for the period of 2001-2016 reached 783 billion, and for 2017 is planned to allocate 43,7 more bln. dollars of the USA¹⁵. Besides, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have also indirect essential expenses. By estimates, medical expenses and payments for disability to veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan constituted 134 bln. US dollars by the end of 2014 and will reach 836 bln. US dollars within the next decade¹⁶. Significant assistance to development of Afghanistan from the United States in the amount of more than 100 bln. dollars was spent inefficiently, on recognition of special general inspector of the USA on recovery of Afghanistan J. Sopko essential taxpayers money of the USA was lost in

13 Coalition Military Fatalities By Year (from October 2001 up to December 2016). <http://icasualties.org/OEF/>

14 Crawford N.C. Human Costs of War for Afghanistan and Pakistan, 2001 to mid-2016. Brown University's Watson Institute, August 2016. 1 p.

15 Crawford N.C. Summary of Costs of the US Wars in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Pakistan and Homeland Security. Brown University's Watson Institute, September 2016. 7 p.

16 Dyer G., Sorvino Ch. \$1tn cost of longest US war hastens retreat from military intervention. // Financial Times, 15 December 2014. <https://www.ft.com/content/14be0e0c-8255-11e4-ace7-00144feabdc0>

IRA "for nothing as a result of fraud and abuses"¹⁷. In our opinion, reducing military expenses towards growth in volumes of the help to recovery and development would bring big benefit to stabilization of Afghanistan.

2. Permanent statements for fast withdrawal of troops of the coalition from Afghanistan led to growth of confidence and support from local population of representatives of the Taliban. Against the background of these statements, the USA supported attempts of administration of IRA to come into contacts with a management of Taliban and to begin negotiation process. For establishing contacts with the armed opposition the special body the Supreme Peace Council was founded in 2010. In our opinion, creation of this body had declarative character and probability of its successful performance was extremely small. The fact that the management of the Supreme Peace Council had generally former members of so-called "Northern Alliance" which was at war against Taliban, doesn't promote promotion of negotiation process.

Besides, to enter negotiations with administration of IRA and representatives of the international coalition heads of the Taliban should feel that they lose in war. However today Talibs conducted successful subversive activities against forces of the international coalition and national armed forces of Afghanistan.

3. The USA and allies on the coalition made the decision to be engaged in a nation building and to create in Afghanistan the democratic state with centralized administration. Washington probably decided to show model of creation of new statehood on the basis of democratic principles and liberal values in such badly developed country as IRA. At the same time the mentality, history and traditions of the Afghan people weren't considered into account. The chosen model of governance was an excessively sharp change in political system of Afghanistan. Achievement of a long truce which would suit most of ethnic and religious groups requires more flexible, decentralized political system considering interests of wide sectors of society.

4. Support by the western countries on a post of the president of the head of Afghanistan at first of H.Karzai, and then A.Ghani didn't bring the expected results. H.Karzai and A.Ghani earlier for a long time lived outside the country and were far from political processes in Afghanistan. They had no necessary authority both among the Pashtun population, and among representatives of other ethnic groups. Talibs treated with great doubt H.Karzai and A.Ghani's independence from the influence of the USA and NATO in case of adoption different decisions. Proceeding from this circumstance, talibs didn't try to conduct active negotiations with them.

5. The USA could consider interests of the countries, neighboring to Afghanistan, regional powers and involve them in settlement of the Afghan conflict. Bigger attraction policy of the regional states to stabilization of IRA declared by B. Obama in 2009 wasn't crowned with the expected success.

17 Prepared Remarks of John F. Sopko Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction For Delivery at Weill Cornell Medical College, New York City. SIGAR, 5 May 2015.

https://www.sigar.mil/newsroom/ReadFile.aspx?SSR=7&SubSSR=29&File=speeches/15/SIGAR_Cornell_Speech.html

In conclusion it should be noted that the importance of wide military presence in Afghanistan for the USA steadily decreased in comparison with the beginning of the 2001. Besides geopolitical interests on preserving positions in this country, the constraining circumstances of fast withdrawal from the country were the huge human and financial resources used in this conflict. An exit from IRA in modern conditions could negatively affect prestige and a role of Washington on the international scene as would look de facto recognition of insolvency of attempts of a nation building in Afghanistan and enormous unjustified expenditures for this conflict. However the modern unpredictable situation in the world is capable to make sharp changes to a provision in IRA.

New administration of the USA headed by the president D.Trump in January, 2017 will determine new strategy in the Afghan direction. During the election campaign he practically didn't mention and determine his position concerning Afghanistan. Earlier in 2012 he called the war in Afghanistan as a "complete disaster"¹⁸. His statements for necessity of the USA to limit the participation in the solution of remote crisis situations in the world and priority of concentration of efforts on internal problems can show potential actions of Washington in IRA in the next four years.

In our opinion, for D.Trump and his team it will be difficult to make the decision about complete withdrawal from Afghanistan in the nearest future. Similar intentions will be limited by a huge amount of the spent US resources in this country. The USA already considerably reduced the military presence on the Afghan territory and expenses on contemporary operation are also noticeably smaller in comparison with previous years. The planned appointment of general J.Mattis as Defense Secretary in his administration can influence D.Trump's policy in IRA too. J.Mattis had participated at the beginning of the war in this country in 2001 and held a post of the commander of the US Central Command of armed forces whose zone of responsibility included Central Asia and Afghanistan. Possibly, J.Mattis is familiar with a situation in IRA and possesses certain knowledge about this country.

We can assume that all these factors will interfere complete withdrawal of Washington from Afghanistan in close perspective, we can suppose only about some decrease in military presence there. The USA, probably, will try, using the opportunities, to involve Pakistan in negotiation process in IRA and to achieve relative stability on the Afghan territory, by reducing military and financial expenditures.

18 Wood, David. Afghanistan Is All Ready To Be Donald Trump's First Foreign Policy Disaster. // The Huffington Post, 27 November 2016. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/afghanistan-war-taliban_us_581cb5aee4b0d9ce6fbb71ff

Uzbekistan & ASEAN: Perspectives of Cooperation

G.Djurayeva

*Senior Research Fellow,
PhD candidate at UWED*

National interests of states nowadays are predominantly based on successful development of diplomatic relations and only can be reached by mutually beneficial cooperation between them. In fact, in a condition of rapidly growing global threats, cooperation has to be more comprehensive and in full accord in different spheres, particularly in the field of security, politics, economics and culture.

“While strengthening our confidence in our future the main factor is that we have put exact and clear aims before us. In accordance with these goals and on the base of our great opportunities and capacities we should deepen new and existing reforms and implement them gradually. Besides, we should modernize our country using the experience of world’s leading states.”¹ President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, I.A.Karimov.

According to our compatriot researcher A.Sharapov the cooperation of Uzbekistan with South-East Asian countries is based on political and economic conditions and has its special goals and tasks. However, the countries have one common position regarding global and regional, particularly, fight against terrorism, drug traffic and testing nuclear weapons.²

In order to understand deeply the main features of interstate relations’ development we could have a look at the gradual development of the cooperation between Uzbekistan and leading countries of the region: Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Vietnam.

Uzbekistan - Malaysia. Diplomatic relations between two countries were established on the February 21, 1992. Development of the cooperation between Uzbekistan and Malaysia can be noted by the fact that there are some similarities between them in many aspects. For example, in Malaysia the majority of the indigenous population is Malays, in its turn, Uzbekistan’s indigenous population mostly consists of Uzbeks. In Central Asia Uzbekistan is the most populated country. And it is also considered to be rich in recourses and to have a strong base of agriculture. Initially, Malaysia’s economics was based on traditional agriculture. Though the state religion is Islam in Malaysia, other religions are not prohibited. In Uzbekistan there is the policy of religious tolerance as well. Furthermore, the state development programs also resemble: the strategic program of Uzbekistan is similar to Malaysia’s strategic program “Perspective-2020” in many ways.

1 I.A.Karimov. Speech on the celebration of 17th anniversary of independence of Uzbekistan. – T.17. Our main task is to provide a progressive and sustainable development of the country. – Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 2009. – p. 6-7

2 A.A.Sharapov. Integration processes in the region of Asian-Pacific//Economy and law. – Tashkent, 2004. - №4. – p.75-77

For Uzbekistan it is of great significance to cooperate with Malaysia which is considered to be the leading state in ASEAN.³ Especially, Uzbekistan is interested in the attraction of investments from the region of South-East Asia in order to implement high technology in the country and to supply Uzbek goods to the markets of South East Asia. Therefore, regarding the issues of growing international terrorism and religious extremism it is of great importance to cooperate within OIC.⁴ In the geopolitical aspect Uzbekistan is in the centre of Asia and it has a multilateral policy. For Uzbekistan cooperating with such a prestigious country as Malaysia is considered to be one of the main factors which influence the stability in the region. In addition, the cooperation with Muslim countries leads to prospective future. It must be noted that in 2007 the initiative of UNESCO on choosing Tashkent as the cultural capital of Islam was wholly supported by Malaysia. Both Uzbekistan and Malaysia have supported each other's initiatives on the world arena. For instance, Uzbekistan has always supported the candidacy of Malaysia in the structures of the UN, particularly, in 1997 in ECOSOS, in 1998 its temporary membership in Security Council, in 1997, in 2001 and in 2005 in international tribunal on Yugoslavia, in 2003 in international tribunal on Ruanda, in 2004 in the Committee of eradicating all kinds of female discrimination, in 2008 the candidacy of Malaysia for chairmanship in the Committee of Kodeks Alimentarius.⁵ In 2007 Uzbekistan also supported Malaysia's membership in the Executive council of International civil aviation. Malaysia has been supporting the initiatives of Uzbekistan on transforming Central Asia into a nuclear-free zone, on forming a Common market in Central Asia. Also, Malaysia was in favour of Uzbekistan's participation in the Dialogue on Asian cooperation in 2006.⁶ Furthermore, Malaysia as well as other OIC countries supported Uzbekistan's position when the 61-session, confidential process No 1503 of UN Committee on human rights took place in 2005 (the session was devoted to the situation regarding the issue of human rights in Uzbekistan).⁷

Frequent mutual high-level visits demonstrate that both of the states are interested in mutual cooperation. In 1992 the president of Uzbekistan I.A.Karimov visited Malaysia, and in 1993 the prime-minister of Malaysia M.Mukhammad visited Uzbekistan. In 2003 there was paid a visit to Uzbekistan by the king of Malaysia Tuank Said Sirojiddin Said Jamalullayla. In 2005 the president of Uzbekistan I.A.Karimov paid one more state visit to Malaysia. In 1997 between two states there were signed important agreements, particularly, intergovernmental treaties on increasing investments and on mutual avoidance of taxations. On the base of the Treaty on trade there was set a

3 A.G.Hudoyberdiev. Political-legal foundations of the Uzbek-Malaysian cooperation: the collection of theoretical and practical seminar at Tashkent state institute of Oriental studies. Tashkent, 2011, - p.81-83

4 F.U.Usarov. Uzbek-Malaysian relations are developing//Our national values are our spiritual wealth. The collection of theoretical and practical conference. – Tashkent, 2006. – p.74-75

5 F.U.Usarov. Uzbekistan's cooperation with South-East Asian countries (on the example of Malaysia). – Tashkent: Uzbekistan National state University, 2010. – p.28

6 Malaysia's foreign policy: Continuity & Change; edited by Abdul Razak Baginda. – Malaysia: Marshall Cavendish Editions, 2007. – P. 186.

7 I.Jurayev. Uzbekistan's mutual cooperation with South-East Asian countries: the collection of theoretical and practical seminar at UWED. Tashkent, 2010. – p.75

prosperous favourable course. These signed agreements led to the creation of joint projects between two sides, for example, regarding investments there were worked out joint projects with Malaysian corporation "Petronas". Together representatives of two states have been doing geological research in the Aral coastal zone, in Ustyurt plateau and in Surkhandarya and they have discovered new mines as well. In addition, they are developing a technical-economic base of the project on building a plant which would produce synthetic liquefied fuel from methane. According to the international information agency "United Press International" (the USA) "Petronas" is considered to be a source of some more flows of foreign currency and to be a good ground for the increasing levels of Uzbekistan's gas produce and its export.

In order to develop the cooperation in the sphere of transportation links Uzbekistan has offered its service in the international logistics centre which was set up on the base of Navoi international airport. Such cooperation gives Malaysia a chance to enter the markets of Central Asia. And this, in its turn, means that Uzbekistan is considered to be a bridge in the cooperation with the countries of South-East Asia.

Uzbekistan is one of the main trade partners of Malaysia in Central Asia. According to the data of Uzbekistan's Committee of state statistics turnover made up \$76,3 million in 2012.⁸ In 2013 this index went up to \$78 million.⁹ Nowadays Uzbekistan holds the 3rd place in the list of CIS countries with whom Malaysia has bilateral and investment relations.

Historical and cultural commonality, as well as the fact that Uzbekistan and Malaysia's tourism infrastructures are developed can be considered as the main factor which strengthens bilateral cooperation in the sphere of tourism.

Nations of Uzbekistan and Malaysia have a lot in common, particularly, eagerness to strengthen peace and stability, to solve conflicts in a peaceful way, fight against terrorism, drug traffic and commonality in religion, traditions, customs and way of life.

Uzbekistan - Indonesia. Diplomatic relations were established on the 23rd June, 1992. Although territorially Uzbekistan and Indonesia are far from each other the two states are close in history, culture and religion.

These two states are actively developing bilateral relations in the spheres of politics, economics and culture. The president of Uzbekistan I.A.Karimov paid an official visit to Indonesia in 1992. In its turn, the president of Indonesia Suharto visited Uzbekistan in 1995. During these visits there were set legal foundations of bilateral relations, there were identified the main directions of the cooperation. Long before this in 1956 the former president of Indonesia Sukarno visited Samarkand and went to such sightseeing places as the mausoleum of famous theological scientist Imom Bukhoi and Qusam-ibn-Abbos in the memorial complex of Shohi-Zinda mausoleum.

⁸ http://mfa.uz/rus/mej_sotr/uzbekistan_i_strani_mira/uzbekistan_strani_atr/

⁹ http://kommersant.uz/intervyu?mode=view&post_id=1268802

There is an intergovernmental memorandum in the sphere of tourism which has been functioning since 1955.¹⁰ If we have a look at the main features of bilateral relations in the first years the atmosphere of cooperation was rather warm. However, the economic crisis which hit East-Asian countries in the 1990-s had an influence on bilateral relations and caused suspension of some beneficial projects for both sides. Furthermore, at the beginning of the XXI century Indonesia overcame the economic crisis and restored its position in the international market by activating foreign business relations gradually.¹¹

Starting from 2004 Indonesia again expanded the cooperation with Uzbekistan and in the same year there was organized an exhibition of Indonesian goods. In 2005 there were organized business meetings and visits of Indonesian businessmen in order to strengthen business relations between two states.

Nowadays bilateral relations between Uzbekistan and Indonesia are developing on the base of such documents as “The intergovernmental agreement on economic and technical cooperation”, “The intergovernmental agreement on the protection and support of incomes” and “The intergovernmental agreement on avoidance of double taxation”.¹²

Mutual trade is limited by a number of goods and services and it does not meet the economic opportunities of two states. In 2012 turnover was \$15 million¹³, in 2013 it was \$17 million.¹⁴

As the base of the development of the Uzbek-Indonesian relationships we can consider two states’ high potential in the sphere of tourism and issues of mutual cooperation. Learning Indonesian experience and implementing it in the industry of tourism can be beneficial to the potential growth of tourism in our country and to its profitability.

Most of the population in Indonesia is Muslims. Every year they set out on a pilgrimage. Uzbekistan’s lots of Islam sightseeing places, particularly, mausoleums of such theological and religious scientists as Al-Bukhori, Nakshbandi, At-Termizi are very popular in Indonesia.

In our opinion, there is a great opportunity of the growth of tourist flow from Indonesia and transforming Uzbekistan into a sub continental touristic center by organizing travel tours for visiting historical sightseeing places of Uzbekistan.

There is a mutual Commission on bilateral cooperation between the governments of Uzbekistan and Indonesia which has been functioning since 2009.

10 Indonesia’s foreign policy in the current global era. Presented by Nicholas T.Dammen, Director General/head of policy planning and development agency Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia. – Tashkent, 28 November, 2005. – P.13-14.

11 On the way to multinational, fair and prospering country: the speech of the president of Indonesia Megawati Sukarnoputri at Moscow state institute of international relations, Ministry of foreign affairs of Russia, April 23, 2003.

12 Indonesia’s foreign policy in the current global era. Presented by Nicholas T.Dammen, Director General/head of policy planning and development agency Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia. – Tashkent, 28 November, 2005. – P. 5-6.

13 http://mfa.uz/rus/mej_sotr/uzbekistan_i_strani_mira/uzbekistan_strani_atr/

14 http://kommersant.uz/intervyu?mode=view&post_id=1035002

In September, 2002 there was established a friendship society “Uzbekistan-Indonesia” in order to develop further friendship, cooperation and cultural relations between two states. In September, 1997 there was signed a Protocol on the establishment of sworn brotherhood relations between Samarkand and Banda-Acheh.

There is a study center of the Indonesian language at Samarkand University of economics and technique which has been functioning since 2001. In this center about 20 students study for free annually.¹⁵ There is a Cabinet of the Indonesian language and culture at Samarkand World Languages University. In addition, the Indonesian language is taught there as an optional subject.

At regional and multilateral level both states are members of authoritative international organizations, particularly, UNO, OIC. What’s more, the positions of the two states in these organizations are directed for supporting each other. For instance, Uzbekistan has supported temporary membership of Indonesian the UN Security Council, also Indonesia got support of Uzbekistan in Human Rights Council, Council of international communications union, UN ECOSOC and UNEP. Indonesia has supported Uzbekistan’s position on the issue of human rights. Thus, on the ground of bilateral economic relations development impulses have arisen for the last years. However, Uzbekistan and Indonesia have been developing not accordingly to their trade potential.

According to the analysis of studied resources diplomatic relations between two states are developing successfully. Furthermore, in the dynamic growth of global threats mutual cooperation in the spheres of security, politics, economics and culture is growing rapidly.

Uzbekistan-Singapore. In 1997 diplomatic relations between Uzbekistan and Singapore were established. Political-legal foundation of the relations was maintained during the visit of the president of Uzbekistan I.A.Karimov to Singapore in 2007. Both of the states are interested in the expansion of different relations. For Singapore cooperation with our country means an access to the markets of Central Asia and CIS, for Uzbekistan this means free cooperation with ASEAN countries as Singapore is an active and influential member of this organization.

Uzbekistan and Singapore have common attitudes towards regional and international problems; these two states also consider the exchange of experience in the spheres of economics, culture, education and techniques very important. Furthermore, both states have common attitude towards fight against terrorism, drug traffic, organized transnational crime.

The main factor in maintaining regional security we can see close cooperation and similar attitudes of two states. In addition, cooperation within the frames of such international organizations as UNO, MAGATE, Asian bank of development is also of great significance.

Singapore wholly supports Uzbekistan’s position on transforming Central Asia into a nuclear-free zone. In its turn, Singapore also played a significant role in creating

15 D.Ahmedov. Uzbekistan-Indonesia: activization of relations // <http://iqtisod.zn.uz/2588>.

an analogical zone in South-East Asia. For these two states mutually beneficial cooperation is related to implementing modern technologies in industry, particularly, in production of petrochemical products, pharmacy, electronics and high-tech products and exporting them to the third-world countries. If we analyze the development of cooperation between two states, we can see that cooperation in such spheres as energetics, electrotechnology, petrochemistry, information-telecommunications, textile manufacture, tourism, banking and finance sector and important directions of the economics.

Furthermore, there was set a prosperous favourable course of relations by two states and there is being developed attraction of investments into such perspective fields of Uzbekistan as gas-and-oil producing industry, petrochemistry and light industry, information-telecommunications, electrotechnology, transport infrastructure, private business, tourism in the frames of various agreements.¹⁶

Regarding the cooperation between our country and Singapore it can be noted that our president I.A.Karimov asserts that “cooperation with the countries of South-East Asia is one of the main perspectives of our foreign policy”.¹⁷ Such factors as the economic potential of Singapore, Uzbekistan’s natural resources, its geographic location, the legal foundation for investment and business activities contribute much to the development of bilateral relations.

In our opinion, according to the views of the local researcher P.S.Azizhonova mutually beneficial cooperation between two states includes:

- Cooperation in finance and banking sector. Close ties between financial institutes and banks can contribute to the increase of mutual investments and trade;
- The factors that Uzbekistan is rich in the sources of raw materials and Singapore is rich in hi-tech industry and financial sources can attract Singapore companies in exploring, mining and refining hydrocarbon and other raw materials;
- Attracting high potential beneficial investments from Singapore in mining and refining non-ferrous and valuable metals;
- Uzbekistan’s interest in the cooperation with Singapore companies is explained by the active business in the sphere of “hi-tech” led by these companies. Because in Uzbekistan information-telecommunications are developing at a high level and these Singapore companies can get much profit here. The attractiveness of this sector can also be explained by the fact that at the modern technology market of Uzbekistan there can be found products of big Japanese, Korean, German, Russian, Chinese and other companies;
- Such factors as climate conditions, uniqueness of historical and religious monuments, direct air-routes with big cities and all continents, mountain sport identify

16 Singapur’s foreign policy: Continuity & Change; edited by Abdul Razak Baginda. – Singapur: Marshall Cavendish Editions, 2007. – P. 186.

17 Uzbekistan intends to attract \$1,3 billion investments from Singapore 24.01.2007. - <http://www.easttime.ru/news/1/3/133.html>

the main directions of cooperation in attracting more investments into the economics of Uzbekistan;

- Uzbekistan's interest in the development of relations in such fields as training of specialists and education;

- Cooperation in creating and regulating special export and economic zones in Uzbekistan, maintaining the integration between transcontinental transportation corridors and our transport infrastructure;¹⁸

In our country Singaporean companies' rely on full support. In its turn, Uzbekistan is ready to provide all necessary conditions for Singapore companies.

Thus, the fact that Uzbekistan and Singapore have similar positions on a lot of issues and that they do not have any political conflicts really leads to mutually beneficial cooperation. For our country Singapore's experience is especially useful in the case of adaptation processes in the world crisis.

Furthermore, according to Times Educational Supplement (TES) Singapore has set the best program of training professional specialists and has a really good system of education. In accordance with this for our country it's of great interest to learn Singapore experience in this sphere.

Among the countries of South-East Asia Singapore has the biggest amount of goods turnover with Uzbekistan. In 2003-2005 the amount of turnover between two states was \$76,1 million, in 2006 it made up \$86,2 million.¹⁹

In 2011 the goods turnover exceeded \$101 million.²⁰ In 2012 it made up \$178 million.²¹ For the last several years the amount of goods turnover has been constantly increasing. But this is not about to stop, because the potential of two countries are at a high level and their cooperation will constantly develop at the same level.

Uzbek-Vietnam cooperation. Vietnam recognized Uzbekistan's independence on December 27, 1991 and on January 17, 1992 the diplomatic relations were established. In 1993 the embassy of Vietnam was opened in Tashkent.

In 1996 the president of Uzbekistan I.A.Karimov paid an official visit to Vietnam. As a conclusion of this visit there was signed an agreement on the base of interstate relations, cooperation and some intergovernmental conventions. The legal foundation of this consists of 13 intergovernmental documents. On July 26-28, 2010 a 3-level Uzbek-Vietnam political consultations (between the Ministries of foreign affairs) and a 4-level Uzbek-Vietnam meeting of Intergovernmental commission took place. On September 9-13, 2010 the minister of team security of BCP Le Hong Anya visited Uzbekistan in order to develop comprehensive cooperation. During this visit

18 P.S.Azizhonova. Singapore and Malaysia in the foreign policy of Uzbekistan // The collection of theoretical and practical conference at Tashkent state institute of oriental studies. – Tashkent, 2009. – p.76-77

19 Uzbekistan and Singapore: an important step on the way of development of cooperation - <http://www.uzembassy.ru/1641.htm>

20 http://mfa.uz/rus/mej_sotr/uzbekistan_i_strani_mira/uzbekistan_strani_atr/

21 Tashkent and Singapore signed several documents on bilateral cooperation. - <http://www.podrobno.uz/uz/cat/politics/tashkent-i-singapur-podpisali-ryad-soglasheni/>

there was signed an intergovernmental agreement on joint fight against terrorism, organized crime and others.²²

In December 2010 the ambassador of Uzbekistan to Indonesia was appointed as an ambassador concurrently to Vietnam.

On November 17-21, 2010 some representative businessmen under the guidance of the deputy minister of industry and trade of BCP visited Uzbekistan in order to develop bilateral cooperation in the sphere of economics and to continue implementing signed agreements. During the visit there were signed 2 memorandums on cooperation in the sphere of light industry. In May 2014 some staff representatives of Prosecutor General's Office of Vietnam visited Uzbekistan. As a conclusion of visit a memorandum on bilateral cooperation was signed.

In addition, the turnover indexes between Uzbekistan and Vietnam do not correspond to the economic trade, investment cooperation perspectives of two states. In 2012 the turnover was \$10,6 million, in 2013 it made up \$13,5 million.²³

In order to develop the cooperation in cultural-humanitarian sphere there has been functioning a friendship society "Uzbekistan-Vietnam" and "Vietnam-Uzbekistan" since December, 1995. During 2014 both of the states exchanged several visits in the sphere of cultural cooperation.

The analysis of relationship development between Uzbekistan and ASEAN countries shows that these relations are developing gradually and constantly in a full accordance with their mutual consent.

The main focus is on the cooperation in the sphere of tourism and on strengthening economic relations. Our foreign policy which is based on the balance of power since the end of XX century has not changed its status and this means that in the XXI century Uzbekistan will continue to cooperate with ASEAN members in the same mode. Uzbekistan is an active supporter of strengthening the cooperation in such spheres as exploring and mining mineral resources, energetic sources and development of tourism. Signed agreements and similar positions on resolving international problems show that mutual relations between these states will succeed in positive perspectives in future.

22 http://mfa.uz/rus/mej_sotr/uzbekistan_i_strani_mira/uzbekistan_strani_atr/

23 Uzbekistan and Vietnam discussed the development of economic relations. - <http://www.gazeta.uz/2014/09/13/vietnam/>

Globalization & Central Asia: Challenges, Threats & Responds

R.Khuramov

Researcher at IR Dept., UWED

Abstract: *As an irreversible process, globalization is going relentlessly, binding the world not only with new opportunities but also with untraditional challenges. Facing with the new challenges states in different regions trying to find their deserving place in international system. Globalization had also put the fundamental questions to the countries and peoples of Central Asia (CA) region. These questions include itself different areas like, to what extent and in what time frame Central Asia and its newly independent states will be able to realize their potential and adapt the new realities of the millennium, how they formulate their independent foreign policies based on national interests, how to overcome the economic and social problems, and how to find solutions to the issues of intra-regional stability and counter external threats. For above mentioned reasons it is very crucial to analyze the whole complex of challenges and threats confronting the region, and also military political aspects of regional security, great power contests in CA, those could prevent the region to become full-fledged members globalization process and could have serious impacts to regional stability.*

Key words: *Central Asia, globalization, regional security, great power contests, geopolitics, CSTO, SCO*

Globalization & Central Asia

Globalization has become the most urgent issue of our time, which is discussed largely among scholars, in newspapers and academies. As an important feature of the contemporary international system, it is making the world more borderless (Kenichi Ohmae) and promoting higher interdependence (J.Nye, R.Keohane) among states and also going relentlessly. Development in the sphere of communication and in the field of advanced technologies had made the world more globalized and interconnected.¹

As an irreversible process, globalization means a near uniformity of conditions across states. Nowadays, globalization also associated with hopes for a better life, moving freely across the borderless world, obtaining the first-hand information and get educated in the best universities around the universe. Global markets have become more accessible and open, and it has allowed many third world and developing countries to adopt export-oriented policy, to achieve impressive economic gains.

Nowadays, as a significant result of globalization interdependence processes among states are being associated with peace and peace increasingly with democracy. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in their 1977 book, *Power and Interdependence*, strengthened the notion that interdependence promotes peace and limits the use of force

¹ Globalization and Governance Author(s): Kenneth N. Waltz Source: *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 32, No. 4, (Dec., 1999), pp. 693-700 Published by: American Political Science Association. P 2

by arguing that simple interdependence had become complex interdependence, binding the economic and hence the political interests of states ever more tightly together.²

Nevertheless, after the end of the Cold War, which expected by many scholars to open more opportunities, making the world more integrated and considered to be as a unique historical chance for the formation of a new international order. However, recent processes happening around the world show us contradicting view of this trend. The states are facing with new challenges and threats those are shaping their characters in providing domestic and foreign policies. Because cross-border movement of people, goods and ideas is faster and easier than ever before, states have lost many of their gatekeeper rights and at the same time, non-state actors are getting more power to exercise in international arena. Moreover, many scholars characterize today's international system by existing numerous centers with meaningful power. We are also observing the development diffusion of power among nation-state actors and the rising multitude of non-state actors (such as religious institutions, media, and militias), as well as states within nation-states (such as mega-cities like New York or Shanghai).³ According to American expert on foreign policy issues R. Haass, today nation-states are losing their monopoly on power as globalization transitions power from the Westphalia construct to a more nonpolar (diffused) state of affairs.⁴

The well-known American economist Joseph Stiglitz in his several works also made some sharp criticism according to a number of contemporary globalization trends. He argues that globalization destroys the industry in developing countries, promotes the growth of unemployment around the world, encourages poverty and exacerbates the environmental catastrophe on the planet. He also criticizes the policies of global institutions: WTO, IMF - which, in his opinion, use the globalization and its ideology (free trade, access to raw materials, the intervention of international institutions to the domestic politics of countries) in order to seek the interest of the most developed countries.

Furthermore, after the Cold War, new untraditional threats have replaced the threats and contradictions of previous traditional ones. The stability of many countries and whole regions are shaken by conflicts connected with interethnic and inter-confessional tensions, religious extremism, and aggressive separatism. At the same time, the huge gap between the poor and the rich countries, inequalities among people are enlarging. In different parts of the world, the drug trafficking growing, organized crime crossed national frontiers and assumed truly global proportions.⁵

In this kind of period of incertitude, nation-states could found themselves less defended against the old and new challenges.

2 Globalization and Governance Author(s): Kenneth N. Waltz Source: Political Science and Politics, Vol. 32, No. 4, (Dec., 1999), pp. 693-700 Published by: American Political Science Association. P 2

3 The Age of Nonpolarity; What Will Follow U.S. Dominance/ Richard N. Haass
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2008-05-03/age-nonpolarity>

4 <https://amsp14-01.wikispaces.com/file/view/Richard+Haass+ +Hopkins.pdf>

5 Eurasia's Cross-Border Threats. Ulugbeck Khasanov. October 18, 2013.

<http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/10/18/eurasia-s-cross-border-threats-pub-53347>

Being a crucial part of this global village Central Asia is playing an important role in international political and economic relations. Due to its location, the region has a great potential to become a key transport crossroad of transcontinental trade turnover between the North and South, East and West. Today according to scholars the main factors those define the role of Central Asia in a global village are - the presence of solid oil and gas reserves in the region, allocation of transit and communication routes, nearness to the strategic Caspian Sea. The region also has considerable amounts of other minerals, including deposits of non-ferrous, rare and precious metals and uranium. Moreover, Central Asia is the unique part of the world, which is linking the four nuclear powers - Russia, China, India and Pakistan.

Nevertheless, in the period of globalization Central Asian states are attracting the world community not only with above mentioned positive features, but also with a wide range of threats coming from within the region and neighboring states, those could negatively impact to the further development of the region. After the collapse of Soviet Union, the process of nation-building was successful and rapid in some states of the region and has been a slow and agonizing experience in others, involving both domestic and regional rivalries as well as international influences and pressures. Analysts also argue that during the years of independence, borders between Central Asian states became more closed and insecure, interdependence is failed.

With ever-increasing rate of tensions testing the tenacity of interstate relations, today Central Asia is living through controversial transitional period when understanding of its specific needs and tendencies, strengths and weaknesses, which are critically important in consolidating it into a sustainable transforming entity. Unfortunately, not everyone wishes to share that common understanding today. It is true that regional issues such as the irrational distribution of trans-boundary water resources, terrorism, drug- trafficking and crime, corruption, ecological problems and ethnic conflicts have become the regions widespread concerns.

At the same time great powers of the world also initiating different kind of projects and creating mechanisms in order to seek their interests in the region. What is more important is that, foreign powers do not only follow their national interests and create cooperative institutions, but also immediately counter reacting each others actions concerning the issues of Central Asia. That's, why it is very important to analyze the whole complex of challenges and threats those preventing the region to become full-fledged members of globalization process.

Challenges, Threats & Responds

Evidence demonstrates, over the past two decades, Central Asia with the emergence of new trade relationships and transit infrastructures in the region, has begun to integrate to world community. Moreover, during the time of CA reconnection to the world has been underway, the center of economic dynamism in the world has increasingly shifted from the West to the East. We observed the new tendency which was called «the rise of the rest», in which some regional powers increased their wealth

and power, with enlarging their economic and political influence around the world. The impact of these shifts to the region, were enormous, because of their serious impacts to the regions prosperity and survival.

However, at the present stage, there are several challenges coming from within the region, from which the political and economic situation in Central Asia has been estimated by experts. First of all, it is the continuing crises in Afghanistan, it's impending threat to the region and remaining uncertainty around the issue of withdrawal of ISAF forces from IRA. Over the past few years, by the efforts of the Afghan National Unity Government and by the help international community there have created necessary steps for the conflict resolution and state building in this country. Kabul, has established constructive cooperation with all countries of the bordering regions and took part in the work of regional and international mechanisms. Over the past decade, the country adopted a constitution, held presidential and parliamentary elections, formed security forces, which already took control over some provinces.

However, today we are observing the destabilizing situation in the country. There are numerous remaining challenges and threats to the stability that are of particular concern in the context of the uncertain withdrawal of the international coalition. Afghan national forces and ISAF have not yet managed to solve the main task in the country - to ensure the security and sustainable economic development of the country. «Al-Qaeda», «Taliban», ISIL and other radical groups still pose a serious threat both in the center and in some regions of the country.

In recent years, particular concern involves the penetration of terrorist groups in the north of Afghanistan, where a few years ago, the situation was relatively calm. Rapid activation of these groups may not only destabilize the stability in Afghanistan, but also poses a potential threat to the transfer of terrorist and extremist activities in the neighboring countries. Under these conditions, the withdrawal of international coalition forces could lead to further increased tensions in Afghanistan, with negative consequences for whole Central Asia region.

Besides, there are also continuing tensions and mistrust in inter-state relations among the countries of the CA region and around it. Moreover, there are a lot of threats with a latent character, challenges caused by decreasing the socio-economic development, along with non-traditional security threats (periodically aggravated problems: ethno-territorial, border management issues, ethnic tensions, illegal cross-border trade, drug trafficking issues and etc.) and also traditional military threats.

Experts argue that, in terms of economic relations the region is not seen as a stable market, and desirable place for investment. So far the region has been valued only because of abundant raw materials and their export. As the American expert B.Rumer considers that, “the economic situation in Central Asia completely depends on world prices for raw goods and metals, and inflow of foreign investments”. This means raw materials orientation of the national economies of Central Asian countries at any moment can burst as a result, of an unexpected fall in world prices. (For example, the economic situation in Kazakhstan after the fall of oil prices in 2014.)

With above mentioned, issues we may consider that, the region has a lot of opportunities and challenges. But, so far the states of CA have not created regional adequate mechanisms to ensure regional stability. All the economic and political integrational institutions in the region (SCO, CSTO, C5+1,) have been created by the foreign powers following their national interests.

For example, according to experts Russia still considers the region as a «near abroad» and «zone of it's privileged interests». Moscow is continuing to enhance ties with the states of the region in political, economic and military spheres. According to experts, «Russian policies in Central Asia are shaped by three divergent perspectives. The geopolitical/military perspective focuses on the great power competition in the region; the perspective of the Russian energy industry focuses on securing exclusive rights for gas transit from the region to Europe; and the security perspective focuses on the transnational threats to Russia caused by radical Islamism, terrorism, and drug smuggling through the region».⁶

If Moscow has no «clear policy» towards the Central Asia during the 1990s, and however some experts argue today that, Russia is more «busy» with the Middle East, it has a strong involvement in CA and states of the region are the important foreign policy priority for Russian policymakers. As the NATO-led international coalition forces are looking to withdraw from IRA, Russia—are stepping up her military engagement in the region. Experts consider that, today some Central Asian countries are fully dependent on the provision with new armaments and could not cut down their military and military-technical dependence on Russia, which leads to the rise Moscow influence upon the region. Russian policymakers also want that Moscow to remain the main security provider for the region.

Furthermore, «the Russian Federation (RF) Foreign Policy Concept (FP) of 2013 speaks both to the opportunities and the value of the Central Asia region to Russia – and also to the risks and challenges. On the one hand, an array of interests is not hard to identify: vital geopolitical position, economic and trade opportunities, lasting Russian cultural impact, presence of Russian-speaking communities, etc. On risks and challenges, the FP Concept notes that “Russia will build up cooperation with the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) Member States in ensuring mutual security, including joint efforts to combat drug trafficking, transnational crime, and illegal migration. Priorities here are the neutralisation of specified threats coming from the territory of Afghanistan and the prevention of destabilisation of the situation in Central Asia.” In its focus on destabilising factors, Russia’s National Security Strategy to 2020 identifies the following risks: development of nationalistic mindset, xenophobia, separatism, and violent extremism, including religious radicalisation. The National Security Strategy document underscores the need to consolidate the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO), the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), and other

⁶ Russian-Central Asian Security Relations. Dmitry Gorenburg. [https://russiamil.wordpress.com/2012/03/28/russian-central-
asian-security-relations/](https://russiamil.wordpress.com/2012/03/28/russian-central-asian-security-relations/)

organisations, and to develop bilateral cooperation in the military and political spheres».⁷

Here we can conclude that, the major reason of Russian involvement in Central Asia is first of all security issues and then economics.

Today the role of Beijing in Central Asia rising not only in the sphere of economics but also for the past two years PRC also increasing military cooperation with the states of the region. China has also creating a new kind of platforms (One belt one road, Four-side alliance which was established in august 2016 in Urumqi as a military block against terrorism, participants China, Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan) in order to strengthen the dialogue with CA countries.

Moreover, «the Chinese are willing to fund long-term infrastructure projects in Central Asia that the Russian government cannot afford and private Western companies typically eschew. Chinese authorities have refrained from leveraging these economic assets to gain military facilities in Central Asia, which Beijing clearly sees as falling within Moscow's security sphere, a state of affairs that Chinese leaders prefer to continue. China has not discouraged the Russian military buildup in the region or the CSTO's expanding powers and has restrained its sale of arms to Central Asian militaries. The main threats to China in Central Asia—the “three evil forces” of regional terrorism, religious extremism, and ethnic separatism—are asymmetric and transnational, best addressed by good intelligence, law enforcement, and other non-military tools».⁸

In the near future Chinese mechanisms and integrative institutions will seriously change the political, economic and military landscape of the region.

In 2015 paying an official visit to CA states ex US secretary of state J.Kerry launched a new project «C5+1», in order to create a new dialogue platform with Central Asian states. Kerry's visit to Central Asia occurred in a quite complex and crucial period for US foreign policy in the region. More recently, the US interest in Central Asia, mainly judged in the context of the «Afghan problem» (that this was an administrative framework within which the Central Asian issues were addressed in the US State Department, in a context of South Asia). Now, more and more attention is given on relations with Russia, in particular, countering the further expansion of Moscow's influence in the former Soviet space, due to the recent Ukrainian crisis. Therefore, Central Asia returns to Washington's foreign policy perspective, as a more in the post-Soviet context, not mainly Afghan politics. Also, in 2015 laying out the new U.S. approach, ex Deputy Secretary of State Antony Blinken noted that US favors «integrating Central Asia into a global, rules based system, especially the WTO». According to specialists, «the new U.S. approach towards the region is less Afghan-centric, and more focused on governance and the role of the private sector». Meanwhile, Russian expert A.Kazantsev considers that, «important

7 Russia's role and interests in Central Asia. Craig Oliphant. 2013/ Saferworld

8 Russia, China, and Central Asia: Time for Decision. Richard Weitz, Center for Political-Military Analysis, Hudson Institute.
<http://www.theasanforum.org/russia-china-and-central-asia-time-for-decision/>

priorities for the United States in Central Asia remain the fight against international terrorism and control the growth of Chinese influence».

These trends suggest us that in the near perspectives, the condition of strategic uncertainty remains as a main tendency in and around Central Asia and could have ambiguous impacts to the military political situation of the region. Many of the current discussions about Central Asia do a real injustice to what has happened over the more than two decades of statehood in this part of the world and totally remove it from the context of global trends and problems more generally.

Furthermore, «the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet system changed the agenda in international relations. Now, security policy has become multidimensional and focused on the vital issues of territorial integrity and border security, combining in the process both the internal and external security issues of any given state. Cross-border threats are not necessarily directed against the state, but they have the potential to destabilize the political situation within a country and impact interstate relations».⁹

Conclusions

As other regions of the world, Central Asia today has also become a crucial globalization process. Nevertheless, because of the various factors, the region is not in the best conditions within the framework of global competition. This is connected with a number of above mentioned factors. Creating a stable military political situation depends on not only Central Asian states, but also great power relations around the region. Furthermore, a way towards globalization for Central Asian countries begins at home. First of all, the states should create a stable internal markets with a package of policies including the openness to investment and trade, and a stable currency. In the period of globalization stability of markets, predictability and transparency are highly valued by global traders and investors.

Further step towards globalization is from creating stable economies the countries of the region should create common markets, for exchanging their goods. It is obvious to create common institutions, because the structure of regional economic relations is not in best condition. It is very important learning the international experience for creating a regional common market. As international experience shows, creating attractive common market can be realized step by step. However, there are some preventing factors to regional integration and creating a common market.

After creating common market and regional integration, the way towards global markets would be open. The failure of the integration process in the majority of countries in the region, leads to a growing impoverishment of the population and provides a fertile ground for dangerous rivalry of regional and global powers for the influence in the region. What is more important is the challenges coming from the region represents a serious concern to the entire international community, and requires a

⁹ Eurasia's Cross-Border Threats. Ulugbeck Khasanov. October 18, 2013.
<http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/10/18/eurasia-s-cross-border-threats-pub-53347>

coordinated policy of the region, and requires further deepening of regional and international cooperation.

In the first quarter of the twenty-first century, the dominant paradigm for the development of the region will be the strengthening of political and cultural interaction that takes place at the backdrop of economic integration.

Summarizing all we can conclude that, Key Trends those will shape the future of CA in a globalized world.

As mentioned above in modern Central Asia, in spite of the abundant human and natural potential, there are serious global and regional challenges those have negative impacts in shaping the future of the region. All the threats coming from the region are transnational character.

The global trends those possess negative consequences to the stabilization of Central Asia and a forming new security architecture in the region in the age of globalization are:

- Further development of depletion of sources of export raw materials at the global level, accompanied by a rise in prices of energy and intensification of the struggle for the possession of them, that not only affects the regional markets for goods, capital and labor, but also affects the system of the national governments;

- The further polarization of international relations in the framework of intergovernmental organizations; on the one hand, it is the SCO and CSTO, in which Russia and China, on the other hand - NATO and the EU, Western structures, are stepping up efforts to strengthen its position in the region;

- The transformation of China and India as a new «locomotives» of global economic growth and the rising of their influence in Central Asian region;

- To preserve and possibly enhancing imbalance in the areas of trade and capital flows that will cause fluctuations in exchange rates and the need for restructuring of national economies;

- Accepting the region as an area of clash of interests of the leading powers of the world. (Primarily geopolitical triangle - Russia, the United States and China).

Korean Dilemma: Past & Future

Y.Ara

*Researcher, Visiting
MA Student at UWED,
Hankuk University,
Republic of Korea*

Abstract: *Since the national division of Korean peninsula in year 1945, unification of the South and the North have been always an issue not only for the North and the South but also for the whole global country. But the reunification of Korean peninsula is 'a double-edged sword'. After the end of Cold war, the structures of East Asia order have been changed and the security order surrounding the Korean peninsula also became the new threat in 21st century, and international society now have burden to resolve North Korea's nuclear problem. South Korea's main goal is to prevent war near Korean peninsula and to unify the North. However there comes a dilemma when the South seek to improve relations between the U.S or Japan where the North and China feel threatened. If the South seek to improve relations between the North and China, it will lead the relationship with the U.S and Japan estrange. Since the division, South Korea have made progresses to approach to North Korea, and it is time for North Korea to change, for the greater point, the reunification of Korean peninsula.*

Key words: *South Korea, North Korea, Korean peninsula, East Asia, Dilemma, Reunification, International Relations*

What is a dilemma to Korean peninsula? We say reunification of Korean peninsula is a dilemma. Like the most of other things in all around the world, reunification of Korean peninsula, the great hope of Korean, the long-cherished desire of all Korean, has pros-and-cons at the same time. It cannot be thought as a good thing vaguely, but also cannot be excluded or disregarded easily. This irony wish – is the reunification of Korean peninsula. There is a word called 'a double-edged sword'. Explaining the simple and reasonable logic; 'If someone gain something, that person can lose something too' is the best phrase to express the reunification dilemma.

The world including South Korea discuss about how the Korean peninsula got divided and how they may be reunified via communication, negotiation, regime collapse or war at last. Since the national division in August 1945, many assessments were made seeking ways for reunification, yet some analysis insists hopeless, for the dilemma Korean peninsula has. Critical analysists asserts shifting relations among the countries of Northeast Asia, North Korea's nuclear weapons and questions whether U.S.-South Korean alliance will maintain or not, will affect the relationship between the North and the South.

The term dilemma describes a situation in which a difficult choice should be made between two different things. With the existential uncertainty that lies in all human relations, especially those taking place in the arena of international relations, the

German scholar John H. Herz coined the term ‘security dilemma’ in his book *Political Realism and Political Idealism* in 1951, describing security dilemma as “A structural notion in which the self-help attempts of states to look after their security needs tend, regardless of intention, to lead to rising insecurity for others as each interprets its own measures as defensive and measures of others as potentially threatening”.¹

For hundreds of years Korea has been a battleground for competing nations and ideas, but the last century became the darkest history, divided into two states. It began with Russia and Japan fighting for control of the country ‘Jo-sun’ in 1904 and Japan used its victory to annex Korea in 1910. Japanese were completely in control when the last emperor ‘Sun-Jong’ died in 1926. On 15th August 1945, the Pacific war was ended with Japan’s unconditional surrender when the U.S. dropped the atomic bomb on Japan. When the Japanese empire was dismantled at the end of World War Two, Korea fell victim to the Cold War. It was divided into two spheres of influence along the 38th parallel.

The U.S. and the Soviet had agreed in advance to set up a joint trusteeship in Korea with an eye towards establishing Korea, under Japanese colonial rule since 1910, as an independent state. As in Europe, the U.S. and Soviet Union each received an occupation zone, on either side of the 38th parallel. Unable to reach an agreement on a government for both zones, the U.S. and Soviet trustees presided over the establishment of competing Korean governments for the North (Pyongyang) and the South (Seoul). And the divided occupation of the U.S. and the Soviet Union eventually concluded into establishing two regimes; pro-United States and pro-Soviet Union.²

Actually, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union didn’t have a vital interest and concern in the Korean peninsula itself. But since they recognized each other as a potential competitor, they both didn’t want each other to hold the Korean peninsula in hand. The U.S. recognized Korea peninsula as a strategic buffer zone for defending Japan, and the Soviet Union had interest Korea peninsula not being the base for attacking themselves. Result of the interests between two states brought divided occupation in Korean peninsula.

Korean war has some factors of civil war by showing willingness to use military forces to unify the states of their interests, but it also shows that there operated external factors strongly through the process of the war; attacking South Korea in conspiracy with the Soviet Union, China and North Korea, corresponding of the U.S. and the international unions, and intervening militarily of China.

This Korean war signifies that the cold war between two states intensified from political, economic confrontation into militarily confrontation. Victims of the war had to suffer the firmly established of division through the deepening of the ideological

1 John Herz, 『Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma』 , World Politics vol. 2, no. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1950 p.157

2 Jeffrey Mankoff, “Revealed: Why the Soviet Union’s Entry into the Pacific War Matters”, The National Interest, August 19, 2015

oppositions and the basic structure of the cold war in Korean peninsula became arranged.³

After the end of Cold war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union international relations and the structures of Northeast Asia order has been changed, especially in 21st century. But the security order surrounding the Korean peninsula are assumed as a mixture of the Cold war form from 20th century and the new threat from 21st century.

The biggest reason why security order surrounding Korean peninsula cannot free itself from a bondage of the past Cold war is because of the tension relationship between the North and the South, and there located a nuclear weapon. After North Korea secede from NPT (Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons) in 1993 the first North Korean nuclear crisis led the U.S. and North Korea to sign the Geneva Agreed Framework the following year. North Korea agreed to freeze its plutonium production program in exchange for fuel oil, economic cooperation, and the construction of two modern light-water nuclear power plants. But on October 2002, the second North Korean nuclear crisis began because North Korea admitted that it has been conducting a major clandestine nuclear program using enriched uranium. North Korea declared that they made nuclear for self-defense and that they will consider a countermeasure to expand nuclear to protect freedom and democracy, and declared themselves as a nuclear power in 2005. To come up with a remedy about North Korea's nuclear problem, The North and the South Korea, U.S. China, Japan and Russia had held the six-party talks and the 9.19 Joint statement was approved in 19th September 2005.⁴

Despite the efforts, North Korea had set off its first nuclear test in 2006 and second in 2009, frozen the relationship. International society now have burden to take care of North Korea, the actual nuclear state and North Korea became parted between restrictions and pressures of international society.

In international politics, the origin of the North Korea's nuclear program can be explained with Realism security logics. Kenneth Waltz, the representative structural realism scholar explained, North Korea needs a nuclear power because they are fragile and isolated like other nuclear states – India and Pakistan. Waltz also mentioned that countries with nuclear capabilities do not fight wars against one another, it is only for their own defense.⁵ And the acknowledge that North Korea began nuclear program in defensive purpose after the Cold war let us know that there is still a chance for a peaceful solution for the nuclear crisis.

The main strategic goal of South Korea will be divided into two: 1) prevention of war near Korean peninsula and 2) reunification by absorbing the North. When to think of the first goal, South Korea should be on U.S. and Japan's side. U.S. is never a peace-lover by no manner of means but there is no reason to provoke a war near Korean peninsula. Their goal is to maintain, whatever the situation is. If something happens

3 Young-Sun Ha, Gung-Gon Nam, 『Transformation of World Politics』, Eulyoo, no.2 2015, p.85

4 http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/11/20/world/asia/northkorea-timeline.html?_r=0#/#time238_8532

5 Sagan, Scott D. and Kenneth N. Waltz, 『The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate』 New York: W.W. Norton, 1995

near Korean peninsula, there is some possibilities that the subject would be China. Potential threats near East Asia is – confrontation with inter-Korean, problem of rights and interests in the South China Sea, marine security between China and Japan – all about China's interests. China is becoming powerful and prosperous, America on the other hand will become weaker in the far east Asia. Because it is China who wants to break the balance and becoming powerful, it is practical choice to empower on the other side. If South Korea cannot help avoid the war, they should at least prevent the clash itself.

The problem is North Korea. It's the point where South Korea's interests with the U.S and Japan split up. China's influence on North Korea is becoming bigger and bigger. If South Korea seek to improve relations between China and themselves, relationship with the North can be improved too. But the relationship with the U.S. and Japan will become estranged, which is a dilemma. Developing our economic, political influences on the North is a burning problem. But the North had closed their door and the South's response is lukewarm towards the U.S. and China both.

Korean government played a hardline policy (pressure policy) and a moderate policy (engagement policy) about the North's nuclear problem until now. The Kim Dae-jung administration and the Roh Moo-hyun administration preached a policy of engagement about solving North Korean problems and improving inter-Korean relationship, which sometimes led the tension with the U.S. because it showed some differences with America's Korean peninsula policy. On the other hand, the Lee Myung-bak administration preached a hardline policy with the plan of 'anti-nuclear, open policy, 3000 plan', which had been criticized from mass media and political parties. As the Sunshine policy never made the North give up the nuclear, pressure policy couldn't have made a breakthrough in the inter-Korean relations. Therefore, it is time to find a new inter-Korean policy besides the existing dichotomy North policy.⁶

From a long-term perspective, it is North Korea's nuclear issue and military-first policy that destabilizes the Korean peninsula. In this sense, it is necessary to recreate a new relation between two Koreas and search for a new North Korea policy given the nature of the North Korean regime and the security environment around the Korean peninsula.

But, there is a structural problem in pressure North Korean policy that if there is no change from the inside North, it only ends up with indefinitely waiting pressure policy. Because pressure policy deals with the core part first which is asking the North to remove the nuclear program into foreign or terminate it. If the North agree, it can be solved. But considering the rigidity of government policy and national strategy of the North, there is a problem that initial settlement itself cannot be on the table. Engagement policy on the other hand, deals with easy part first, so the initial settlement is relatively easy, but it cannot solve the fundamental problems when the different opinion outbreaks in stepwise approaches.

6 Young-sun Ha, Dong-ho Jo. 『Future of North Korea 2032: Coevolutionary Strategy for the Advancement』, Seoul: EAI, 2010

Change of International society or South Korea's North policy will not solve the problem, unless the North Korea changes first. Therefore, it is necessary to help the North give up the 'Songun' (military-first) policy and make environment conditions to build reform program themselves.⁷ 'Waiting is another strategy' doesn't look good considering the situation of the North with nuclear weapons. If South Korea doesn't correspond actively, the U.S. and China will have their own strategies – states-quo strategy. Also, to find a new North policy to solve the problem, there should be a belief that the South can present an alternative.

The dilemma Korean has is that 'if South Korea intensify security policy in accord with the U.S. policy, there appears incongruities in pursuing unification policy'.

The problem of North Korea is a spot where interests with the U.S. and Japan crosses. South Korea should make U.S. realize that Korea is with them, contribute to a better international friendship and enlighten alliance that the relationship between the North and the South is special.

Therefore, Korean government should find a new, careful strategy between the Korea-U.S. alliance and the Korea-China relations. In these matters, new North Korea policy should be embracing all interested parties and should be a strategy that changes existing binary structure of pressure policy and engagement policy at the same time. Even if the big directing point – North Korea's soft landing – is same, the paths to the goal can be diverse.

⁷ Jee-hwan Hwang, 『Lee Myung-Bak Government and Two Koreas: In Search of a New North Korea Policy』, The Korean Association for Policy Studies, Journal of Policy Studies Vol.17, No.2, 2010

Quantitative Analysis of Uzbek-Japanese Cooperation

Y.Makhmasobirova

Researcher, MA Student, UWED

Abstract: *After the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1991 Central Asian nations became full members of the world community and began to establish an equal partnerships with world leading countries including Japan. This article is devoted to the quantitative analysis of the main dimensions of the cooperation between Uzbekistan and Japan. There are given introductive part about state and modern conditions of Uzbek-Japanese relations as well as complex analysis of political, social, economic and cultural vectors of partnership. The author identifies two frames for analysis. First one is cooperation in multilateral frame studied by examination of regional and international institutions and dialogues. The second frame is bilateral relations. The article discloses the qualitative changes in Uzbek-Japanese relations by using quantitative-comparative methods.*

Key words: *Central Asia, Uzbekistan, Japan, leading powers, bilateral cooperation, multilateral partnership, Central Asia plus Japan, Eurasian diplomacy*

Without any debt, Japan is an important strategic partner of Uzbekistan. It was one of the first Nations recognized the Independence of Uzbekistan and established diplomatic relations with newly sovereign nations of Central Asia, and chose the way of intensive and constructive development of bilateral relations. In general meaning, there are not any major conflicts or fundamental problems between Japan and Central Asian States. In general, nothing prevents to build an active cooperation. According to many researchers, the credibility of Japan in comparison with other countries in Central Asia, and mostly in Uzbekistan is very high. Japan has a positive image of a peaceful and friendly country, sincerely looking for help countries in need. Today, Japan is one of primary donors to the Central Asian region, providing reasonable economic, technical and grant assistance under the Japanese Government's program ODA - official development assistance to developing countries. As the first President of Republic of Uzbekistan I.A. Karimov noted "*We appreciate meaningful for us the support of Japan as one of the leading world powers in the making of independent Uzbekistan, especially in the implementation of major vital programs in the economic, investment and social spheres.*"¹

In fact, relationship between Japan and Uzbekistan is characterized not only by about twenty-four years of partnership on basis of mutual understanding. Bonds of friendship and relative commercial and cultural relations between nations of nowadays Uzbekistan and Japan had been established in an epoch of Great Silk Road, when

1 Islom Karimovning Yaponiya Bosh vaziri Yoshixiko Noda janobi oliylariga tabrigi, 25.01.2012//
<http://www.press-service.uz/uz/news/845/>

Central Asia was a crossroad of Eurasian cultures. Namely, Central Asia played a main role in establishment of Buddhism in Japan: Buddhism, enriched by the traditions, values and customs of people of Central Asia, in VI century AD through China and Korea came to Japan and influenced to the formation of deeply Japanese religion – Shintoism².

In modern period, cooperation between Uzbekistan and Japan develops rather intense and in constructive way. Why? In this point, before going on directly to a general quantitative analysis of Uzbek-Japanese partnership's spheres, it would be reasonable to define the motivators of such kind of partnership. This is about the interests of both sides. First of all, a few words concerning to the interests of Japan in Uzbekistan. On the whole, after the end of bipolar system, Central Asia was completely new direction in foreign policy of Japan. But now, the vector of Central Asia could be considered as important component of Japanese world strategic policy. Because, Japan has never concealed its interest in natural riches of Central Asia. It seeks to expand the access to Energy and Natural Resources in region. It is known that Japan strongly depends on energy exports from the Middle East, so Japan is interested in new energy suppliers. Even, one of Prime Ministers of Japan Junichiro Koizumi declared about this openly: "We want to develop political and economic relations with Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, because Japan has to find alternative providers of oil and gas. We cannot rely exclusively on the Middle East"³. This statement is direct evidence that Japan is really interested in the energy sector of the Central Asian countries. In one word, Japan has economic and strategic interests in Uzbekistan:

- our resource potential, transcontinental transport communications, geopolitical location is very beneficial for this country;
- Secondly, Uzbekistan, as whole Central Asia is directly linked to the questions of qualitative changes of Japan's role and status in international arena.

With regard to Uzbekistan, our interests are more diverse and multi-vector than the Japanese ones in Uzbekistan. We are interested in cooperation with Japan on the basis of some political, economic-financial, commercial and social (mostly issue of modernization) motifs. The cooperation in fields of regional security (for example, in issue of Afghanistan and in frames of International Organisations), tourism, education, in spheres of innovations, technologies are also very important for our Republic.

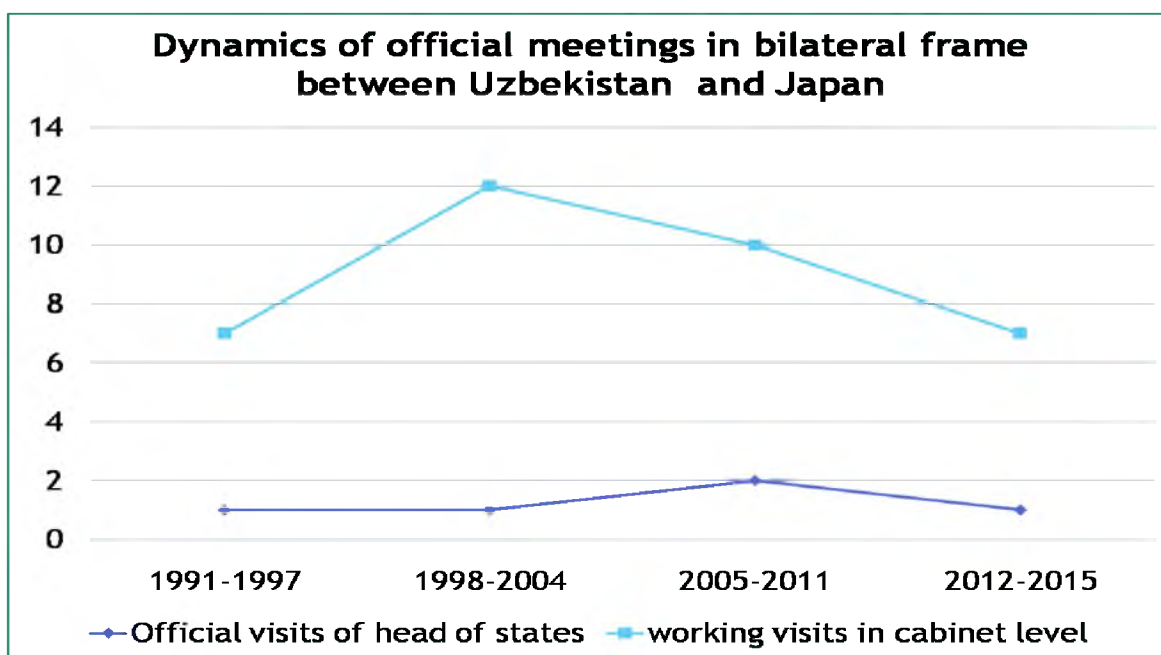
So, we are now turning to the main question of article, to the quantitative analysis of Uzbek-Japanese cooperation's aspects. Foremost, what is notable that despite the strategic importance of Japan for Uzbekistan, in our and in Japanese national scientific communities the state of bilateral cooperation has not been analyzed, studied complexly, conceptually and there weren't a huge number of serious scientific attempts

² Kusuki Oghama、東京の文化遺産のために日本の仏教、東京、2007年の起源、ナショナルセンター//Origins of Buddhism in Japan, Tokyo, 2007, National center for cultural heritage of Tokyo

³ Япония нацелилась на энергоресурсы Центральной Азии // газета «Коммерсант», 2006, 30 августа/
www.kommersant.ru/archive/2006/08/30/0089%BCf

to consider this theme on the basis of and using quantitative methods of research. In this perspective, this article is one of the first endeavors. The basis of analysis is a classical format using which we examined political, economic, cultural-humanitarian and educational dimensions of Uzbek-Japanese partnership.

Political vector. Japan recognized Uzbekistan's independence on 28st December of 1991 and one month later, exactly on 26st of January of 1992, these two countries established diplomatic relations⁴. And after the establishment of formal relations between two countries, a bilateral partnership reached a new qualitative level. The first official visit of Islam Karimov, the first President of Uzbekistan, to Japan was held in May 1994⁵. This visit became a real basis for development of future multispectral relationship based on principles of friendship and mutual respect. Nowadays, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Uzbekistan and Japan organize regular political consultations to summarize obtained results, solve together obstacles which did not permit to reveal completely all potential of bilateral relations and determine future directions of partnership. Since nowadays, there were 5 official visits of head of States: in 1994, 2002, 2011 the President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov visited Japan, in 2006 and 2015 the Prime Ministers of Japan Junichiro Koizumi and Shinzo Abe were with State visit in Uzbekistan. There are given dynamics of bilateral official meetings⁶



According to this graphic the most fruitful period for official visits in bilateral frame was from 1998 to 2011. In spite of official visit of Shinzo Abe to Uzbekistan after the 2012 the frequency of official meetings is coming to its start/beginner's indexes.

4 Политические и экономические отношения между Узбекистаном и Японией //www.uz.emb-japan.go.jp/archives/2011?11/statistics.html

5 www.mfa.uz/information/002?11/otnosheniya_uzbekistana_s_ATR.html

6 The graphic was designed based on analysis of official sites of Press-service of the President of Republic of Uzbekistan, the Ministry of foreign affairs of Uzbekistan and Japan, and using the information of Japanese Embassy in Tashkent (<http://www.press-service.uz/ru/search/?q=Япония+визит&s=поиск>; <http://www.mfa.uz/ru/cooperation/countries/61/>; <http://www.uz.emb-japan.go.jp/relations/political/>)

In world policy, Japan has similar views to international problems with Uzbekistan. They interact closely to find a solution to different international tasks and issues. For example, Uzbekistan is very important partner of Japan in international organizations, such as United Nations. As the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uzbekistan Abdulaziz Kamilov noted our country “ *is for institutional reform of the UN, which should provide performance and interaction of its main bodies - the General Assembly and the Security Council. At the same time, General Assembly should maintain its central position as the chief deliberative, policymaking and representative organ, and the Security Council should be reformed in stages, due to its expansion.*”⁷ Thus, Uzbekistan supports the entrance of Japan to the Security Council of UN as a permanent member. Japan, in its turn, hailed initiative of Islam Karimov about the formation of denuclearized zone in Central Asia. So, bilateral relations give to both states possibility to promote and realize effectively their vitally important initiatives within the scope of multilateral institutions.

In addition, one of the essential spheres of bilateral political relations is Japanese initiatives on development of all-round cooperation with all countries of Central Asia. So, taking into account the geopolitical significance of Central Asia, the central role of Uzbekistan in this region and in the frame of measures of buildup the cooperation with Central Asian countries, in 2004, the Japanese government formed a new format of interaction in a form of dialogue “*Central Asia plus Japan*”. This structure consists of five directions, which define and make clear main vectors of foreign policy of Japan in Central Asia. These directions are⁸:

- Political dialogue;
- Interregional interaction;
- Stimulation of trade and investment cooperation;
- Intellectual dialogue and cultural relations;
- Exchange of human resources.

In the frame of dialogue “Central Asia+Japan” meetings of Ministers of Foreign affairs were organized 6 times, and meetings between senior state employees 11 times⁹.

Other important political issues for both states are struggle against international terrorism and drug-trafficking, protection of environment etc.

Economic vector. The economic sphere is the most developed sector of Uzbek - Japanese relations. So, here is given an overview of agreements (in bilateral and in frame of CA+Japan format) between Uzbekistan and Japan from 1993 to 2015¹⁰,

7 Выступление министра иностранных дел Узбекистана Абдулазиза Камилова на общих дебатах 71-й сессии Генассамблеи ООН// <http://www.unmultimedia.org/russian/archives/category/specials/features/latest-text/>

8 Кадырхаджаев В.М. «Япония в Центральной Азии: через диалог к взаимному партнерству», изд.УНИВЕРСАЛ, Алматы: 2013, стр.102

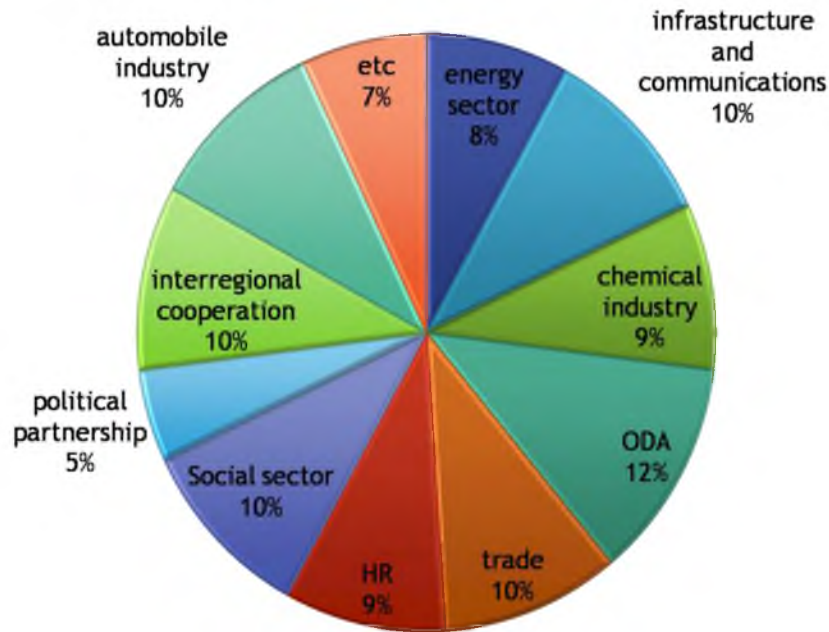
9 www.mfa.uz/information/002?11/otnosheniya_uzbekistana_s_ATR.html

10 The diagram is elaborated on basis of official information and model of searching on the following resources: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan : www.mofa.go.jp; Press-service of the President of Republic of Uzbekistan <http://www.press-service.uz/> ; the Ministry of foreign affairs of Uzbekistan <http://www.mfa.uz/ru/cooperation/countries/61/>; Japan-Uzbek relations www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/uzbekistan/; Electron Bulletins of Government portal of Uzbekistan (from 2012 to 2015)

regarding to which we may observe that the main aspects of Uzbek Japanese cooperation is economic one.

Quantitative analysis of bilateral agreements between Japan and Uzbekistan

Agreements: more than 145



In 1994, the Uzbek – Japanese and Japanese – Uzbek Committees of economic partnership were founded by mutual consent of both sides¹¹. Today, these Committees contribute to the progress of bilateral economic relations. During three years, namely in 1999-2001, the regional representative bureaus of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) have been opened in Tashkent and the Uzbekistan-Japan Center was established. These institutions’ activities are directed to facilitate the implementation of free technical assistance projects, the establishment of contacts between the business and public elites of both countries and to the development of relations in the humanitarian sphere. Furthermore, Uzbekistan has been successfully put into practice many large projects involving Japanese capital. Representative offices of major Japanese corporations such as “Mitsui”, “Mitsubishi”, “Itochu”, “Marubeni”, etc¹². One of the best example of successful cooperation in the economic sphere - production of bus and trucks of brand “Isuzu” by the Samarkand Automobile factory.

“Central Asia and Japan” Dialogue www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/dialogue/; Country Assistance Program for Uzbekistan www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/assistance/country.html; JICA : www.jica.go.jp/english/; JBIC: www.jbic.go.jp/en/;

11 Okuna Kazaki

、旧ソ連諸国における日本の政策の政治・経済的基盤、2009年11月東アジアにおけるジャーナル地域のセキュリティ // Political and economic basis of Japan's policy in ex-soviet countries, Journal Regional security in East asia, november 2009

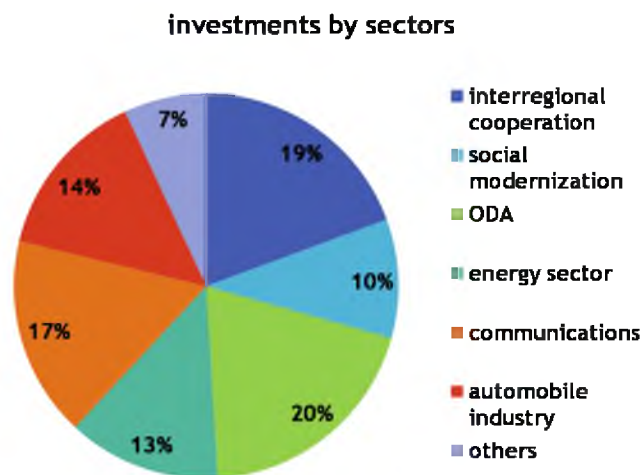
12 Укрепляются отношения между Узбекистаном и Страной восходящего солнца <http://www.press-service.uz/ru/document/4815/>

There are some other examples of perspective economical relationship: today, more than 15 trade companies of Japan function in Uzbekistan; if in 2009, trade turnover between two states was more than 139 million US dollars, in 2015 this index nearly doubled and showed 253,4 million US dollars¹³; infrastructural projects such as new line of railway “Toshguzar – Boysun – Qumqo`rg`on ” etc¹⁴.

Late years, the energetic issues also become one of the particular branches of economic policy of Japan in Central Asia. For instance, the “Agreement on co-financing of modernization of thermal power-station Talimarjon” signed in 2010 between Uzbekistan and Japan with financial basis more than 300 million USA dollars permits to increase the effectiveness of generation of electricity from 30% more than to 50% and reduces the emission of carbon¹⁵.

Some words about investment vector of economic cooperation. In following two graphics¹⁶ are given the dynamics in this field.

* 1993-2015: 3,5 billion\$



As we may see the volume of direct Japanese investment to Uzbekistan in period of 1993-2015 was 3,5 billion US dollars and the main dimension of investment was interregional cooperation (issues in frames Central Asia+Japan, Silk Road Diplomacy, the program of the corridor of peace and stability etc). But after the official visit of Shinzo Abe to Uzbekistan in 2015 the situation a bit changed. First of all, bilateral and national frame was chosen is preferable one, secondly, the volume of direct Japanese investment raised for more than two times:

13 Узбекистан и Япония обсудили перспективы торгового сотрудничества // <http://www.uzdaily.uz/articles-id-28317>

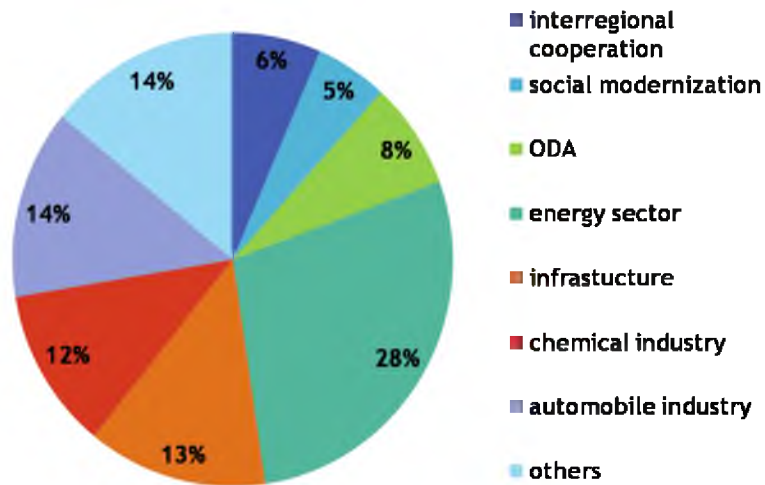
14 Политические и экономические отношения между Узбекистаном и Японией//www.uz.emb-japan.go.jp/archives/2011?11/statistics.html

15 www.gazeta.uz/2014/12/21/agreements/yaponiya_i_uzb/001/html

16 The graphics were elaborated on basis of official information and model of searching of the following resources: Ministry of Foreign Affairs : www.mofa.go.jp; Press-service of the President of Republic of Uzbekistan <http://www.press-service.uz/> ; the Ministry of foreign affairs of Uzbekistan <http://www.mfa.uz/ru/cooperation/countries/61/>; Japan-Uzbek relations www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/uzbekistan/; Electron Bulletins of Government portal of Uzbekistan (from 2012 to 2015) “Central Asia and Japan” Dialogue www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/dialogue/; Country Assistance Program for Uzbekistan www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/assistance/country.html; JICA : www.jica.go.jp/english/; JBIC: www.jbic.go.jp/en/;

investments by sectors

* 2015: 8,5 billion\$



Cultural vector. Cooperation in cultural and humanitarian spheres is also intensively developing. The organization of bilateral cultural events with participation of Uzbek and Japanese masters became a regular tradition. Among them we may accentuate the exhibition and festivals as “125 years of Uzbek photography” in the Parliament of Japan in 2010, “Architecture of Uzbekistan”, “Presentation of the tourism industry in Uzbekistan” within the framework of the International Tourism Exhibitions in Japan; a series of events dedicated to the theme of the Silk Road; Days of Culture of Uzbekistan, and others.

In 2002, the first President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov was awarded the title of “Honorary Doctor” of Waseda and Soka universities. In 2004, on the territory of Soka University, a monument of Uzbek poet and thinker Alisher Navoi was established as a symbol of the recognition of the immortal works of the great master¹⁷. Every year on February 9 at the university there would be organized the Reading Navoi festival by laying flowers at the monument.

In May 2002, for his great contribution to the study and promotion abroad of spiritual and moral heritage, history and monuments of Uzbekistan, as well as a significant contribution to the development of scientific relations between Uzbekistan and Japan by the Decree of the first President Islam Karimov Japanese archeologist Kyudzo Kato was awarded by the medal “Dustlik”.

Vector of education. From 1994, when an official agreement about cooperation in education between Japan and Uzbekistan was signed, this sector is developing very effectively. Japan is the biggest investor to Uzbekistan educative system. More than

17 Укрепляются отношения между Узбекистаном и Страной восходящего солнца
<http://www.press-service.uz/ru/document/4815/>

24% of Uzbek students, who study abroad, acquire their knowledge in Japan, which is second destination for Uzbek young people after European Union¹⁸.

Nowadays, prestigious Japanese Universities such as Nagoya, Waseda, and University of Tokyo cooperate actively with Tashkent Juridical University, University of World Economy and Diplomacy, regional Universities of Samarkand, Jizzakh etc. Uzbek and Japanese universities have a good tradition of regular exchanging of professors, staff and students. Which is notable, many students studied in Japan, today are holding the leading posts in State structures of Uzbekistan.

The interaction of Japan, with Uzbekistan is really loaded and multiple, and analyzing all specter of Uzbek- Japanese relations in one article is not possible. The fact is that potential of development of partnership relations with one of the economic leaders, increases year by year, by virtue of which Uzbekistan strengthens and modernizes its economy.

As conclusion, we could note that partnership of Japan and Uzbekistan is based on mutual understanding and respect, on centuries-old traditions of cooperation and disposes not fully discovered potential. Even the last visit of Prime-Minister of Japan Shindzo Abe to Uzbekistan on 24st October, which defined new vectors of cooperation such as energy sector, science, healthcare, modernization of transport infrastructure, launching and processing of sources of raw and mineral resources, automobile industry, oil and gas, chemical industry, telecommunications and etc., indicates the importance of progressive development of bilateral relations for both states.

Literature:

1. *Kusuki Oghama*、東京の文化遺産のために日本の仏教、東京、2007年の起源、ナショナルセンター//Origins of Buddhism in Japan, Tokyo, 2007, National center for cultural heritage of Tokyo
2. *Okuna Kazaki*
、旧ソ連諸国における日本の政策の政治・経済的基盤、2009年11月東アジアにおけるジャーナル地域のセキュリティ // Political and economic basis of Japan's policy in ex-soviet countries, Journal Regional security in East asia, november 2009
3. *Кадырхаджаев В.М.* «Япония в Центральной Азии: через диалог к взаимному партнерству», изд.УНИВЕРСАЛ, Алматы: 2013

Internet sources:

4. Islom Karimovning Yaponiya Bosh vaziri Yoshixiko Noda janobi oliylariga tabrigi, 25.01.2012// <http://www.press-service.uz/uz/news/845/>
5. Выступление министра иностранных дел Узбекистана Абдулазиза Камилова на общих дебатах 71-й сессии Генассамблеи ООН
// <http://www.unmultimedia.org/russian/archives/category/specials/features/latest-text/>
6. Политические и экономические отношения между Узбекистаном и Японией // www.uz.emb-japan.go.jp/archives/2011?11/statistics.html
7. Узбекистан и Япония обсудили перспективы торгового сотрудничества // <http://www.uzdaily.uz/articles-id-28317>
8. Укрепляются отношения между Узбекистаном и Страной восходящего солнца// <http://www.press-service.uz/ru/document/4815/>

18 www.students.flatworldknowledge.com/student_textbook/reports/2014_01/region/Japan.html

On Controversies of Current US - Saudi Relations

D.Mir-Akilov

Researcher, MA Student, UWED

Abstract: *Ideology always played an important role in policy of the state. It usually determines motives and behavior of the state. The period of “Cold War” when two states i.e. USA and USSR with different ideologies resisted each other and the world was divided practically into two camps. During this period Saudi Arabia was on side of the USA and in every possible way helped. Saudi Arabia was the main sponsor of distribution of radical Islam because of its ideology. After the events 9/11 USA really felt consequences of Islamic terrorism. The huge criticism was followed by American public in accusation of Saudi Arabia in participation of these events. Investigations were made from the American government. It should be noted that Saudi Arabia itself was object of terrorist attacks more than once. Therefore it is very important to analyze the roots of contradictions between U.S and Saudi Arabia.*

Key words: *Wahhabism, 9/11, Islamic organizations in U.S., radical Islam, critics on Saudi Arabia, counterterrorism, report on terroristic attack, JASTA.*

The Ideology of Saudi Arabia

It has historically developed that, the USA and Saudi Arabia had become allies. It was brightly shown during Cold War. Both countries fought against communistic ideology. Struggling pulled together both states. With disintegration of the Soviet Union, the communistic threat has disappeared. Over time the Islam religion became one of the main stumbling blocks between the USA and Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia professes a peculiar form of Islam under the name Wahhabism. It is necessary to pay attention to the emergence of Wahhabism.

The Wahhabi movement that animates Saudi policy from behind the scenes was founded by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–92), a Sunni theologian who called for a return to austere practices supposedly followed by the Salaf, or earliest Muslims, during the 7th century. He regarded images, saints, shrines, communal festivals, and secular lifestyles, with music, dance, and socializing, as distractions from true piety. Thus he rejected all changes since early Islam as *bid'ah*, or heretical innovations and idolatry. He composed the “Kitab al-Tawhid” or “Book of God’s Uniqueness,” which became the guiding text for his followers.¹

Abd al Wahhab convinced Saud that he could profit greatly through religiously sanctioned conquest if he abided by abd al-Wahhab’s teachings. Saud agreed and the two men formed an alliance that would transform the Arabian Peninsula. Secure under Saud’s protection, Abd al-Wahhab soon built a devoted following and people from around the region began to seek out the teaching of the famous Sheikh al-Wahhab.²

1 Carol E. B. Choksy, Jamsheed K. Choksy . The Saudi Connection: Wahhabism and Global Jihad
<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/saudi-connection-wahhabism-and-global-jihad>

2 James Wynbrandt, A Brief History of Saudi Arabia. New York: Checkmark Books, 2004, pp. 116-117.

Saud took advantage of his new religious legitimacy and embarked on expanding his domain. He followed Abd al-Wahhab's teaching on tawhid and ruled that many of his subjects and those whom he conquered were not true Muslims. Saud gave them the opportunity to embrace Islam, but if they refused, he could legitimately wage jihad against them. Prisoners had the option of submitting to Islam by conversion, agreeing to pay a poll tax, or death.³

Therefore modern Saudi Arabia traces its roots to an alliance between the Saud family and descendants of Sheikh Mohammed Ibn Abdul Wahab, a prominent Hanbali Muslim cleric, who follow the most conservative school of jurisprudence in Sunni Islam. This pact has endured for centuries, influencing the country's domestic and foreign policy.⁴

Emergence of Contradictions between States

The USA used Islam against the Soviet Union. The Afghan war in 70-80 years is example of it. Everything changed radically after the events 9/11.

Now the main challenge of the USA in a formulation of the policy for the Muslim countries in difference from an era of "cold war" is preserving balance between ensuring stability for satisfaction of the geopolitical and economic interests in the near future and need of promotion of democratic reforms for a long-term outlook.⁵

Saudi Arabia was defensive about its role in the rise of global jihad, and a wave of popular anti-Saudi sentiment in the United States following the September 11, 2001, attacks damaged relations between the countries.⁶

The USA recognizes that on behalf of Saudi Arabia they have the good ally, but its ideology generated 15 of 19 suicide bombers onboard that ill-fated line aircraft. The Wahhabism in the opinion of the USA is a nursery of the intolerant ideology putting the western and universal values on doubt. This ideology was shown in the form of Salafism in the period of board of the regime of Taliban in Afghanistan; Islamic, missionary and charity of Saudi Arabia leads to changes in the environment of institutes of many societies and the countries.⁷

The USA considers new calls from the point of view of threats and their opportunities. So, the state ideology of Saudi Arabia is considered one of the main threats of national security of the USA coming from the Muslim countries. According to new strategy, it is featured a role of this state in the Muslim world. Saudi Arabia, by various estimates, since 1957 has spent more than 75 billion dollars for expansion of Islam of Wahhabi sense on all globe and strengthening of his infrastructure more than in 20 countries. In this regard Washington makes before the Saudi government demands to

3 David Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2006), p. 25.

4 U.S.-Saudi Relations - <http://www.cfr.org/saudi-arabia/us-saudi-relations/p36524>

5 З. Саипов. Турбулентность: Исламский фактор во внешней политике США. Т.2014. с.63

6 U.S.-Saudi Relations - <http://www.cfr.org/saudi-arabia/us-saudi-relations/p36524>

7 З. Саипов. Турбулентность: Исламский фактор во внешней политике США. Т.2014, с. 130

reform educational system, to urge the preachers to be more tolerant concerning representatives of other beliefs and sects.⁸

One more reason for concern of some American NGO is strong influence of Saudi Arabia on Muslim life in America and abundance of the Saudi publications and educational materials in the leading mosques and the Islamic centers of the USA. Islam which is preached in Saudi Arabia in his authoritative interpretation, propagandizes intolerance concerning representatives of other beliefs in such diverse and multi-religious country as the USA. Such *fatwas* have been widespread via various channels of Saudi Arabia on mosques and the Islamic centers of the whole world, and played not the last role in radicalization of the growing Muslim youth and new immigrants in mother countries of states.⁹

The Obama administration has largely abandoned criticizing the Saudi regime on human rights grounds, but it is important to remember that most Saudis do not share U.S. values regarding women's and homosexual rights, religious liberty, and other basic freedoms that are fundamental to American society.¹⁰ Saudi authorities ban women from driving cars and deny them other rights, and its government champions its interpretation of shariah, or Islamic law, by funding religious schools around the world.¹¹

Nevertheless, the Saudi Kingdom still spews out material that is anti-Semitic, sectarian, glorifies several conflicts in which jihadists play an active role, and otherwise contributes to a climate of radicalization.¹²

Nowadays in the USA functioned about ten large and hundreds of the small Islamic organizations. It could be divided into three groups:

- Moderate, pro-government and human rights Islamic agencies and centers;
- The Islamic organizations which moderation is called in question by lobbyist groups;
- Radical and extremist Islamic organizations. Such as Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development – HLF, Palestine Committee in America – PCA, Palestinian Islamic Jihad – PIJ, Islamic Association for Palestine – IAP, International Institute for Islamic Thought – IIIR. Against many of them are brought criminal cases.¹³ Nobody can guarantee that there are no other similar organizations.

A European Parliament report claimed the Saudis spent \$10 billion to promote Salafism, the austere and puritanical version of Islam often referred to as “Wahhabism” after an important Saudi preacher, through charities like the Muslim World League,

8 Bronson R. Rethinking Religion: The Legacy of the Saudi-US Relationship//The Washington Quarterly, 28:4, Autumn 2005. – P.121-137; Blanchard C. Saudi Arabia: Background and US Relations//CRS Report for Congress RL33533, May 22, 2008. – P.5

9 Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques, Centre for Religious Freedom, Freedom House, 2005, P.39.

10 D.L.Byman. The U.S.-Saudi Arabia counterterrorism relationship. 24.05.2016.

<https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-u-s-saudi-arabia-counterterrorism-relationship/>

11 U.S.-Saudi Relations - <http://www.cfr.org/saudi-arabia/us-saudi-relations/p36524>

12 D.L.Byman. The U.S.-Saudi Arabia counterterrorism relationship. 24.05.2016.

<https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-u-s-saudi-arabia-counterterrorism-relationship/>

13 Ibid. pp. 87-88

International Islamic Relief Organization, the al-Haramain Foundation, the Medical Emergency Relief Charity, and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth.¹⁴

Some of these charities were linked to terrorist groups like Al Qaeda and became an important part of the organization, particularly before 9/11. The Muslim World League reportedly funded training camps and religious schools in Pakistan and Afghanistan, exposing Afghans, Pakistanis, and foreigners to extremist ideologies. Al Haramain had a presence in roughly 50 countries and spent tens of millions: most went to proselytizing and humanitarian work, but some went to jihadist networks.¹⁵

Indeed, 80 percent of the 1,200 mosques operating in the US were constructed after 2001, more often than not with Saudi financing. As a result, Wahhabi influence over Islamic institutions in the US was considerable by 2003, according to testimony before the US Senate. Hundreds of publications, published by the Saudi government and its affiliates, and filled with intolerance toward Christians, Jews, and other Americans, had been disseminated across the country by 2006, according to a report by Freedom House, a Washington-based NGO. That report concluded that “the Saudi government propaganda examined reflects a totalitarian ideology of hatred that can incite to violence”. By 2013, 75 percent of North American Islamic centers relied on Wahhabi preachers who promote anti-Western ideas in person and online through their sermons and through the Saudi-produced literature.¹⁶

The decision on a construction of the Islamic cultural center in 2011 near the place of the buildings of the World Trade Center destroyed by terrorist attack created a furor, divided society into two camps. For example, the former governor of Alaska Sarah Palin, the ex-speaker of Newt Gingrich who was the governor of New York Rudolf Giuliani and many others of both batches opposed this decision, having demanded to build at first church or a synagogue in Saudi Arabia.¹⁷

Political dissident Noam Chomsky says it is "the center of radical Islamic extremism." Chomsky adds that the U.S. ally is "a source of not only funding for extremist radical Islam and the jihadi outgrowths of it, but also, doctrinally, mosques, clerics and so on, schools, you know, madrassas, where you study just Qur'an, is spreading all over the huge Sunni areas from Saudi influence. He says that, the United States, like Britain before it, has tended to support radical Islamism against secular nationalism."¹⁸

14 Policy Department, "The Involvement of Salafism/Wahhabism in Support and Supply and Arms to Rebel Groups Around the World," Directorate-General For External Policies of the Union, 2013, 5.

15 Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (Cambridge: Yale University Press, 2000), 130; Bootie Cosgrove-Mather, "Al Qaeda Skimming Charity Money," CBS News, June 7, 2004, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/al-qaeda-skimming-charity-money/>; "Protecting Charitable Organizations," Department of Treasury Database, 2002, https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/terrorist-illicit-finance/Pagcting-charities_execorder_13224-a.aspx#ahindo; National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, *Monograph on Terrorism Financing* (New York: 2004), http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/staff_statements/911_TerrFin_Monograph.pdf.

16 Carol E. B. Choksy, Jamsheed K. Choksy . *The Saudi Connection: Wahhabism and Global Jihad* <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/saudi-connection-wahhabism-and-global-jihad>

17 З. Саипов. Турбулентность: Исламский фактор во внешней политике США. Т.2014, с. 133

18 N.Chomsky. Saudi Arabia is the 'Center of Radical Islamic Extremism' Now Spreading Among Sunni Muslims. https://www.democracynow.org/2016/5/17/chomsky_saudi_arabia_is_the_center

Counter - Terrorism Issue

Both states are official partners in counterterrorism issue. Saudi Arabia represents a paradox for U.S. counterterrorism. On the one hand, the Saudi government is a close partner of the United States on counterterrorism. On the other hand, Saudi support for an array of preachers and non-government organizations contributes to an overall climate of radicalization, making it far harder to counter violent extremism. Both these problems are manifest today as the United States seeks to counter the Islamic State and its allies.¹⁹

The Kingdom in general was often slow to recognize the threat of terrorism and reluctant to cooperate with the United States. After the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing, the Saudi government did not share vital information with U.S. intelligence. The Interior Minister in the 1990s, Nayef bin Abdelaziz (the father of the current crown prince) believed Bin Laden's terrorist reputation was a product of U.S. propaganda, and after 9/11 initially blamed the attacks on a "Zionist plot".²⁰ Everything was changed when Kingdom of Saudi Arabia attacked directly in 2003 by Al-Qaeda.

The Islamic State, like Al Qaeda, is also considered a top security threat by the Saudi regime. The Islamic State has declared Saudi Arabia to be its enemy, and its propaganda shows its black flag flying above Mecca. Islamic State terrorists have attacked Shi'a Muslim mosques in the Kingdom and Saudi security officials. The Islamic State also called on Saudi subjects to assassinate senior Saudi leaders. More broadly, the Islamic State threatens the regime's legitimacy, claiming that it – rather than the Kingdom – is the true embodiment of a state under God's law. It has called the royal family "slaves of the Crusaders and allies of the Jews" and derided them for abandoning Muslims around the world.²¹

Dan Byman a senior fellow and director of the Centre for Middle East Policy acknowledged the vital importance of Saudi Arabia to the United States in the fighting against the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda, and other jihadist group. American officials should also continue to diplomatically encourage the Kingdom to suppress extremist financing and support, including the rhetoric support from some in the religious establishment.²²

New Phase of 9/11 Consequences

Problems of events 9/11 between the USA and Saudi Arabia were lifted to new level.

19 D.L.Byman. The U.S.-Saudi Arabia counterterrorism relationship. 24.05.2016.

<https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-u-s-saudi-arabia-counterterrorism-relationship/>

20 Bruce Riedel, "The Prince of Counterterrorism," The Brookings Essay, September 29, 2015,

<https://www.brookings.edu/research/essays/2015/the-prince-of-counterterrorism>.

21 Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Background and U.S. Relations," Congressional Research Service, February 12, 2014, 11-12.

22 I.A. Merit. No better alternative: The U.S.-Saudi counterterrorism relationship. 3.06.2016.

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/06/03/no-better-alternative-the-u-s-saudi-counterterrorism-relationship/>

Though, the government of Saudi Arabia in every possible way denies the participation in these of an event, the fact that most of terrorists were from Saudi Arabia always will be a problem for Saudi Arabia and accused especially by American public.

In 2002 from the American government has been made investigation concerning participation of Saudi Arabia in events 9/11. The report on investigation of terrorist attacks was published in 2002. In the published report, it has been concluded that Saudi Arabia hasn't a direct bearing on these events. However for public remained closed the part secret by the president George Bush Jr., amount of 28 pages. Data on content of this part from the people who got acquainted with it leaked out into the American mass media. According to unconfirmed data, in it was told about possible participation of some physical persons and legal entities of Saudi Arabia in these terrorist attacks.

The congress has demanded from the government to disclose the remained 28 pages of the report, the made investigation concerning participation of Saudi Arabia in events 9/11. Intelligence agencies of the USA have declared that it doesn't correspond to national interests and safety of the USA and can negatively affect the relations of two countries.

The congress of the USA initiated the bill (Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act) granting the right to families of the victims of events 9/11 to file a lawsuit (claim) Saudi Arabia. Reaction from Saudi Arabia followed without delay. Naturally, KSA condemned this law.

The bill - JASTA must pass the House of Representatives and earn presidential approval. As it stands now, President Barack Obama has said he will veto the bill and he did. But recently the Congress of the USA has overcome the veto of B. Obama. He has condemned this action. This is not just a bilateral US-Saudi issue, B. Obama explained. "This is a matter of how generally the United States can routinely start suing other governments, and then we are also opening up the United States, to being continually sued by individuals in other countries".²³

Nevertheless, some Saudis believe the bill reveals the "real political and strategic intensions of the American mind" towards the kingdom. For others, Saudi Arabia "has nothing to hide". Either way, Saudi Arabia-US relations will be negatively affected if the bill becomes law.²⁴

Therefore, the contradictions between states increased gradually. Nevertheless, the cooperation between allies will continue because they have common interest, but not common values.

References

1. Blanchard C. Saudi Arabia: Background and US Relations//CRS Report for Congress RL33533, May 22, 2008.
2. Brian P. McGlinchey. 14.06.16. <https://28pages.org/2016/07/14/those-secret-28-pages-on-911-read-this-before-you-read-them/>

²³ See: Brian P. McGlinchey. 14.06.16. <https://28pages.org/2016/07/14/those-secret-28-pages-on-911-read-this-before-you-read-them/>

²⁴ Ibid.

3. Bronson R. Rethinking Religion: The Legacy of the Saudi-US Relationship//The Washington Quarterly, 28:4, Autumn 2005.
4. Bruce Riedel, "The Prince of Counterterrorism," The Brookings Essay, September 29, 2015, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/essays/2015/the-prince-of-counterterrorism>.
5. Carol E. B. Choksy, Jamsheed K. Choksy . The Saudi Connection: Wahhabism and Global Jihad
6. Christopher M. Blanchard, "Saudi Arabia: Background and U.S. Relations," Congressional Research Service, February 12, 2014
7. D.L.Byman. The U.S.-Saudi Arabia counterterrorism relationship. 24.05.2016. <https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-u-s-saudi-arabia-counterterrorism-relationship/>
8. David Commins, The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2006), <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/saudi-connection-wahhabism-and-global-jihad>
9. I.A. Merit. No better alternative: The U.S.-Saudi counterterrorism relationship. 3.06.2016. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/06/03/no-better-alternative-the-u-s-saudi-counterterrorism-relationship/>
10. James Wynbrandt, A Brief History of Saudi Arabia. New York: Checkmark Books, 2004,
11. N.Chomsky. Saudi Arabia is the 'Center of Radical Islamic Extremism' Now Spreading Among Sunni Muslims. https://www.democracynow.org/2016/5/17/chomsky_saudi_arabia_is_the_center
12. Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques, Centre for Religious Freedom, Freedom House, 2005
13. U.S.-Saudi Relations - <http://www.cfr.org/saudi-arabia/us-saudi-relations/p36524>
14. З. Саипов. Турбулентность: Исламский фактор во внешней политике США. Т.2014.

Contemporary US Approaches to Trans Pacific Security

K.Karimov

Researcher, MA Student, UWED

Abstract: *The United States considered the current world and regional leader in the twenty-first century and one of the key directions of foreign policy of the USA is the Asia-Pacific region, and this region can be marked economic and political confrontation between the two world powers, as the US and China. During the "Cold War" in Asia, China also began to raise its economy (big jump) and to stabilize the policy of the country. In the Asia-Pacific region, China has become an enemy of the United States for a regional hegemony. According to the US government, China will be fighting for the Asia-Pacific region in all directions, and China has actively started to improve relations with neighboring countries in the region.*

Key words: *USA, China, Trans-Pacific partnership, Asia Pacific region, Geostrategy, security.*

In this paper we assess and analyze the importance and meaning of geostrategy, geopolitics proceeding from theoretical approach and we also consider the applicability of these key concepts and implementation for the state's external policy in terms of USA foreign policy towards the big powers of world politics.

History of the United States as the world's geopolitical power in stages, and the path to the summit of power, reached at the end of XX century was not always straight and noble. Rather, it was a road that progressed steadily by gaining strength, weight, pumping economic, military, financial power of the state. Its relations with its neighbors colonists from the Old World have experienced first to Native Americans - Indians. Herded them into reservations, gradually began to crowd the neighbors on the continent. Colonists in the bulk were Protestants, had brought to the New World their moral values.

In the second half of XX century the concept of geopolitics began, first of all, such phenomena and concepts of strategic geography, as the Cold War, military-strategic parity, and later as globalization, multipolar world, and also in wide use includes the concept of a superpower, great, regional, nuclear, space, economic, sports power in relation to the states allocated by the complex or a single characteristic and having an impact on other countries.

Under the announcement of US administration, since the first day of running White House, Obama made a commitment to reinvigorate US economy after the Global economic crisis. Regarding US as a Pacific State as well as Asia-Pacific is becoming a driver of global economy that US focus on their "pivot" to strengthen economic and trade-investment relations and cooperation among national economies of Asia-Pacific.

It is noted that the “rebalance” is comprehensive approach toward Asia including diplomatic, economic, cultural-humanitarian and in the sphere of security. As said “Trade policy is Foreign policy”, US initially concentrate intensifying on economic tools *inter alia* bilateral and multilateral free trade. Trans-Pacific Partnership builds on potential implications beyond US economic interests in the Asia-Pacific. Many politicians pointed out that US will be able to accomplish its strategy through TPP. TPP is regarded by US officials as economic pathway into other sphere such as diplomatic, security etc.

Trans-Pacific Partnership is the largest free trade agreement among dozens of Rim-Pacific Basin states Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, US and Vietnam that will eliminate and abate not only tariffs over goods and services but also over investment and intellectual property. For this reason, many experts estimated this pact as a turning point of world economy. Since 2010, national economies of Pacific region strove to create free trade agreement and after the five days the clock round in Atlanta, they came ro agreement on 5th October 2015.

The Administration’s 2015 National Security Strategy¹ set forth that sustaining our leadership depends on shaping and emerging global economic order that continues to reflect our interests and values. Despite its success, our rules-based system is now competing against alternative, less-open models. To meet this challenge, we must be strategic in the use of our economic strength to set new rules of the road, strengthen our partnerships, and promote inclusive development.²

According to Carl von Clausewitz waging war involves two very different types of activities:³

- Organizing individual battles and keeping them;
- linking them with the overall aim of the war.

The first is called tactics, the second - strategy. Tactics is needed to win the battle. The strategy is needed to win the war.

“The aim of the strategy is the efficient use of available resources to achieve the main goal (as a strategy of action becomes particularly necessary in a situation where direct achieve the main goal is not enough cash resources)”⁴.

1 The National Security Strategy Report is published by the executive branch of the United States government. It is intended to be a comprehensive statement articulating the worldwide interests, goals, and objectives of the United States that are important to its security. Among the reporting requirements are those actions needed to deter aggression and to implement the national security strategy. Under the Goldwater-Nichols Defense Department Reorganization Act of 1986 (amending Title 50, Chapter 15, Section 404a of the US Code), the President must submit a report on the national security strategy of the United States to Congress each year. However, especially in recent years, these reports have been made late or not at all. National security Strategy Archive

2 White House. National Security strategy. February 2015.

3 «PRINZ CIPLES OF WAR” by Carl von Clausewitz Translated and edited by Hans W. Gatzke Copyright September 1942, The Military Service Publishing Company <http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/Principles/Clausewitz-PrinciplesOfWar-ClausewitzCom.pdf>

4 Почепцов Г. Г. Стратегия. — М.: Рефл-бук, — К.: Ваклер, 2005. — 384 с. — ISBN 966-543-048-3 (серия).

Tactics is a tool for the implementation of the strategy and subordinated to the main objectives of the strategy. The strategy achieves the main goal through the intermediate solution of tactical problems on the axis of "resources - a goal."

Turning directly to the understanding of the term "geo-strategy", it should be noted that the concept has long been widely used in foreign geopolitical science. Last but not least such popularity is due to its mention in the title of the famous work by Zbigniew Brzezinski's "Grand Chessboard (American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives)."

Here, however, we must admit that by actively using the concept of "geostrategy» («geostrategy»), Brzezinski in all cases gives him the same brief definition, which clearly does not disclose its essence: "strategic management of geopolitical interests"⁵. B. Tsymbursky understands geostrategy 'ability to convert the fundamental geopolitical picture of the world in the goals and objectives of a particular player, resourced and scenarios"⁶.

Geostrategy functions the categories of society, economy, politics, national culture, military power and other strategic elements not only of state or the unions of states, but also it studies and takes into account the strategic potential of other states, dividing them in general terms to potential allies, enemies or neutrals.

We can confidently state that the *geostrategy* is a tool for national and allied countries - geopolitical unions. In the hierarchy of political science "geostrategy occupies a subordinate position in relation to politics and geopolitics"⁷. The national strategy and strategic geography are the all components necessary and integral part of geo-strategy is a.

Development of geo-strategy (geographic strategy), political science, which determines the means and methods to achieve geopolitical goals of the State or group of States allies, maintaining and increasing power of the state or union of states, and under unfavorable conditions of the crisis, minimize the damage and restore the original state before the crisis. Geostrategy and its implementation in practice is the exclusive prerogative of the top political and military leadership of the state.

Further, we should pay attention to the most important factor that determines the role and power of any state in world politics. The Austro-Hungarian historian Emil Reich, Alfred Thayer Mahan, Friedrich Ratzel, Mackinder in their works considered the *geopolitics* as the main fulcrum of state power.

Geopolitics (geographic policy; state land or public affairs) direction of political thought, the concept of control over the territory, of the laws governing the distribution and redistribution of spheres of influence (power centers) of various states and interstate

5 Zbigniew Brzezinski, (1997). The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives, Perseus Books, New York, XIII-XIV, 30-31, pp 18.

6 V.L. Tsymburskiy " Geopolitics as a vision of the world and occupation", (Цымбурский В.Л. Геополитика как мировидение и род занятий // Полис. 1999. №5. стр.9.)

7 Christopher Bassford, "Policy, Politics, War, and Military power" <http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/Bassford/StrategyDraft/>

associations. Refers to the kind of social and geographical sciences, it is not part of the political geography.

"Geopolitics is the study of the dependence of political events on the ground. It builds on a broad foundation of geography, especially the political geography as a doctrine of political organisms and their spatial structure"⁸.

Proceeding from above mentioned concept of geopolitics states get involved to the world politics due to their geographical location that serves as determinant of their national interests. Theoretical approaches for strategic studies of the USA foreign policy has always been linked directly to the geopolitics and geostrategy of the USA.

The continuing transformations of the geopolitical contour in the world in general and in particular have been evidenced in recent years by two fundamental changes: the growing geopolitical weight of the US and dwindling role of the Russian Federation and China. The collapse of the USSR and subsequent formation of new independent states and their emergence in the last two decades as independent actors in the world arena have already led to the formation of a fundamentally new geopolitical scenario in the political arena.

Associated with the ongoing process of social and economic transformations in different regions of the world, the growing interests of several major powers, intersecting and sometimes overlapping in different sectors of international life in these regions. It may lead to the notion that the New era of competition between major powers for geopolitical dominance will be the most important factor in determining new world order of 21st century.

After the Second World War the United States and the Soviet Union became globe leader. From 1945 to 1991 (before the collapse of the Soviet Union) competing for possessing new generation of weapons took place between the two countries, and this period is called the "Cold War." The United States and the Soviet Union during this period tried to actively support its policies. During the "Cold War" in Asia, China also began to raise its economy and stabilize the country's political power. In the Asia-Pacific region, China has become an enemy of the United States for a regional hegemony.

The United States concerns that China's aggressive policy in order to be recognized as a powerful state towards North Korea and in diplomatic relations with Japan is backed by the spirit of aggressive nationalism. According to the US government, "China will be fighting for the Asia-Pacific region in all areas, and China has actively started to strengthen relations with neighboring countries in the region".⁹

Foreign policy of the United States in the South Asian region, and in a global scale - the Asia-Pacific region, in which the US is trying to exert economic and political

8 The Concept of Karl Haushofer, "Journal of Geopolitics" («Zeitschrift für Geopolitik») 1928, "Elements of geopolitics" <http://www.politicstime.ru/potis-1118-1.html>

9 The United States «NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY» February 2015. p. 24. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2015-03-02/obamas-last-national-security-strategy>

pressure on the main or the main centers of power in the region - China, India and Pakistan.

At the beginning of the XXI century, as a century ago, the main concern of the US Pacific policy is China. However, the situation of a century ago is radically different from the present. In those years, “the United States used the growing aggressiveness of Japan to stop Russia is carried out in respect of China's most active expansionist policy”¹⁰.

Today, the main concern of the US is blocking the "hegemonic appetites" of China. And Japan as the main US ally in the Pacific Ocean can no longer play the role of big player, as it was against Russia. Just as Japan has challenged US hegemony in the Pacific, nowadays” this refers to China, but China is much more strong and ambitious.

The latent confrontation between China and the United States intensified the growth of economic and military potential of China. To ignore this trend is not possible. Moreover, Beijing's official rhetoric against Washington is becoming increasingly fierce. The statements and actions of the Chinese leadership more clearly formed a strategic goal: the centenary of the PRC, that by 2049, “to turn China into a strong, modernized power, dominant in Asia Pacific”¹¹.

However, China is gradually actively implementing the policy of rapprochement not only in the Asia-Pacific region but with Japan and the Islamic world as well. China is more open and firmly shows dissatisfaction with the existing system of international relations in general, criticized the global financial system, "dominance" of the dollar, the supply of US arms sales to Taiwan.

Naturally, these "arrows of anger" directed against the United States. In Chinese press and recent studies, there are voices that “only China is able to create a just world order, and above all, equitable distribution of resources”.¹²

Dynamically developing socialist China is truly a "headache" for the leaders of the United States. Travel America top leaders in China, the visit of President Hu Jintao in the spring of 2006 in the United States say that the Americans are striving to achieve a deep strategic understanding with China. This long-term goal the US the following objectives: "To identify practical options and limits the growth of China's influence as the dominant regional power, the problem with the desire of Japan to go beyond its actual status of an American protectorate and direct geopolitical aspirations Beijing's Russian Far East, Siberia, Mongolia, Central Asia”¹³

The goal of US policy is to induce a strong China to the regional problems. The beginning of strategic cooperation can be a serious dialogue between Washington and

10 M. A. Okur, “Classical Texts Of the Geopolitics and the “Heart Of Eurasia”, Journal of World Studies, XIV/2, pp.76-90
http://tdid.ege.edu.tr/files/dergi_14_2/mehmet_akif_okur.pdf

11 J. Petras “China: Rise, Fall and Re-Emergence as a Global Power, The Lessons of History”

Global Research, May 20, 2015 <http://www.globalresearch.ca/china-rise-fall-and-re-emergence-as-a-global-power/29644>

12 Политика США в Азиатско-Тихоокеанском регионе в период администрации Б. Обамы /отв. ред. Б.А. Ширяев, И.А. Цветков, Я.В. Лексютина. — СПбГУ, 2012. — 260 с.

13 Нартов Н.А., Нартов В.Н. Геополитика: учебник для студентов вузов, обучающихся по специальностям “Государственное и муниципальное управление”, “Международные отношения”, “Регионоведение”. – 4-е изд., перераб. и доп. – М.: ЮНИТИ-ДАНА: Единство, 2007.– 527 с..

Beijing. The goal announced at the time of Bill Clinton's visit to China, which is persistently warmed concern of the Chinese leadership about the situation in the North-East and Central Asia. But the views of the leaders of the PRC directed more towards Taiwan - the center of the capital of the APR countries.

Washington pivoting policy has taken a critical measures to execution of it, but this policy could not respond US priorities and interests completely owing to absence of one clear rebalance strategy framework, lack of bipartisan support, changing initiatives for five years, not clear allocation funding of the rebalance policy. Accordingly, The United States of America in order to implement the “rebalance” should take into account followings:

Firstly, US should adopt a real clear rebalance strategy towards Asia Pacific including US military, economic, diplomatic policy. The Department of Defence Maritime Strategy on Asia Pacific adopted in 2015 could not embrace all engagement of US policy.

Secondly, the next administration and President should continue and even reinforce US pivoting policy. Possible candidates from Democratic and Republican parties Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton don't approve US engagement towards Asia and in their election program promise to stop this policy.

Thirdly, a strategic shift or turn to Asia should be endorsed by bipartisan support. Inner incoordination in the Congress might lead budgets cuts, lack of assertiveness in the implementation of rebalance.

Finally, US should not lost the balance and allow to alter status-quo the rest of the world. The rebalance should not reflect negative perception such as US reducing Middle East operations budget or allowing Assad regime in Syria leads to appear a view that US could not endorse its allies and manage the threats during challengeable situations.

In conclusion, the view of the dynamic changes that occur in China, Washington is keen that he viewed America as their natural ally, since without the Sino-US strategic cooperation, promoting the deployment of the US presence in Eurasia, America will not be geo-strategy for the Asia-Pacific region that, in turn, would deprive its geostrategy for Eurasia as a whole. The US interest in the Asia-Pacific region to become the economic, political and military leaders and reduce the role of China and North Korea in the region.

On Specifics of Current US - British Relations

M.Nurmetova

Researcher, MA student, UWED

Abstract: *The bilateral relationship between the United Kingdom and the United States of America has been lasting through many centuries. These two countries are intertwined with each other historically. The “special relationship”, as it is called, means that they are very close partners in international relations. However, a clash of interests can also be seen. In spite of having different attitudes towards some issues, they remain close partners.*

Key words: *UK, USA, special relationship, partners, common interests, national interests, disagreement.*

Anglo-American relations are considered to be one of the most stable relationships in the world history. Bilateral relations have deep roots going back to the XVII century and have had high and low points ever since. However, the contemporary relationship occurred during the Second World War and the phrase “*special relationship*” has been used since that time to describe the alliance of the United States of America and Great Britain.

Having a glance at the history of international relations, one can find out that Britain was the only great power till World War I. After the war ended, Versailles-Washington System was established and the USA appeared in the international arena intending to become the actor number one. As these two powers took the same place in the world arena in different periods of history, they had very much in common. Besides, changes in international relations served as one of the reasons of strengthening the bilateral cooperation. In this case, World wars and then the struggle against the common enemy – the Soviet Union – made them come closer to each other. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and bipolar system many scholars predicted that US-UK relationship also came to the end. Despite the fact that there have been incredible changes in the international relations system so far, bilateral relationship between the UK and the USA is still going on. As the former President of the USA Barack Obama mentioned, “*It is remarkable to consider that down the decades we have seen nations rise and fall, wars fought and peace defended, a city divided, a wall come down, countries imprisoned behind an Iron Curtain, then liberated. We have seen the demise of the cold war and the transition from an industrial revolution to an information age. But one thing remains unchangeable. It is the relationship between the US and the UK.*”¹

It should be emphasized, that the USA the UK were the founders of NATO. They were also active initiators of reformation of NATO after the end of Cold War. The USA and the UK acted together in military operations within the framework of this

¹ Watt N., Barack Obama: UK-US alliance one of the greatest ever known. // The Gurdian. March 14, 2012. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/mar/14/barack-obama-uk-us-alliance>

organization: Yugoslavia events in 1999; committing troops in Afghanistan in 2001 and in Iraq in 2003; Arab spring events and so on.

Today also these two countries are very important partners in many global issues. For example, they support each other in maintaining world peace and security; in fighting against terrorism, Islamic State; Ukrainian crisis. They continue to be strategic partners as they are interconnected with each other in different spheres. Particularly, they have close relations in security and defense, as well as in intelligence cooperation.

The USA and the UK have common history; share common language and traditions as well as culture; they intertwined economically and financially; depend on each other on security issues. Although they are strategic partners, there is no agreement on strategic partnership between them. The relationship in this sphere is based on the agreements which go back to the XX century.

The basis of the economic relations is the bilateral agreements signed in the XVII and XVIII centuries. They are important economic partners for each other. Both of them create work places in the territory of the other. For instance, nowadays 1.3 million British people are working in American companies in Britain.² This indicator is much higher than those in Asian countries. Also 1.2 million Americans work for British companies in the USA.³ Financial ties between the sides go back to the XVIII century when first banks were founded in the USA.

Besides, personal relationship is also very strong between these two countries. This tendency began from the times of Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Though there were highs and lows in relationship between the leaders. During the administration of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, Tony Blair and George Bush bilateral ties were even strengthened.

Nevertheless, the USA and the UK bilateral relations are not cloudless. Although trust is high between them and they are *close friends*, but first of all, they are two different countries which sometimes have common interests and sometimes do not. Before and now also they could have different views towards some global issues. Clash of interests could be witnessed after the Second World War, for example, Suez Crisis in 1956; Vietnam War in the 1960th; Falklands war in the 1980th and so on.

The situation in the Middle East made the UK and the USA reconsider their policy towards this region. During the Suez Crisis in 1956, the USA did not support the UK. The UK did not want to lose its influence in the Suez Canal territory, therefore it agreed confidentially with France and Israel to begin military actions in Egypt. However it was not in the US interests that the Soviet Union could intervene in this region. Therefore the US threatened the UK and France to impose economic sanctions if they did not stop their actions. Eisenhower and Eden could not find common solution to the problem, as the interests were different. In the result, the UK and France lost their influence in the region of Middle East, but interests of the US became higher than before.

2 Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. US relations with the United Kingdom. Bilateral Economic Relations. Fact sheet. April 30, 2015. // <http://www.state.gov/e/eb/rls/othr/ics/2014/228441.htm>

3 Ibid.

In the 1960th when the US was fighting in Vietnam, the UK rejected to send its troops for support. The British remembered the situation with the Suez Crisis.

In the 1980th the UK had territorial disputes with Argentina over the Falkland Islands. This issue has not been solved yet. In this situation the US gives more support to Argentina than to the UK, as it did before, because the Americans have never been interested in worsening relations with Latin American countries.⁴

Nowadays also there are some global issues which cause disagreements between the sides.

Firstly, the US signed many international agreements like other countries, but rejected to ratify them. Among them *Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1996)*; *The Kyoto Protocol (1997)*; *Rome Statute (1998)* have not yet been ratified by the Senate of the USA. Nevertheless, the UK signed and ratified all those agreements. In this case, for example, the United Kingdom Government regretted the decision of the US Administration to reject the Kyoto Protocol early in 2001. The Protocol is designed to establish an international system for limiting emissions of greenhouse gasses. The United States is responsible for 25 per cent of global emissions, and therefore without its involvement the UK Government believes that there can be no lasting solution to the problem of climate change.

Secondly, Washington blames London for being too liberal towards groups, which are recognized as terroristic organizations in many countries. For example, headquarters of radical Islamic organization Hizb ut-Tahrir are situated in London.⁵ Besides, there is also contradiction on the issues of extradition, when the UK opposes extradition of those, who are accused of being terrorists in the USA.

Thirdly, today Asia is rising, and therefore it is becoming attractive for both the UK and the USA. The USA is paying more attention to the Asian-Pacific region. Though, the UK also did not stay outside of these changes: in spite of concerns of the USA, on March 28, 2015 the UK became a member of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank led by China. Some scholars believe, this tendency shows that the sides do not share common interests anymore. However, “*pivot to Asia*” could be a subject for another research.

In conclusion, although bilateral relations between the UK and the USA are described as “*special*”, they act differently when their interests are not similar. No matter how important the “*special relationship*” is, national interests always stay as the most important factor in making foreign policy. These two countries have much in common, and therefore they are strategically important for each other. Nevertheless, when there is a clash of national interests, the relationship between the UK and the USA could be weakened, but not destroyed.

4 Farley R., The long shadow of the Falklands war. // The National interest, September 8, 2014.
<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-long-shadow-the-falklands-war-11224>

5 Briefing: Hizb ut-Tahrir: should Britain ban radical Islamist group? // The Week. March 19, 2015.
<http://www.theweek.co.uk/63010/hizb-ut-tahrir-should-britain-ban-radical-islamist-group>

On Some Aspects of US Policy towards Afghan Crisis

H.Kazakbaev

Researcher, MA Student, UWED

Abstract: *The current situation in Afghanistan remains unstable. Now, more than ever, the Afghan government and security forces need U.S. and NATO support to fight dual threats from the Taliban and ISIS. Former President Obama spent nearly his entire presidency talking about withdrawing from Afghanistan. He intended the withdrawal deadline to pressure the corrupt and intransigent Afghan government to reform, but critics argued, rightly, that it would instead incentivize hedging behavior as our local allies. But peace and stability of Afghanistan belonged to another countries and Great Powers like USA, Russia, China and EU. Every Great power tried to use current situation of the way of its national interest. On the other hand no one wants to help Afghanistan and its internal peace and stability, human development , economical rising etc.*

Key words: *Afghanistan, USA, NATO, regional security, terrorism, national interests, peace and stability, G.Bush, Obama.*

After September 11 George W.Bush decided to respond decisively with American troops in Afghanistan to defeat the Taliban and Al Qaeda Congress passed a joint resolution authorizing the use of force against those for the September 11 and Bush signed it on September 18 2001, on October 7 the US began air strikes against Taliban military installations and Al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan.¹

Though it began with airstrikes that then-President Bush insisted were “carefully targeted,” he also emphasized that this was merely “phase one” of the War on Terror, and that “today we focus on Afghanistan, but the battle is broader.” But we never truly completed that first phase, let alone our operations elsewhere and the War on Terror as a whole Yet the war in Afghanistan still has the support of the vast majority of politicians in the United States. Across party lines and ideological differences, this war is seen as a justified conflict. Even Bernie Sanders, former the leftmost candidate for the U.S. presidency, states on his website that “we entered [the Afghan] war with significant clarity of purpose and moral authority.” While the original purpose of the war may have been clear—to unseat the Taliban, but also to spread counterterror efforts throughout the world we have since lost the way. Though the commonly cited date of the defeat of the Taliban is November 22, 2001, we still fight on.²

The invasion began with almost a month of airstrikes, of bombardments that alone killed hundreds of Afghan civilians. Following the ground invasion, U.S. forces were regularly cited for human rights abuses, including the torture and inhumane

1 [http:// center.org/president/biography/gbush-foreign-affairs](http://center.org/president/biography/gbush-foreign-affairs)

2 <http://inthesetimes.com/article/18481/afghanistan-war-fourteen-years-later>

treatment of suspected insurgents many of whom turned out to be innocent. The war also led to the establishment of the Guantanamo Bay detention camp, where the United States subjected Afghans to even more brutal methods of interrogation while sharply eroding whatever moral stature and post-9/11 sympathy we still held in the world. Of course, the various Afghan warlords (as well as the Northern Alliance) who received military and financial support from the United States in their fight against the Taliban and al-Qaeda committed atrocities of their own, according to Human Rights Watch. Some of these warlords even went on to work with the Taliban against the new Afghan government. And according to a Brown University study, the war might be directly and indirectly responsible for as many as 360,000 deaths.³

As requested in the Bonn Agreement and recognising the need to support the fragile political compromise built, the United Nations Security Council issued Resolution 1386 on 20 December 2001. Under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, it authorised the establishment “of an International Security Assistance Force to assist the Afghan Interim Authority in the maintenance of security in Kabul and its surrounding areas, so that the Afghan Interim Authority as well as the personnel of the United Nations can operate in a secure environment.” For almost two years ISAF remained a rather small force of just 5,000 located in Kabul.⁴

OEF continued operating throughout the country, though its permanent presence was limited to the Kabul region and a few bigger cities in the east and southeast of the country. Both the UN and the AIA Chairman Karzai proposed an extension of ISAF to cover the entire country. The USA disagreed, that not enough international troops would be available. Unwilling itself to direct more substantial resources to Afghanistan and suffering from the feeble success of the combat operations of OEF, the USA started to develop alternatives. In broad terms, the American thinking was in line with the UN approach, crafted under the term “light footprint” by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General (SRSG) at that time, Lakhdar Brahimi. PRTs emerged from these discussions of how “to spread the ‘ISAF effect’ without expanding ISAF itself.”⁵

Under the Obama Administration, the war in Afghanistan—after years of being perceived by many as “the other war” has become the focus of significantly greater leadership time and attention, and the recipient of significantly greater resources. The U.S. government’s core goals for the war have remained unchanged since March 2009: to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and to prevent their return. In December 2009, following a comprehensive strategic review, President Obama announced two decisions: to “surge” both military and civilian personnel to Afghanistan, and to begin withdrawing U.S. forces from Afghanistan, on a “conditions-based” basis, in July 2011. In November 2010, at the NATO Lisbon Summit, the governments of the United States, the other NATO Allies, and Afghanistan expressed support for the full transition of lead responsibility for security to Afghans by the end of

3 <http://inthesetimes.com/article/18481/afghanistan-war-fourteen-years-later>

4 http://www.cmcfinland.fi/download/41858_Studies_5_Eronen.pdf P.9

5 http://www.cmcfinland.fi/download/41858_Studies_5_Eronen.pdf P.9-10

2014. Allies also reaffirmed their “long-term commitment to a better future for the Afghan people.” In December 2010, announcing the results of the Administration’s Afghanistan Pakistan Annual Review, President Obama confirmed U.S. commitment to both transition by 2014 and a long-term U.S.-Afghan strategic partnership. In early 2011, General David Petraeus, Commander of NATO’s International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan, in a letter to the ISAF troops, credited the hard work of the force, together with its Afghan partners, for “halting a downward security spiral in much of the country and to reversing it in some areas of great importance.” In his December 2010 speech, former US President Obama recognized “considerable gains toward our military objectives,” but acknowledged that they were still “fragile and reversible.”⁶

By 2012, with the handover to the Afghan government viewed by the international community as being of paramount importance, panic hit with the question as to how any of this would be sustained by an Afghan government lacking domestic revenue for its civil servants’ salaries, let alone for its inflated police and army. In the Canadian government’s Summative Evaluation of Canada’s Afghanistan Development Program for 2004/05 to 2012/13, released in March 2015, some short-term quantitative results are acknowledged but the longer-term sustainability of results is questioned by the independent evaluation team from Ecorse that conducted the report. A former head of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in Kabul disagrees with the report’s claim that Canada was guided by a strategic vision throughout the period of evaluation, stating: ‘Canada’s largest venture in a fragile state was not well defined; nor was it supported with adequate analysis based on understanding of the history, society and culture, ethnic politics, the root causes of conflict and the realities of fragility conditions in the country.’⁷

During the Taliban period, assistance from the European Commission was provided via two instruments with a strong humanitarian focus. The first of these was DG ECHO, which financed many different programs throughout the country. Some programs were implemented in the Taliban controlled area: de-mining with Halo Trust, an Afghan de-mining NGO, as well as health and nutrition projects with Action Contre la Faim, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the World Food Programme. Others targeted areas on the other side of the front line, such as food assistance and food security programs in Hazarajat, and food assistance and shelter in the northern areas of Panjsher and Badakshan. The second instrument was DG RELEX’s “Uprooted people” budget line. With an office in Peshawar and direct land access to Afghanistan through the Khyber Pass, this instrument was very involved in the first “LRRD- like” approaches in Afghanistan, supporting the reinstallation of Afghan refugees in Eastern and Central provinces (Nangahar, Kunar, Kabul, Wardak, Loggar).⁸

6 <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R40156.pdf> P.7

7 https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20150722MilitaryCivilianAssistanceAfghanistanStapletonKeating.pdf P.8(12)

8 http://www.urdu.org/IMG/pdf/GPPI_FG_LRRD-Afgha.pdf P.3(20)

In mid-October, shortly after the Taliban's capture of Kunduz, former US President Barack Obama reversed his earlier pledge to withdraw nearly all troops by the end of his term and said the U.S. instead would keep a force level of 5,500 U.S. troops in the country when he departs office in January 2017. It was a step in the right direction, but he should have dropped all arbitrary deadlines for withdrawal.⁹

Former Secretary Kerry visited Kabul, Afghanistan, on April 9. While in Kabul, he co-hosted the third U.S.-Afghanistan Bilateral Commission with Foreign Minister Salahuddin Rabbani. The meeting was an opportunity for U.S. and Afghan leaders to discuss areas of mutual interest and cooperation, and to outline progress in the areas highlighted in our Strategic Partnership Agreement: security and defense, democracy and governance, and social and economic development. Also while in Kabul, Secretary Kerry met with President Ashraf Ghani and Chief Executive Abdullah Abdullah. In each meeting, he emphasized U.S. support for the Government of Afghanistan and the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces, as well as the importance of encouraging continued international donor support for Afghanistan at the upcoming NATO Summit in Warsaw and the Brussels Ministerial Conference on Afghanistan. The Secretary also expressed support for the Government of Afghanistan's efforts to end the conflict in Afghanistan through a peace and reconciliation process with the Taliban.¹⁰

The situation in Afghanistan remains dangerously in flux. The uncertainty may tempt some U.S. officials to back away and allow the regional players to sort it out. But that would be a mistake. Now, more than ever, the Afghan government and security forces need U.S. and NATO support to fight dual threats from the Taliban and ISIS. The Afghan government also needs U.S. backing in its dealings with Pakistan. While Pakistan should be motivated by ISIS encroachment to push the Taliban leaders under its influence to the negotiating table, it is by no means clear that the Pakistani military sees it that way.¹¹

Former US President Obama Administration spent nearly his entire presidency talking about withdrawing from Afghanistan. He intended the withdrawal deadline to pressure the corrupt and intransigent Afghan government to reform, but critics argued, rightly, that it would instead incentivize hedging behavior as our local allies, in the face of uncertainty, became preoccupied with securing their personal interests instead of their country's. And clearly, the deadline emboldened the Taliban and undermined the surge. Six years later, the Taliban is resurgent, but the Afghan government has not cleaned up its act: The withdrawal incurred the costs critics feared without accomplishing the goals its advocates intended—and the withdrawal will not end up actually happening, making the entire exercise profoundly futile.¹²

9 Don't Give Up on Afghanistan By Lisa Curtis <http://www.heritage.org/research/commentary/2016/2/dont-give-up-on-afghanistan>

10 <http://www.state.gov/secretary/travel/2016/t10/index.htm>

11 Afghanistan After America's War By Lisa Curtis. <http://www.heritage.org/research/commentary/2016/1/afghanistan-after-americas-war>

12 <http://www.the-american-interest.com/2016/02/15/obamas-failed-legacy-in-afghanistan/>

The U.S. government continues to face major strategic and operational decisions about its engagement in the war in Afghanistan. Elements of the debate that continue to attract attention include

- ✓ refining U.S. national interests in Afghanistan and the region, and a desired end-state based on those interests;
- ✓ determining which diplomatic, economic, and military approaches to adopt, what resources to commit to support those approaches, and how those approaches ought to evolve over time;
- ✓ helping marshal a coordinated application of international efforts in Afghanistan;
- ✓ prioritizing the Afghanistan war versus other U.S. national security imperatives
- ✓ in the context of a constrained fiscal environment¹³.

The 2009 Strategic Review conducted by the ISAF and US forces commander, General Stanley McChrystal, warned the new administration of President Barack Obama that continuation of the status quo in Afghanistan threatened ISAF with ‘strategic defeat’, and recommended an extensive, population-centric COIN campaign. Following months of deliberation Obama authorized a temporary ‘surge’ of 30,000 additional US forces for this and reportedly ordered an (unpublicized) increase in the tempo of counterterrorism operations. Planned numbers of ANSF were also significantly increased. The option of a fully resourced and open-ended counter-insurgency including nation-building aspects, for which General David Petraeus and the Pentagon had lobbied, was rejected. NATO and the Afghan government formalized plans during 2010 for the drawdown of international troops via a phased handover of responsibility to the Afghan government for security.¹⁴

In his 2013 State of the Union address, President Obama stated that by February 2014, another 34,000 U.S. troops would come home from Afghanistan, and that by the end of 2014, “our war in Afghanistan will be over.” While troop levels and drawdown curves tend to steal the headlines, more fundamental is the question of how coherently all the facets of U.S. engagement in Afghanistan fit together as part of a single political strategy aimed at bringing the war to an acceptable conclusion. Recent months have witnessed a great deal of activity. Afghanistan’s security transition received a jumpstart on June 18, 2013, when the Afghan government and NATO announced Milestone 2013, a marker that recognized Afghan exercise of lead responsibility for security across all of Afghanistan. Afghanistan’s political transition, a continuation of the political process launched in Bonn twelve years ago, was further catalyzed in July 2013 when Afghan President Hamid Karzai signed two election laws recently passed by the Afghan parliament, refining the legal and oversight frameworks that will govern the presidential

13 <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R40156.pdf> P.8

14 https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20150722MilitaryCivilianAssistanceAfghanistanStapletonKeating.pdf P.7(12)

and provincial council elections scheduled for 2014, and the parliamentary elections scheduled for 2015. Afghanistan's economic transition toward greater self-sufficiency received reinvigorated attention from the international donor community in July 2013, at the one-year anniversary of the Tokyo Conference on Afghanistan.¹⁵

For the U.S. government, fundamental components of strategy for the war in Afghanistan include

- ✓ U.S. national security interests in Afghanistan and the region;
- ✓ the minimum essential conditions political, economic, security that would need to pertain in Afghanistan and the region in order to protect U.S. interests over the long run;
- ✓ current and projected U.S. approaches, until and after 2014, for helping Afghans establish and sustain those conditions;
- ✓ the timeline by which, and extent to which, Afghans are likely to be able to sustain those conditions with relatively limited support from the international community;
- ✓ the importance of this overall effort given its likely timeline, risks, and costs compared to other U.S. priorities.¹⁶

Nevertheless, the Government of President Ashraf Ghani has serious agenda of issues to be solved, such as:

- 1) to develop Afghan economy ;
- 2) peace and stability among ethnic groups ;
- 3) improve Afghan National Army ;
- 4) to fight terrorism and narcotraffic ;
- 5) human development ;
- 6) gender agenda ;

References

1. Mark Townsend and Gaby Hinsliff. "Gordon Brown in new Afghan plan: Talk to the Taliban." The Observer. August 30, 2009.
2. Denis MacShane. "We Can't abandon Afghanistan." The Guardian OnLine. August 21, 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/aug/21/afghanistan-troops-strategy>
3. Ghaith Abdul-Ahad. "Face to face with the Taliban: 'The people are fed up with the government!'" The Guardian. August 18, 2009.
4. Amy Belasco. "The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terror Operations since 9/11." Congressional Research Services. May 15, 2009. RL 33110
<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL33110.pdf>
5. Victor Sebestyen. "Transcripts of Defeat." The New York Times. October 28, 2009.
6. https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20150722MilitaryCivilianAssistanceAfghanistanStapletonKeatin.pdf
7. <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R40156.pdf>
8. <https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/papers/2005/P7395.pdf>
9. <https://interaffairs.ru/jauthor/material/629>

15 http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/8117~v~War_in_Afghanistan__Campaign_Progress_Political_Strategy_and_Issues_for_Congress.pdf P.4(24)

16 http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/8117~v~War_in_Afghanistan__Campaign_Progress_Political_Strategy_and_Issues_for_Congress.pdf P.5(24)

10. http://www.cmcfinland.fi/download/41858_Studies_5_Eronen.pdf
11. http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/8117~v~War_in_Afghanistan__Campaign_Progress_Political_Strategy_and_Issues_for_Congress.pdf
12. <http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/Books/understanding-war-in-afghan.pdf>
13. http://www.urdu.org/IMG/pdf/GPPI_FG_LRRD-Afghan.pdf
14. <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/81/html>
15. <http://www.the-american-interest.com/2016/02/15/obamas-failed-legacy-in-afghanistan/>

Comparative Analyses of US Global Military Power

I.Muminov

Researcher, MA Student, UWED

Abstract: *Modern International Relations systems has such a character, which differentiates from others, is being so complex and changeable. In history, states were strong with their huge of army and its power to influence others. Nevertheless, nowadays reliance only on army, it means, military power, can't allow states to stay mighty in world politics. In that case, we can see that complexity of IR systems make states interdependent and interactive. The twenty-first century began with a very unequal distribution of power resources. With five percent of the world's population, the United States accounted for about a quarter of the world's economic output, was responsible for nearly half of global military expenditures, and had the most extensive cultural and educational soft-power resources. All this is still true, but the future of U.S. power is hotly debated. Many observers have interpreted the 2008 global financial crisis as the beginning of American decline. Author tries to research military power of USA comparing to other great powers.*

Key words: *Military power, land power, navy, power capability, US army, military bases, USA, foreign policy*

What is difference of America's power from other powers? What is advantage? Why other powers cannot be like USA? One cannot answer these questions with one or two words, because its power is multidimensional.

Let's take other powers: they may be powerful in one or two spheres not in all sides. For instance Russia is powerful in military sphere, China is powerful in economic sphere, European states in economic or technology, and Japan and Korea are in technology, not in all sphere. US power is multidimensional and every part of it play basic role and includes following spheres – Military, Economy, Social, Cultural, Scientific, Technology, Humanity, World policy making, Agriculture, Education, Medicine.

After considering these factors, we can say that USA overall power is hundred times stronger than other states, which are trying to call USA into competition in military, economy, diplomatic, social, and technological power. You cannot find any other state that powerful in all spheres which abovementioned except USA¹. It is key or limestone of USA's power.

USA as founder of modern system of International relations reserved for itself many priorities in international organizations, to illustrate, in the UN, IMF, WTO, and World Bank and so on.

Nowadays in International arena USA has its own role which another country could not substitute. When we compare countries according to their power, we must

1 Nordqvist J. (2013, October 21). What are the most powerful countries in the world? Financial information online journal. Retrieved from <http://marketbusinessnews.com/most-powerful-countries-world/3447>

take into account that it's military, economic, culture and so on. According to before mentioned types of power, USA is the strongest country and leads the world. After USA, we can see that China and Russia and Japan are trying to call USA on being the hegemony in the world affairs.

Comparing military power of states is one of the main indicators of state power. In that case, we must consider that each country has its own unique security situation that shapes its military in general and land power in particular, accordingly. While comparing military power of states, geographic, political, diplomatic and fiscal issues all determine army size. Does it exist in a bad neighborhood like India, Afghanistan or Jordan, or a nice neighborhood like the United States, Luxembourg or Canada? Is it internally focused, externally focused or both? How much in military spending can the government afford? Military power has main three parts – sea, land and air.

Nowadays The U.S. Navy belong the most ships compared to any navy worldwide. It also has the greatest diversity of missions and the largest area of responsibility. No other navy has the global reach of the U.S. Navy, which regularly operates in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans, as well as the Mediterranean, Persian Gulf and the Horn of Africa. The U.S. Navy also forward deploys ships to Japan, Europe and the Persian Gulf.

The U.S. Navy has 288 battle force ships, of which typically a third is underway at any given time. The U.S. Navy has 10 aircraft carriers, nine amphibious assault ships, 22 cruisers, 62 destroyers, 17 frigates and 72 submarines². In addition to ships, the U.S. Navy has 3,700 aircraft, making it the second largest air force in the world. At 323,000 active and 109,000 personnel, it is also the largest navy in terms of manpower³.

What make the U.S. Navy stand out the most are its 10 aircraft carriers — more than the rest of the world put together. Not only are there more of them, they're also much bigger: a single *Nimitz* – class aircraft carrier can carry twice as many planes (72) as the next largest foreign carrier. Unlike the air wings of other countries, which typically concentrate on fighters, a typical U.S. carrier air wing is a balanced package capable of air superiority, strike, reconnaissance, anti-submarine warfare and humanitarian assistance/disaster relief missions⁴.

The U.S. Navy's 31 amphibious ships make it the largest “gator” fleet in the world, capable of transporting and landing on hostile beaches. The nine amphibious assault ships of the *Tarawa* and *Wasp* classes can carry helicopters to ferry troops or act as miniature aircraft carriers, equipped with AV-8B Harrier attack jets and soon F-35B fighter-bombers⁵.

2 http://www.navy.mil/nav_data/nav_legacy.asp?id=146/

3 Mizokami, K. (2014). The Five Most-Powerful Navies on the Planet, <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-five-most-powerful-navies-the-planet-10610?page=show/>

4 Mizokami, K. (2014). The Five Most-Powerful Navies on the Planet, <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-five-most-powerful-navies-the-planet-10610?page=show/>

5 Mizokami, K. (2014). The Five Most-Powerful Navies on the Planet, <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-five-most-powerful-navies-the-planet-10610?page=show/>

The undisputed land power on the planet is the United States Army. The Army has 535, 000 soldiers⁶; many of which are combat veterans, backed up by modern, cutting-edge equipment and a robust logistical system.

Abovementioned information, we can see that US is the only land power which is capable of multidivisional combat operations outside of its hemisphere.

At the core of the U.S. Army are ten combat divisions, backed up by a handful of separate combat brigades. Each division consists of following parts:

- ✓ three armor;
- ✓ mechanized infantry;
- ✓ light infantry;
- ✓ Stryker;
- ✓ Airborne;
- ✓ Air assault brigades.

Each of them is complemented by aviation and artillery brigade. Manpower is from roughly 18,000 to 14,000 each, depending on the particular unit⁷.

USA is the first country which spends roughly equal worlds the next 10 highest defense budgets and equals to 756.5 billion US dollars The American military dominates at every level and, sea, air, space and spends more than the next fourteen countries put together, accounting for almost 50 percent of global defense spending⁸.

Some argue that even this understates America's military lead against the rest of the world because it does not take into account the U.S. scientific and technological edge. The United States spends more on defense research and development than the rest of the world put together.

Global presence of US plays much role on US supremacy in world politics and provides additional power in negotiation tables. After the collapsing the USSR, USA became the only power which could be the super power. In 90s USA tried to solve conflicts with its army in Europe, Middle East and other part world. As USA counts Russia and China as main rivals in world politics, it tries to draw nearer to national borders of Russia and China. In case of Russia, USA uses NATO in order to approach Russian neighbors what we can see that in the Eastern Part of Europe, especially, nowadays Ukraine is on the way of choices between Russia and “West”.

The U.S. economy has been the world's largest since the last decade of XIX century, and it remains till today. In fact, America has held a surprisingly constant share of global GDP ever since. With the brief exception of the late 1940s and 1950s—when the rest of the industrialized world had been destroyed and America's share rose to 50 percent!—the United States has accounted for roughly a quarter of world output for

6 http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=united-states-of-america/

7 http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=united-states-of-america/

8 Amadeo, K. (2014). U.S. Military Budget: Components, Challenges, Growth Guess How Much America Spends on Defense, http://useconomy.about.com/od/usfederalbudget/p/military_budget.htm/

over a century (32 percent in 1913, 26 percent in 1960, 22 percent in 1980, 27 percent in 2000, and 26 percent in 2007) (Zakaria, 2008).

Zakaria (2008) suggests that it is likely to slip but not significantly in the next two decades. In 2025, most estimates suggest that the U.S. economy will still be twice the size of China's in terms of nominal GDP (though in terms of purchasing power, the gap will be smaller).

What is important that every developing and developed country is ready to inter US markets and some of them already have linked with US markets? If US deny Chinese goods, China will have so many problems connected with export goods to US. It means somehow these emerging powers' economies are under the influence of US economy.

Economic power of USA seems somehow reachable to other states, unfortunately, in my opinion, they can't compete with US in ten years. Because following factors do not let them:

- ✓ Role of US dollars in World trade and finance is unchangeable and if some group of states tries to deny the usage of US dollars, the whole system will take considerable loss;
- ✓ GDP of USA equals to 17 416 billion US dollars in 2014⁹ and USA is the main exporter and importer in world Trade;
- ✓ Huge financial resources which allows US to influence world development;

Social power of United States includes the Americanization of world, it means, through democratic ideas, USA have other states to accept and to put forward on their future being like US democratic state. In the cold war era, USA used against Socialistic States its own Democracy and culture.

US have such kind of power that it can blame every state on violating human rights and democratic principles as a lighthouse of democracy and human rights.

Besides that, US culture popularized over the world and surely can say that everybody loves putting on jeans and sunglasses and drinking cola. American pop culture nowadays is so effective in South and South-East Asian states, especially, Japan, South Korea and so on. Henry Kissinger (1997) wrote his memories that when US negotiators came to China in order to improve the relations between USA and China in 1979, during the negotiations Chinese representative answered no to all questions besides one that was about cola. They asked that did he drink cola and he said yes.

Social power of US in mass media is unique and Hollywood films have influence on over of the world population¹⁰. In a technological era, social power's role is going up and US tries to strengthen its social power be the best through the internet and new results of technological development.

9 <http://knoema.ru/nwnfkne/world-gdp-ranking-2014-data-and-charts>

10 Adelman J. (2013, November 24). Why The U.S. Remains The World's Unchallenged Superpower. Forbes journal online. retrieved from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2013/11/24/why-the-u-s-remains-the-worlds-unchallenged-superpower/>

Nowadays in world politics state image also plays main role and we see that USA state image in global opinion of people, in my opinion, is the one of the best and most liked.

Cultural superiority is undervalued aspect of US global power. Whatever one thinks of some of their aesthetic values, American popular culture radiates a magnetic attraction, especially for young people around the world. Its appeal is probably originates in the active life as she preaches, but its appeal throughout the world is undeniable.

American television programs and movies occupy nearly three-quarters of the world market. American popular music also occupies a dominant position, and passions of Americans eating habits and even more clothing imitated worldwide. Language Internet is taken English and the majority of the global computer “chatters” is also from America and affects the content of the global conversation.

Finally, America has become a Mecca for those who seek modern education – approximately half a million foreign students flock to the United States, with many of the most capable and do not come back home. Graduates of American universities can be found in almost every government on every continent¹¹.

Brzezinski argues that democratic ideals associated with the American political tradition, further reinforce what some perceives as an American “cultural imperialism”. In an age of widespread democratic forms of government the American political experience increasingly serves as a standard for others to follow. Spreads around the world focus on the central position of a written constitution and the rule of law over political unscrupulousness, no matter how understated in practice, uses the power of American constitutional government¹².

Brzezinski writes about why America is able to strengthen its international legitimacy, only to prove commitment to shared socio-political goals. Democracy promotion must be directly related to efforts to eliminate extreme poverty and the gradual reduction of global inequality¹³.

In recent years, the recognition of the former communist countries of civil supremacy over the military (especially as a precondition for NATO membership) is also strongly influenced by the American system of relations between the civilian and military. Popularity and influence democratic American political system is also accompanied by an increase attractiveness of the American entrepreneurial economic model, which focuses on global free trade and free competition.

One of the dimensions of US power is scientific power which means that developed base of high degree universities and supplies US dominance on discovering and creating new technology – both biotechnology and nanotechnology. Silicon Valley

11 Brzezinski Z. The grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives. 1997. Washington, DC.1997, P 24

12 Brzezinski Z. The grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives. 1997. Washington, DC.1997, P 25

13 Brzezinski Z. The grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives. 1997. Washington, DC.1997, P 34

in United States helps not only government, but also businessmen to develop technology and somehow create something useful government¹⁴.

Fareed Zakaria compares three states on their annual graduate student numbers – USA, China and India. In China every year graduates 600, 000, in India 350, 000 and in US 70,000¹⁵. But if we pay attention deeper, we can see that in China and India engineer graduate students are mostly mechanics and industrial repairmen. It means that, their engineers (Chinese and Indian) do not create or discover something but only can do what was created before. Some experts say that China and India are roughly speaking world factories which only produce.

Humanity is the one of the main principle of foreign policy of United States and also must emphasize that American Idealism which motivates all citizens connects with humanity. It means that all US police dedicated to improve the life style of citizens and around the world. Besides those human rights is the beacon of American idealism.

Through humanity, US influence international Community's opinion, make humanity as a fundament, and use in order to have other states to do what should do. For example, war against Iraq, President Bush called Iraq as an axis of evil and friend of terrorists and called world community fight against terrorists through mass media.

Nowadays role of United States in international arena is estimated as a main facilitator or just hidden dominance. After World War II, during the creation of new system of International Order, USA understood that in order to keep peace must be created international organizations and these organizations should include all states and in these organizations, US dominant role should be installed.

As Zbigniew Brzezinski recommends that in modern international relations US must become a main facilitator or just global leader but not the global dominant, because, as he proves that in case of rising new challengers in world politics like China, Japan, India and Russia, US should strive for keeping its leadership in international Community¹⁶.

In addition, we can detect that US developed foreign policy, strong diplomacy is directed to have world Community to perceive USA as an exclusive state, and every state, which tries to strengthen its diplomacy, starts learning US experience. As US foreign policy puts forward actively “soft power” and humanity, these principles allow them to create wonderful state image in International Arena.

At the end, I want to add one of the emerging appearances of power is organizational power which nowadays US uses actively on the process of creating new international and regional organizations.

14 Adelman J. (2013, November 24). Why The U.S. Remains The World's Unchallenged Superpower. Forbes journal online. retrieved from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2013/11/24/why-the-u-s-remains-the-worlds-unchallenged-superpower/>

15 Fareed Zakaria. Post American world. (2008). New York. W.W. Norton & Company. pp 180-181

16 Brzezinski Z. Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power. 2011. Washington, DC. New York. Basic Books, a Member of the Persues Books Group. p 26

In my conclusion, I can say that multidimensionality of US power do not allow other power to win it. Because of rising new competitors, in my opinion, there will be changes only in nature of international relations not but the supremacy of USA.

Reference List:

1. Adelman J. (2013, November 24). Why The U.S. Remains The World's Unchallenged Superpower. Forbes journal online. retrieved from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2013/11/24/why-the-u-s-remains-the-worlds-unchallenged-superpower/>
2. Brzezinski Z. Strategic Vision: America and the Crisis of Global Power. 2011. Washington, DC. New York. Basic Books, a Member of the Persues Books Group. p 26
3. Brzezinski Z. The grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives. 1997. Washington, DC.1997, P 24
4. Fareed Zakaria. Post American world. (2008). New York. W.W. Norton & Company. pp 180-181
5. Kimberly Amadeo, U.S. Military Budget: Components, Challenges, Growth Guess How Much America Spends on Defense. 2014. Retrieved December 11th, 2014, from http://useconomy.about.com/od/usfederalbudget/p/military_budget.htm
6. Mizokami, K. (2014). The Five Most Powerful Navies on the Planet, June 6, 2014, retrieved December 7th, 2014, from <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-five-most-powerful-navies-the-planet-10610?page=show>
7. Navy personnel facts. (2014). Retrieved December 5th, 2014, from http://www.navy.mil/navydata/nav_legacy.asp?id=146
8. Nordqvist J. (2013, October 21). What are the most powerful countries in the world? Financial information online journal. retrieved from <http://marketbusinessnews.com/most-powerful-countries-world/3447>
9. Nye J. Jr. The Future of American Power Dominance and Decline in Perspective. Retrieved from <http://www.businessinsider.com/11-most-powerful-militaries-in-the-world-2014-4#ixzz3MWtKk0Qj>
10. United States of America's Military Strength. 2014. Retrieved December 5th, 2014, from http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=united-states-of-america
11. World GDP Ranking 2014 . Data and Charts. Retrieved December 8th, 2014, from <http://knoema.ru/nwnfkne/world-gdp-ranking-2014-data-and-charts>

Water as Conflict Prone Factor in Regional Politics

T. Abdullaeva

Researcher, MA Student, UWED

Abstract: *Water scarcity is a global problem that is particularly acute in Central Asia. This article is about problem of water which has long been a major cause of conflict in Central Asia. Two states – Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan – have a surplus; the other three say they do not get their share from the region’s great rivers, the Syr Darya and Amu Darya, which slice across it from the Tien Shan, Pamir Mountains, and the Hindu Kush to the Aral Sea’s remains.*

Key words: *water, transboundary rivers, Central Asia, Amu Darya, Syr drya, dams, hydro-energy, hydro-energy.*

“The Next War Will Be About Water.”¹

As well as Central Asia is considered as an important region in geopolitical viewpoint, it is also one of the most ancient centers of human civilization. Transboundary Rivers such as Amu Darya and Syr Darya which flow through the region, has a big significance in the evolution and flourishing of Central Asia.

For more than four million square kilometers, post-Soviet states Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan occupy larger than in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh combined, and are home to approximately 60 million people. Most fresh water comes from runoff from the high mountain ranges of the Pamir and Tien Shan in the eastern part of Central Asia, which feed the two main rivers, the Amur Darya and Syr Darya, which flows west and north to the Aral Sea.

There is undoubtedly a water crisis in Central Asia, which is largely - due to Soviet policy. At the time of independence, we can see that the five republics managed very quickly to find new ways to collaborate. However, upon closer inspection, you realize that each republic holds its "aggressive" national water policy by further irrigation development in the country, despite the current water crisis. One certainly wonders how long this situation can be sustained, whether environmental or politically. Nevertheless, as a final note, it should be clear that the probability of conflict in Central Asia can not be explained if one looks at water issues. Nevertheless, the water problems should not be separated from other important security issues in Central Asia (ie: nationalism, ethnic tensions, or even territorial demarcation of political Islam). In this context, water could well be used as a tool for other purposes, then the possibility of so-called water war may occur.

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union over a quarter century ago, that system has collapsed. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan now face constant blackouts and hope to build giant dams to provide for their energy needs. Kyrgyzstan completed its Kambarata-2

¹ Headline of a full-page advertisement in the New York Times, December 6, 1999

power station in 2010 and is building a second one, Kambarata-1, with the help of Russia. Although he doesn't have the funds, Tajik President Emomali Rahmon often speaks zealously about his mission to build a 335-meter dam, Rogun, which has the potential to turn his impoverished statelet into a powerbroker. But there is one glaring issue: the region's glaciers, the source of huge and once predictable water supplies, are melting at record rates. Every year, it loses about as much water as consumed by a country the size of Switzerland. And the dams stand to limit water supply even further for the downstream countries. This has set them on edge.²

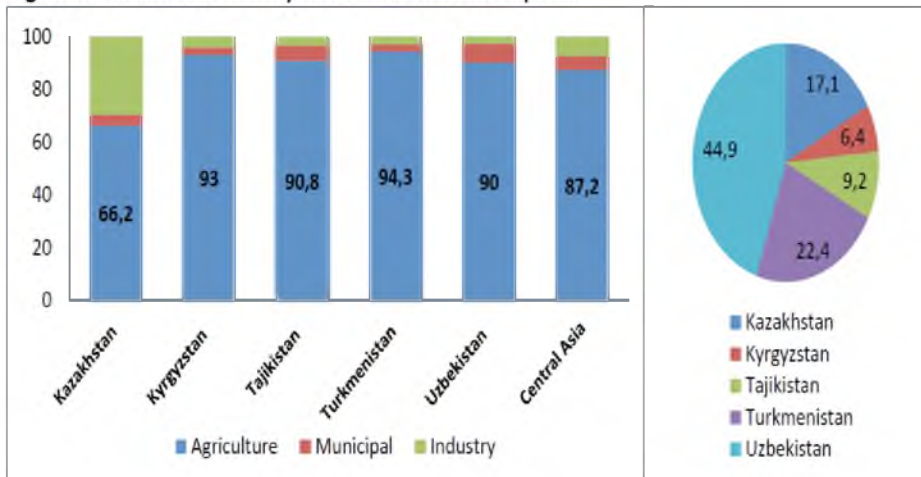
Nowadays water resources of these rivers still play a crucial role in social and economic life of countries of the regions. It's well known that international legal aspects of the issues of transboundary rivers and using Hydro Electric Dams there are at the centre of attention of local and international scholars. On August 17, 2007 President I. Karimov in his speech at the summit of the heads of states of SCO stated his considerations on this issue: "This issue concerns more than 50 million people who lives in 6 countries of the region. Therefore in the process of decision-making on such matters concerning the use of the stream of the rivers, particularly on building Hydro Electric Facilities, must not be adopted without taking these interests into account."³ Realization of any project on these transboundary waters must not have negative impact on the ecological water balance of the region. International legal bases which are being implemented in the area of the use of water and ecological sphere must be basis for the effective usage of water resources of the region in cooperation.

We can see some problems linked with water, the building dams in the upper part of the rivers is increasing: Tajikistan planned to build huge Hydro Electric Powers such as Rogun, Sangtuda, Rushan, Dashtijuma, Upper-Amu-Darya; Bishkek is also planning to construct its own Kambarata-1 and Kambarata-2 Hydro Electric Powers. These dams, which were projected by Soviet government in the 80s of the twentieth century in order to help to create cotton plantations, are being readjusted for hydro-energetic ambitions. Such facilities are being built mainly for economic interests, in order to get energy independence. Probable serious consequences, such as ecologic and economic, and geopolitical instability are worsening relations between the states of the region. Negative consequences of construction of such kind of facilities threaten the security and national interests of Central Asian states, especially countries which are situated in the lower part of the rivers. Taking into account the supremacy of human interests, providing the security of human and human resources are considered central issue of policy and security of every state.

² David Trilling "Water wars in Central Asia" Foreign Affairs, 09.24.2016

³ Karimov I.A. (2007): "Liberalization of our society, recession of reforms, bettering our spirituality and improving living conditions of our nation are primary criterias and purposes of our actions" Vol.-15, "Uzbekistan", Tashkent, p.291

Figure 3 – Sector and country share in water consumption



Sector and country share in water consumption⁴

As a result of anthropogenic incidents in the big Hydro Electric Facilities mainly civilians' life remains under threat, and it may cause the death of many innocent civilians. Dam failures in Henan province of China, in August 7, 1975, Vajont Dam of Italy in October 9, 1963, Pakistan in 2005, Vietnam in 2007, Russia's Sayano-Shushenskaya power station in 2009 prove our considerations.⁵ Building dams in mountain districts of Central Asian states is an obvious threat in the viewpoint of human security, because the region is considered as an active seismic zone. According to geologic research results, which were carried out in the last century, a large part of Central Asian region is situated on 9-10 grade (in Richter scale 7,6 grade)magnitude zone of MSK-64 scale. Seismic surveys which were carried out in the 50-60s of last century due to the construction of Nurek (Tajikistan) and Tokhtagul Hydro Electric Dams, also confirm before-mentioned results.

Uzbek seismologists emphasize that the location of constructions Hydro Electric Dam of Rogun is situated in Hissar-Kakshal and Ilaksi Vakhsh tectonic active zone of South Tian Shan-Pamir-Alay mountain ridge, and this area is on the crack between the Tian Shan and Pamir Mountains. At the symposium of European Seismology Commission, which was held in Davos in 2009, scholars of Central Asian Institution on Land Researches stated that Toktagul Hydro Electric Dam which is situated in the Central and Northern Tian Shan, and Kambarata-2 near it, are situated in the active tectonic zone with 7,7 grade magnitude.⁶ These huge Hydro Electric Facilities are being built not only in seismic active zone, but also not far from densely-populated areas. For example, Rogun Hydro Electric Dam is being built 110 kilometers away from the capital city of Dushanbe, 70 kilometers away from Nurek Hydro Electric Dam, the highest Dam in the world. If there will be a serious failure in Rogun and flood occurs, beginning point of surrounding places around the facility will be 245-280 meters under

4 <https://epthinktank.eu>, November 5, 2015 In Water Disputes In Central Asia: Rising Tension Threatens Regional Stability
 5 Jakob Granit, Anders Jägerskog, Rebecca Löfgren, Andy Bullock, George de Gooijer, Stuart Pettigrew and Andreas Lindström(2010): "Regional Water Intelligence Report Central Asia Baseline Report", Regional Water Intelligence Reports, p.6

6 Jeremy Allouche(2010):" A source of regional tension in Central Asia: The case of water ",Oxford University Press, p.100

the water, the last point around the Nurek 6-7 meters water stream will destroy series of hydroelectric power plants, which were built as a cascade, and causes unprecedented destruction, emphasized scholars.⁷ As a result, 700 population areas of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, overall the lives of 5 million people, who live in this 1,5 million hectare territory may be in danger. There are so many big cities in this territory such as Nurek, Sarbon, Kurgantube, Termiz, Mukri, Kerki, Turkmanbashi, Urganch, Nukus. It means that any disaster at these facilities damages equally to all bordering states of the region.

We can see that nowadays big rivers of the region are being used for other purposes: because of building water obstacles bio-system of the region is worsening, thinking about only their own economic interests, some states considering water as a commodity, and water resources are being used ineffectively.

In particular, together with Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan interested in using water resources to generate electricity to meet its own needs and for export to third countries. They are opposed by Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, which insist on mainly irrigation type of exploitation as built during the Soviet era hydroelectric and planned new hydroelectric power plants.

Essence of the claims of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to its neighbors is to increase demand financial compensation for their work hydropower plants in irrigation regime in the interests of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Bishkek and Dushanbe over the years point to significant costs for its part to maintain hydraulic infrastructure. Most active in this matter Bishkek, offered to treat water as a kind of commodity, and potentially introduce a fee for water (now Kyrgyzstan receives from Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan compensation for excess electricity generated)

The purpose of Bishkek and Dushanbe is to obtain fair compensation and the market for the services provided for the supply of water. Basically blame solely Bishkek and Dushanbe in "energy egoism" is not quite true. Before these countries acute problem to tackle poverty, and hydro are their source of national economic development. The problem is how to fit the local development strategy in regional sustainable development scenario, a win-win all countries and no losers.

One of the negative consequences of building huge Hydro Electric Powers in Central Asian region is emergence of shortage of water.

The big dams on upper part of transboundary rivers which gather a huge amount of water for Hydro Electric Powers, obviously will cause lack of water in countries which are situated in the lower part of transboundary rivers. This case, at first, worsens the situation near the Aral Sea area, secondly, it may cause deficit of water for agriculture and human consumption. "We have to take into account that the Aral Sea area is supplied with water with Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya's water resources. The

7 Report (2013): The Rogun Dam: Regional Conflict and Opportunity, Central Euroasia Standart, p.6

decreasing of water amount in the rivers absolutely may change the difficult situation to worse”.⁸

Human’s right to drinking water is considered as a natural and fundamental rights and this right is mentioned in the influential international documents and protected by them.

The five Central Asian republics, when they were under the same government, used to deal successfully with even more grandiose water-related projects, which in a very short time substantially modified the geographic layout and living conditions in the region. The sudden “march of sovereignties” did not just kick back the level of socio-economic development in the young independent states a few decades into the past. It initiated the rise of then sleeping symptoms of separatism, the medieval fight for leadership in the region⁹

Nowadays in our country adopted more than 80 law and subordinate legislation documents in order to regulate the process of protecting and effective usage of water resources. Besides in order to organize effective usage of water resources, our government is realizing several programs, for instance, Uzbekistan has signed several bilateral and multilateral agreements on effective use of Central Asian region’s water resources.

Water is probably not be the cause of the armed conflict in the near future in Central Asia. But water is becoming an increasingly important factor in the strained relations between the five states and an important contributor to local conflicts. Water scarcity is already inhibiting economic growth and capacity constraints in the countryside. Greater effort is needed for more efficient management and use of water in Central Asia or the five countries will struggle to survive .

Some fundamental policy recommendations derived from the analysis in this paper. In the first place, to control the mutual relations, and in accordance with international law, water, the Central Asian states should develop a fair agreement on the division of water and avoid doing harm to others conspicuous. Ideally, five states will create an inclusive decision-making and dispute resolution systems , recognized by all parties. Best practices from other international river basins will be useful to illustrate how to achieve a similar result in the context of Central Asia.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize following ways in order to regulate the situation. As experts recommended, to build more little Hydro Electric Dams. This idea represents itself as a cheap, effective and secure project.

Existing and being built constructions must be used in a combinational way: if Rogun Dam will be built, its activity must be coordinated with Nurek Hydro Electric Power’s activity. The fact is that both of plants must not keep the huge amount of water at the same time. When Nurek Dam gathers the water, Rogun must release the water stream, or on the contrary. This action prevents the emergence of water deficit in the

⁸ The President of the Republic of Uzbekistan I.Karimov’s speech at the UN New Millenium Summit,(September 24, 2010) “Adolat”;;

⁹ Valentini K.L., Orolbaev E.E, Abylgazieva A.K.(2004) :Water problems of Central Asia, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, p. 10

countries which are situated in the lower stream. In this case the governments of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan must take the responsibility and guarantee it.

Moreover it must be set up intergovernmental and non-governmental institution which carries out technical-ecologic, social-economic evaluating process over the projecting, building, implementing and strengthen the mechanisms of international law. It is important to organize a conceptual approach which defines the level of damages and finances the negative transboundary consequences directly or indirectly, provides the hydro-energetic security and usage of water, and national legislation must be coordinated with this process. Launching to use the alternative range of energy help to use effectively current energy resources, establishing effective cooperation decreases the need for building new Hydro Electric Facilities. To use electric lamps, which consumes less energy, and building materials, which produce heat from itself, to raise civilians' opinion about economization of energy resources, to strengthen legal responsibility for wastefulness of energy and and to enforce other measures will help to use inner opportunities at maximum. Proceeding from world practice, to use alternative range of energy, for example, establish complete using system of solar energy for lighting and heating will help to adjust existing hydro-energetic problems in the region.

Understanding Rivalry Concept in International Relations

N.Khodjayeva

Researcher, MA Student, UWED

Abstract: *As the study of enduring and other international rivalries has become prominent over the last decade, much of the attention has been devoted to understanding the termination of those competitions, perhaps stimulated by the end of the Cold War. Some works have also begun to address the origins of rivalries. Yet considerably less attention has been focused on what happens in between those two endpoints. Specifically, little research has been done on rivalry maintenance processes, or the conditions that keep rivalries going. Nowadays rivalry between states in Middle East plays huge role on confrontation between Saudi Arabia and Iran. The author tries to explain the rivalry theory in international relations.*

Key words: *Rivalry, theory, origins of rivalry, political shock, models, precedent, behavior within the rivalry,*

Specific rivalry analyses offer insights into what keeps them going, although the empirical verification of such claims is often indirect and confined to a small number of cases.

Maoz and Moor see rivalry continuing as long as at least one side is dissatisfied and has the capability to challenge the status quo. This suggests that one of the keys to understanding rivalry continuation lies in the outcomes of the initial confrontations of the two rivals. If one side has superior capabilities and is able to impose an asymmetrical outcome, the rivalry may end because the weaker side is unable to continue the competition. This means that rivalry maintenance may occur when disputes produce indeterminate outcomes that leave one or more parties dissatisfied.¹

This is perhaps why they observe many instances of “Deadlock” in the early stages of enduring rivalries. This is also consistent with Stinnett and Diehl’s finding that stalemate outcomes in initial disputes are good predictors of enduring rivalry development. Yet if the preferences of the rivals change (and a regime change as well as a dramatic victory can facilitate this), the result can also be the termination of a rivalry.²

The punctuated equilibrium model of rivalries starts with a longitudinal view of international relations, which does not atomize disputes and wars and rip them from their historical context. Roughly, there are three phases in the maturation of a rivalry.³

In the onset phase, the rivalry begins following a “political shock,” a dramatic change endogenous to one or both of the rivals or to the international environment as a whole.

The punctuated equilibrium model is not very specific as to the other conditions that prompt the initiation of rivalries, although it suggests that structural factors (e.g.,

1 The Initiation and Termination of Enduring Rivalry: The rivalry approach to War and Peace 291-308

2 Aachen, Christopher and Duncan Snidal. “Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies «World Politics 41:143-69

3 The Initiation and Termination of Enduring Rivalry: The rivalry approach to War and Peace 291-308

power distributions, issues in dispute) are more important than the behavioral attributes of the first confrontations between the two states.

During this initial phase, the rivals either resolve the disputes relatively quickly or patterns of hostility “lock-in,” with the consequence that the rivalry becomes enduring. Following the “lock in” phase is one of “stasis,” in which hostile interactions persist between the rivals with some regularity or consistency. It is not until another political shock (although only a necessary condition) arises that enduring rivalries end, and they do so abruptly.⁴

Underlying the punctuated equilibrium model and the connection between the lock-in and stasis phases of the rivalry is an organizational, policy model of decision-making. The punctuated equilibrium model envisions repeated conflicts because of governments locking into conflict policies of various sorts.

Hence, within a policy model of international conflict, initial policy decisions are crucial because they shape future decisions in powerful ways. When faced with a problem, organizations and governments (which we consider as organizations) generally try to devise a policy to deal with it. Internally, the policy model has future and past dimensions.⁵

A policy is a commitment - implicit or explicit - to act in a certain way in the future. The concept of “precedent” is key in looking backwards. Hence, historical actions provide reasons to act the same way in the present. Nevertheless, the government is constrained to follow pre-established policy.

Precedent also works in the forward sense. Because governments use reasoning based on precedent and because they are concerned with consistency, they hesitate to take what are good choices in the present if they set bad precedents for future 10 situations.

This conception is largely consistent with that of McGinnis and Williams, who argue that belief systems and bureaucratic policies harden over time in a rivalry, making rivalry behavior (such as arms races) hard to dislodge. Similarly, Leng indicates that the belief systems of leaders are critical in crisis behavior, and these systems are largely defined by prior disputes and crises. Over time, the external rivalry becomes entrenched in the domestic politics of the two rival states. The inertia character of governments thus supports the basic punctuated equilibrium framework, with its emphasis on stasis most of the time.⁶

Other approaches to rivalry emphasize – although to different degrees – the fundamental difference between the behaviors of states once they are in a rivalry from the causes of the rivalry. Given our focus on rivalry maintenance, we take as given that a rivalry exists.

We do not deny the importance of how dyads “select themselves” in rivalries, but the vast majority of militarized confrontations occur between states that are already in a

4 Dessler David 1989 What's at Stake in the Agent-Structure debate 441-73

5 Interline Andrew 1996 driving while democratizing 183-96 p

6 Security bargaining and the End of Interstate Rivalry International Studies Quarterly 40:157-83

rivalry, short- or long-term. Contrast this with the usual cross-sectional view of international conflict.

The implicit assumption is that dyads are at peace and that various factors or events produce conflict. This is analogous to the punctuated equilibrium view of what happens before a rivalry starts. Almost inherent in the cross-sectional research design is the theoretical goal of explaining what causes conflicts.

This can be seen by the contrast group, which is basically a combination of states at peace with states that have an ongoing rivalry but who are not currently experiencing actual military conflict.

The hidden theoretical and methodological assumption is that non-active rivalries are the same as peaceful dyads. The punctuated equilibrium model is in fundamental disagreement with this assumption.⁷ In our approach, we assume that a rivalry exists, and that the issues at stake that could lead, or already have, to the use of military force to resolve them are present. Thus, instead of the movement from peace to militarized dispute as in the cross-sectional view, we already have a relationship characterized by overt military actions.

Colaresi and Thompson demonstrate that behavior within a rivalry is very different than if the states were not already in a rivalry; that is, rivalry context matters. Therefore, the question is not how states get from peace to war, but how they stay in a militarized conflict.

Within the punctuated equilibrium framework, we see two mechanisms by which states can escape a rivalry. As much of the literature on territory and conflict demonstrates, disputes do not just go away; active steps by governments must be taken to resolve them. The first is possible within the early stages of the rivalry, before inertia processes have locked in.

States may adopt realpolitik strategies and attempt to settle the dispute by prevailing over their opponents. This is consistent with Maoz and Moor's argument that rivalries can end when one side is superior in capabilities and the other side cannot challenge the status quo, even if it is dissatisfied. The initial occurrence of a militarized dispute is a signal that realpolitik mechanisms are being tried.⁸

Our expectation is that such a strategy is sometimes effective, with one side defeating the other. Indeed, this may reflect why some authors find few extended rivalries between states of disparate capabilities, and indeed do not conceive of them as rivalries at all.

Yet we know that few militarized disputes end with one side prevailing, suggesting the realist strategies may be a relatively inefficient mechanism to escape from rivalries. Similarly, Maoz and Moor found that the "Deadlock" game was quite common early in enduring rivalries, suggesting that coercive strategies are not always effective.⁹

7 Fearo James Domestic Political Audience and the Escalation

8 Power Differential and War in Rival Dyads 173-94

9 Test of bargaining model journal of conflict 236-69

Bibliography

1. The Initiation and Termination of Enduring Rivalry: The rivalry approach to War and Peace 291-308
2. Achen, Christopher and Duncan Snidal. "Rational Deterrence Theory and Comparative Case Studies «World Politics 41:143-69
3. The Initiation and Termination of Enduring Rivalry: The rivalry approach to War and Peace 291-308
4. Dessler David 1989 What's at Stake in the Agent-Structure debate 441-73
5. Interline Andrew 1996 driving while democratizing 183-96 p
6. Security bargaining and the End of Interstate Rivalry International Studies Quarterly 40:157-83
7. Fearo James Domestic Political Audience and the Escalation
8. Power Differential and War in Rival Dyads 173-94
9. Test of bargaining model journal of conflict 236-69

Energy Policy Concept in International Relations

M.Inagamova

Researcher, MA Student, UWED

Abstract: *There are growing interests in energy security and the impact of energy resources on the international relations. This has thus far been met with a lack of theoretical background. Modern international procedures show an increased importance of the factors related to energy consumption and its use as a lever for implementing the geopolitical interests of individual countries. Consequently, consideration of these procedures is not only important for the formation of effective security strategies, but also for understanding and predicting any potential geopolitical conflicts, particularly in Eastern Europe. Presently, far greater threats to security are evident on the global scale. Furthermore, without a more appropriate approach regarding security, production and consumption, current measures will not be sufficient. This article aims to determine the impact of the change in security strategy in the EU.*

Key words: *Energy policy, theory, methodology, realism theory, regional organization, European Union, Energy,*

International Relations theories seek to identify key regularities and patterns of interaction in the realm of international politics and to provide parsimonious models to explain the nature and underlying structures of that interaction. These theories generally have, whether implicitly or explicitly, a normative dimension – they say something about how international politics should be conducted and what the world should look like.

The traditional division of International Relations' theories, which was common in the Cold War period, was between realism, liberalism and Marxism/structuralism. Since the end of the Cold War, a dominant new theoretical approach is that of social constructivism, which emerged as a critique of both realism and liberalism (or more precisely neo-realism and neo-liberalism) and filled a gap with the decline of the intellectual appeal of Marxism.

Despite this profusion of theoretical approaches and the clear and evident importance of energy in international relations, it is striking that there has been limited direct application of IR theories to understanding energy- and mineral-related conflicts and modes of collaboration and competition.

As Brenda Shaffer points out, the principal journal in international relations and security studies, *International Security*, has only published eight articles devoted to energy in its 30 year history.¹ Admittedly, journals like *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*,

¹ Barry, Andrew. 2006. 'Technological Zones', *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol. 9, no.2, pp. 239-53.

International Affairs and Washington Quarterly do often have energy-related articles but these journals are primarily policy-related rather than theoretical journals.

The realism paradigm suggests that states act rationally in the international system. States as rational actors are defined by their interests. States are interested in power and survival: “States act rationally, in the national interest, in order to maximize power and thus ensure survival.” Energy resources are elements of the power maximization of states. Rationalism related to energy resources is defined differently by every state, based on its perception of its own energy security issues².

There are three different types of states in the global energy structure: energy resource producers, transit states and consumers. In general, rationality in energy consuming and transit states is understood as “simply the availability of sufficient supplies at affordable prices”.³

Energy producers, “seek security of demand – the assurance that their production will be purchased at a fair price over a long term, so that national budgets can anticipate a steady and predictable revenue flow”⁴. However, a state’s rationality in international system is not necessarily connected to economic rationality⁵.

Long-term objectives in the international system may not necessarily match with the economic objective of increased financial gain. Obvious short term economic benefits may be sacrificed in order to increase the state’s political and geopolitical power. The lack of economic rationality is observed within energy resources producing states. Some states sell energy resources at a much lower price for certain states than market price, as they strive for foreign or domestic politics and national security aims, like Russia, Iran, Venezuela. This does not mean that they act irrationally, though actions are economically irrational, but state power is understood not only from within economical parameters.⁶

In the international system, there are no global supranational institutions capable of dominating the system effectively, so states in the international system remain self-helping actors.⁷

Regional supranational organizations, like the European Union, act efficiently only when the interests of almost all member states match. Interests in energy resources and political aims differ in the EU and there is no common energy policy. Transnational

2 Yuri M. Zhukov “Trouble in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea The Coming Dash for Gas”

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/cyprus/2013-03-20/trouble-eastern-mediterranean-sea>

3 Paarlberg, Robert. 1978. ‘Food, Oil, and Coercive Resource Power.’ *International Security*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Autumn), pp. 3-19.

4 O’Sullivan, Meghan L. “Iraqi Politics And Implications For Oil And Energy.” Paper, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, July 2011.

5 Smith, James F. “New study by Harvard Kennedy School researcher forecasts sharp increase in world oil production capacity, and risk of price collapse.” Press Release, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, June 2012

6 Brenda Shaffer, *Energy Politics* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 1.

7 Tim Dunne and Bryan C. Schmidt, “Realism”: 171; in: John Balys and Steve Smith, eds., *The Globalization of World Politics: an Introduction to International relations*. 3rd edition (Oxford University Press, 2005).

institutions, dealing with energy resources issues, become active only when their members confront clear and present threats to their interests, like the International Energy Agency or Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).⁸

Energy resource exporting states can increase or decrease the extraction of energy resources in order to expand their influence abroad and to affect international markets. The best examples of influence because of energy resources are the Persian Gulf states, and especially Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia and the ruling Saudi dynasty have strategic importance to the United States because of controlled energy resources⁹.

Politically motivated OAPEC (Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries) decision, initiated by Saudi Arabia, to begin oil embargo against states supporting Israel after Yom Kippur war in 1973, created possibilities to expand Saudi Arabia's influence.¹⁰ Russian decisions to suspend the natural gas and oil supply to Belarus and Ukraine in the period 2004 – 2009 also expanded Russian influence abroad, especially in Ukraine and Belarus.¹¹

Delphi surveys are one of the classical methods for technology foresight. Delphi was developed in the early 1960's by the RAND Corporation. It has since then been applied in many national foresight activities, as well as in numerous industrial/commercial studies.

The core of the Delphi method is a multi-round survey. With each questionnaire the participating experts receive the results from the previous rounds. Thus the participants are asked to reconsider their judgments based on the opinions of their peers. The underlying hypotheses of the method are that experts in a field have pictures of likely future developments in their head (expert knowledge). By asking a larger number of experts individual misperceptions are evened out. And by applying feedback loops the soundest predictions become visible. With respect to the latter argument, Delphi could be considered an anonymous group discussion. While introducing some of the advantages of a discussion into the survey the anonymity of the process ensures that the opinions of influential individuals do not dominate the findings. Instead the most likely or convincing developments are identified based on rational arguments.

Delphi is a proven methodology for long-term prospection. It is suited to cope with a high degree of uncertainty and address issue which are very complex. Beyond the explorative predictions Delphi stimulates discussions among an expert community. It

8 Lieber, Robert. 1992. 'Oil and Power after the Gulf War Oil and Power after the Gulf War.' *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer), pp. 155-176.

9 Kayyem, Juliette. "Energy Policy Shows Fallacy of a 'Domestic' Debate." *The Boston Globe*, October 1, 2012.

10 Danel Yergin, *The Prize: the Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power* (New York: A Division of Simon and Schuster, 2008), p. 588–590; Michael T. Klare, *Blood and Oil: The Dangers and Consequences of America's Growing Petroleum Dependency* (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 44.

11 Danel Yergin, *The Prize: the Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power* (New York: A Division of Simon and Schuster, 2008), p. 588–590; Michael T. Klare, *Blood and Oil: The Dangers and Consequences of America's Growing Petroleum Dependency* (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 44.

helps to establish common views – either in form of a consensus on the most likely developments or by identifying issues of dissent with clearly defined opinions.

However, in the past shortcomings of the Delphi method were pointed out also. The general set-up tends to develop mainstream or business as usual answers. Thus the creativity of outsider opinions is lost and interruptions of the system are not accounted for. Prominent example is the oil crisis of the 1970's which rendered quite few of the predictions made in the 60's worthless. Therefore it is important not to limit Delphi results to the statistical means of all answers, but to enhance the robustness of the predictions by combining Delphi with other foresight methods. A second point of critique is that generally the choice of experts is too technology oriented. Consequently social developments and needs are not appropriately considered and the technological potential is sometimes overestimated by professional optimism.

The positions of many European countries on the ways of addressing the problem of energy dependence differ greatly. Some countries (and especially Germany) still prefer long-term contracts with Russia, while others want to adopt a much more diverse approach, allowing room for more negotiation, leading to more competitive prices from Russia as the diversification of energy supplies enhances their bargaining power, especially since the Congressional Research Service announced, in recent years, the energy factor has been used increasingly as an instrument to apply geopolitical pressure¹².

Russian relations in this matter continue to occupy a significant place in European politics, while historically the Eastern European states which are dependent on Russian energy react to new proposals for the transportation of oil and gas supplies destined for Europe. Consequently, the Baltic countries and Poland actively opposed the new Nord Stream pipeline, proposing it should be installed above ground level and not under the Baltic Sea, while at the same time Germany, (Russia's principle partner in this project) stated that it is not solely a German issue but a European one. Given that one of the main suppliers of gas to the EU is Russia, with Ukraine being a major player in its transportation, one could argue that the problem of gas supplies to the EU is dependent on cooperation between the EU, Ukraine and Russia.

As far as Ukraine is concerned, the issue of transportation is highly vulnerable, due to its own dependence on Russian supplies, with the major supply threat being its inefficient use of its resources, a distinct lack of an energy efficient policy, the slow pace of the diversification process, poor environmental production related issues, the social conflicts in the field of energy production and an overall reliable supply for its own people.

12 Energy Roadmap 2050: Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the REGIONS

The third energy package adopted by the European Parliament and Council on July 13, 2009, played an important role in the formation of the fundamental legal principles of EU energy security. It included the following legislative acts:

- 1) EU Regulation no 713/2009, establishing the Agency for the Cooperation of Energy Regulators, ACER);
- 2) EU Regulation no 714/2009 on conditions for access to the networks of cross-border electricity exchanges repealing EU Regulation no 1228/2003;
- 3) EU Regulation no 715/2009 on conditions for access to natural gas transmission networks, repealing EU Regulation no 1775/2005;
- 4) Directive 2009/72/EC concerning common rules for the internal market in electricity and repealing Directive 2003/54/EC;
- 5) Directive 2009/73/EC concerning common rules for the internal market in natural gas and repealing Directive 2003/55/EC³⁵.

New regulations are aimed at the *effective unbundling* of business functions, such as selling and gas recovery, from transportation functions. Only the removal of the stimuli for the creation of vertically integrated enterprises leading to discrimination of market participants and potential investors can provide such a separation.

In addition, it can be noted that nowadays energy politics is somehow essential to development of state and heavy influence to economy. These factors should be counted when researching energy politics of every state if it imports or exports oil and gas other energy resources.

The conceptual basis for the EU's common energy policy was determined by such strategy documents of the European Committee as the Green Paper "European strategy for sustainable, competitive and sustainable energy", adopted in 2006.

The EU periodically adopts ten-year Community-wide network development plans, which should be renewed every two years. Although a Community-wide network development plan is formally labelled non-binding, the regulatory authorities of member states should maintain similar national plans. Regulators should be empowered to require adjustment of national plans to bring them into compliance with the pan-European plans.

In particular, according to the Treaty establishing the Energy Community of 2006, member states are obliged to implement the basic legal acts of the EU in the areas of energy, environment, competition and renewable energy sources in national legislation determined by the Treaty: Green Paper "European strategy for sustainable, competitive and sustainable energy", "Energy 2020: A strategy for competitive, sustainable and secure energy"¹³, "Energy Roadmap 2050: Communication from the

¹³ Energy 2020: A strategy for competitive, sustainable and secure energy available at: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2011:0639:FIN:ED:PDF>,

Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the regions”¹⁴.

Nowadays, the European Union is trying institutionally to provide its own energy security, to ensure order in energy relations, maintaining them in good condition with good prospects. To this end the Agency for the Cooperation of Energy Regulators was founded in the EU. Agency for the Cooperation of Energy Regulators is independent from the producers of electricity and gas, transport operators and distribution systems, and in the implementation of its activities should take into account the specific role of national regulatory authorities, ensuring uniform application of the legislation.

ACER’s objectives are to assist the regulatory authorities of member states to implement their national regulatory challenges at EU level and, if necessary, coordination of their activities to strengthen energy security. Countries that are not EU members have the right to participate in ACER, under condition that they have an agreement with the EU, which foresees the adoption of EU standards in the field of energy.

Another success in ensuring energy security was limiting the activities of integrated enterprises. Vertically integrated companies are allowed to own transport networks, but in such cases an independent system operator (ISO) undertakes their administration. The right to make decisions on commercial and investment issues is given by the ISO, which is appointed by the national government after the approval of this decision with the European Commission. As is the case with the ISO, maintaining vertically integrated corporations is foreseen, but their activities are monitored by a specially created “supervisory authority”. The current network management provides a separate organizational entity – an independent, subsidiary company – an independent transmission operator (ITO).

Under this condition, the parent company may retain the right to make commercial and investment decisions, but will have to establish a framework to ensure independence in the workings of the transport system.

The main directions of the conceptual foundations today and for the coming decade are set by the European energy strategy 2011–2020¹⁵. First of all, they are related to the diversification of energy supplies and the emergence of more profound integration on the European energy market by bringing together national networks and associations of regional energy projects.

In continental Europe, the Groningen concept has no longer been the dominant force regarding contractual agreements for the last 15 years. EU legislation divided the national gas monopoly, diversifying production and the sales of its supplies and

14 Energy Roadmap 2050: Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the REGIONS, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2011:0639:FIN:ED:PDF>,

15 Green Paper “European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy” (2006), <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2011:0105:FIN:ED:PDF>

transportation, thereby opening up the market for new suppliers using third-party access to pipelines, thereby strengthening its position. In 2009, revised marketing laws in Europe, due to the US shale gas boom, provided liquefied natural gas (LNG), and when traded on the European market, it became cheaper than the gas that was directly linked to oil and contracted for the long term. As the crisis has led to a reduction in demand, domestic producers 'dumped' surplus gas on the spot market, thus further increasing their liquidity. The result: today in Europe, from one third to a half of gas is now distributed through the spot market.

In conclusion, I want to say that researching energy policy of European Union needs theoretical and methodical basis in order to find true approach researching accordingly.

Bibliography

1. America's Growing Petroleum Dependency (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 44.
2. Barry, Andrew. 2006. 'Technological Zones', *European Journal of Social Theory*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 239-53.
3. Brenda Shaffer, *Energy Politics* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 1.
4. Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: the Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power* (New York: A Division of Simon and
5. *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Summer), pp. 155-176.
6. Kayyem, Juliette. "Energy Policy Shows Fallacy of a 'Domestic' Debate." *The Boston Globe*, October 1, 2012.
7. Lieber, Robert. 1992. 'Oil and Power after the Gulf War Oil and Power after the Gulf War.'
8. O'Sullivan, Meghan L. "Iraqi Politics And Implications For Oil And Energy." Paper, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, July 2011.
9. Paarlberg, Robert. 1978. 'Food, Oil, and Coercive Resource Power.' *International Security*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Autumn), pp. 3-19.
10. Press, 2005).
11. Schuster, 2008), p. 588-590; Michael T. Klare, *Blood and Oil: The Dangers and Consequences of*
12. Smith, James F. "New study by Harvard Kennedy School researcher forecasts sharp increase in world oil production capacity, and risk of price collapse." Press Release, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, June 2012
13. Tim Dunne and Bryan C. Schmidt, "Realism": 171; in: John Balys and Steve Smith, eds., *The Globalization of World Politics: an Introduction to International relations*. 3rd edition (Oxford University
14. Yuri M. Zhukov "Trouble in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea The Coming Dash for Gas" <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/cyprus/2013-03-20/trouble-eastern-mediterranean-sea>

Prospects & Challenges of the Turkish-Russian Relations on Syria

A.Akhmedov
Independent Researcher

Abstract: *Following its reconciliation with Russia after a seven-month crisis in bilateral relations, Turkey launched Operation Euphrates Shield in August 2016 to fight ISIS and PYD/YPG forces in Syria. The subsequent intensified regional dialogue between Turkey, Russia and Iran resulted in the Moscow Declaration, which signifies the start of a new process aimed at the resolution of the Syrian issue. Although Ankara succeeded in establishing an ISIS and PYD/YPG-free zone in northern Syria within a few months as a result of its close political and military dialogue with Russia, the two countries still need to overcome a number of significant challenges in order to continue their regional cooperation in the short term.*

Turkey's reservations regarding the role to be played by Assad in the political future of Syria as well as its deep concerns about rising Iranian influence in the Middle East indicate that Turkish-Russian dialogue may be undermined by third parties. Rising anti-Russian sentiments among the Turkish public following the crisis in Aleppo have also demonstrated the limits of a genuine rapprochement between Ankara and Moscow. Although the two countries are currently striving to strengthen their regional dialogue following the assassination of the Russian ambassador in Ankara, the volatile geopolitical balance in Syria as well as the constantly shifting positions of the other global and regional powers and non-state actors are likely to have a significant impact on the development of Turkish-Russian cooperation in Syria.

Key words: *Operation Euphrates Shield, ISIS, Kurds, the Democratic Union Party (PYD), People's Protection Units (YPG), Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)*

Introduction

On September 30, 2015, Russia opened a new phase in its support for the Assad regime by beginning direct airstrikes in Syria. Little more than a year after this intervention, it has managed to turn itself into one of the major actors in the Middle East, filling the geopolitical void created by reluctant and inconsistent US foreign policy towards Syria. In this context, the Kremlin has not only enabled the Assad government to get a significant edge over rebel factions, but has also acquired a new military airbase in Latakia, begun to modernize its Soviet-era naval facility in Tartus and boosted its diplomatic influence at international talks on the resolution of the Syrian issue.

At the same time, however, the Russian military intervention in Syria caused a serious rupture in Moscow's relations with Ankara. Although Turkey and Russia have aimed to develop political and economic ties independently from their sharp disagreements about the Syrian crisis, this became an almost impossible task after November 24, 2015, when the Turkish armed forces shot down a Russian fighter jet near the Turkish-Syrian border on the grounds that it was violating Turkey's airspace.

Strategic relations, which were very cautiously strengthened by the two governments throughout the 2000s, suffered a major setback as a result of this incident.

Following the fighter jet crisis with Turkey, Russia continued to increase its military presence in Syria and closed Syrian airspace to Turkish jets using its S-400 air defense missile system deployed at the Khmeymim base in Latakia. Moscow also began to improve its political and military relations with the Syrian Kurds – most notably the Democratic Union Party (PYD) and its armed wing People’s Protection Units (YPG), which are both viewed by Ankara as the extension of Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK). It also tried hard to exclude Turkey from the Syrian peace process and launched extensive anti-Turkish propaganda operations claiming that Ankara had been supporting ISIS and other terrorist groups in Syria.

While its political and economic relations with Russia were frozen for almost seven months, Turkey continued to struggle with terrorist groups like the PKK, whose attacks against Turkish security forces and civilians have intensified since the summer of 2015, and ISIS. Ankara eventually felt obliged to normalize its relations with Moscow in order to take cross-border security measures against these two groups in Syria.

The diplomatic process between Turkey and Russia that started with President Erdoğan’s letter of regret to President Putin in June 2016 gained greater momentum after the two leaders met in St. Petersburg on August 9.¹ The Putin-Erdoğan summit, which took place only a few weeks after the failed July 15 coup attempt in Turkey, did not only facilitate a reconciliation process for Turkish-Russian political and economic relations, but also initiated a new regional rapprochement between the two countries regarding their divergent policies toward the Syrian crisis.

Turkish-Russian Reconciliation & Syria

One of the most important decisions taken by Putin and Erdoğan in their meeting in St. Petersburg was the establishment of a three-pillar mechanism based on enhanced consultations between the two countries’ foreign ministries, intelligence agencies and general staff units.² Apart from strengthening communication to prevent the emergence of another military confrontation between Turkish and Russian forces in Syria, this new initiative, the first meeting of which was held in Russia on August 11, 2016, aimed to develop a much more extensive political and military dialogue between Ankara and Moscow than in the pre-fighter jet crisis period.

In addition to the newly established three-pillar mechanism, another significant dimension of this strengthened regional dialogue between Turkey and Russia in Syria was the inclusion of Iran in this process. The day before his meeting with Erdoğan in St.

1 For details of Erdoğan’s letter to Putin, see <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/52282>. Also see Dimitar Bechev, “What’s behind the Turkey-Russia Reset?” Al Jazeera, August 9, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/08/turkey-russia-reset-160808103350290.html>

2 Sputnik Turkey, August 12, 2016, <http://tr.sputniknews.com/turkiye/20160812/1024349236/turk-rus-uclu-mekanizma-oncelik-suriye.html>.

Petersburg, Putin met with President Rouhani in Baku, while the Iranian Foreign Minister Zarif visited Ankara on August 12. A week later, this time the Turkish foreign minister went to Tehran for an official visit. Moscow and Tehran's clear support for the Turkish government during the failed coup attempt of July 15, in contrast to the muted reactions of the US and EU officials, also contributed to the regional rapprochement between the three countries.

After the St. Petersburg summit, Putin and Erdoğan met twice more in person and spoke many times on the phone to discuss the situation in Syria. Turkish Prime Minister Yıldırım also made a significant visit to Moscow in December 2016. Putin's visit to Turkey in October was particularly important, as the two governments signed the agreement for the construction of the Turkish Stream natural gas pipeline, which is expected to carry significant amounts of Russian natural gas to Europe via Turkey. This project had been previously suspended by Ankara in reaction to Russia's economic sanctions against Turkey following the fighter jet crisis.³

Turkish-Russian relations have also continued to develop in the military sphere. For instance, Ankara has announced its interest in buying the Russian S-400 missile system to strengthen its national air defense.⁴ The two countries also agreed to establish a direct military hotline during Russian Chief of General Staff Gerasimov's visit to Turkey in September 2016. In November, Turkish Chief of General Staff Akar visited Moscow for consultations with his Russian colleagues. One of the main outcomes of this close military dialogue has been Ankara's launch of "Operation Euphrates Shield" on August 24 in cooperation with Free Syrian Army (FSA) units to liberate the region extending from Azaz to Jarablus in northern Syria from ISIS and PYD/YPG forces.

Russia & Operation Euphrates Shield

The rapid rapprochement between Turkey and Russia has been one of the main reasons for the achievement of the short-term objectives of Operation Euphrates Shield. Ankara's close military dialogue with Moscow was particularly important for the liberation of strategic towns like Jarablus and Dabiq from ISIS. It was also quite remarkable since Russian officials, who had voiced very serious criticisms and allegations against Turkey only a few months earlier, kept their reactions to Operation Euphrates Shield very low-key.

Although the Kremlin expressed its discontent with the Turkish military operation in northern Syria mainly because it was not launched with the approval of the Assad regime or the UN Security Council, many Russian leaders including Putin also stated that they understood Turkey's security concerns stemming from the volatile situation in Syria.⁵ At the same time, however, they officially requested Ankara to

3 Hürriyet Daily News, December 5, 2016, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-has-shelved-turkish-stream-gas-pipeline-project-says-president-erdogan.aspx?pageID=238&nID=92115&NewsCatID=348>.

4 RT, November 18, 2016, <https://www.rt.com/news/367445-turkey-russia-s-400>.

5 Anadolu Agency, September 5, 2016, <http://aa.com.tr/en/politics/turkey-s-syria-operation-not-unexpected-putin-/641519>.

conduct the operation in coordination with the Assad government, which is regarded by Moscow and Tehran as the only legitimate authority in the country.⁶

The role to be played by Assad in Syria's future has been an issue of serious friction between Ankara and Moscow since fall 2011, when the Turkish government began to actively support opposition groups in Syria. Since then, Turkey has been a vocal critic of the Assad regime on international platforms, claiming that the Syrian issue would remain unresolvable as long as Assad remained in power. Yet, Turkey's priorities in Syria underwent significant changes from the summer of 2015 onwards due to its intensifying struggle with the PKK. The territorial advances of the PKK-affiliated PYD/YPG forces in Syria in the 2015-2016 period caused particular worry in Ankara.

The possibility of the emergence of an autonomous Kurdish region in the north of Syria became stronger in August 2016, when the Washington-backed Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), in which the PYD/YPG played a leading role, liberated the town of Manbij to the west of the Euphrates River. Ankara was alarmed not only due to the strengthened military cooperation between the US and PYD/YPG forces, but also because the latter came very close to achieving its goal of unifying the three Kurdish cantons in northern Syria – Jazira, Kobani and Afrin.

Ankara decided to move closer to the Russian-Iranian axis in Syria, mainly because these two countries have repeatedly emphasized Syria's territorial integrity. Although the Kremlin also developed its relations with the Syrian Kurds and permitted them to open an office in Moscow in February 2016, the initiation of the Turkish-Russian reconciliation process as well as strengthened military relations between Washington and PYD/YPG have led Russia to alter its perceptions on this issue.

Some analysts have even claimed that Moscow's ultimate goal was to convince Ankara to withdraw its long-standing reservations about Assad in return for keeping a blind eye on Turkey's assaults on PYD/YPG forces within the framework of the Operation Euphrates Shield.⁷ Moreover, strained relations between Ankara and Washington due to the latter's increasing military support to the PYD/YPG forces on the ground have also provided Moscow with the opportunity to politically exploit the growing rift between the two NATO allies.

Assad has also been uneasy about Kurdish territorial gains in northern Syria, as indicated by the armed clashes that took place between his forces and the PYD/YPG in the town of Hasaka in August 2016.⁸ Considering that Ankara indirectly informed the Assad government about the launch of Operation Euphrates Shield through Moscow and Turkish Prime Minister Yıldırım implied that Turkey could accept Assad's role for a transitional period in Syria, the Kurdish threat seems to have become much more

6 Sputnik News, August 31, 2016, <https://sputniknews.com/world/201608311044814030-russia-turkey-syria>.

7 Semih Idiz, "Is Turkey's Fight against Syrian Kurds Enabling Assad?," Al Monitor, December 13, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/12/turkey-drive-against-syrian-kurds-enabling-assad.html#ixzz4Ty1y59vj>.

8 Reuters, August 19, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-hasaka-idUSKCN10U0YX>.

crucial for Ankara than its reservations about the presence of Assad in Syria's political future.⁹

Turkey's cooperation with Russia and Iran in Syria produced very significant results in a remarkably short period. Above all, this cooperation enabled Ankara to achieve its two major objectives in the region: preventing the unification of the three Kurdish cantons and purging ISIS from northern Syria. If Turkish forces can eventually take Al Bab from ISIS and Manbij from the PYD/YPG, the strategic objectives of Operation Euphrates Shield will be realized to a very large extent.

Turkish-Russian dialogue has also been crucial for solving the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo and especially for evacuating thousands of civilians from the city. At a time when both the U.S. and UN have become increasingly sidelined in the Aleppo crisis, it was quite remarkable that Ankara managed to convince Moscow to aid the peaceful exit of rebel factions from Aleppo. In fact, Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov stated that the talks with Ankara had proven to be much more effective than the months-long "fruitless talking shop" with Washington in finding a solution to the Aleppo crisis.¹⁰

Moscow Declaration

The "Moscow Declaration" signed by the foreign ministers of Turkey, Russia and Iran on December 20, 2016 demonstrated the consensus between the three countries in facilitating a comprehensive ceasefire and eventual peace agreement in Syria.¹¹ The document made direct reference to the UN Security Council Resolution 2254, which was adopted in December 2015 to support a ceasefire process in Syria. Excluding ISIS and Jabhat al-Nusra from the ceasefire efforts, the UN resolution additionally supported a Syrian-led political process to establish "credible, inclusive and non-sectarian governance within six months and set a schedule and process for the drafting of a new constitution". It also expressed its support for "free and fair elections, pursuant to the new constitution, to be held within 18 months".¹²

In a similar vein to Resolution 2254, the Moscow Declaration emphasized Syria's territorial integrity and designated Jabhat al-Nusra – which recently changed its name to Fatah al-Sham – and ISIS as the two terrorist groups to be excluded from the new ceasefire process in Syria. The new round of talks between the Syrian government and opposition, on the other hand, is expected to take place in Astana, the capital city of Kazakhstan, a country which enjoys close relations with both Russia and Turkey.¹³

9 Murat Yetkin, "Turkey Changes Syria Policy with al-Assad Move," *Hürriyet Daily News*, August 22, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-hasaka-idUSKCN10U0YX>.

10 Euronews, December 14, 2016, <http://www.euronews.com/2016/12/14/russia-turkish-talks-on-aleppo-more-effective-than-pointless-us-talks-says>.

11 For the full text of the document, see Sputnik Turkey, December 21, 2016, <https://tr.sputniknews.com/ortadogu/201612211026428478-rusya-turkiye-iran-suriye-ortak-bildiri>.

12 See UN, December 18, 2015, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2015/sc12171.doc.htm>.

13 Also see "Turkey and Russia Walk Syria Tightrope," *Deutsche Welle*, December 16, 2016, <http://www.dw.com/en/turkey-and-russia-walk-syria-tightrope/a-36805562>.

The Moscow process is quite important as it is the first time that Turkey, Russia and Iran have come together in an independent platform and joined their efforts for a solution to the Syrian crisis. Although Russia had previously organized negotiations between representatives of the Syrian government and opposition – also labelled as “Moscow talks” – this did not produce any concrete result, mainly because most of the Syrian opposition refused to participate. The presence of Turkey in this new process is in this regard crucial in convincing the leaders of the Syrian opposition to sit at the same table as the representatives of the Assad regime.

It should also be emphasized that the U.S., which has been present as an important actor at the negotiation table in almost all of the previous peace efforts, has largely been excluded from the Moscow process. More importantly, Turkey, Russia and Iran have for the first time announced their readiness to act as the “guarantors” of a possible peace agreement to be signed as a result of the Astana talks. Considering that these three countries are also currently the most influential actors in Syria through their military forces and troops on the ground, the Moscow process may indeed facilitate the emergence of an effective solution to the Syrian crisis.¹⁴

At the same time, however, the Moscow Declaration has been perceived by some in Turkey as a significant concession to Russia and Iran, mainly because it signified Ankara’s abandonment of its previously declared goal of removing Assad from power.¹⁵ It was also criticized by the members of Turkish opposition parties, as it did not include PYD/YPG among the terrorist groups to be repelled in the region.¹⁶ It seems that Ankara had to take a step back on these two issues in order to reach an understanding with Moscow and Tehran regarding a comprehensive ceasefire in Syria.

Other Challenges

An interesting detail about the diplomatic process that led to the signature of the Moscow Declaration has been the behavior of Iran, which played the role of a spoiler in the evacuation of civilians and rebel groups from Aleppo. In fact, the Shiite militias supported by Tehran interrupted the evacuation until Turkey agreed to make a separate deal with Iran about the evacuation of the civilians from the Shiite villages of Foua and Kefraya, which had been besieged by rebel groups backed by Turkey.¹⁷ This can be regarded as a sign that Tehran did not want to remain outside the Aleppo deal, which had been largely brokered through bilateral contacts between Turkey and Russia.

Yet, Iran and other actors in the Syrian conflict were also aware of the conflicting interests between Ankara and Moscow, which may have had negative

14 Also see Bayram Sinakaya, “Türkiye, İnan ve Rusya Üçlü Görüşmeleri ve Moskova Bildirisi,” ORSAM Analiz, December 22, 2016, <http://www.orsam.org.tr/index.php/Content/Analiz/5032?s=orsam|turkish>.

15 See for instance Cumhuriyet, December 21, 2016, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/dunya/648479/Turkiye_nin_Suriye_politikasi_Moskova_da_coktu..._Birinci_maddeye_dikkat_.html.

16 See Sputnik Turkey, December 23, 2016, <https://tr.sputniknews.com/politika/201612231026461644-mhp-moskova-pyd-ypg>.

17 Reuters, December 18, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-idUSKBN1451JG>.

implications for Turkish-Russian regional cooperation. The massive civilian casualties caused by the Russian siege of Eastern Aleppo together with the forces of the Assad regime, for instance, have triggered huge reactions against Russia among the Turkish public. In fact, hundreds of people marched to the Russian Consulate in Istanbul on December 13, 2016 to protest Russia's policies in Syria.¹⁸

A few days later, Russian ambassador Andrey Karlov was killed in Ankara during his visit to an art exhibit by an off-duty Turkish police officer who yelled, "Don't forget Aleppo, don't forget Syria" after shooting the ambassador. Although the incident is being investigated by a joint commission including both Turkish and Russian officials, it can be claimed that the perpetrators wanted to make use of the rising anti-Russian sentiments among the Turkish public to reach their true objectives.

It should be noted, however, that the assassination of Ambassador Karlov did not cause significant damage to the ongoing Turkish-Russian rapprochement process. On the contrary, the two governments acted in close communication and condemned the attack as an "act of terror" which ultimately aimed to harm Turkish-Russian relations.¹⁹ More importantly, the Moscow Declaration, which drew Turkey and Russia's positions in Syria closer, was signed only one day after this incident.

As stated earlier, the Moscow process is regarded as a sign of a significant shift in Turkey's official position about the presence of Assad in the political future of Syria. The assassination of the Russian ambassador in this regard seems to have strengthened Moscow's hand against Ankara, considering that Lavrov told the reporters right after his meeting with the Turkish and Iranian foreign ministers that their priority in Syria was fighting terrorism, and not the removal of Assad.²⁰ Yet, it is far from certain that the Turkish government has completely given up this goal, as also indicated by President Erdoğan's words in late November that Turkey had intervened in Syria to "end the rule of the cruel Assad".²¹

Erdoğan's statement came shortly after four Turkish soldiers were killed by an airstrike allegedly carried out by the Assad regime.²² When Moscow denied these allegations despite strong evidence revealed by the Turkish authorities and requested an official explanation from Turkey for Erdoğan's words, Ankara toned down its reaction and assured the Kremlin that the goal of Operation Euphrates Shield was fighting terrorist groups – and not a regime change in Syria.²³ Yet, this incident once again

18 Daily Sabah, December 13, 2016, <http://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2016/12/13/people-protest-aleppo-policy-at-russian-embassy-in-turkey>.

19 The Wall Street Journal, December 20, 2016, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/russian-ambassador-is-shot-in-turkish-capital-1482166062>.

20 Al Arabiya English, December 20, 2016, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2016/12/20/Iran-Turkey-reach-Syria-peace-deal.html>.

21 Hürriyet Daily News, November 29, 2016, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-entered-syria-to-end-al-assads-rule-president-erdogan.aspx?pageID=238&nid=106709>.

22 Hürriyet Daily News, November 25, 2016, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-russia-in-contact-in-aftermath-of-alleged-syrian-strike-on-turkish-forces.aspx?pageID=238&nID=106564&NewsCatID=510>.

23 Sputnik Turkey, December 1, 2016, <https://tr.sputniknews.com/politika/201612011026091149-erdogan-esad-geri-adim/>.

demonstrated the limits of Turkish-Russian cooperation in Syria as well as Assad's ability to exploit the differences between Ankara and Moscow in order to pursue his own agenda.

Another issue that may complicate relations between Turkey and Russia in the short term is the future of Idlib, which is currently the stronghold not only of the opposition groups that are supported by Turkey, but also of Jabhat al-Nusra. In fact, most of the rebels who fled Aleppo in December 2016 took shelter in Idlib, which is geographically very close to Russian military bases in Syria. It is claimed that the city could become the next target of the military campaign waged by Russia and Assad forces for this reason.²⁴ Such a development – especially if the crisis in Aleppo is replicated in Idlib – would inevitably become a serious concern not only for the Turkish government, but also the Turkish public.

Assad is also known to have an interest in controlling the strategic town of Al Bab, which is currently under siege by Turkish forces, in order to secure his recent victory over Aleppo. Although some claim that Russia has given consent for Turkey's takeover of Al Bab, it should be noted that Assad and Iran are both capable of undermining the Turkish-Russian understanding on this issue.²⁵ It is also worth looking at Turkish Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu's warning about Hezbollah during his joint press conference with the Russian and Iranian foreign ministers after the Moscow Declaration in this regard.²⁶ The rising influence of Iran in the region through Hezbollah forces and Shiite militias deeply concerns Turkey, and may become a serious obstacle to the continuation of regional dialogue between Moscow, Ankara and Tehran.

Conclusion

“All previous attempts by the United States and its partners to agree on coordinated actions were doomed to failure. None of them wielded real influence over the situation on the ground.”²⁷ This is how Russian Defense Minister Shoigu defined the situation in Syria following his meeting with the Turkish and Iranian defense ministers in Moscow, as the foreign ministers of the three countries were signing the declaration that sought to begin a new political process in Syria. This can be regarded as a remarkable acknowledgement of the marginalization of Washington in the Syrian conflict, especially considering how it has been completely excluded by Ankara, Moscow and Tehran from this new peace process.

24 See Huffington Post, December 22, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/idlib-could-become-next-aleppo_us_585be7dbe4b0de3a08f447f7.

25 See Max Fisher, “Turkey, Russia and an Assassination: The Swirling Crises, Explained,” The New York Times, December 19, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/19/world/europe/what-happened-turkey-russia-assassination-analysis.html?ref=world>.

26 Galip Dalay, “No Peace in Sight in Syria,” Aljazeera, December 23, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/12/peace-sight-syria-161223125227417.html>.

27 Reuters, December 20, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-russia-iran-turk-idUSKBN1491NG?ii=0>.

The Turkish government's alienation from Washington following the failed coup attempt of July 15 has played an important part in this picture. Apart from the reluctance of the US authorities to extradite Fetullah Gülen, who allegedly masterminded the coup attempt, Washington's increasing military support to the PYD/YPG forces has also encouraged Ankara to seek the assistance of Moscow rather than Washington in order to establish an ISIS and PYD/YPG free zone in northern Syria. Some analysts have viewed this process as the division of Syria into two zones of influence: "a Russian-backed littoral state under Assad, claiming to be the sole government of the country, and a 'Free Syria' backed by Turkey."²⁸

Although it may be too early to reach such a conclusion, it is clear that the positions of Ankara and Moscow became even closer in the aftermath of the assassination of the Russian ambassador. It was reported very recently for instance that Russia had agreed to provide greater intelligence support to Turkey in the latter's ongoing campaign to take over Al Bab.²⁹ At the same time, however, it should be recalled that Donald Trump will be inaugurated as President of the U.S. on January 20, 2017. Although both Turkey and Russia currently have significant problems in their bilateral relations with Washington, the future of the Turkish-Russian dialogue in Syria will be largely shaped by the policies to be followed by the Trump administration.

Should Washington change its position with regard to Syria and seek a new rapprochement with Ankara in the region, the Turkish government may feel obliged to distance itself from Moscow. Turkish-American cooperation will be particularly important for the liberation of Mosul and Raqqa in the short-term. Yet, as he indicated during his presidential campaign, Trump may also opt to reach an understanding with Putin in order to solve the Syrian problem. In the case of such a grand agreement between the two leaders, the regional priorities of Turkey in Syria will most likely be overlooked by both Washington and Moscow. On the other hand, how Iran will perceive and respond to changing US foreign policy in the region is another factor that may complicate Turkish-Russian cooperation in Syria.

At the same time, - At a time when both Moscow and Tehran have been trying to maximize their gains in Syria before the inauguration of president-elect Trump, Ankara wanted to strengthen its position by making a deal with the Russian-Iranian axis. However, it had to abandon its goal of removing Assad from power to serve this purpose. This is how the new Moscow process became possible. Yet, the fact that the Turkish government could launch Operation Euphrates Shield and become a major actor in the Moscow process only after its reconciliation with the Kremlin also means that the future trajectory of its military and diplomatic actions in Syria will be very much dependent on Russia's calculations. This will inevitably set new limits for the development of regional dialogue between the two countries in the short-term.

28 David Barchard, "How Putin and Erdogan Divided Up Syria," Middle East Eye, October 24, 2016, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/turkey-russia-syria-putin-erdogan-us-frenemies-1670199042>.
29 Sabah, December 25, 2016, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/dunya/2016/12/25/turkiye-ile-rusya-anlasti>.

On Sino - American Rivalry over the Asia Pacific

D.Khamidova

Researcher, BA in IR, UWED

Abstract: *Recognizing the significance of Asia Pacific region US transformed economic and military policy towards Asia Pacific, which so called a geostrategic shift “pivot” or “rebalance”¹ since 2011. It was great turn of US foreign policy from Atlantic Ocean to Pacific overall since 1940s. The decline US national interests in the region caused by world financial crisis and marginalization of US role over the Pacific region caused by reduce of financial fund US bases in Fillippine accordingly China’s economic and military influence expanded in the region. Washington is thus made a turning point decision on engagement towards Asia Pacific. Today Asia Pacific region is sensible part of international relations and as much as vital for US and other states in the world*

In this regard, this research work seeks to analyze and provide important insights for understanding current engagement of US in the region. The United States of America is historically linked with the states of Asia Pacific and actively support them with political, economic and cultural relations since the end of World War II. US new re-engagement and explicitly recognizing the imporatance of region indicate that US underline the geostrategic concepts on Pacific which will become a part of world more important than Atlantic.

Key words: *Pivot, Rebalance, ASEAN, Chiang Mai Initiative, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, Trans-Pacific Partnership, Host diplomacy, Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ), Nine Dash Line, Chinese Dream, String of pearls.*

US has enduring and long-term interests in Asia Pacific region. For the seven decades US is regarded as vital and sole power in the region. However, from time to time US substantive role diminished according to subsequent geopolitical and geoeconomical factors. US withdrawal from Vietnam and changing political discourse towards Asia Pacific during 1970s gave an occasion to China to occupy the Paracel islands. Soviet Union receded from Vietnam in 1980s entails China’s claim over Spratly islands in the end of 1980s. After that during the 1990s US withdrew from the Philippines bases leads to China’s annexation of Mischief Reef. As Milton Ezrati of the Center for the Study of Human Capital at the University at Buffalo argued, compounding Asian uneasiness is China’s historic tendency to take advantage of any withdrawal or relaxation by a major power.² Moreover, during the Asian financial crisis

1 Over time, Obama administration officials have been using the term “pivot” less frequently, preferring the term “rebalance.” Although the administration has been keen to pivot away from the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, it does not want to create the impression that it is pivoting away altogether from the Middle East and Central Asia or neglecting longstanding interests in Europe and elsewhere. Use of the term “rebalance” helps to address this concern. Reflecting this new nomenclature, and our own belief that that the term “rebalance” more accurately reflects the nature and aims of Washington’s new policy shift – which are more subtle and nuanced than the original term “pivot” implies – we will generally use the term “rebalance” in this paper.

2 Ezarti M. Asia’s odd couple. Center for the National Interests, January-February 2016. -P.43

China expanded its economic influence over the region via proposing regional currency swap named Chiang Mai Initiative which assisted to mitigate future circumstances of the currency crisis. Furthermore, ASEAN plus three cooperation was a trigger to broaden in part regional market and stabilize finance of region, but also burgeoned China's economic swap in the region. Since that time US economic and political role and influence has been reduced.

US attempted to rebalance in the region to its favor since the World War II. During the Cold War US wanted to restrain soviet expansion to the region and deemed Asia Pacific as a partner to containment of communism. After the ending bipolarity, US a sole power wanted pursue US interests and values as well as democratization of region. For instance, issues over most-favored-nations in the WTO rounds, human rights in SUAR and Tibet, political legitimacy in Myanmar etc. During Bush administration, US turn its engagement to Middle East due to 9/11 terroristic events. However, US strengthened relations with Asia Pacific states such as Indonesia and announced Philippine and Thailand as major non-NATO allies.

The recent rebalance directed to counterweight to the rise of China and promote US interests in the region. US-China relations composed with more completion rather than cooperation. However, US and China could cooperate efficiently more global and regional issues such as non-traditional threats i.e. counter terrorism.

As for competition, recent times in every fields US-Sino rivalry accelerated. In economic sphere, China's economy is continuing to grow over three decades and it is not expected any slowdown in short and medium term. Progress in rebalancing the sources of growth in domestic demand will remain incremental. An increase in labor share in GDP is critical to rebalance growth on the demand side from investment to consumption. While annual data suggest that household income and wage shares in GDP have started to rise, reversing a two-decade trend, a transition to more equitable growth will be gradual.³ Even during global financial crisis in 2008 China continues to grow while US economy started to marginalize in the Asia Pacific region. Moreover, China's strategy and initiative to amend its economy leads to China's economic burgeon gradually. For instance, China's currency swap agreement with more than dozen states such as EU, Russia, Brazil, and Malaysia. China wants to hold economic deal in own currency. International Monetary Fund added the renminbi (yuan) as a major global currency in international economic relations. Furthermore, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)⁴ be headquartered in Beijing, aimed at funding infrastructure projects in Asia. Fifty-seven nations joined including ASEAN states, France, and Great Britain as founding members. U.S. officials estimated it a major economic challenge to US interests regarding that eventually juncture of other states. The scholars of Center of

3 China economic update. The World Bank IBRD IDA Macroeconomics and Fiscal Management Global Practice. July 2015.

4 The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) is a China-led international financial institution created with the aim of providing finance to infrastructure projects as part of China's Silk Road initiative, with a focus on bolstering links across Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Europe. Some government officials and analysts have said growing dissatisfaction among emerging economies at the failure to reform the IMF's (International Monetary Fund) decision-making system encouraged China to set up the new international lender, with the participation of 57 countries.

International and Strategic Studies set forth that if China surpasses the United States as the world's economy in the next 10 to 15 years, it will mark the first time in centuries that the world's economic leader will be non-English speaking, non-western, and non-democratic⁵.

With regarding to current situation, both China and US could not take a real measure against each other due to following reasons:

- Economic interdependence – both countries has a huge investment and trade turnover;
- China, which regarded the world's largest trading nation, the second largest economy, holds some US \$1.3 trillion in US Treasury debt⁶;
- Unlike Russia or other US rivalry, US cannot struggle with China through old methods such *economic sanctions* or *guerre de course*.

All above mentioned factors indicate that US-Sino competition in the terms of economy is getting sharpened.

With respect to security context, China's rapid military modernization and defense capability upgrade increased competition on and potential for conflict. China soared defense budget forty-fold over the past quarter century and three-and-a-half fold in just the last ten years.⁷ Chinese naval vessels in South China Sea are more than any other country and The People's Liberation Army Naval (PLAN) now possesses the largest number of vessels in Asia, with more than 300 surface ships, submarines, amphibious ships, and patrol craft.⁸ More importantly, in 2013 China announced a creation of new Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) over East China Sea sent a direct formidable challenge to the countries which has maritime disputes with China such as Japan, Philippine etc. What's more, People's Republic of China expand its defense capability through launching anti-access/ anti-denial A2/AD weapons against US Air Sea Battle and building artificial islands near the territorial claims zone or near the countries Exclusive Economic Zone⁹. Regarding naval modernization and Chinese coercion behavior indicate that China prepare People's Liberation Army PLA for "new historic missions" which might bring conflict.

President Hu Jintao foreign policy strategy focused on comprehensive economic, military and political development with keeping status-quo in international relations, as for new leader of PRC Xi Jinping sees 21st century as a "period of strategic opportunity" to achieve Chinese Dream¹⁰ and focus on attain great power status via increasing strong military capability.

5 See: Green M. et al. *Asia-Pacific Rebalance 2025 Capabilities, Presence, and Partnerships* Washington, DC: Center for strategic and International Studies. January 2016

6 Tata S. *China's Response to the United States' Asia-Pacific Strategy*. -P. 7.

7 Ezarti M. *Asia's odd couple*. Center for the National Interests, January-February 2016. P. 42

8 Department of Defense report. *The Asia-Pacific Maritime Security Strategy*. 2015. -P.10

9 An Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) is a concept adopted at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea (1982), whereby a coastal State assumes jurisdiction over the exploration and exploitation of marine resources in its adjacent section of the continental shelf, taken to be a band extending 200 miles from the shore.

10 Chinese dream, targeting the goal of "great renewal of the Chinese nation", is proposed by President Xi Jinping. It is about realizing a prosperous and strong country, rejuvenation of the nation and the well-being of the people.

Chinese Communist Party order to implement military reform to attain China's core interests including:

- Perpetuating Chinese Communist Party (CCP) rule;
- Sustaining economic growth and development;
- Maintaining domestic political stability;
- Defending national sovereignty and territorial integrity;
- Securing China's status as a great power and, ultimately, reacquiring regional preeminence.¹²

Now People's Liberation Army modernization doctrine is "study and verification" phase and this military reform is executed by 2020.

China's territorial and maritime claims over disputed zones entail to regional anxiety and US concern. It complicated China's relations with Asian states. For the two decades China has taken many military measures leads to many states concern about it.

Chinese "Nine Dash Line"¹³ claim, which embrace 90-percentage South China Sea – is major disputed problems over the years. In 2009 China's claim to the UN aggravate the situation in the region.

Chinese "string of pearl"¹⁴ strategy – China establish a nexus of bases in chokepoints of Indian oceans via deepening ties with Southeast Asia states. Each base is alleged pearl and string of these pearls provide Chinese energy and commercial interests.

In November 2013, China announced the creation of its ADIZ in the East China Sea with coverage that included airspace above the Senkaku/Diaoyus Islands and that overlapped with previously established Japanese, South Korean and Taiwan ADIZ.¹⁵

Chinese military rise and intentions drew near between US and Asian states for one things, Asian states which concern about Chinese provocative behavior such as India and Japan for another thing.

From this perspective, many states supported US presence in the region. They seek to utilize buck-passing strategy but simultaneously they don't want be a battle field for US-China rivalry.

As regard to geopolitical terms US-Sino confrontation may leads to conflict such as North Korea or Taiwan issues.

From this perspective, in current situation China is doing what is possible to weaken US role and influence in the region. Recent US "pivot" or "rebalance" strategy

12 Office of the Secretary of Defense. Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2015 April. -P.21

13 In May 2009, for example, China submitted a note to the UN claiming islands in the South China Sea and adjacent waters within an area bounded by nine short, interrupted lines, which has subsequently become known as the 'Nine-Dash Line' claim.

14 In 2004, Defence contractor Booz Allen Hamilton published Energy Futures in Asia, which stirred the waters of the Indian Ocean. According to the report, China's investments in seaports across the littoral areas of the Indian Ocean could be used to create a network of naval bases stretching from southern China to Pakistan. This became known as the 'string of pearls' strategy

15 Office of the Secretary of Defense. Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2015 April. -P.21

toward Asia Pacific in part increased China's assertiveness and confidence as well as security dilemma among the Pacific Basin states.

In the sake of pursuing China's core interests and marginalizing US dominance in the region, China sees a strategy to enhancing relations with neighboring states and weakening American relations with US allies. For the two decades China endeavor to create a major global power position, to find international allies and develop relations with them.

Chinese attempt to normalization relations with hostile states, take a negotiator position in international conflicts, implementing foreign aid in Latin America and Africa countries point out that China's charm offensive assist to China's peaceful image in international relations. Charm offensive is focused on to create desire stability and peace with all countries, especially those on China's borders.

China has already taken steps to develop its image around the world.

In 2014, China and BRICs states declared the foundation of a \$100 billion "New Development Bank¹⁶," to be headquartered in Shanghai, China. The new bank will focus on providing economic assistance to developing countries.

China's announced plans in 2013 for a Silk Road Economic Belt and a 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (together, referred to as the "One Belt, One Road initiative¹⁷"). In 2014, China funded this initiative \$ 40 billion to amend trade and transport corridors in Asia.

China announced exchange program and scholarship with developing states.

In April 2015, China announced that it would invest \$46 billion in infrastructure development in Pakistan.¹⁸

From this trend, China endorse relationships with ASEAN states. For instance, ASEAN plus three, Treaty of Friendship between China and Asian states. China attempt to resolve maritime and territorial claims not only through economic methods, Chinese investment policy, Chinese foreign aid, but also through regional organization or scheme. Chinese government solve its territorial disputes through Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Taken an illustration, in mid 90s Central Asia states bordered with China such Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan made a concession in the process of signing border treaty owing to SCO mechanism. More precisely, China achieved its claim territory. For instance, in border treaty between China and

16 The New Development Bank is a multilateral development bank established by the BRICS states (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). The Bank shall support public or private projects through loans, guarantees, equity participation and other financial instruments.

17 At the heart of One Belt, One Road lies the creation of an economic land belt that includes countries on the original Silk Road through Central Asia, West Asia, the Middle East and Europe, as well as a maritime road that links China's port facilities with the African coast, pushing up through the Suez Canal into the Mediterranean. The project aims to redirect the country's domestic overcapacity and capital for regional infrastructure development to improve trade and relations with ASEAN, Central Asian and European countries.

18 Wayne M. China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, Implications for the United States, Congressional Research Service. October 2015. -P.43

Kazakhstan, China received 22% – which it saw as of key importance – of the disputed territories.¹⁹

More importantly, China apply another strategy namely “Monroe doctrine” which that times US adopted this strategy against established power Britain. In May 2014, as a potential demonstration of future intent, China’s President Xi Jinping gave a major address calling for a new approach to regional security issues in which ‘the people of Asia would run the affairs of Asia’.²⁰ Chinese “Host diplomacy²¹” or new Monroe doctrine is another way to minimize US role and precisely to “allow” US left from Asia.

From this respect, at the 2014 Shanghai summit of the Conference of Interaction and Confidence-Building in Asia (CICA), he announced a new Asian security concept in which China is located at the heart of a new Asian diplomatic architecture that offers Asian management of Asian security problems without the US presence. This little-known regional summit had languished for years, but President Xi suddenly invigorated the CICA because its membership includes Russia, Iran and Egypt, but does not include the US and most American Asia–Pacific allies and partners, such as Japan, the Philippines and Singapore.²²

Overall, US and China interests in the Asia Pacific are asymmetric; US desirable balance of power in the region is to promote international law and democracy in order to prevent future possible conflicts, assure US allies and new partners, keep political, military and economic swap over the region; as for China’s national interests are to maintain China’s territorial integrity, strengthen bilateral relations with Asian states, to create a multilateral mechanism in favor of China’s economy. Both states attempt to shift rebalance for their desire and wills.

Many scholars set forth US-Sino confrontation as a Cold War 2 (CW2), as a matter of fact US-China competition is not new Cold war because China is real challenge for US and unlike Soviet Union it possesses main pillars of geopolitical power: naval control, commercial clout. However, like Soviet Union China has many domestic problems which might disintegrate state internally as Pan Wei, a professor at Beijing University, rightfully pointed that ‘Nobody can destroy China if China does not destroy itself first’²³

Since US Asia first strategy announced, US implemented military, economic and political initiative and measures, yet this strategy could not respond the rise of

19 Jarosiewicz A., Strachota K. China vs. Central Asia the achievements of the past two decades. OSW Studies Number 45 Warsaw, October 2013. -P.19

20 The People’s Republic of China, ‘New Asian Security Concept for New Progress in Security Cooperation,’ remarks by Xi Jinping at the Fourth Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs [website], 21 May 2014

21 Host diplomacy is various important bilateral and multilateral diplomatic activities hosted by a country within its borders, in which the host country’s government can play an important role and exert a positive influence on its efforts to maintain and expand its national interests

22 Zhao S. A New Model of Big Power Relations? China–US strategic rivalry and balance of power in the Asia–Pacific // Journal of Contemporary China. October 2014. -P.8.

23 Wei P. Nobody can destroy China if China does not destroy itself first // Global Times. April 2013.

China completely due to lacking of clear, comprehensive framework towards Asia Pacific and many initiatives did not fund by state budget.

Clash of national interest is thus inevitable. Even recognizing peaceful coexistence by both sides don't prevent lasting competition and confrontation. Now US-Sino relations tried to manage inevitable clash meanwhile both sides attempt to overlap their feeble points. If US recognize peaceful coexistence and condominium like Britain recognition of US, that is, US could not maintain a sole global power. China's foreign policy features including no conflict, mutual respect and win-win strategy assist China to learn managing relations with established power.

Looking to the growing Asia Pacific the United States of America sees both developments and risks from this region. US as a global power and a world leader should initially manage to China's rise, North Korea's Nuclear Program, territorial and maritime disputes among states, Russia's ambitions and further cooperation with China, China's economic expansion, transnational threats including piracy, terrorism and climate change, other menaces and perils from the region. It will be an important task and surely test for US leadership since the end of Cold War.

Washington pivoting policy has taken a critical measure to execution of it, but this policy could not respond US priorities and interests completely owing to absence of one clear rebalance strategy framework, lack of bipartisan support, changing initiatives for five years, not clear allocation funding of the rebalance policy. Accordingly, The United States of America in order to implement the "rebalance" should take into account followings:

Firstly, US should adopt a real clear rebalance strategy towards Asia Pacific including US military, economic, diplomatic policy. The Department of Defence Maritime Strategy on Asia Pacific adopted in 2015 could not embrace all engagement of US policy.

Secondly, new administration should continue and even reinforce US pivoting policy. Yet, Donald Trump from Republican parties don't approve US engagement towards Asia and promise to stop this policy.

Thirdly, a strategic shift or turn to Asia should be endorsed by bipartisan support. Inner incoordination in the Congress might lead budgets cuts, lack of assertiveness in the implementation of rebalance.

Finally, US should not lost the balance and allow to alter status-quo the rest of the world. The rebalance should not reflect negative perception such as US reducing Middle East operations budget or allowing Assad regime in Syria leads to appear a view that US could not endorse its allies and manage the threats during challengeable situations.

Lastly, US rebalance should not ascend China's assertiveness and aggressive behaviour but demonstrate US leadership potential and ambitions.

The United States of America taking into account these factors should create a framework include all aspects of the rebalance and focus on the following areas:

- Reassuring US allies, new partners and emerging powers;

- Increasing US military presence and expand naval capabilities which provide US trade and commercial safety and region's peace, prosperity;
- Increasing allies' military and economic capabilities which make them enable to manage menaces from China or North Korea;
- Accelerating the launch of US trade and military initiatives;
- Advancing human rights and democracy which the foundation principles of US foreign policy.

The United States of America could reassure its allies and partners via sustain peace and stability in the region, manage territorial disputes through International Law, deter China's coercion activity. In this respect, US-China Asia Pacific Security Dialogue embrace real unsolved issues such as South China Sea, North Korea, transnational threats. Even US did not declare a position on territorial disputes in South China Sea, US should make China come to agreement and concession in the territorial disputes with US allies such as Japan, the Philippines. In the sake of maintain peace and stability to adopt the Code of Conduct and International Sea Law which prevent possible clashes among states.

Another most vital aspects of the rebalance is burgeon US military presence in Asia Pacific region. The Department of Defence should focus on initially technological capacities of US military presence and make a strategy to deter conflict in the region and contain China and North Korea coercion.

Assisting US allies to develop in military and economic sphere, to increase their ability to defend their own security issues lighten US tasks and challenges to US interests. Working with highly military capable allies helps US to face shared challenge. US should encourage South Korea, Japan, India and Australia military development. In 2014 Abe's announcement to reform military sphere and altering the 9 article of Japan Constitution was a big step to execution of this policy²⁴.

Furthermore, Washington must take steps to accelerate US trade and military initiatives such as Trans-Pacific Partnership, resourcing key posture initiatives in Okinawa, South Korea, Australia and Guam which assist to US to increase military strategy and military operations capacity.

Overall, Washington has done much more efforts to execution of the rebalance, but there are much more must be done in order to promote its national enduring interests in part region and in the world. A little mistake in the implementation of rebalance or underestimation regional and China's response to this policy might lead to alter balance of power and status-quo not only in the region, but also in the world. China's assertive policy and possessing all elements of becoming world leader, US-China economic interdependence created a situation which international relations did not face for centuries. Possible reunification of established and rising power point out that US will give a leadership from time to time.

²⁴ Kitaoka SH. A New Role for Japan's Military // New York Times. June 2015.

On Integration Problems in Ex-Soviet Territories

X. Kholmamatov

Researcher, BA in IR, UWED

Abstract: *At the end of the XX century occurred great changes in world political map where the New World order established. The Soviet Union has been the main subject of bipolar system theretofore and at the end of century it had collapsed. On the one hand it was the abrupt change in world geopolitical equilibrium on the other hand there have been established new independent states in international relations. When we speak about the integration processes of any region, the researchers first try to find the centripetal and centrifugal forces that influence not only to the behavior of states but also whole integration processes. In this respect, the CA region is an interesting phenomenon that deserves careful study.*

Key words: *strategic cooperation, military cooperation, integration, cooperation within the SCO, CSTO, EvraSEC, Customs Union, joint declaration, transport-communication, energetics, investment, export-import, bilateral trade.*

After collapse of Soviet Union, states which were established in place of it chose different path of developing. At that time it was unexpected and crucial event from the point of economic condition. After the collapse of USSR new organization were created between these states in order to preserve historical ties. It has being named Commonwealth of Independent States. This is for Russia first of all geo-strategic necessity against to the outside world (the United States, China and the EU), secondly preserving the vital interests of Russia such as economic, military, defense and security in Post-Soviet region.

October 3, 2011 Prime Minister of Russian Federation Vladimir Putin declared new article in Izvestia newspaper under title “a new integration project for Eurasia - the future begins now”. The main essence of this project is creating “Eurasian Union” till 2015 in the Post-Soviet region. Directly in front of the researchers of international relations appeared question relating to this problem. Why is this project declared by Putin at this period?

As we can see in the aforementioned, the process of integration of Central Asian countries with Russia began to develop rapidly after 2011. For this, a number of factors can be stated as a reason. In first years after the establishment of the Russian Federation, it has undergone profound political and economic crisis. During this period, Russia remained busy with its internal problems and there were no chances or conditions for the integration of the EurAsEC (Eurasian Economic Community). Hence, over the past 20 years, a number of approaches carried out in order to reestablish Russia’s former power. Moreover, international environment formed several external factors forcing Russia to recreate its geopolitical ambitions. The following reasons encouraged Russian President Vladimir Putin to begin approaching to reconstruct Russia’s role as a global power:

Firstly - Russia's economic growth and increasing its role in post-Soviet Republics' economies. Today, Russia is most important trading partner of those countries.

Secondly – Geopolitical and economic competition between Russia and the European Union in the post-Soviet territory. In fact, the European Union began their active integration processes with Ukraine, Georgia and other Eastern European countries in the frame "Eastern Partnership" program. This was directly contrary to Russia's geopolitical and geo-economic interests.

Thirdly – A dramatic rise of China's economic influence over Central Asia since 2010-2011 could have seriously threatened the interests of Russia. This is particularly true of China and Central Asia for energy policy.

Fourth - In July 2011, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton announced the United States «New Silk Road» strategy in Central Asia.¹ This strategy meant to attract Central Asian countries around Afghanistan. This could be assessed as a direct geopolitical challenge to Russia

It can be said that all of the above factors stimulated Putin to announce EurAsEC project.

The EurAsEC project is planned to be carried out in several stages: the free trade zone of the Customs Union, the Common Economic Space, and the Eurasian Union²

Russia as a big country in post-soviet region put always the CIS at the top priority in its foreign policy concept and strategy. In the basic document of Russian foreign policy concept noted that, “Priority areas of Russian foreign policy include the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the CIS Member States, further strengthening of the CIS as a basis for enhancing regional interaction and integration among its participants who not only share common historical background but also have great capacity for integration in various spheres”.³

Cooperation with CIS countries for Russia is extraordinary important and we can say straight priority in the foreign policy not only in terms of integration but also to stabilize and secure its border with external powers such as European Union and China. In terms of geo-economics, in the interest of national security and preserving the integrity of the Russian economy needs the formation of a broad zone of integration and stability in the CIS.⁴ Russia is interested in political, economic stability development in the CIS. As the Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center Dmitry Trenin mentioned that, “for the foreseeable future, the CIS should remain Russian Federation's significant foreign policy priority.”⁵

1 Д. Пайат, Обсуждение стратегии “Нового Шелкового Пути” в Центральной Азии, Экспертный Форум по Центральной Азии, Выпуск 2, Июнь 2012

2 EurAsEC Today, Eurasian Economic Community Integration Committee Secretariat, Moscow, 2011, p.3.

3 Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation Approved by President of the Russian Federation V. Putin on 12 February 2013, <http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/ns-osndoc.nsf/1e5f0de28fe77fdcc32575d900298676/69c9d2b87ad8014c32575d9002b1c38!OpenDocument>

4 Экономические интересы и задачи России в СНГ Москва, 2010, С.4

5 Dmitry Trenin, Russia's Relations with the CIS Countries: Outlook for 2020, 28 March 2013, <http://carnegie.ru/2013/03/28/russia-s-relations-with-cis-countries-outlook-for-2020>

In XXI century Russia changed its foreign policy trend to set itself the goals like the creation of a “Greater Europe from Lisbon to Vladivostok, or occupying a remarkable position in the Asia-Pacific region. The significance of the CIS in Russian foreign policy gets down. Today the relations between Russia and the former Soviet republics continue to diminish although it should be on the contrary. If In 2008 one of the former soviet republics Georgia went out of CIS, today one of the potential countries in post-Soviet area the Ukraine is at the door of integration to European Union. As the key country and the guarantor of reintegration within the scope of CIS Russia breaking its vital interest the same time he lost potential power of CIS. As our President Islam Karimov noted that, “CIS will exist as long as it sees the need for the Russian Federation. If the Russian Federation will lose interest in the CIS, then CIS does not exist.”⁶ Today Russia tries to build and strengthen economic and political integration in the framework of EAEU.

On Jan 1, 2015 the new Eurasia Economic Union has become a reality between Armenia, Belorussia, Kazakhstan and Russia. In Minsk signed a treaty of accession of Armenia to the Treaty on the Eurasian Economic Union. According to Tass, before signing the agreement, Russian President Vladimir Putin said that Armenia is ready to join the Eurasian Economic Community (EAEC), and expects the positive macroeconomic effect. After months of awkward delays and thinly disguised aversion, Kyrgyzstan has officially signed on to the Russia-led Eurasian Economic Union (EEU). Kyrgyzstan’s joining to the agreement will enter into full force by May 9.⁷

Some analysts considered Eurasian Union as a speeding up integration process because of its quickly establishing. Although the patriarch of Russian modern diplomacy and geopolitics Y. Primakov said that "we should not be hasty with the expansion of union in the stage of Customs Union, which is the base of the Eurasian Economic Union, all potential members of the union must meet certain criteria, the turned up, not in the accession process"⁸

As Mr. Putin planned that the Eurasian Union had completed by 2015 and mission accomplished. Today the Union is pretending to leading economic power among world’s integration groups. As Putin mentioned that, “Eurasian Union will serve as a center for future integration. The creation of the Eurasian Union and the effective integration - is the way to enable its participants to take their rightful place in the difficult world of the XXI century.”⁹

Today there are a lot of discussions and point of views how Eurasian Union is effective integration or not carefully considered project. Despite of its expansion the Union faces the external pressure and economic difficulties. Some experts say that the

6 Заявления для прессы по итогам российско-узбекистанских переговоров 10 декабря 2014 года, <http://www.kremlin.ru/transcripts/47216>

7 Casey Michel, Reluctant Kyrgyzstan Officially Joins EEU, December 25, 2014, <http://thediomat.com/2014/12/reluctant-kyrgyzstan-officially-joins-eeu/>

8 Ван Шучунь, Ван Цинсун, Перспективы Евразийского интеграционного проекта и его последствия для Китая, *Обозреватель - Observer*, 4/2013, С. 46

9 Владимир Путин, Новый интеграционный проект для Евразии — будущее, которое рождается сегодня, 3 октября 2011. <http://izvestia.ru/news/502761>

Eurasian Union one of the best examples of integration processes and some of them note that the Eurasian Union is unreasonable and not timely.

Russia sees as a priority the task of establishing the Eurasian Economic Union aiming not only to make the best use of mutually beneficial economic ties in the CIS space but also to become a model of association open to other states, a model that would determine the future of the Commonwealth states. The new union that is being formed on the basis of universal integration principles is designed to serve as an effective link between Europe and the Asia-Pacific region.¹⁰

Even today despite the economic difficulties, sanctions by European countries and decreasing the costs of oil dramatically most of Russian economists believe the successful future of Eurasian Union as a reliable integration project. For example in Evgeny Vinokurov's opinions, the Director of the EDB Centre for Integration Studies the Eurasian integration is an example of *Pragmatic Integration* and in his opinion pragmatic Eurasianism is based on the understanding that integration is not an end in itself, but a tool for resolving the pressing problems of the states involved, whose first priority today is economic modernization.¹¹ But at the end of 2014 the decreasing of oil prices in the world have been prejudiced the future of Eurasian Union.

What basic problems and contradictions EAEU? Any project has its defects as it has perspectives.

- Existence of economic distinction in states in circle of organization.
- Can be seen a big economic difference between states.
- Existence of the countries as one of the 10 big country of the world Russia and the poorest countries Kirgizstan and Tajikistan in organization makes up the disbalance.
- This situation causes a big damage to economy of states which has just begun economical step.
- Especially bringing high-quality and cheap products to internal markets by international competitors crowd out local producers. Nowadays such situation we can see in example of EU.

Putin in his project says that principle peculiarity of Customs union and Eurasian Economic Space is that they are organization on states.

This means that the sovereignty and independence of states in this organization are not full. Historical experiment shows that in this situation locomotive states in alliances will have a big voice and in a lot of problems will decide as they want.

All members of the Union of very different economic potential, the structure of national economies and the mechanism, principles of organization of the economy, the interests of the elites etc. Topical contradiction of the EAEC is acts and competition regulatory system of participants. National law in many important aspects of the new

10 Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation Approved by President of the Russian Federation V. Putin on 12 February 2013, <http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/ns-osndoc.nsf/>

1e5f0de28fe77fdcc32575d900298676/69c9d2b87ad8014c32575d9002b1c38!OpenDocument

11 Evgeny Vinokurov, *Pragmatic Integration, Eurasian Integration Yearbook 2013*. – Almaty, 2013. – p.16

does not match the legal system of the Union. On December 26, 2016 Heads of the states of the Eurasian Union have tried to accept a new variant of the Customs code at a meeting in St.-Petersburg. The main innovation of the code - essential simplification of customs procedures and their transfer in an electronic kind to exclude influence of the human factor. Unfortunately, the reality of each country proceeds from its national interests.

The first few months after the customs control was lifted confirmed the worst fears of both Bishkek and Astana. Higher import tariffs inflated the prices of imported goods in Kyrgyzstan—primarily Chinese clothes and fabric for local sewing businesses. Meanwhile, the number of customers at the Dordoy Bazaar failed to increase due to the economic crisis in Russia and Kazakhstan. After Kazakhstan's currency was devalued, residents of Kyrgyzstan's border regions flocked to the neighboring country to buy food and gas, but the Kyrgyz treasury received none of the customs payments it would formerly have collected.¹²

Despite these contradictions member of alliance first of all talk about Eurasian integration, in practice, to make the maximum to retain the power to regulate in various areas (especially in trade) and oppose their transfer to the supranational level.

In conclusion it should be noted that today the realization of integration process in post-soviet space is going on in fact accordingly but if we analyze the ongoing process we can see some serious problems inner Eurasian Union which may cause disintegration processes among CIS countries. There are several reasons preventing to draw together national economy into one integration unity.

First of all in my opinion the power of Russia as a guarantor is not stable and there is always stagnation of economy and dependency of energy resources exports. Today's world as we know not only depend on energy resources but also new technologies and innovation.

Secondly, creating new Integration project such as EurAsEC then EAEU Russia weakened the potential of CIS which could base the integration space for member states.

12 Ivan Zuenko// The Eurasian Gap: Winners and Losers of the Economic Union//11.11.2016//
<http://carnegie.ru/commentary/?fa=65114>

On US Policy Towards Syrian Conflict (Quantitative Analysis)

I. Tuhtasunov

Senior Undergraduate Student, UWED

***Abstract:** This paper attempts to evaluate the external impact on the internal conflicts. It brings a blend of a quantitative method and case study in order to explain the degree of the impact through the mathematical modelling formulated in the current paper and deploys it to evaluate and classify the impact of US involvement in Syrian conflict. The paper also aims to study the impact brought by several dimensions in relation to the involvement of other external actors in a conflict. At the end of the paper, current trends and dynamics in the US foreign policy towards Syria are also reviewed and, certain conclusions and recommendations have been drawn.*

***Key words:** the impact; extra-state policy; the intrastate conflict; US involvement, Syrian crisis, conflict; monetary allocation; military deployment; political leverage; intelligence operations; boldness; on-time instant responses*

Introduction

The crisis in Syria has become very severe and seems to be almost impossible to solve. Although it is Civil war in character, external powers are also involved, which makes it very necessary to study their impact. Not only regional powers like Iran, Saudi Arabia or Turkey, but also global powers as US and Russia are directly involved in this conflict. Their involvement transfers the interstate character of the Syrian conflict and makes it complicated.

The current paper attempts to analyze the impact of the strategy of US in the Syrian conflict. It reviews main shortcomings in the policy behavior of extra-state towards intrastate conflict participants. It classifies and differentiates these strategy shortcomings and discusses the role of each of them as factors affecting the conflict. Using mathematical modelling, it endeavors to work out a formula to scale the impact of extra-state on the conflict.

The difference in study of conflicts, which this paper presents, is that it attempts to look at the poor strategy of US on the Syrian conflict using a clear-cut evaluation. Also, it provides main shortcomings and based on this formula to calculate the impact. The main advantage of this study is that it allows to perceive the general picture and helps to distinguish main shortcomings in US policy towards Syria. It also gives understanding about what additions or changes in United States' Syria policy may make a difference in the outcome of the conflict, and also about whether this impact will be positive or negative.

The current paper takes advantage of variety of scholastic and prominent news media sources to discuss a diversity of opinions within the paper. While providing

mathematical evaluation, the author uses his own analysis and supplements it with the ideas of many scholars, think tanks and other sources.

The main research method is Case method. US influence on the Syrian conflict was analyzed to provide the bases for the study of conflict. The main shortcomings in the US strategy over this very crisis were demonstrated and taken as a fundament for the theoretical studies.

In order to answer the second part of the research question, which is to calculate the level of the impact, mathematical modelling has been utilized as another method, though it derives its bases from the case study.

Main Findings

The impact can be calculated using a special mathematical modelling to make it easier to comprehend and analyze in the following way.

$$i = \left[\frac{\frac{(m + mi + p + in)}{4} + \frac{(bo + ti)}{2}}{2} \right]$$

i-impact. It is a level and amount of impact an extra-state poses on the going of the conflict, usually measured against the intensity and/or the outcome of the conflict. Its coefficient may start from -1, being very negative, to +1, being very constructive.

m- monetary allocation, encompassing all the financial aid a foreign state provides to any side of the conflict. This amount is measured by the amount of its real financial aid against the capable amount it could provide to realize its interests in the conflict.

mi-military deployment Extra-state may get embroiled in the conflict by providing military support to any side. This has become a common practice for the United States of America and Russia, whether through sending official missions or guerillas. This amount also includes the support in the form of military equipment and weaponry. This has also become a popular practice. Like monetary allocation, ***m***, this amount is measured with real military support against the capacity at which it could provide.

p-political leverage. Multilateral diplomacy has a role to play in intrastate conflicts that are internationalized. It may include attempts to bring peace by international cooperation or just influencing the conflict through political means such as putting the pressure of international community to change the way the conflict goes. It

is measured by the political leverage it achieved against the level it could achieve in most possible terms.

in-intelligence operations. Intelligence is a main indicator that may radically change the outcome of the conflict. It includes sharing information by the extra-state about the weakest of one side, the location of its forces and time of its possible attacks and tactics, to the other side, which this foreign state is supporting. Such crucial information affects the conflict outcome no less than the other three types of aid. Similarly, it is measured by how much intelligence it provided compared to the its actual capacity.

bo-boldness. Once a foreign state gets itself involved in an intra-state conflict, it should take bold actions to maximize its possibility to achieve its objectives. Actions not taken boldly often bring unfavorable results as the nature of conflicts requires sides to be strong and confident in their actions. Otherwise, the longevity of the conflict increases. It is also measured with real boldness level against the state's full capacity to be bold.

ti-on-time instant response. Actions should not only be bold, but also on-time, instant and responsive. It is analyzed carefully through the method of event analysis to provide a relative coefficient of on-time actions

All the variables in the formula are within the following range. $-1 \leq \text{variable in the formula} \leq 1$. It makes the analysis easier to comprehend. This variable in general means that If the impact of extra-state poor strategy is -1, then this impact means it is fully destructive, brings deadly outcome to the conflict and may make the short-term peaceful agreement almost impossible. If the impact is +1, then it is fully constructive and facilitates the peace agreement, at least for a short-term.

The *table 1* shows the scale of the impact level and what it expresses.

Definition	Impact
Fully destructive	From -1 to -0.6
very destructive	From -0.6 to -0.4
Rather destructive	From -0.4 to -0.2
destructive	From -0.2 to 0
Balanced	0
Constructive	From 0 to 0.2
Rather constructive	From 0.2 to 0.4
Very constructive	From 0.4 to 0.6
Fully constructive	From 0.6 to 1

Applying this very formula for US impact on Syrian conflict requires careful analysis of main elements of US involvement in the country, as mentioned in the case study above.

Monetary allocation by the US for this conflict, in theory, should be very high given US hegemonic economy. However, the real amount is $m=-0.5$.

United States remains the largest bilateral provider, with more than \$2.4 billion in funding identified to date. The United States also has allocated a total of \$287 million to date for nonlethal assistance to select opposition groups. Prior to the Islamic State's mid-2014 advances in Iraq, the Administration had requested \$2.75 billion in funding for the Syria crisis for FY2015.(Congressional Research Service, 2014)

In trying to remove Assad from power, the United States has provided both financial and military support to Syrian insurgents, including weapons as well as military training. To put these efforts in perspective, the United States spent roughly \$500 million that resulted in the training of merely a few Syrian rebels. (Eli Berman (2017). The effectiveness of such spending is also subject to scrutiny since they didn't bring intended results.

In spite of US possessing enormous amount of money, two last wars, in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the operation in Libya left negative legacy about direct involvement conflicts. For this reason, Obama's administration has been reluctant to make a major spending on Syria, which served as a constraint to realize all the interests of US in Syria.

$Mi=-0.5$ (very limited military resources allocated)

US has the unparalleled military capability in the world. If it chooses to be involved in any foreign conflict, it can have a big impact on it using its vast military resources. In Syrian conflict, US could use sufficient amount of military resources including both ground forces and air forces. However, the degree to which it really employed its forces in comparison with its actual capacity, we can get a negative number.

First of all, the cost for any direct military actions could range from \$500 million initially to train, advise, and assist opposition forces in a safe area outside Syria to "as much as a billion dollars per month over the course of a year" (up to \$12 billion) to use military force to establish either a no-fly zone that would prevent the regime from using its military aircraft or a buffer zone to protect border areas next to Turkey or Jordan (Congressional Research Service,2013). However, no such actions were taken.

The Joint Chiefs reportedly told the White House that it would take 70,000 US military personnel to implement a no-fly zone over Syria (Wood, 2016). US and Russia agreed on the no-fly zone last year. The reason why it didn't give the expected results is partly because parties were unable to provide sufficient military personnel or, in general, military resources.

In 2013, then Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel told that the \$500 million request the president made in June for this train-and-equip program reflects CENTCOM's (US Central Command) estimate of the cost to train, equip and resupply more than 5,000 opposition forces over one year. The package of assistance that US initially provide would consist of small arms, vehicles and basic equipment like communications as well as tactical and strategic training. As these forces prove their effectiveness on the battlefield, US would be prepared to provide increasingly sophisticated types of assistance to the most trusted commanders and capable forces (Congressional Research Service, 2014). However, It didn't come as requested amount.

This shows that military support by the side of Obama's administration has been significantly low. It decreased US role in the conflict. US made less gains as a result.

p=-0.3 (unsuccessful political leverage)

After John Kerry was appointed as the Secretary of State, he made many attempts to bring peace to Syrian conflict. Whether it is Geneva Peace talks that started in 2012 or UN Security Council, US understood that it didn't stand alone on this issue. US had neither capability nor willingness to take all the responsibility of resolving Syrian problem. It clearly understood that other actors like Russia could restrain US actions in the conflict. Overall conclusion is that all the peace talks failed in general, with some small-scale exceptions in which parties could come to agreement, for instance US-Russia successful dialog on dismantling Assad's chemical weapon supply after 2013 August chemical use claims against Assad.

In June, 2012, Geneva Peace Talks set a plan. Under this plan a transitional government would be set up in Syria, which should include members of the current regime; furthermore it should arrange free elections and be based on a principle of "mutual consent". It did not imply that President Assad should step down, as there were no preconditions excluding any group from the proposed national unity government. There were no representatives from the Syrian government or opposition present; also not present were Iran (Syria's closest ally) and Saudi Arabia (a leading backer of the rebel forces). No action on arms sales to Syria, or sanctions, was taken. Russia and China vetoed previous truce proposals at the UN Security Council, demanding that the Council call for both sides to stop fighting. The US could be seen as undermining this broad and somewhat vague proposal, when they repeated their position that President Assad should not be part of any transitional government (Shaw, 2013).

The main reasons for the failure of peace talks and, in our case, failure for the political leverage by the US were mainly preconditions. The situation wasn't that bad in 2012. During this time, Syrian problem seemed to be very solvable. Parties wanted put high demands, which resulted in standoff among parties participating. The following talks also resulted in failure as the situation in Syria got worse and worse. Any concession by any side meant a huge loss.

US, in this regard, couldn't use all its political and diplomatic tools to gain more in peace talks or Security Council, which is shown by the continuous severity of the conflict in Syria. For this reason, political leverage of US is negative.

in=-0.4 (less intelligence success in practice)

US conduct intelligent operations in Syria. Such operations may be conducted to gather intelligence or as covert operations to directly impact on the conflict. Literature on intelligence operations is very limited. But the focus here is not check the existence of intelligence operations, but rather to question their efficiency. As covert rebel training operations have been a failure in most cases and/or challenged by Russian military, it is no doubt that US have had short hands on intelligence issues, too.

One of such covert operations include Field Operations Room . The US and its allies had established a Field Operations Room in the Aleppo region integrated by intelligence personnel. Until it was targeted by a Russian missile attack on September 20, this "semi-secret" facility was operated by US, British, Israeli, Turkish, Saudi and Qatari intelligence personnel. "The Russian warships stationed in Syria's coastal waters targeted and destroyed a foreign military operations room, killing over two dozen Israeli and western intelligence officers". (Chossudovsky, 2016) This is an example when such intelligence operations proved failed.

bo=-0.9 (very few bold actions)

In realizing political goals, taking bold actions is very important. Over the Syrian crisis, the Obama's administration's policy was limited, often calibrating between full-fledged intervention and non-involvement in extreme cases. If to remember the administration's claims of Assad's chemical weapon usage against the civilians, Obama told many times that Assad crossed the redline and should be punished. However, Obama never took any action, which resulted in mistrust among its allies and eventually impacted negatively on the way the conflict went. Considering these aspects, *taking bold actions* is an important evaluating US impact on this conflict.

The Brookings institution also testifies this idea, saying the consequences of continued inaction are dreadful. U.S. policy has never sought to decisively influence the tactical situation on the ground. Unrealistic limitations on vetting and a policy that prohibited arming groups to fight the regime left us unable to effectively fight the Islamic State or to move Assad toward a transition. U.S. policy and strategy on Syria had a major disconnect, in being focused militarily on a group that was a symptom of the civil war without any means to achieve the stated policy objective: Assad's departure. (Lister, Allen, 2016).

ti=-0.8 (missing on-time responses)

Missing on-time responses was the key point in the assessment of US poor policy in Syria. For the most part, Obama has been reluctant to allow instant responses. It seemed he always waited for the right time to come. Even when it came, he hesitated

and in the end step back. The above case of Syrian chemical weapons usage in 2013 can be applied here, too. If there were any best time to take bold actions on Syria, this was the time. However, once again on-time responses were avoided. It is true with other cases, too, when on-time responses were delayed by handing over the Congress the right to make decisions. For this reason, this one is -0.8.

So, the calculation of the formula appears the following way:

$$i = \left[\frac{(-0.5 - 0.5 - 0.3 - 0.4)}{4} + \frac{(-0.9 - 0.8)}{2} \right]$$

$$i = \frac{-0.425 - 0.85}{2} \qquad i = -0.6375$$

Decoding the US impact scale on Syria

Current US poor strategy impact as an extra-state influence is **fully destructive** in character. Limited recourse allocation and lack of bold actions are making US strategy in the Syrian conflict unfavorable to the peace efforts as well as realizing US interests in Syria.

Whether this situation satisfies US administration is another question. However, if US desire to fully impact in Syrian conflict, it should enhance its resource allocation and take on-time bold actions.

Main Dynamics & Trends in Syrian Crisis

Syrian issue has been complex and multi-vector. Different actors and issues have made continuous changes to the existing trends and dynamics. Bringing Syria back to the pre-war condition is a very costly task: estimates on costs from the U.N., the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank converge around \$200 billion, but this barely hints at the war’s human tragedy. Half a million are dead, 2 million are wounded, and half the population has been forcefully displaced with some 5 million registered refugees—largely in Lebanon (1 million), Jordan (655,000), and Turkey (3 million)—and over 900,000 seeking asylum in Europe. There are 6.5 million internally displaced people out of 13.5 million Syrians listed as “in need” by the U.N., of which 6 million are children (Karaspan, 2017).

Resolving the conflict will be Mr. Trump’s most daunting foreign policy task. Under President Obama, Washington’s Syria policy was almost singularly focused on defeating the Islamic State, an approach that allowed the conflict to fester, and thereby contribute to one of the worst humanitarian crises of our time.(Brandt, McKenzie, 2016). Trump should and must change the direction if US deems Syria into its area of vital interests.

A question appears: why has US been engaged in Syrian conflict? Although their reasons for intervening in Syria are commonly attributed to humanitarian assistance and the ‘responsibility to protect’, one of the main factors contributing to American intervention in Syria is to maintain their status as a global hegemon. A top priority for the United States is ensuring that they maintain a unipolar world, as opposed to allowing Russia to achieve a balance of power through a ‘victory’ for the Assad government.(Berman, 2017). US engagement, for the most part, has been strategic and geopolitical rather than short-term aiming to crusade for humanitarian causes.

The U.S. government believes it is an exogenous actor in the Syrian civil war. Stemming from a fervent belief in U.S exceptionalism, this view holds that by virtue of its power, its history, and its placement in the international order, the United States has a unique role to play in resolving the conflict. The United States can be the convener, the mediator, and even conceivably the enforcer of a peace conference. (Shapiro, Estrin, 2013) So far US have been an unsuccessful enforcer of a peace talks. The option of being a mediator for US has also been out of question due to the absence of any action of this sort.

A quick reference to Obama administration’s engagement in Syria suggests that He didn’t want a direct military intervention there. But he also knew that the more hopes for viable non-military options like building a Syrian rebel force were dashed, the more doing anything at all inside Syria looked futile. Either way, disengagement is advanced as the preferred policy, even though it is precisely the cause of the calamity. (Holmes, 2015) The administration's policy on Syria has been defined by a cold, calculated, brutal refusal to have a policy (Bromund, 2015). However, further engagement in the form of military intervention couldn’t provide any guarantee for the post-conflict democratic reforms as such policy failed in Iraq and Libya.

So far Assad has kept it very hard on his position. His removal from the political scenery is a primary aim US has been pursuing. Convincing Assad to step down in favor of a new government consisting of several ethnic groups might be the theoretically most appealing approach. It has been U.S. policy for more than half a decade. However, it has gone nowhere. Perhaps things will change, but especially after the Russian intervention in the war last year, and resulting changes in battlefield momentum, Assad shows no interest in leaving office (O’Halton, 2016). For this reason, Trump is likely to press on the policy envisioning the removal of Assad.

After Donald Trump became the president of US, many expect US to come to an agreement with Russia over Syrian issue. as Russia and the United States are the two most powerful actors involved in Syria, they should take on a leadership role and work together to establish a resolution for Syria beyond eliminating ISIS. While their competition for power has been a driving force in exacerbating and prolonging the war in Syria, political elites in both countries must put their ideological differences aside, and collectively use their resources to resolve the conflict (Berman, 2017). This may

serve a basis on which Trump and Putin using their alleged “closeness” may find grounds for cooperation and bringing a solution to Syrian crisis. However, no practical advance actions by the side of Trump have been made.

Another concerning trend has been the involvement of the other regional powers. US, unlike it was in Iraq and Libya, has now to deal with Iran in the first place, listen to Saudi Arabia and decide its ultimate position with Turkey, especially in regard to Kurdish problem. ISIS has been mitigated, though not still strong enough to make a difference. Assad backed by Russia and Iran is once again in improved power. After the liberation of Aleppo, Syrian government has an upper hand in the upcoming political processes. (المقتداد في يصل, 2017) US strategic military position has been weakened. This is a very straightforward trend and at the same time worrisome one for US. If and when US wish to demonstrate its full sphere of influence on the conflict, US has to deal with other actors and factors more than it has ever been.

Conclusion

It is revealed through this paper that there are several elements of extra-state strategy that determine the level of its impact. It includes *monetary allocation, military support, political leverage, intelligence support and bold actions together with on-time responses*. If these elements exist to a higher level, the impact of extra-state can very constructive, possibly bringing to the peace in the conflict. If they are in lesser amount, the impact, in most cases, very destructive, bringing further chaos to the conflict.

This paper only discusses the actions of US in Syrian policy, but doesn't necessarily provide details as to why these actions have been conducted. Thus, the main aim of the paper is to give number-based evaluation to its actions so that one can see the general picture and see the shortcomings and conclude for oneself what further actions can bring more/less impact. So, the paper concludes that as US didn't use all its possible capacity to realize its interests, its impact on the way the conflict went was limited. However, it is difficult to point out whether this satisfied US administration or whether limited involvement and the continuity of the conflict were their original aims. It seems that this has been difficult for Obama's administration as, in most cases, their expressed aims didn't reflect their actual actions.

US impact on Syrian conflict has been for the most part very limited partly due to the impacts of other external states. This limit brought many undesirable consequences for the United States, making the conflict more complex than ever before. It should be noted that US new President Donald Trump will face many difficulties in trying to bring a solution to the problem. He will have to vacillate between full engagement and stepping back. By looking at the main elements of the strategy given here, one can make a conclusion that full engagement requires vast resources. This makes it necessary to check profit-loss balance then. It raises another difficult question: Does it lay in its core interest of US to be fully involved in the Syrian conflict? It is a question to be most answered by Mr. Trump. If he chooses full-involvement, which is most possibly

military intervention, he needs to spend a big part of US budget. Anyway, this requires careful military and resource planning, which will take at least a year. The second option is to continue his predecessor's way. Given Mr. Trump's remarks, he is likely to rule out this option. This paper may suggest that he furthers resources to some degree and comes to an agreement with Russia. This may improve the situation in Syria and may eventually bring peace. Third option is to decrease resources, which definitely means for US leaving the Middle East region. This necessity may be enhanced by increasing importance of Asia-pacific region.

References

1. Charles Lister and John R.Allen (2016), Bring Syria's Assad and his backers to account now, Brookings institution, October 24, 2016 <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/10/24/bring-syrias-assad-and-his-backers-to-account-now/>
2. Congressional Research Service Report (2013), Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and U.S response, The Library of Congress, September 17, 2014 <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33487.pdf>
3. Congressional Research Service Report (2014), Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and U.S response, The Library of Congress, September 17, 2014 <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33487.pdf>
4. Douglas Shaw (2013), Syria –timeline of Peace Process, Peace and Justice News Syria issue, June 13, 2013 <http://peaceandjustice.org.uk/newsletter/peace-and-justice-news-syria-issue/syria-timeline-of-peace-process/>
5. Michel Chossudovsky (2016), U.S. Coalition Intelligence "Operations Room" Inside Syria, Destroyed by Russian Missile Attack: Thirty Israeli, American, British, Turkish, Saudi, Qatari Intelligence Officials Killed, Report <http://www.globalresearch.ca/u-s-coalition-intelligence-operations-room-inside-syria-destroyed-by-russian-missile-attack-thirty-israeli-american-british-turkish-saudi-qatari-intelligence-officials-killed-report/5547099>
6. Paul Wood (2016), Could the conflict in Syria lead to world war three? The Spectator, October 8, 2016 <http://www.spectator.co.uk/2016/10/could-the-conflict-in-syria-lead-to-world-war-three/>
7. Omar Karaspan, (2017) Rebuilding or redefining Syria, The Brookings institution, February 13, 2017 <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2017/02/13/rebuilding-or-redefining-syria/>
8. Jessica Brandt and Robert (2016), Addressing the Syrian refugee crisis, The Brookings institution, December 16, 2016 <https://www.brookings.edu/research/addressing-the-syrian-refugee-crisis-recommendations-for-the-next-administration/>
9. Eli Berman (2017), Competing for Power: How Russian-American relations have affected the war in Syria, Politicus Journal, Issue 1, Volume 4, 2017 <http://politicusjournal.com/files/archives/content/6.pdf#page=33>
10. Kim R. Holmes (2015), Obama's 'the worse, the better' strategy, The Heritage Foundation, September 28, 2015 <http://www.heritage.org/middle-east/commentary/obamas-the-worse-the-better-strategy>
11. Theodore R. Bromund, Whose values is Barack Obama promoting in Syria? Heritage Foundation, November 30, 2015 <http://www.heritage.org/middle-east/commentary/whose-values-barack-obama-promoting-syria>
12. Michael E. O'Halton, Trump's instincts on Syria are partially right, The Brookings institution, November 23, 2016 <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2016/11/23/trumps-instincts-on-syria-are-partially-right/>
13. Jeremy Sharipo, Miriam R.Estrin 2013, "First-rate intelligence:US government understanding of the Syrian Civil War" , POMEPS studies, Issue 5, George Washinton University, p 66 http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/POMEPS_BriefBooklet22_PoliSciSyria_Web.pdf
14. الآن سوريا. القائمة السديسية العملية يف العليا ال يد تم تلك السورية الحكومة. (2017). ف، المقداد. <http://www.syrianow.sy/index.php?d=34&id=162181>

Contemporary American Energy Policy

J.Khayrullaev

Senior Undergraduate Student, UWED

“In a world of increasing interdependence, energy security will depend much on how countries manage their relations with one another. That is why energy security will be one of the main challenges of foreign policy in the years ahead”

Daniel Yergin

***Abstract:** This article considerable relevance due to the fact, that energy resources are very important for improving the quality of life and widening possibilities of citizens of the world. Basically, we can say that at the moment there is no common understanding of the concept of energy security, and in some cases the meanings that the countries put into this concept are directly opposite to each other. But in the context of understanding this notion as global, energy security means not only the prevention of conflicts over energy resources between suppliers and consumers, within the group of supplying countries and within a group of consumer countries, but also broadening access to energy resources.*

The purpose of this work is to find out the essence of the concept of energy security and to point out the main problems associated with its provision in the United States. To achieve this goal, an attempt has been made to identify trends in the development of the world energy market and highlight the basic principles of energy security that to some extent are shared by all states.

***Key words:** Unites States, Russia, energy security, energy policy, energy diplomacy, oil, gas, transforming challenges.*

Energy is power. From a political, economic and environmental viewpoint, energy security is one of the most important issues faced by all countries in the world. As such, energy has a fundamental role in states' structure, consolidation and survival. Besides this, energy is an important aspect to be able to understand competition in the international system. Considering the competition between states, energy is a crucial factor in the distribution of world power. Therefore, those countries with the most control of energy resources have the biggest power advantage in the international system.¹

A feature of the past decade seen as radical transformation of the global energy landscape, especially in the sector of hydrocarbon fuel. In a very short historical period

¹ Kerr, Lucas de Oliveira. 2012. Energia Como Recurso de Poder Na Política Internacional: Geopolítica, Estratégia e o Papel do Centro de Decisão Energética. PhD Thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil.

the correlation of forces between the countries - participants of the liquid fuel and natural gas markets have significantly changed.

Since 2014 one of the determining factors of pricing in the world markets becomes growth of oil production in the United States which sharply reduced the country needs to import liquid fuels and providing the reforming impact on existing trade flows. Moreover, because of the increase of oil production in the United States, the markets of oil and natural gas is currently characterized by a significant excess of supply over demand. Under these conditions, the value of the geopolitical factor has significantly increased and there is the politicization of everything related to energy. U.S. energy diplomacy made Asia-Pacific region its new priority and was setting to weaken Russia's position in the European energy market.

These trends are constantly heated interest in the problems of U.S. fuel-energy complex which transformation has such a significant impact on the global economy. There are heated discussions in the world related to the global effects of the "shale revolution".

Now we can say that the United States was able to overcome the first test of strength associated with the collapse of oil prices in the world market in 2014. However, among the most discussed problems are the following: how long "shale boom" will continue in the U.S. and what will be economic and geopolitical consequences of growth of inflow to the world market of American oil and shale gas.

One of the actual issue is how "balance of power" will change in the global energy sector; is it important for other countries to follow U.S. in the extraction of oil and gas in difficult deposits, especially in the Arctic; what kind of consequences of the decline in hydrocarbon prices can be expected for the development of renewable energy.

In the United States energy sector is occurring profound changes, and their impact will be felt far beyond the borders of North America. The revival in the oil and gas production of U.S. have been due to new technologies of production which gives access to the oil resources from tight formations and shale gas, stimulates economic activity in the country, as the decline in gas and electricity prices giving industry a competitive advantage and change the position of North America in the world energy trade.

In front of the world community unfolds the process of transformation U.S. from oil and gas deficient country to energy surplus superpower. The United States has overtaken Saudi Arabia in the field of production of oil and outran Russia in terms of natural gas production. U.S. possesses in the world as one of the largest exporters of energy, not only coal, but oil products also.

Because we know we can't power America's future on energy that's controlled by foreign dictators, we are taking big steps down the road to energy independence, laying the groundwork for new green energy economies that can create countless well-paying jobs. It's an investment that will double the amount of renewable energy produced over the next three years. Think about that double the amount of renewable energy in three years.²

Concerns U.S. regarding dependence on imported oil goes back to the concept of "conservation" of energy at the time of Franklin D. Roosevelt, however, terminology of "energy independence" and "energy security" came into wide circulation only after the first oil crisis in 1973-1974. Due to the lack of clear definitions of the terms "energy independence" and "energy security", it is quite difficult to objectively assess how far the United States have moved in this direction during the government of the Obama administration.

The fossil fuel era of energy production was traditionally dominated by national governments and large, centralized, public or private corporations that owned much of the energy sector and controlled the whole supply chain. The energy scene of today and tomorrow is becoming more complex, with a variety of new and increasingly influential actors. The structure of and business models in the energy sector are undergoing rapid changes. The classical energy world consists of large-scale upstream and power generation operations, with a long-distance backbone transportation system.

A plethora of other actors have emerged to influence the energy sector on the political side: trans and subnational actors, such as:

- international organizations (e.g., the United Nations (UN) and its various agencies, the International Energy Agency (IEA), the World Bank, the Energy Charter Treaty, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA));
- regional governments (e.g., Iraqi Kurdistan or Quebec);
- terrorist organizations (e.g., ISIS or the PKK);
- non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (e.g., Greenpeace or the Clinton Climate Initiative).³

The concept of "energy security" as a state of low vulnerability of vital energy systems for the impact of external factors, characterized by:

- Sufficient resources to satisfaction the national needs of the country at competitive and stable prices;

2 <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-and-vice-president-signing-american-recovery-and-reinvestment-act>

3 David Koranyi, A US Strategy for Sustainable Energy Security Atlantic Council Strategy Paper No. 2, March 2016

- Sustainable energy, determined to diversify sources of supply and transport of energy resources and the degree of energy intensity of GDP.

The basic principles of "energy security" in the energy sector of U.S.:

- the development of flexible, transparent and competitive energy markets, including gas;

- diversification of energy sources and the promotion of domestic energy sources;

- reduction of greenhouse gas emission and accelerate the transition to a low carbon economy;

- promotion of energy efficiency in terms of supply and demand;

- encouraging the placement of clean energy and the preservation of investment in research and innovation;

- improving the sustainability of energy systems by promoting the modernization of infrastructure and the regulatory policies of supply and demand, which should help to withstand systemic shocks;

- the introduction of mechanisms for responding to emergencies, including compensation of fuel resources and supplies for importing countries in the event of a major supply disruption.

In order to achieve energy security, the administration of the former president Obama has set its sights on achieving the "zero dependence" on imports, which directly or indirectly, puts the United States in the position of economic, political or military affiliation. "National Security Strategy", adopted in 2010, contained a provision on the need to ensure U.S. leadership in the global energy sector as a guarantee of national security and to "save our planet."⁴ And in the "project plan reliable energy future," the Obama administration declared a "reasonable, achievable and necessary" goal to reduce over 10 years oil imports by one third.⁵ It also announced its intention in the medium term to completely abandon the import of oil from Venezuela and eliminate hypertrophied dependence on imported fuel oil from the Middle East.⁶

This indication is also actual nowadays: "Taking into account, in particular, the interconnectedness of the global world oil industry is often cited goal of complete" and energy independence may be unrealistic for any country, and certainly for the U.S. in the foreseeable future. But the goal of reducing dependence on energy supplies, which come from less friendly countries, such as Iran, Libya and Venezuela, of course, be achieved, and this is a task that the United States, Germany and dozens of other volatile countries share. In his speeches and media interviews Obama assured Americans in his

4 National Security Strategy. Washington, DC, May 2010

5 Remarks by the President on America's Energy Security. Washington, DC, March 30, 2011

6 Economic Report of the President. Washington, DC, February 2011, p.127

intention to help the oil and gas industry "to become part of a great nation's energy future", bring the offensive "golden age of natural gas".⁷

The proposal on the establishment of the Obama Energy Security Fund (Energy Security Trust Fund) was first put forward in 2013 and subsequently repeatedly resuscitated. In particular, it was seen again in the "President's action plan on climate change" and the draft federal budget for 2014 and 2015. As a result, however, the project is still "gathering dust" on Capitol Hill. The president intended to highlight the formation of fund of two billion dollars. These fund intends to accumulate at the expense of deductions from royalties derived from the development of deposits in federal waters on the continental shelf. Consequently, the main aims using them is to offer to invest in breakthrough R & D (research and development), such as the search for viable alternative motor fuel, increased efficiency internal combustion engine, switching to hybrid cars, measures to reduce by half the heat loss in homes and commercial buildings, as well as for investments in energy infrastructure decrepit.

U.S. are moving towards self-sufficiency in the natural gas and in the future this country aims to become an energy surplus gas. By 2040 the Department of Energy expects to increase shale gas share of the total natural gas production from 34% at present to more than half, while the share of all kinds of unconventional gas by the end of the forecast period will account for 80% to two-thirds of the present time.⁸

However, in spite of the uniqueness of the resource base of the United States, to rely only on the shale gas and tight oil formations quite risky. Stated data on their holdings periodically adjusted as the upward and increase. There aren't techniques to counter the rapid depletion of the shale wells. The cost of unconventional hydrocarbon production higher than production in the usual way and the potential to grow further.

In general, regarding to the "energy security", it must be admitted that the reduction in binding to imported oil and increase access to cheaper natural gas dramatically changed the energy balance of trade and payment balance of the United States. Other consequences are: the weakening market conditions change depending on the oil market, the reduction of vulnerability to disruptions in supplies from abroad and the expansion of demand for oil of its own production.

New Strategy for Sustainable Energy Security

Due to the historical background, US energy policy which consists of a plethora of state-level and regional energy market designs and policies that are often contravening and confusing. Arguably this multidimensional tableau did relatively well for most of the past two hundred years. At the time when it is important to respect the diversity and special needs of the different states, and recognizing the legal, political and practical limits of a real federal US energy policy.

It is essential for the United States to follow three major principles:

⁷ State of the Union 2013: President Obama's Address to Congress. Washington, DC. February 12, 2013, p.5

⁸ Annual Energy Outlook with Projections to 2040. Washington, DC, April 2013, p. 200.

1. Treat climate and energy security as intertwined public goods. An absolutely essential starting point for a new strategy is building a societal consensus on the pivotal importance of preserving the climate and providing sustainable energy security for the nation. This requires recognizing that the two objectives are not inherently contradictory. Preserving the climate and providing energy security are intertwined public goods that require government action. The actions needed to tackle climate change will also reinforce energy security and propel innovation and economic growth. Acting against climate change in a robust fashion will not only reduce risk but will also boost the competitiveness and resiliency of the US energy system and economy.⁹

2. Improving soft, racy, and market-based climate-energy policies. The U.S. is behind the curve in climate movement compared to other sights of the world. Europe mainly has taken leadership and blazed trails to contrive public policies addressing climate change by measures in the energy sphere. Till European policies, in the process achieving important results, offer lessons for policymakers in the U.S. Chief among them is the convoluted and inherently ineffective, multi-layered ‘interventionist’ approach, which sets out multiple targets (natural gas emissions, share of renewables, energy efficiency) on multiple levels (European, national) using multiple tools (dysfunctional emissions trading schemes and carbon tax systems featuring numerous exemptions parallel to renewable energy portfolio standards). This approach results in confusing and contradictory pressures on principal actors in the energy system. Instead, climate action in the US energy sector should aim to transcend the current, similarly convoluted, patchwork of US federal- and state-level policies and aim for a simpler system that provides clear signals and incentives for producers, investors, and consumers. Such a market-based approach would play to the strengths of the United States.¹⁰

3. Maintain an inclusive and collaborative strategy. The U.S. have to recognize that the challenges require an inclusive and collaborative strategy on an unprecedented scale. It needs to both adopt and strengthen a collective global framework for climate movement that covers all countries and construct a collective global energy security architecture that distributes the burdens in an equitable fashion and includes all crucial players. Subsequently, a collaborative approach is critical for providing energy security throughout the whole duration of the transition to a low-carbon future in the energy sector. It is clear that even under the most optimistic technological scenario, fossil fuels will cohabitate with zero-carbon energy resources for a long time to come. The policy of U.S. energy security should recognize this reality and work with traditional energy providers to ensure the continuous security of supply.

Modernize energy strategy of U.S. based on these three principles and shift to a new, sustainable energy system will need tackling tough political challenges and generating public support through raising awareness and engaging in a national dialogue about the need for energy sector modernization and the risks of climate change. It is

⁹ http://espas.eu/orbis/sites/default/files/generated/document/en/AC_SP_Energy.pdf

¹⁰ David Koranyi, A US Strategy for Sustainable Energy Security Atlantic Council Strategy Paper No. 2, March 2016

critical to assure Americans that the shift will serve for their interest, not only from a macro perspective, but also on a personal level. Moreover, it is imperative to overcome the rigidity of an entrenched energy system that is resistant to wholesale change, facilitating an energy sector transformation that is fast and deep enough to address climate change, while providing predictability and energy security during the transition.

Limits of Energy Diplomacy

Author of the bill "On Energy Diplomacy and Security» former Senator D.Lugar stated in this regard: "Oil and natural gas are the currency by which the energy rich country promote their interests in respect of import dependency countries, such as our "11 .

A former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton agreed to the fact that energy issues are directly related not only to issues of national security and global stability, but also affected to the problems of democracy and human rights.¹²

Changes in the situation on the world markets of hydrocarbons related to, promoting the "shale revolution", raised a wave of chauvinism in the Congress, the U.S. media and in academic circles in the U.S., analysts consistently talking about the revival of "a new era of American energy diplomacy", a change in the balance of power in the global energy sector and that the expansion of energy exports adds an extra US influence in the world.

Former President's National Security Advisor T.Donilon believes that the United States, as the new leader in the energy markets, must act "from a position of greater strength." To do this, they need to:

1. Lead in the global energy and climate policy;
2. Monitor potential sources of conflict related to energy;
3. Provide support to other countries in increasing supply of energy resources, building capacity and strengthening institutions of international cooperation;
4. Work with other partners to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, to prepare for the consequences of climate change and promote alternative energy sources.¹³

In Congress, support of active energy diplomacy expressed by representatives of both political parties. So, L.Murkowski American senator declared "energy renaissance" strategic asset, which gives Washington "newfound tool for global application."¹⁴ Representatives of the House Committee on Energy and Commerce came to the conclusion that "the important foreign policy objectives," can be more effectively promoted through the expansion of trade in energy than traditional diplomacy or foreign help program.¹⁵

11 Energy is the Albatross of U.S. National Security, Lugar says. Brookings. Washington, DC, March 3, 2006

12 State of the American Energy Report. American Petroleum Institute. Washington, DC. February 2013, p.3

13 Remarks by Tom Donilon at the Launch of Columbia University's Center on Global Energy Policy. Washington, DC, April 24, 2013

14 Murkowski L. Opening Keynote for CERA Week 2014. Houston, TX, March 3, 2014; Murkowski L. Global Energy Security and the Benefits of the American Energy Revolution. Washington, DC, March 11, 2014

15 Prosperity at Home and Strengthened Allies Abroad – A Global Perspective on Natural Gas Exports. Washington, DC, February 4, 2014, p.8

U.S. analysts draw the prospects of two possible reforms of U.S. energy strategy concept to achieve and maintain global leadership in the hydrocarbon energy sector:

- the doctrine of «energy security» (energy stability) suggests that the United States will strengthen energy security through the dissemination of its achievements in the field of hydrocarbon energy among its partners. The key elements for this are: (1) promoting the production of non-conventional hydrocarbons in the world; (2) free trade to stimulate energy; (3) counteract to global climate change.

- the doctrine of «energy pressure» (energy leverage) is aimed at maximum production capacity of unconventional hydrocarbons in the United States. Within this framework, energy exports seen as a tool to benefit from high prices. At the same time exports expected to limit the range of exclusively U.S. strategic partners such as the EU and Japan.

Selecting one of these approaches will be a signal whether the United States intends to use the arsenal of "geopolitical defense" or the pressing of resort in order to achieve its geopolitical or economic goals. "New energy realities created by the United States, are pushing U.S. foreign policy in different directions. One way towards greater isolation, exclusion from the current global responsibility and focus inwards in the American revival. But the increase in the U.S. national power can also bring them to the interventionist approach in international affairs "

Analysis of the recent rhetoric of the White House, however, leads to the conclusion that the U.S. ready to use "energy stick" in its relations with individual countries. Elements of the offensive strategy can be traced, in particular, in the ongoing effort to use the WTO tools in order to combat competitors. In 2010, seven U.S. companies, complaint against Chinese exporters of crystalline silicon cells and modules. China's Ministry of Commerce called the U.S. imposed anti-dumping duties unfair, arguing that they reflect the trend to protectionism, which develops in the country. Against the imposition of duties even protested Dow Corning, fearing that such actions may affect its deliveries to the world's largest market. On this question WTO was in favor China's point of view and issued in July 2014 that the United States should respect the rules of this organization. However, Americans retain claims against China in respect of alleged subsidies for wind energy production equipment.

During Obama's administration, the U.S. became more resolute in applying political and economic sanctions on the energy sector in some countries and regimes. In July 2010, Obama signed «a comprehensive law on sanctions against Iran». Along with other restrictive measures were imposed bans on imports of Iranian crude oil and petroleum products, investments in gas, oil and petrochemical industries, as well as in the provision of services for the oil and gas industry and delivery technologies.

The sanctions have led to a sharp reduction in exports of Iranian oil, but the Americans have put in an awkward position in front of their allies, as the United States itself is not lifted a moratorium on the export of American oil to replace Iranian

supplies. In assessing their effectiveness, D.Ergin expressed the belief that if it had not effect "Shale boom", the sanctions against Iran have suffered a complete fiasco.¹⁶

Events in Ukraine have increased "geopolitical and foreign policy dimension" of US energy diplomacy. The crisis in Ukraine "literally turned the direction of policy", - notes D.Ergin. "Now everyone understood - says the expert - that the possibility to export oil will be another component of US influence in the world".¹⁷

To counter the "Putin's energy weapon" it needs to put forward such recipes as: removal of restrictions on the export of oil and liquefied natural gas from the United States; promoting reforms designed to stimulate the production of hydrocarbons in the importing countries; blocking international investment projects initiated by Russia; the promotion of Asian countries' efforts to establish a system of hydrocarbon exports that bypass Russia; and even printing out the strategic oil reserve.

In the Congress introduced a number of bills, the official purpose to influence on Russia by the application of sanctions regarding persons and energy companies. The main hopes pinned while the economic losses from the reduction of Russian exports of hydrocarbons, which, according to the authors, should "weaken the Russian economy, its ability to finance military expansion, and the ability to economically unjustified use of energy resources to blackmail neighbors".

As a result, in the high performance "energy diplomacy" advance the geopolitical and strategic interests of the United States questioned even authoritative commission on energy and geopolitics, which prepared for the White House and Congress report "2025 Oil security." America's role as a "global leader" will shrink, the report predicts, and the United States, most likely, will not be the sole leader in the energy markets, but only "first among equals".

Russia, without doubt, will continue to be the main energy supplier for Europe, confirmed Vice President Joe Biden but the countries of the region urgently need to take action in order to diversify supply and thus reduce the dependence on Moscow.¹⁸

Conclusions

Formation of energy policy is one of the main priorities of the Obama administration. After the coming to power of Democratic administration, armed forecasts portend a long-term drop in hydrocarbon production and increased dependence on imported liquid fuels. For almost the entire first term as president, Barack Obama has positioned himself as a supporter of "clean" energy and tried to distance himself from the oil multinationals, as well as prominent figures of the Republican Party that had direct relevance to the oil business.

However, as a result of the "shale revolution" Americans seem to have long parted with the stereotypes of the past century. Barack Obama declared

16 Yergin D. Testimony Submitted for the Hearings on "America's Energy Security and Innovation". Washington, DC, February 5, 2013

17 Legislators disagreed about the president's speech at the Military Academy at West Point. FOREIGN PRESS. May 28, 2014

18 Biden, Davutoğlu: Energy Key to Resolving Security Challenges. The Atlantic Council. November 22, 2014

"comprehensive" energy strategy increasingly taking on the character of the "election" policy, concentrating not on a wide range of energy resources, but only on shale gas and oil.

Terms of realization of the many presidential initiatives wisely shifted for the time limits allotted the Obama administration, and the documents themselves are left to suffer misunderstandings and reservations with respect to future actions of the administration. "The problem with Obama's energy plan is impossibility to confirm the mathematical calculations. The numbers are inflated in each category: the projected return on investment, the number of jobs that these new technologies will create, resulting stimulus to the economy and to reduce greenhouse gas emissions ".

For an objective assessment of the results occurring in the U.S. structural changes in the energy sector will require much more time. However, it makes no sense to deny the positive changes that had taken place and have already provided positive results.

The country maintained fairly favorable investment climate. The volumes of electricity generation from renewable energy sources, increased attractiveness of renewable energy, actively introducing energy saving technologies. Some progress has been made in terms of the introduction of bio-ethanol and other alternative fuels in transport, open export markets for "green" technologies and biofuels.

The most favorable conditions are created for the "revival" of manufacturing industry. As a driver reindustrialization using innovation and technological exchanges between the civil and defense sectors of the economy.

Russia is considered for the United States is as mainly competitor on the European and Asian market. However, chances are that at least easing of international tension, will revive interest in the restoration of bilateral cooperation in the energy sector in those areas where countries are coinciding interests. U.S. accumulated a unique experience of intensive innovative development of fuel and energy sector and the Russia therefore essentially only starts a massive development of unconventional energy resources.

In the work on the restructuring of the Russian fuel and energy complex of the resource development model to the resource innovation can also be useful experience of formulating and solving the Obama administration's ambitious economic problems, not only in the oil and gas sector, but in the alternative energy and energy saving.

Israeli Foreign Policy Towards Middle East

J. Khudoberganov

Senior Undergraduate Student, UWED

In the current world, issues and the principles of building allied cooperation both bilateral and multilateral and between other actors in international relations have grown in importance. An integral part of any system of international relations are military-political blocs, bilateral strategic alliances, integration associations, which, in turn, are not static and are subject to various types of centrifugal processes that can lead to decay.

In the Middle East the importance of these issues have particular interest. Because of the historical, cultural and socio-economic development of the non-homogeneous in their structure and contentious regions in which there is no definite leader and this role has always claims a number of players. The political situation in the Middle Eastern countries has a considerable mobility, multi-level character and a low degree of predictability of future events. It is tightening knot of unresolved long-standing conflicts. Even in those countries where the political situation seemed relatively stable, there is a profound socio-economic and ethno-confessional contradictions, which in turn has led to the emergence of new points of armed confrontation, to unbalance the established regional structure.

Ethno-confessional factor in the Middle East plays an important role, which manifested both, in the internal structure and characteristics of the political systems of individual states and their behavior in the international arena. The crisis exacerbated by a serious fragmentation of the Islamic world by sectarian (Sunni-Shia), national (Persians, Arabs) and political grounds. In recent years, the role of the extraordinary efforts and ambitions of Iran based on its nuclear program, and the sympathy of the Muslim street. At the same, time the leader in the Middle East affairs and energetically striving to become Turkey. At the same time on the political map of the region, there is one unique in its entire parameters actor - Israel. For more than 60 years - from the very first day of its existence - is a state located in the unprecedented situation of conflict with most of its neighbors in the region. Peace treaties and diplomatic relations with Israel the Arab states exist only with Egypt (1979) and Jordan (1994). With these same countries and in Israel there are internationally recognized borders. The territorial issue with Syria, Lebanon and Palestine is not resolved yet. In 1999, Israel established diplomatic relations with Mauritania, but in early 2009, after a large-scale Israeli military operation called "Cast Lead" in the Gaza Strip, this relationship broke. Since the mid-1990s until October 2000, Israel maintained relations with Qatar, Oman, Morocco and Tunisia in the office relations level, but at the initiative of the Arab countries said these relations were interrupted by the outbreak of the second Palestinian "intifada".

Thus, in terms of years of conflict, Israel still remains insufficiently integrated into the structure of the region in which this state is located - both politically and economically. For the world practice it - is unprecedented.

Currently, there formed variety of views on the place and role of Israel in the international system both at the global and regional level. Many researchers characterize Israel foreign policy as focused primarily on the West. However, in reality the situation isn't so unambiguous. At least due to its geographical situation, Israel is an integral part of the Middle East, and in different periods of its history tried to adjust often-informal ties with the states of the region and applying very interesting non - standard criteria for selecting potential partners and principles of building relationships with them. In the absence of relations with neighboring Arab countries is a strategic relationship with the countries in which the predominantly Muslim but not Arab population could become for Israel a kind of "bridge" in the region. This idea has found its practical expression in Israel's "periphery alliance" concept, the essence of which boils down to the need to find allies in a hostile environment along ethnic and religious lines, that has few precedents in modern international practice.

Security Issues of the Region

Questions related to security in the "territories" shall be the exclusive competence of the State of Israel. Palestinian police, if established, should be directly under the Israeli military and police authorities, and should not be within the jurisdiction of any Palestinian structures.

Moreover, when over time, achieve the two primary objectives (establishment of economy and security), it can shift to the political issues, that is, the final settlement of the conflict: the creation of cantons. These cantons have become strip and areas such as: Judea, Samaria, Jericho and possibly separated from the Jews five - Christian canton centered in Bethlehem.

Anyone who deals with terror it is important to recognize that the nature of modern terrorism - is radical Islam. In this global confrontation military component the easiest, that is amenable to solutions achieved with relative ease. Today, Americans understand better than others, making sure that the military victories in Afghanistan and Iraq it's not the end of the war, but only the beginning, since the establishment in these countries of a peaceful, stable and economically wealthy life it is much more difficult than the military defeat any enemy.

Bin Laden is a different matter. He did not offer anything concrete in exchange for a cessation of terror. He does not need anything except for the adoption of the whole of humanity is universal laws of Sharia. We are dealing with fanatics, convinced that they are calling to ascend in mountain tents, taking with him all the obstinate and does not realize his happiness population of the planet.

It is no coincidence among more than two dozen Arab states are no democratic. In these countries, you will not find movements fighting for human rights, for a cleaner environment and the purity of the authorities. In many of these countries (Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States), there is no economic problems. But everywhere is an acute lack of understanding in the Arab world that is really good, and that is really bad. Categories of good and evil are distorted beyond recognition. If the free world is to survive, it has to

lead the most resolute and uncompromising struggle for the right to existence, learning to compromise in this fight even their short-term economic interests. This struggle can be conducted only one way: the world of Islam should be vaccinated universal acceptance by the entire enlightened world, the scale of values.

In the process of globalization, free market economy laws should be not an end but means to spread the eternal values, hard won by humankind throughout its history. Without the development and active promotion of an ideology, an alternative ideology of radical Islam, the opposition worldwide terrorist alliance impossible.

Unfortunately, the opposite occurs. Torn apart by contradictions selfish interests of individual governments and narrow social groups, enlightened the world is not even ready to recognize who it is enemy.

Most of the world's leaders prefer to talk about terror not as a phenomenon of global scale, but as a deviation from the norm of individuals. And radical Islam, meanwhile, is gaining a foothold for a foothold in Europe, in Russia and in North America.

In the modern conditions, the problems and security threats are no longer determined solely by national boundaries. In the context of globalization of security risks is basically determined by the socio political relations of the actors of the world politics. The diversity of participants, as well as multi level cooperation in the field of international relations form a new world order, the main feature of which is down to world politics "severed, mutually exclusive fixed public territorial entities, new territoriality".¹ Realists recognize that in addition to the state, the increasing role played by other actors in international politics, not possessing sovereignty.

However, the debate-taking place in Israel's public media demonstrates that the Iranian threat is perceived as the most immediate issue facing the Israeli state. This threat carries two particular elements: the first is the Islamic Republic's explicit and vocal objection to Israel's existence, which has been further enhanced by the anti-Semitic discourse of its incumbent president, Mahmud Ahmadinejad. Iranian hostility toward Israel has gone beyond mere rhetorical attacks against the 'Zionist entity,' taking the form of military and financial support for Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in the Gaza Strip. In addition, Iran is also held responsible by several security agencies for attacks against Jewish and Israeli targets across the globe, for example, the recent attacks against Israeli diplomatic targets in New Delhi and Bangkok, as well as the attacks against Jewish and Israeli targets in Buenos Aires during the early 1990s. The second element that turns Iran into a major security threat is its ongoing nuclear programmer and alleged aspiration for obtaining nuclear weapons technology. It is this second element that makes deterioration into a full-scale war a tangible proposition.²

Regional Security Impact

1 Ruggie J.G. Territoriality and Beyond: Problematising Modernity in International Relations / J.G. Ruggie // International Organization. - 1993. - Vol. 47 №1. - P. 172-174

2 Yaniv Voller. Turmoil and Uncertainty: Israel and the New Middle East: ISRAEL'S OVERARCHING SECURITY CONCERN: IRAN P. 60

Government officials and experts in both states stress that relations between the two countries are not a military alliance in its traditional understanding. At the same time, they hold similar positions, coordinating basic security matters. According to Turkish and Israeli analysts, the relationship between Ankara and Tel Aviv is a strategic partnership, but it goes beyond the task of maintaining a balance of forces as each side has sufficient military capability to ensure its own regional security single-handedly. It is a relationship between two “status quo powers” that do not want to see drastic geopolitical changes in the region.³

In his time, Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai named potential opponents of an Israeli Turkish alliance by name, saying in part: If countries such as Iran, Iraq and Syria think that they are able to use force against Turkey, they should bear in mind that standing behind Turkey are joint forces with whose support no one in the region is in a position to do anything against it; I discussed the strategic situation with U.S. Defense Secretary William Cohen; we also examined these strategic matters with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman; we are well placed to pool our efforts in countering any threat in the region.⁴

Virtually the whole Arab world was concerned by the formation of the Turkish-Israeli military political alliance. The extent of this concern, however, varies depending on the level of tension between a particular Arab country, on the one hand, and Ankara and Tel Aviv, on the other. It is generally believed that Turkish-Israeli military-political cooperation is directed, above all, against Syria. Without going into the history of Turkish-Syrian relations, it will be noted that according to many analysts, it was in fact the alliance with Israel that became the principal argument in Turkey’s intense, and successful, pressure on Syria in the course of the 1998 crisis. At the time the country’s president, Hafiz alAsad, had to keep troops, inferior to the Turkish troops as they were, on two fronts simultaneously, and ultimately yield to Ankara’s demands: oust Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan and close the training camps and bases of his organization—the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK)—on Syrian territory.⁵

The crisis showed that the Syrian military (especially its air force) was no match for Israeli or Turkish armed forces, also giving the Turkish military cause to hope that it could go on resolving problems with Syria from the position of force.⁶

According to Arab experts, in the spring and summer of 2002, the General Staffs of the Israeli and Turkish armed forces worked out a plan of joint action against Syria in the course of the U.S.-led operation in Iraq (should Syria and Iran take action that could jeopardize Ankara and Tel Aviv’s security). It should be noted here that Turkey’s far more restrained position toward the war on Iraq compelled it to improve its relations with Syria somewhat. That was due to an event that, as it seemed, could amend the

3 M. Sherman, “Formula for Stability: Turkey Plus Israel,” *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2002, p. 29.

4 N.G. Kireev, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151.

5 A. Makovsky, M. Eisenstadt, “Turkish-Syrian Relations: A Crisis Delayed?” *WINEP, Policywatch*, No. 345, 14 October, 1998 [www.washingtoninstitute.org].

6 For more detail, see: R.M. Bennett, “The Syrian Military: A Primer,” *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, Vol. 3, No. 8, August/September 2001

prospects for both regional security and Turkey's cooperation with Israel: On 19 June, 2002, Gen.⁷

Hassan al-Turkmani, chief of the Syrian General Staff, made the first official visit to Turkey 17 while in November 2002, for the first time in the history of Arab-Turkish relations (not counting the 1955 Baghdad Pact), the two countries signed a treaty on military cooperation where in the United States, interested to improve the relations between Syria and Turkey in the lead-up to the Washington-planned military operation in Iraq, apparently played an important role. Even so, the agreement does not envision serious military-technical cooperation and cannot affect the military political balance or prospects for regional security although on the whole it is conducive to easing tensions between the signatories.⁸

In the meantime, it is typically expected to influence the level Relations between Ankara and Tel Aviv.

One key element in the influence produced by the Turkish-Israeli alliance on regional security problems is their common policy toward Tehran. This is directly to do with the problem of nuclear nonproliferation in the region as well as with the possibility of Israel's delivering a preemptive nuclear strike against Iran (when it acquires nuclear weapons production capability). Experts point out that in this event Israel is likely to use its Air Force, which is by far the most powerful in the Middle East, especially after new U.S.-made F-15I aircraft were adopted for service.⁹

In this context, Israel's military-political cooperation with Turkey, including joint training flights in the Turkish and Israeli air space (up to one week long, four times a year), is especially important. Furthermore, recently such exercises in the Turkish air space have already become three-way, with the participation of USAF aviation. Thus, in the course of maneuvers code-named Anatolian Eagle, in the southeast of Turkey, in April, June, and September 2001, more than 90 combat aircraft were deployed.¹⁰

The likelihood of this scenario being played out is evident from, among other things, the fact that in the course of the air operation against Iraq (1998), the Turkish ambassador to the United States said that Ankara had considered the possibility of granting Tel Aviv the use of Turkish air space to deliver a retaliatory strike should Iraqi missiles be launched against Israel. What could be involved in this case is not of course only retaliation but also preemption. At the same time, the Israelis can target not only Iran's nuclear infrastructure, which they believe is used in the WMD program, but also missile positions, etc. Furthermore, by using Turkish territory, Israel can ensure early warning about missile launches from Iranian territory, just as it had before, from Iraqi territory. It is also important for Tel Aviv that it can use the Turkish air space to search

7 M. Mufti, "Turkish-Syrian Rapprochement: Causes and Consequences," WINEP, Policy watch, No. 630, 21 June 2002 [www.washingtoninstitute.org].

8 I. Muradian, *Problemy bezopasnosti v blizhnnevostochnoy politike SShA*, Erevan, 2003, p. 128-130.

9 Sergey MINASIAN: ISRAEL, TURKEY: MILITARY-POLITICAL AND MILITARY-TECHNICAL COOPERATION (regional security problems) 2004 P. 66

10 "Israel Center Stage: Country Briefing," *Jane's Defense Weekly*, 1 May, 2002, p. 25.

and rescue downed pilots, land its aircraft that were damaged on Turkish territory, and deploy special task forces in operations against Iran.¹¹

From Tehran's perspective, Israeli-Turkish strategic cooperation poses a threat to its stability, in particular in so far as it weakens the positions of Syria, Iran's only reliable partner in the region, and seriously upsets the balance of forces that has evolved in the Near East.¹²

Along with military-technical cooperation, Tel Aviv's relations with Delhi are characterized also by a certain measure of geostrategic orientation in so far as they agreed on the Israeli military using Indian military bases for firing practice and missile tests. Thus, in May 2000, a cruise missile was launched from an Israeli Dolphin class submarine at a naval test range near the town of Balasore (the state of Orissa). The missile, which according to experts can be armed with a nuclear warhead, hit a target at a distance of 1,250 kilometers, which substantially changed the military-strategic lineup of forces in the Middle East.¹³

Whereas earlier, Israel's nuclear weapons comprised mainly a ground component (Jericho-1/2 ballistic missiles, tube artillery and mines) as well as an air component (above all, nuclear arms carrying F-16 aircraft), with the adoption of these nuclear missile armed submarines for operational service, Tel Aviv will become the first new member of the nuclear club with its strategic forces constituting a classic air-land-sea triad.¹⁴

The strengthening of Israeli-Turkish military-political cooperation will probably become one of the main results of the war on Iraq. Against the backdrop of a cooling in relations between Ankara and Washington (despite the objections of the part of the Turkish top brass), Turkey is expected to distance itself from the United States, but not to such an extent as to damage its NATO membership, while the U.S. role

in ensuring the country's security will also be declining. At the same time, there is a growing likelihood of regional states getting involved in new armed conflicts, which provides extra incentives for a deepening of the Turkish-Israeli relationship.

The World without Monopoly

Israel has a monopoly on the pursuit of peace and to the very concept of "peace" took the left camp of the political spectrum. The word "peace" has become an emblem, a trademark of this particular camp. Accordingly, the right camp is automatically associated with the pursuit of war. This aberration of consciousness is so ingrained in Israeli society that we have to prove the obvious: this is not true either in terms of ideological or from a historical perspective.

11 E. Inbar, "Regional Implications of the Israeli-Turkish Strategic Partnership," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Summer 2001, p. 51.

12 B. Aras, "Turkish-Israeli-Iranian Relations in the Nineties: Impact on the Middle East," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. VII, No. 3, June 2000, pp. 152-155.

13 M.K. Said, "Missile Proliferation in the Middle East: a Regional Perspective," *Disarmament Forum*, UNIDIR, No. 2, 2001, p. 58

14 W.D. Farr, "The Third Temple's Holy of Holies: Israel's Nuclear Weapons," *Counterproliferation Paper* No. 2, USAF Counterproliferation Center, Air War College, Alabama, 1999, pp. 19-20

Left camp did not have and does not have a monopoly on the pursuit of peace. In Israel, there are no serious political forces seeking to war and even consider it desirable. The debate is only about how to achieve a lasting peace. I am convinced that the path proposed by the Israeli left, not only did not lead to the end of the conflict, but also bring out war, jeopardizing the very existence of the State of Israel. Moreover, of course, these paths do not lead to lasting peace.

The current round of bloody confrontation with the Palestinians proves once again what was said. Israel offered any concessions and was ready to give almost everything, and in return received the blood, terror, death.

The classical theory of the Israeli left is based on the claim that the Palestinian problem the "root of the Middle East conflict." This initial premise is wrong. The Palestinian problem only one of many and certainly not the main problem in the complex web of the Middle East region. The vast majority of wars and bloody conflicts that shook the last decade, the region, did not have any relation to the Palestinian issue. As far as remember the war and conflict between North and South Yemen, between Egypt, Sudan and Libya, Iran-Iraq War, the Gulf War, many years of "sluggish" the conflict between Turkey and Syria, the endless struggle of the Kurds with the government of Iran, Iraq and Turkey, most inter-communal and ethnic conflicts ravaging Lebanon. It is true only that the Palestinian problem is really served and serves as a lightning rod for the majority of the Muslim rulers with "mobilize the masses", distracting them from their own severe internal problems.

In the Middle East, a sharp change in the balance of power between the two states in favor of one of them necessitates the use of the latest of such an imbalance for the attack on the neighbor flagging. And this "law of nature" can not be broken by any international agreements, covenants, declarations, it can not affect any personal friendship rulers, no matter what that may be other factors and considerations. If this law is true in the Muslim world, even more so, who is faithful in a relationship with foreign Arab countries (from their perspective), the body in the region the State of Israel?

Violation of balance of forces with Arab neighbors may be real or may be apparent. In other words, the Arabs for decisive action may be enough to them to show that the balance of power in their favor violated. This is what happened in 1967, when Gamal Abd-el-Nasser came to the erroneous conclusion that Israel is weak and "ripe" for the defeat.

Most of the Israeli public recognizes that their side offered to the Arabs the maximum possible, and their proposals were rejected. Netanyahu made to the Syrians a very generous offer, Arafat was offered almost all of what Palestinians could dream: the return of almost one hundred percent of the required area, section of Israeli capital - Jerusalem, even "creative" approach to the issue of the right of return of Palestinian refugees. However, Palestinian response was terror and killed hundreds of Israelis. Israel must recognize that for its part, did everything they could, and now all the Arabs to demonstrate their desire for peace and a willingness to make concessions for the sake

of it. And while such evidence is not forthcoming, Israel should concentrate on its internal problems. This is very important; it is the right decision, which should come to all of us and the people of Israel. It depends on the will of the leaders of all political parties and their ability to rise above short-term profit, to refuse the temptation to earn a few extra points of electoral and approving claps in the international arena.

Israel is naturally interested in the future of the Iraqi state and the prospect of its disintegration, but this interest is less intense than Israel's interest in the future of its immediate neighbors. The issue that is of highest potential interest for Israel in the Iraqi context is the prospect of Kurdish independence. Iraq's Kurds have benefited from the turn of events that began with the American invasion in 2003 and culminated with the Islamic State's rattling of the Iraqi state in June 2014. The Iraqi Kurds now control more territory and oil and have a stronger position vis-à-vis Baghdad. The temptation for the Iraqi Kurds to move from full autonomy to sovereignty and statehood is evident, but prospects for independence are tempered by American and Turkish opposition. The United States is interested in preserving Iraq's territorial integrity and would rather not face the embarrassment of a failed Iraq in the aftermath of the U.S. invasion and withdrawal. Turkey sees a mortal danger in the establishment of an independent Kurdish state on its border and the potential impact this could have on its own Kurdish population. Developments in Iraq have been compounded by the autonomy that Syria's Kurds now enjoy. Turkey's anxiety is also heightened by the prominence among Syria's Kurds of elements identified with the PKK, the militant Kurdish organization that has been fighting against the Turkish state for decades. The Iraqi Kurdish leadership knows full well that its current good relations with Turkey and the flow of oil through Turkish territory would come to an end if they were to cross the threshold separating full autonomy from independence.¹⁵

All the political leadership of the country should unite around a clear and a clear declaration that Israel have offered to the other side of all that they could, and if opponents are not ready for peace on this basis, Israel will stop all attempts and initiatives on their part. More offers until now Israel does not offer, and in this respect, there is no difference between the right and left wing politicians in Israel. Today, Israel's most important policy dilemma is how to deal with the Syrian crisis.

Two schools of thought on how to confront these challenges have emerged in Israel's policy and national security communities. The first, the "devil we know" school, argues that despite of all his faults and shortcomings, Assad remaining in power in Syria is preferable for Israel, as the alternative is either chaos or an Islamist / jihadist takeover (or both). The other school argues that Assad's survival would leave Israel with a dangerous Iran-Syria-Hezbollah coalition on its northern borders (the memory of the 2006 war in Lebanon is still fresh in Israeli minds), while his fall would mean a defeat for Iran's regional policy as well as a related first step in dismantling Hezbollah's position and arsenal in Lebanon. In 2012 and 2013, when Assad's regime seemed to be

15 ITAMAR RABINOVICH: ISRAEL AND THE CHANGING MIDDLE EAST January 2015 P.9

on the verge of defeat, some Israelis began to speculate on the potential impact of a Syrian partition with an 'Alewife state let on the coast and Kurdish autonomy in the east; however, these speculations never developed into serious policy planning.

Whatever the arguments raised by the proponents of these two schools, Israel's actual response to the Syrian crisis has been cautious and limited.

Extending support to the moderate, secular opposition was not seriously considered—nor was it desirable to most of the opposition groups, which felt that an Israeli connection would undermine their legitimacy. Instead, Israel offered medical and humanitarian aid, interdicted several times the transfer of advanced weapon systems to Hezbollah, and retaliated several times in response to local attacks in the Golan Heights. But ironically, of Syria's neighbors, Israel remains the least affected by, and the least involved in, the Syrian civil war. However, it is important to point out that this state of affairs could be reversed in short order and that Israel could easily face a sudden national security crisis emanating from the Syrian conflict.

This could happen in a number of ways: a decision by the Assad regime to retaliate against future Israeli interdiction of another attempt to transfer weapon systems to Hezbollah; jihadist groups taking control of a larger part of the country and deciding to turn their weapons against Israel; or, in a development that is presently unfolding, a decision by Hezbollah to start operating against Israel from the Syrian part of the Golan Heights. In mid-January, tensions rose along the Lebanese-Israeli border and in the Golan Heights when Israeli drones apparently destroyed two vehicles in the Syrian Golan, killing 12 Iranians and Hizballah personnel. In addition to an Iranian General among the dead was Jihad Mughniya, the son of former Hezbollah Chief of Operations Imad Mughniya, who had been killed in Damascus in 2008. Israel has refrained from taking responsibility for this operation and is trying to calm down its northern front. It seems, though, that Israel became aware of Hezbollah's preparations and decided to nip them in the bud without realizing that its operation would lead to such a dramatic outcome. The current tension may well be brought under control, but the potential for escalation remains considerable.¹⁶

Foreign Policy Dilemma

Israel is trying to convince that it is a natural process of technological progress and the heads of state, thanks to modern means of communication were more likely to communicate directly, identifying and coordinating the foreign policy of their countries. It is, accordingly, without any connection with the political situation and the state system of a country, leading to a loss of independence and the importance of the agency responsible primarily for the formation and implementation of foreign policy. And if this happens all over the world, then, they say, Israel worthless trail in this matter "behind the entire planet."

16 ITAMAR RABINOVICH: ISRAEL AND THE CHANGING MIDDLE EAST/ The Arab Spring and the great unraveling and the rise of the Islamic State | January 2015 P.6

Nevertheless, it is not true actually. In most developed countries, the MFA is a powerful and influential institution, to defend their own point of view, the traditional meets of national interests and the foreign policy of the state. These traditional vectors of foreign policy do not change every four to five years, with the government and the president. Professional diplomats, as a rule, do not assent to every whim of the newly elected heads of state.

Indeed, professional diplomats do not have the right to impose their views to those who entrusted to the state administration, but they usually do not try to do it. However, it is important to provide them with the opportunity without regard to domestic market conditions make on the agenda of governments and public debate issues that seem to them essential for the implementation of traditional foreign policy. The heads of states of the country and the political leadership are not obliged to accept their opinion, but they are obliged to listen to him and discuss seriously. In Israel, this does not occur because, as already mentioned above, the status of Israeli MFA almost completely devalued in recent years. As a result, staff of professional Foreign Ministry diplomats, many of which are brilliant professionals are virtually irrelevant. In addition, the Ministry is constantly reeling from political appointees, which over the years has become more and more. Naturally, this causes great damage to Israel's foreign policy, rapidly "losing face" and ceases to be a factor in forcing to reckon with the international community.

By the mentioned, Israel must take the international arena much more proactive, focusing its foreign policy not only in the United States. Without prejudice to the essential interests of their powerful ally, they have to find other, alternative activities to get rid finally of American dependence. In this regard, it looks promising, for example, the Indian trend. Cooperation with India meets the diverse interests of Israel and in no way intersects with US strategic interests. India a country with a rich, interesting culture, has huge potential in almost all sectors of the economy, and Israel should most seriously examine the possibility of establishing the most constructive and fruitful contacts with this great country. The Government of Israel is obliged to reconsider the relation to its own foreign policy, the Foreign Ministry and the return of its professional diplomat's status and weight, which is the agency, should possess by virtue of its name and, more importantly, to give more time to analyze the situation, assess the possible consequences of any movement.

Conclusions

For more than sixty years since the establishment of the State of Israel of its foreign policy strategy in general and politics in the region of the Middle East in particular have undergone significant changes. Key factors in this transformation entering a new phase of the Arab-Israeli conflict (the conclusion of peace treaties between Israel and Egypt, Israel and Jordan) and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (the Oslo process, the establishment of the PNA, the withdrawal of Israeli troops and settlements from the Gaza Strip). All this has led to a conceptual revision of Israel to its

national security threats. In the first place the Iranian threat is taken out which is positioned by the Israeli leadership as "existential" and overshadowed by the need to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The challenge of closest approach to the non-Arab Muslim countries in the Middle East at the present stage is not one of the explicit priority of Israel, as evidenced by the government's policy of Benjamin Netanyahu. This consistent, steps in this direction, taking into account the historical experience of positive interaction, could be very useful for Israel to strengthen its positions and political image at the regional and international political arena.

In particular, the strengthening of relations with Turkey is a strategically important task for Israel in terms of the need to strengthen the position in the region. Despite the cooling of official Israeli-Turkish relations after the incident with the "Freedom Flotilla", not all bilateral, military-technical and economic projects have been frozen. Developments of the previous period, in turn, remain the basis for possible recovery of a larger cooperation. It should be not that Israeli – Turkish, military - technical cooperation has traditionally been the objective constraints, was of tactical character. Therefore, if both sides show a real interest in returning to the mutually beneficial and closer inter-state relations, it would be important to take steps for their further diversification, expansion of cooperation in non-military areas. Israel and Turkey have managed to achieve this through the implementation of numerous joint projects in the sphere of high technologies for peaceful purposes, agriculture and investment.

In the process of making foreign policy decisions Israel is influenced by two principles, pragmatic and ideological, ethnic and national motivation. The idea of "peripheral alliance", experienced its dawn in the first decades of Israel's existence, changed its shape, but it allies search for the principle of ethnic and confessional grounds retains some relevance to Israel. We can assume that tactical "game" in the regional ethnic and religious contradictions will not disappear from Israel's foreign policy agenda. In particular, tacit tactical cooperation with the Kurds allowed Israel to carry out certain tasks of the military-political nature. At the same time, the development of contacts with the Kurds Israel teetered between different centers of power, seeking to minimize the risk of complications of relations with Ankara. Prospects for future Israeli-Kurdish relations largely depend on the centrifugal processes taking place in Iraq and in the region as well.

Literature:

1. Ruggie J.G. Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations / J.G. Ruggie // International Organization. - 1993. - Vol. 47 №1. - P. 172-174
2. Yaniv Voller. Turmoil and Uncertainty: Israel and the New Middle East: ISRAEL'S OVERARCHING SECURITY CONCERN: IRAN P. 60
3. ITAMAR RABINOVICH: ISRAEL AND THE CHANGING MIDDLE EAST January 2015 P.9
4. ITAMAR RABINOVICH: ISRAEL AND THE CHANGING MIDDLE EAST/ The Arab Spring and the great unraveling and the rise of the Islamic State | January 2015 P.6
5. Israel's Iran Policies After the Nuclear Deal Dalia Dassa Kaye 2016

6. Mahmoud Muhareb, *Israel's Nuclear Policy*, Arab Center for Research and Policy, Beirut, 2013
7. Barak Ravid, "Netanyahu: Iran nuclear deal makes world much more dangerous", *Haaretz*, July 14, 2015, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.665821>;
8. Barak Ravid, "Netanyahu tells Obama Iran deal threatens Israel's security", *Haaretz*, July 14, 2015, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.666028>;
9. Orlando Radice, "Members of Israeli security establishment contradict Netanyahu's view of Iran deal", *The Jewish Chronicle*, July 24, 2015, <http://www.thejc.com/news/israel-news/140630/members-israeli-security-establishment-contradict-netanyahu%E2%80%99s-view-iran-deal>
10. Amos Harel, "Israel's Evolving Military: The IDF Adapts to New Threats," *Foreign Affairs*, June 8, 2016,
11. A former Israeli defense official suggested that the predominant IDF and Mossad assessment (and of most security professionals in Israel) is that the JCPOA has pushed the nuclear issue off for at least ten years. Author interview with former Israeli defense official, Tel Aviv, January 17, 2016. 58
12. Barbara Opall-Rome, "Israeli DM: Iran Deal Is Done, Time to Look Ahead," *Defense News*, October 28, 2015, <http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/policy-budget/leaders/2015/10/28/israeli-dm-iran-deal-done-time-look-ahead/74754218/>.
13. Sergey Minasian THE ISRAELI-KURDISH RELATIONS 2007
14. Oppenheim A. High-resolution Y Chromosome Haplotypes of Israeli and Palestinian Arabs Reveal Geographic Substructure and Substantial Overlap with Haplotypes of Jews // *Human Genetics*, N.107 (6), December 2000, p.630
15. Oppenheim A. The Y Chromosomes Pool of Jews as Part of the Genetic Landscape of the Middle East // *The American Journal of Human Genetics*, N.69 (5), November 2001,
16. Traubman T. Study Finds Close Genetic Connections Between Jews, Kurds // *Ha'aretz*, 21 November 2001
17. Владимир Морозов: ИЗРАИЛЬ И СРЕДИЗЕМНОМОРСКАЯ БЕЗОПАСНОСТЬ 2012.

Understanding Mackinder's Legacy Today

A. Boltayev

Senior Undergraduate Student, UWED

Abstract: *The article describes the modern international relations through a prism of theoretical heritage of H. Mackinder. The article is of interest to politicians, politic analysts, scientists in sphere of geopolitics, and also young researchers and student who are interested in current international relations. All this needs are revealed and proved. Interests of China, Russia and US in the Arctic zone and Trans Pacific Region are discussed. On the basis of the conducted research the author forecasts the future development of a geopolitical situation and balance of power in the world and gives his own recommendations. The main advantage of strong navy is the ensuring integrity and safety of the country, and also defense of national interests.*

Key words: *state, military, domination, sea, conflict, geopolitics, navy, strategic location, international relations, USA, foreign policy, power, balance of power, China, enemy, expansion, control, Russia, national interest, ally, warfare, Spykman, urbanization, Britain, Mackinder, submarines, war, energy resources, Arctic region, Asia-Pacific region.*

Introduction

The modern world is quite difficult and the relations of the states are becoming extremely intense. It is defined by such important factors as technological, military, economic, social, resource and many others. More and more serious value is gained by oppositions of spatial and territorial character.

Essential element of such phenomenon was and, perhaps, will be a fight of the states for domination for a long time in that part of the world which occupies 2/3 our planets. Still Thucydides in his famous work brilliantly explained sea superiority and force of Sparta in the conflict with Athens. Along with strong fighting spirit, reliable galleys and traditionally good physical training of the first, insisted on paramount value of a favorable sea arrangement of Spartans.

Even "the father of geopolitics" Friedrich Ratzel claimed that essential value for stimulation of development of the state organism is the marine environment. Words of Alexis de Tocqueville can also serve as other confirmation of all aforesaid, where he speaks about the reasons of stability and safety in America «This continent is almost equally divided into two vast regions. One is bounded on the north by the Arctic Pole and on the east and west by the two great oceans».¹

Naval Fundamentals of Geopolitics

Naval strength is fleet strength plus strategic location².

1 Alexis de Tocqueville, "Democracy in America" /Liberty Fund Inc.,/Indianapolis, Indiana/2010 P.17

2 N.J Spykman. «America's strategy in world politics. The United States and the balance of power». 2007 by Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey/ P.99

Mackinder was a supporter of geopolitics, belief that political development of the country on a straight line is connected with its geographical space. As well as other geopolitical theorists, it allocates a geography role in the international relations. He claimed that in the past sea force dominated around the world. But with arrival of the railroads, this dominant force passed to the land and Eurasia became the world's "heartland"³. The ideas of the concept of "heartland" developed in his works "Geographical Pivot of History" (1904), "Democratic ideals and reality" (1919) are first described by H. Mackinder in the work "Britain and British Seas" published in 1901.

Any state and any nation can change everything both in internal, and in foreign policy. But the geographical environment will never manage to be changed. Any change on world political map may lead to a potential conflict.

Mackinder considered that any continental power (whether it be Russia, Germany or even China) which took a dominant position in the axial region can bypass the sea world to which Great Britain belonged first of all from flanks. From this side he warned against the danger of the Russian-German rapprochement which could unite the largest and dynamic people capable to break power of Britain. As one of means he offered the strengthening of the English-Russian mutual understanding.⁴

The island group of Britain is heart of great sea force. A configuration of the European coastline and a position of England and Scotland gave to Britain extremely important strategic location. The Strait of Dover, less than 30 miles in width, and English Channel are controlled by magnificent ports in the south of England. As Britain can keep naval domination in the North Sea and close the channel between Plymouth and Brest it can block Northern Europe entirely. Control over the Strait of Gibraltar, the Suez Canal and the Red Sea means the control over an entrance and an entry from the European Mediterranean in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean. Domination over the Bay of Biscay and existence of advantageous position of navy in the Mediterranean guarantees Britain control over all routes to Southern Europe. The British sea power lies between the European continent and Atlantic, or in other words, between Europe and the USA. The relations between the USA and Europe are developed only due to geographical position of Britain. The relations between Britain and Europe developed from the three following reasons: territorial safety of the British Empire, protection of the Mediterranean ways and need of freedom for protection and expansion of the empire. Safety of the British Isles depends on a possibility of prevention of invasion from the North Sea and because of dependence on import of goods and raw materials. And only

3 According to Encyclopedia Britannica **Heartland**, also called Pivot Area, landlocked region of central Eurasia whose control was posited by Sir Halford J. Mackinder in the early 20th century as the key to world domination in an era of declining importance for traditionally invincible sea power. Mackinder observed that the majority of the world's population resided on the Eurasian and African landmass and that control of this "world island" would lead to eventual world domination. This world island could be best controlled from the pivot area, which would guarantee self-sufficiency in food for the country dominating the region, and the pivot area's inaccessibility by sea would provide a formidable defensive barrier. The pivot area was vulnerable to land attack only by way of the plains of Eastern Europe. Thus, control of Eastern Europe would ensure domination of the pivot area and ultimately world domination. Mackinder's land based theory of world power contradicted the conventional maritime theory advocated by Alfred Thayer Mahan during the 19th century.

4 Y.V. Tikhonravov «Geopolitika.Geoistoriya(H.Mackinder)» P.2
http://society.polbu.ru/tihonravov_geopolitics/ch16_all.html

the navy can ensure this safety. While Britain supports such powerful navy around the islands, any invasion is impossible. But if Britain loses it, there will be no need for invasion as the potential enemy will be able to create blockade and for a consequence to exhaust economy of Britain.

It is possible to call Mackinder the first scientist postulating global geopolitical model. He constantly emphasized special value of geographical realities for worldwide policy, considering what the reason directly or indirectly causing the increasing of wars in the history of mankind beside uneven development of the states was as well "uneven distribution of fertile lands and strategic opportunities to the surfaces of our planet"⁵.

Mackinder's Balance of Power

*The Ally of Today is the Enemy of Tomorrow*⁶.

Mackinder in the work "Britain and British Seas" gives future forecast on the arena of the international relations. He predicted the further course of events and balance of power, and also capacity of China and India which we can see today.

"The world has lately seen a rapid expansion of the theatre of international politics. The European phase of history is passing away, as have passed the Fluvial and Mediterranean phases. A new balance of power is being evolved, and already there are only five great world-states, Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and America".⁷

The continental balance remains an important part of strong powers in foreign policy for the last three centuries. For example, Britain took active part in many coalitions created for the purpose of control of the growing continental powers. Britain successfully won the Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, French and German navy and actively used Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and Prussia as allies proceeding from own national interests. He who plays the balance of power can have no permanent friends.⁸ The reputation of England as « the perfidious Albion» is inevitable result of occupation of the place in balance of power.

Every state always tries to limit the expenses on allies and tries to be involved in wars with the smallest losses. The most ideal ally for the USA, Russia and China is that who needs only loans, subsidies and weapon. The desirable ally is the one who needs active support of navy of these countries. Blockade was and possibly will be the most convenient and inexpensive method of warfare at the sea. And also it allowed seizing strategically important islands. As N.J. Spykman said «The only useful balance is the balance that gives freedom of action»⁹.

5 Y.V. Tikhonravov «Geopolitika.Geoistoriya(H.Mackinder)» P.3

http://society.polbu.ru/tihonravov_geopolitics/ch16_all.html

6 N.J. Spykman. «America's strategy in world politics. The United States and the balance of power». 2007 by Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey/ P.104

7 H. Mackinder «Britain and British Seas»/Harvard University Library/William Heinemann/London 1902, P. 350

8 N.J. Spykman. «America's strategy in world politics. The United States and the balance of power». 2007 by Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey/ P. 103

9 N.J. Spykman. «America's strategy in world politics. The United States and the balance of power». 2007 by Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey/ P.105

Geography Shaping Economy

Geographical location plays very important role in development of national economy. Mackinder, on the example of Britain, proves it to us. The favorable climate of Britain predetermined its employment in agricultural sector (in England 1\2 part, 3\4 in Ireland, Scotland and Wales). The coal industry is based in Newcastle. Fishery is developed in all coastal zones of Britain. Efficiency is more in east part because of the North Sea from where the big schools of fishes come. Growth of urbanization was caused by trade with India and the USA.

Most of us heard such notion as «British Empire». Island disposition and naval supremacy of Britain allowed having many colonies. Considerable investments of Britain were to China and Egypt. Thus it put these states into dependence. And not only to seem more powerful. Each investment pursued the national interests for them. Each action was in advance planned and strategically proved. Submission of Egypt and the Cape of Good Hope allowed Britain to control ways to India. It annexed Sudan to put Egypt into dependence on water-supplies. Rhodesia¹⁰ and Transvaal¹¹ were annexed for the purpose of protection the positions on the Cape. All this factors were conducive to free and safe trade with India and to further economic development of Britain. The empire for Britain consists of two senses: as federation, free or closed, consisting of several British Commonwealth and as saves of the British domination among foreign races.

Each nation has to rely on two criteria of the territory which is populated by them. First is the dependence on the territory on which they live, and the second is protection of this territory. Protection of Britain proceeds from the theory of "command of the seas". It means that, Britain will stop any attempt of invasion for "a firing zone" along the coast. But the state which relies only upon navy has also a number of minuses:

- Strong dependence on the sea;
- Lack of protection in case of loss of command in the sea;
- The remote territories will play a role of a weak spot.

Especially, today the geographical location predetermines also development of economy of this or that country. Existence of convenient transport ways and good logistics allows doing business with the countries in various parts of the world. Sea ways remain the most favorable means of trade between the states to this day. In my opinion, one of the main reasons of an economic miracle of "Asian tigers" is their

10 According to Encyclopedia Britannica Zimbabwe, officially Republic of Zimbabwe, formerly (1911–64) **Southern Rhodesia**, (1964–79) **Rhodesia**, or (1979–80) Zimbabwe Rhodesia, landlocked country of southern Africa. It shares a 125-mile (200-kilometre) border on the south with the Republic of South Africa and is bounded on the southwest and west by Botswana, on the north by Zambia, and on the northeast and east by Mozambique. The capital is Harare (formerly called Salisbury). Zimbabwe achieved majority rule and internationally recognized independence in April 1980 following a long period of colonial rule and a 15-year period of white-dominated minority rule, instituted after the minority regime's so-called Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965.

11 According to Encyclopedia Britannica **Transvaal**, former province of South Africa. It occupied the northeastern part of the country. The Limpopo River marked its border with Botswana and Zimbabwe to the north, while the Vaal River marked its boundary with Orange Free State province to the south. It was bounded by Mozambique and Swaziland to the east and by Cape Province to the west. The Transvaal's name, which means "across the Vaal," originated with the Afrikaners who in the 1830s migrated to the region after crossing the Vaal River.

geographical nature. It allowed them to create favorable conditions for foreign investments, trade and consequently high rates of economic growth.

New Perception of Old Threats

Despite globalization of the modern world, development of modern types of weapon, space and information technologies, the importance of navy, accordingly the seas and oceans will never lose the meaning and influence in foreign policy of any state which has an exit to the seas or oceans. The United States Navy has completed its new 2016 Force Structure Assessment and the verdict is that the service needs to grow its battle fleet 47 ship and submarines. While the current plan called for a fleet of 308 ships, the new plan calls for a 355-ship fleet—including 12 aircraft carriers, 38 amphibious assault ships, 104 large surface combatants, 66 submarines, and 52 small surface combatants¹².

In the release of the Secretary of Navy of the USA Ray Mabus about need of 355 ships published on the official site of the Navy of the USA he declared: "To continue to protect America and defend our strategic interests around the world, all while continuing the counter terrorism fight and appropriately competing with a growing China and resurgent Russia, our Navy must continue to grow".¹³

And also Mackinder's ideas were also confirmed by press release of the member of the committee of the House of Representatives of the USA on armed forces Joe Courtney on his official site: "The Navy's new assessment is confirmation of the clear reality that a larger fleet is both necessary and vital to the nation's security".¹⁴

The USA, Russia and China are continuing the development of new types of the ships and submarines. Russia's Rubin design bureau is working on developing a miniature autonomous unmanned submarine that would be used to replicate the characteristics of a full-sized submarine. Called the Surrogat, the new underwater drone will do exactly what its name suggests—it will imitate the sound of an enemy submarine during naval exercises.¹⁵

And these states allocate huge investments for development of this branch of armament industry. Existence of strong navy gives the chance to control the seas and oceans that, in turn, allows to control all situations in the world and to have very strong levers of pressure upon other countries. Having powerful navy USA created economic

12 Dave Majumdar, "The Navy's New Plans For a 355-Ship Battlefleet to Fight Russia and China" /National Interest/ P.1 <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/the-navys-new-plans-355-ship-battlefleet-fight-russia-china-18758>

13 Ray Mabus, The Office of the Secretary of the Navy, "Secretary of the Navy Announces Need for 355-ship Navy" www.navy.mil/submit/display.asp?story_id=98160

14 Joe Courtney, Seapower and Projection Forces Subcommittee's Press Releases, "Ranking Member Courtney Welcomes New Navy Force Assessment" <https://courtney.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/ranking-member-courtney-welcomes-new-navy-force-assessment>

15 Dave Majumdar, "The Russian Navy Is Developing a New Submarine That Can Perform One Truly Strange Trick" /National Interest/ P.1 <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/the-russian-navy-developing-new-submarine-can-perform-one-18679>

blockade during the Iraqi war. It even more worsened the economy of Iraq and its people who was also exhausted during Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988.

We can also observe reflection of the ideas of Mackinder on the example of the Arctic zone where geostrategic, geopolitical and economic interests of the leading powers of the world were faced. This region has very important strategic value, not to mention its considerable reserves of energy resources. The main players in this region are the five countries (Denmark, Canada, Norway, Russia, the USA), having a legal right of possession and developing Arctic zones, according to the The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).¹⁶ Having adjacent to this zone, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, are also engaged in battle for this region. Moreover, recently to fight for this zone joined also not regional states of East Asia (the People's Republic of China, Japan, South Korea and India).

Development of the Arctic region in connection with severe climatic conditions requires very powerful, modern and equipped navy for carrying out expeditions. The countries invest huge amounts of money for development of this branch of armament industry.

Especially it would be desirable to mark out active interest of China with the Arctic zone. In China there is a separate committee dealing with issues of this region are the The Chinese Arctic and Antarctic Administration (CAA) which is a part of Public oceanic administration of China. In spite of the fact that China did not publish official Arctic strategy, it has an accurate course and the purposes across the Arctic. CAA organized 6 scientific expeditions in 1997, 2003, 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014.¹⁷ China is the permanent member of the Arctic Council that confirms their interest with this region. Interest of Chinese is attracted by existence of natural resources and which is caused by deficiency of those in the country. But de facto, main objectives of China in the Arctic is strategic and geopolitical, and also transport.

The region can play an important role in case of an aggravation of the American-Chinese relations. The America's naval base in Sembawang (Singapore) allows USA to block the Strait of Malacca in case of war, which is important for the People's Republic of China (the main Chinese trade deliveries and delivery of oil from the countries of the Middle East are carried out through this Strait). In case of an aggravation of the bilateral relations or emergence of the potential conflict the Arctic Sea way will allow reducing risk of closing of the passage of Naval Forces of the USA. It is impossible to forget that China is the first export power of the world. Development of the trade routes through the Arctic waters seems extremely favorable from the economic point of view to the country, considering that the Northwest Passage – the shortest way from the Atlantic Ocean to Pacific Ocean, and Northern Sea Route lasting along all Arctic coast of Russia can reduce almost twice distance between the People's Republic of China and Western Europe. For this reason China aim at cooperation with Russia. Gravity of intentions of

16 http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_r.pdf

17 http://www.chinare.gov.cn/english/gb_article.php?modid=10001

China, as well as other Asian countries – India, Korea, Japan, – confirms the fact that recently they as observers joined to work of the Arctic Council.¹⁸

Another important aim of China in Arctic is the Northern Sea Route more than 5,5 thousand km long. Kara Strait to Providence Bay lies along the Arctic coast of the Russian Federation. It was the cause to contradictions between these two countries. Use of this way will give to China huge prospects for the further economic growth as the economy of China depends on transportation through maritime routes. China tries to cooperate with the countries of the Arctic zone and expresses willingness for contributing of big investments for scientific projects together with Russia, Canada and Iceland.

Such countries as Denmark and Iceland need investments of China in order to begin mining operations in Greenland and others zones of the Arctic belonging to them.

China's aims in the Arctic could complement the One Belt, One Road Strategy (OBOR). Geographically, the Indian Ocean and the Arctic Ocean are the southern and northern flanks of the Eurasian landmass. Investments in shipping and infrastructure along the Northern Sea Route and the Maritime Silk Road can enhance China's Silk Road Economic Belt strategy. In addition, China remains a huge littoral state. Consequently, China can add three oceanic frontiers to Mackinder's "heartland" in Eurasia and overcome some of the challenges in controlling the heartland envisioned in the past. This could provide China with a favorable geopolitical position and an opportunity to "command the world islands" – Asia, Europe and Africa – in the twenty first century. However, it remains to be seen if China can successfully implement the OBOR strategy and whether Chinese investments in the Arctic region can complement this strategy.¹⁹

Growth of interest of China in the Arctic zone disturbs the Arctic states recently. The base of the People's Republic of China in 2004 appeared behind the Polar circle when the country founded the research station "Huang He Zhan" on Svalbard archipelago in the Barents Sea. Then the states strongly began to worry because the strong competitor with considerable investment resources appeared. The «Xuelong» icebreaker ("Snow dragon") in 2004 and the new ice breaker with the displacement of 8 thousand tons in 2013 were sent to this base. Canada is especially concerned because the zone of Canada in the Arctic approaches infringe on plans of the People's Republic of China for a navigable way and mining. Professor of history of University of Calgary D. Wright in 2011 published the article about the clash of interests between China and Canada named «The Panda Bear Readies to Meet the Polar Bear: China and Canada's Arctic Sovereignty Challenge».²⁰

18 «Arktika v fokuse sovremennoy geopolitiki»./Institut regionalnih problem/Moskva 2015/s.36

http://narfu.ru/aan/Encyclopedia_Arctic/arctic_focus.pdf

19 Mercy A. Kuo and Angelica O. Tang, China's Arctic Strategy: The Geopolitics of Energy Security/The Diplomat/ 2015

<http://thediplomat.com/2015/12/chinas-arctic-strategy-the-geopolitics-of-energy-security/>

20 Wright,David. The Panda Bear Readies to meet the Polar Bear:China and Canada's Arctic Sovereignty Challenge//Cambridge Press. New York, 2011.

The USA also strengthened the positions in the Arctic region, due to strengthening influence of China and Russia. The Arctic region has an important strategic importance for the USA because of its nuclear underwater fleet. The shortest trajectory for defeat by ballistic missiles lies from positions on Alaska and the northeast of the Barents Sea. Thus, due to strengthening of positions in the Arctic region USA will be able to contain the balance of power between Russia and China. During Cold War the Arctic had only strategic value for the USA, but now it has also economic. According to U.S. Geological Survey²¹ 13% of not explored reserves of oil and 30% of not explored reserves of gas are located here. In May, 2013 the USA accepted new National Strategy for the Arctic region.²² According to this strategy, USA are planning to expand their influence and economic presence by demonstration of sea power. They are renewing military infrastructure in the Arctic region: providing Naval Forces of the USA with new types of weapon, systems of detection of cruise and ballistic rockets, and also means of recognition of enemy submarines. The number of NATO exercises in the Arctic region with support and participation of the USA have been raised recently. Also we can see the rivalry between the USA and Russia in this region. The main reason of this is that the USA wants to make the Northern Sea Route, which belongs to Russia, international. Russia cannot allow it not only because of loss of the income from this way, but also because of vulnerability of Russia from North side in case of loss of this zone of influence.

Same Coin Same Sides

Status quo can be considered both with positive, and from the negative point of view. Existence of strong navy and military bases undoubtedly gives power and strength to the state, and makes potential enemies to reckon with it. But at the same time, aggravation of a situation can reach such point that usual rivalry can be developed into real war because of clash for naval supremacy (The Arctic region, Asia-Pacific Region). And war will be in such scales that not only belligerent parties, but also other states will suffer. Presence at the USA of 14 Ohio submarines, each of which is equipped with 20 ballistic rockets "Trident D5" is capable to hit the target at distance to 7 thousand miles. At the same time all these atomic submarines in the sum have 280 ballistic missiles with 1270 warheads. The current plan is to keep twelve Ohio-class subs active at time with twenty Trident IIs each, while two more boomers remain in overhaul, keeping a total of 240 missiles active at a time with 1,090 warheads between them. Don't worry, restless hawks: that's still enough to destroy the world several times over. The closest competitor to the Ohio-class submarine is the Russia's sole remaining Typhoon-class submarine, a larger vessel with twenty ballistic-missile launch tubes.²³ All these facts

21 U.S. Geological Survey, "Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal: Estimates of Undiscovered Oil and Gas North of the Arctic Circle," fact sheet, 2008, <http://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/2008/3049/fs2008-3049.pdf>

22 National Strategy for the Arctic Region. May, 2013

https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/nat_arctic_strategy.pdf

23 Sebastien Robin, "Why Russia and China Fear America's Ohio-Class Submarines"/National Interest/2017 P.2 <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/why-russia-china-fear-americas-ohio-class-submarines-19120?page=2>

creeps other states and suggest an idea that the next world war can become the last for mankind.

Power in Progress

On the basis of the conducted researches and studying of opinions of different experts, it would be desirable to emphasize once again that the most favorable warfare and control of potential enemies is an existence of strong navy. Clash of the states for naval supremacy in the near future will not stop, and on the contrary will intensify. China, along with the USA and Russia, will continue to strengthen the presence in the Arctic region and Asia-Pacific Region, strengthening the navy and actively using it in realization of own national interests.

And also H. Mackinder's ideas are also actual today and perhaps will always be. This was confirmed with examples in the main part of research. As young researcher I see the following items:

- The USA, Russia and China have to continue further strengthening of the navy for control of balance of power, protection of living space and interests of the state;
- continuation of allocating big investments of the USA, Russia and China to the technological and military sphere for development of new and more powerful types of submarines, aircraft carriers and surface fighting units. As the Russian emperor Peter the Great told «All our affairs will be subverted if the fleet will be spent».

On Some Aspects of US Foreign Policy

K. Jurakhonov

Senior Undergraduate Student, UWED

Abstract: *The current article mainly concerns the present political situation in the world in the context of strategic analysis and strategic thinking. The primary relevance of this topic is due to the new US President Donald J. Trump's foreign policy strategy and his ongoing statements on the role of the United States in the world affairs. Here I am going to put my considerable endeavor in order to reconsider the allegations introduced by some prominent US Foreign Policy Analysts primarily in the example of Zbigniew Brzezinski and his famous legacy "The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership". Additionally, a little bit effort will be made by me in this written work to reexamine the main theses of the author to make them known whether these theses are proving themselves or vice versa.*

Key words: *strategic analysis, domination, leadership, Check-and-balance, global security and stability, sovereignty, interference in the internal affairs, the New Global Balkans, the Alliance Management, Retrenchment policy, self-sustaining system and isolation.*

Scheduled Reorder

The political and economic situation in the world following the end of the Cold War showed how much might the USA possesses and how much a US approach came to be a right way of a state development. Anyone with cognitive wisdom should not abandon the reality that this sort of overcome is not all about "tactical games with Soviets" in the decisive moments, such as the war in the Korean Peninsula in the early 1950s, the Berlin Wall construction, Arab-Israeli wars in the Middle East, the situation in Afghanistan and most importantly the Cuban Missile Crisis when the world would have suffered from the thermonuclear war between two potentially equal opponents. Here the world community could observe the necessity of a strategically well-organized system of conducting a war against an enemy with possibly comparable strength. As a great ancient Chinese philosopher Sun Tzu said: **"It is not that useful to apply good tactics if the mistake is principally in the strategy"**¹. Subsequently, the American school of strategic thinking is somewhat in the leading position thanks to the prominent foreign policy decision-makers, national security advisors and so forth. Zbigniew Brzezinski is one of a kind who sees the political scenery of the world uniquely in his style. In his admirable legacy **"The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership"** he urgently holds the position leading the USA as the global multifaceted pacesetter for all members in the world community albeit the fact that it is appropriate for them or not.

Brzezinski once said that America's power is today the ultimate guarantee for Global Security and Stability which time by time erases the national sovereignties of

¹ "The Art of War" by Sun Tzu

other countries. On one hand this statement thoroughly proves itself because I cannot see any potential alternative to the USA with such might to take this position on. For example, let's take possible claiming states:

- China, the second largest economy, whose share in global GDP constituted merely 18 percent in 2016 according to the latest World Bank Ranking², is actually still not a dominant due to the huge percentage of population under the poverty rate. Moreover, Xi Jinping's primary ambitions concern to satisfy rising need of Chinese economy for natural resources. According to the **William T. Wilson**³, this position is strongly accommodated in the "One Belt, One Road" project as well⁴.

- Russia, the main opponent of the USA for this role, seems to be not ready due to the latest changes in its economic and political situation resulted from Western Sanctions when energy-based Russian export strongly deteriorated from low prices for oil and gas although Putin-led Russia appears to have more than enough military capacity.

- Great Britain with its skeptic approach to the European Union is more involved in its internal problems than making itself policy over the world.

- France, as in the case of Great Britain, is itself suffering from fragile political turnout in the reign of the last president Francois Hollande with lowest percentage of supporters among the population. This is possibly after the ongoing trend of terroristic attacks initially in Paris and then Nice and so on. Subsequently, in this condition France could conceivably fail to become a "Global Policy Maker".

- Germany, albeit being the major engine of the current EU, also is not an exception to terror attacks in Berlin on 19th December, 2016. This also shows the vulnerability of Germany's security system. Furthermore, the area of Germany's might will be restricted in the absence of a nuclear weapon. Logically, a state without weapons of massive destruction cannot have dominating rules over the other states among which nuclear-owning states are many.

On the other hand, if the USA continues to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, this could be against the main principles of the concept of sovereignty — the right of nations to an independent existence and autonomy in the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War. The subsequent problem here is about whether states should follow the concept of sovereignty that has occupied the core of what international order has been or they ought to go on meddling in the private issues of countries for the sake of their national security.

So, a merely rational approach towards this problem, according to Richard N. Haass⁵, is that in the era of globalization when nations day by day become interdependent to each other the concept of sovereignty should be reviewed because of its inefficiency in current affairs. The rise of terrorism in a global scale, epidemics that

2 <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/GDP-ranking-table>

3 William T. Wilson, Ph.D., is a Senior Research Fellow in the Heritage Foundation's Asian Studies Center.

4 <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/chinas-huge-one-belt-one-road-initiative-sweeping-central-17150>

5 Richard Haass is the president of the Council on Foreign Relations

could be spread not only in the country of origin, but also throughout the region and even globally in further terms, and more importantly weapons of massive destruction ruining the security of the states with the help of their geographical position. If in the past times states were mostly concerned about the bordering nations, today it takes at most 10-15 minutes for the ICBMs to cross over the earth and target the enemy. Further concern here is about the fact that massively destructive weapons are not only in the hands of particular governments, but also some known non-state groups whose clear goal is to break an international system of ruling. Richard N. Haass offers a new global order taking the changed balance of power (maybe dis-balance), non-state actors of the world politics, weapons of massive destruction and other crucial factors into account. The new global order should concern creating a robust system in which supporting terrorism in any possible ways, backing up the non-state entities with political objectives and etc. would be strongly controlled and organized. Another aspect of the new international order would be the position of states against the use and spread of so-called weapons of massive destructions of any kind. One could easily come the word by saying that these afore-stated criteria also exist in the current international order. Nevertheless, the implication of this order is becoming somewhat a burdensome task when it comes to the national interests of every state.

Personally, I assume that Brzezinski's statement about the interference in the internal affairs of the states that could become a cause for the further political breakdown on account of failing to carry out right policy in the world community seem to be a key to several conflicts, but in this situation "**Check and Balance**" system should gain more importance than it has now in the example of the UN Security Council. As political scientists John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt argued "Washington should encourage other countries to take the lead in checking rising powers, intervening itself only when necessary".⁶ How could this idea be realized? The answer is, in my opinion, clear. The current system and world order is not satisfying today's realities. The possibly strong actors of the International Relations other than 5 permanent members of the UN Security Council have emerged since the establishment of the UN more than seven decades ago. Not paradoxically, they also fight for a more share in the political, economic and other affairs in the world. Therefore, neglecting their interests could lead to further problems rather than setting peace around them.

It is my view that one particular approach to transform the world order to a better one could be to legitimize the interference of the UN Security Council permanent members into the internal affairs of other states in order not to let conflicts emerge and to save the status quo in the world. A clear argument to this thesis could be strongly given with the globalization process. For instance, if one country supports terrorism or carries out violent actions that could put others under risk, disregarding these activities could be a weird moment. Here under this context of interference it is understood not only the implications of wills of other states, but also help to cope with the domestic

⁶ "Will Washington Abandon the Order" by Kori Schake, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution. Foreign Affairs Magazine, volume I, 2017

problems with high possibility of turning out to be global ones in the future. It primarily includes mainly nonpolitical sphere, such as healthcare, education and so on. For example, an importantly dangerous epidemic could not be addressed by any single state and, logically, other states afterward feel concerned as well. Therefore, in this coherent moments of the new global order states should act more freely and openly than isolating themselves from outside.

New Global Balkans

Another crucial point in Brzezinski's prestigious book is about the rising role of the **New Global Balkans** which is somewhat theoretically similar to the "**Heartland Theory**" of John Mackinder. His view is that due to huge amount of natural resources and the geographically convenient position, the New Global Balkans will be the most dangerous and unstable region in the world. Correspondingly, the 08.08.08 war in Georgia, the disastrous "Maidan" in Kiev in 2014, the ongoing clashes around the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, politically weak eastern European states, frustrated about its allies Turkey, an antagonistic approach towards the Russian-led propaganda, the civil war in Syria, the fight against ISIS in Iraq, ongoing terroristic activities in Turkey all explain how much Brzezinski's statement was true. Additionally, the refugee crisis around the world is also a result of instability in this region. According to the UNHCR report in 2016⁷, the number of refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced people around the world has topped 65 million, most of which are from Syria (4.9 mln.), Afghanistan (2.7 mln.) and other instable countries of the New Global Balkans. Interestingly, they are being hosted mostly by the countries situated also in this region, the highest number of which in Turkey with 2.5 million people. So, thinking about the stability and prosperity in this kind of situation in there would be irrational as well. Furthermore, Turkey here is a special subtopic which needs deep consideration. As for Mr. Brzezinski, if the EU will eventually close its door to Turkey, emergency of a new radical state is not undeniable. Initially, this frustration can be seen in the political structure of Turkey in the example of a constitutional referendum which is going to be held in on 16th April, 2017. A set of 18 proposals offered by the governing Justice and Development Party of the President Erdogan suggests an executive presidency that would replace the existing parliamentary system of government. Yüksel Sezgin⁸ in his article in the Washington Post on January 24th this year claims that "if amendments are passed, they will amount to a total regime change, not just a change in the system of government. Erdogan's de facto one-man rule will be codified into what can only be described as a sultanistic regime, unprecedented in Turkey or anywhere else in the democratic world. Power would be severely concentrated in the hands of the presidency, with almost no checks and balances."⁹ In other words, it will end up the Turkey's

7 <http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>

8 Yüksel Sezgin - the director of the Middle Eastern Studies Program and a professor of political science at Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs.

9 https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/01/24/how-a-constitutional-amendment-could-end-turkeys-republic/?utm_term=.c99042356efc

republic. Recapitulating the mentioned points, it is not so a troublesome task to come to mind that the opinions proposed by Brzezinski mostly proved themselves and the they are being realized after almost several years after the book was first published.

Alliance Management

I would like to analyze the cotemporary political course of the USA in terms of alliances via a theoretical approach. In particular, an attitude chosen by the last two presidents towards cooperation with other states highly differs.

Firstly, the presidency of Barack Obama is remembered with many forward moves of the USA towards its allies, one of which was Trans-Pacific Partnership signed in merely a year ago after many years of hard work. Barack Obama turned the foreign policy line towards the Southeast Asia and made this a priority to cooperate with them in certain platforms. For Mr. Obama it was one of the main points of the National Security Strategy re-edited in 2015/¹⁰. Yet, the irony of this situation is that the 45th President Mr. Donald Trump withdrew from this agreement on the 3rd day of its presidency, exactly on January 23rd of 2017.

Furthermore, he is proposing a new world order in which the United States of America will not be so willing to defend its allies in NATO and urging them to spend more money on their defense from their annual GDP instead of by allocating much money from its own state budget with the approval of the Congress

Moreover, a trade deal between three Northern American States (The USA, Canada, Mexico) which integrated almost 6.5 trillion of the world economy is now under risk. As Trump himself posted about NAFTA on his twitter account: “And there shouldn't be. It's a disaster ... we will either renegotiate it or we will break it.”

On one hand it could be a weird political way of development for the USA to isolate itself in this kind. This approach could be approved by Brzezinski and others also by indicating to the America's role in the world political scene. However, on the other hand, Robert Leiber, a political scientist and professor of government and international affairs at Georgetown University, claims that Obama's “Retrenchment policy” aimed to more involvement of the US into the world affairs premised to be faulty following which the US now faces a far more dangerous world order and this policy proved itself costlier than sustained engagement.

To sum up, I would like to restate the above-assumed ideas and argue that the way Mr. Trump has chosen is not a modern approach that has been proposed one or two years ago. Here I would like to quote Brzezinski: “American power plays an irreplaceable role in the world and it has two long-term strategies: the former is to make the world transform gradually into self-sustaining system, the latter is to take a disengaging and isolating position”. It is profoundly understandable that the USA is not moving towards being a dominant in the world affairs, in my opinion, and Trump just

¹⁰ <https://www.nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf>

speeded up the process by making it better keeping in mind today's disorder in international relations.

Anyway, every newly-elected US president seeks to implement his own ideas and his vision to the political course of the nation and Trump here also is not an exception with his "Make America Great Again" watchword. But the primary question remains still unclear whether he could supply the balance or fail under the pressure of the rising political disorder worldwide. However, one thing is very obvious: Trump would have to come across with stronger difficulties taking the lowest public support around the citizens of America into account.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. "The Choice: Global Domination or Global Leadership", Zbigniew Brzezinski, New York, 2004
2. "The Art of War", Sun Tzu
3. "Will Washington Abandon the Order" by Kori Schake, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution. Foreign Affairs Magazine, volume I, 2017 p. 57
4. The US National Security Strategy, 2015.
<http://www.nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf>
5. "The Case of Sovereign Obligation" by Richard Haass, the president of the Council on Foreign Relations. Foreign Affairs Magazine, volume I, 2017 p. 2
6. The World Bank Group Database on World GDP Ranking in 2016.
<http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/GDP-ranking-table>
7. The UNHCR statistics database on refugees, 2016.
<http://www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html>
8. "China's Huge 'One Belt, One Road' Initiative Is Sweeping Central Asia" by William T. Wilson, Ph.D., a Senior Research Fellow in the Heritage Foundation's Asian Studies Center. The National Interest, July 27th, 2016
<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/chinas-huge-one-belt-one-road-initiative-sweeping-central-17150>
9. "How a constitutional amendment could end Turkey's republic" by Yüksel Sezgin, the director of the Middle Eastern Studies Program and a professor of political science at Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs. The Washington Post on January 24th, 2017
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/01/24/how-a-constitutional-amendment-could-end-turkeys-republic/?utm_term=.c99042356efc

Cooperation of the Republic of Tajikistan with the Islamic Republic of in the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization

B. Jumayev

Researcher, MA Student, UWED

After the independence of the Central Asian countries, 's foreign policy was focused both on establishing economic cooperation both in bilateral and multilateral within the framework of regional organizations such as the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC-since 2011, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation) , Shanghai Cooperation Organization(SCO), the trilateral format of the Persian-speaking countries of Tajikistan-Afghanistan- and, of course, the United Nations (UN) and others¹.

Tajikistan was the only country in Central Asia that supported the peaceful nuclear program of the Islamic Republic of and concluded an agreement on military cooperation with the country. These facts are a good example of the fact that the third segment (cultural and historical proximity) is one of the determining factors in the relationship between Tajikistan and .

As is known, cooperates with Tajikistan in the framework of the trilateral format of Persian-speaking states - Tajikistan, the Islamic Republic of and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. The core of the interaction of the three states in various spheres of state and public life is the idea of an "Aryan community," which has a more cultural and civilizational character than a political concept. In expanding and strengthening the ties between the three states, is more interested, striving to create a certain confederation of Persian-speaking peoples along the ethno-oriented axis Tehran-Dushanbe-Kabul. On the other hand, the creation of an economic foundation for this axis largely depends on 's position. The issue of closer cooperation between the three neighboring countries was not discussed during the meetings of the heads of state, and in July 2006 the presidents decided to establish the Coordination Center of the trilateral commission on cooperation, which was to begin its work in Kabul. On July 29, 2008, an agreement was reached in Tehran on the establishment of a joint commission of national coordinators on trilateral coordination, and finally, on 5 August 2010, a Memorandum on the establishment of a joint commission of trilateral cooperation was signed in Tehran².

During the signing of the Memorandum, the President of , M. Ahmadinejad, clearly expressed his country's position on this issue, saying that "we should all have one thing - economy, culture, art, we must remove all barriers that separate us". Moreover, M. Ahmadinejad linked the security issue of each country with the level of

1 Calabrese John. Iran and Northern Neighbors: At the Crossroads//Central Asian Monitor. 1994. №5. P.27-31. См.: Amir-Ahvfdi Hashang and Entessar Nadir. Reconstruction and Regional Diplomacy in the Persian Culf. London: Rout ledge, 1992. P.84-96; Ramazani R.K. Iran's Foreign Policy: Contending Orientations//The Middle East Jorna. 1989. №4. Vol.2. P.202-218.
2 Князев А. Региональная стратегия ИРИ в Центральной Азии. М., 2008. С.112.

security in each country. In turn, President of Tajikistan E. Rahman supported this idea and stated that in the future the commission will pay special attention to regional security and military-technical cooperation³.

The Islamic Republic of develops its relations with Tajikistan on the basis of a targeted foreign policy concept, with an emphasis on the development of cooperation in the fields of politics, trade, economy and culture at the regional level. Despite this, according to the Russian scientist A. Kuznetsov, officials of Tajikistan strive to develop political, trade-economic and cultural ties with the Islamic Republic of , taking into account the interests of other countries, with the establishment of a dialogue with all states of the world on the basis of the policy of pragmatism⁴.

Tajikistan, as a member, and as an observer state, cooperate within the framework of the regional organization – the international intergovernmental organization Shanghai Cooperation Organization, established on April 26, 1996 in Shanghai, to strengthen military confidence measures in the border areas between Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. This region has important geopolitical and geostrategic importance. In the opinion of the Iranian authorities, “ the declared goals of the organization aimed at strengthening mutual confidence, friendship and good-neighborliness between member states; Encouragement of effective cooperation in political, trade-economic, scientific-technical, ecological and other fields; The joint efforts to maintain and ensure peace, security and stability in the region, and the building of a democratic, fair, rational, political and economic international order were in the interests of ”⁵.

Change in the interests of the US balance of power in the early XXI century in the region, after the beginning of the military operation in Afghanistan became the subject of serious concern of . The strengthening of the military presence in the Middle East, on the one hand, the ongoing confrontation between and the United States, on the other, forced the Iranian leadership to seek ways of rapprochement and cardinal improvement of relations with the SCO member states.

From the very beginning of the creation of the SCO, the Iranian leadership was aware of the real situation with the dominant role of Russia and China in the activities of this organization, considering the SCO as an element of preserving and strengthening its influence and solving geopolitical and geo-economic problems in Central Asia. In principle, such a balance of political and economic interests of the leading countries was arranged by, which considers itself the leading country in the region. Due to the influence of these factors, was interested in participating in the work of the SCO, which allowed to solve three interrelated tasks:

- to strengthen its influence in Central Asia;
- to achieve closer rapprochement with Russia

3 Князев А. Региональная стратегия ИРИ в Центральной Азии. М., 2008. С.112.

4 Кузнецов А. Затяжной геополитический роман: Иран и постсоветская Центральная Азия//<http://www.iran.ru/rus/news.iran>.

5 IRNA. 6.07.2005.

- to promote better cooperation with China in all spheres, showing increased interest in developing relations and strengthening influence in .

The first step towards the rapprochement with the states of the region within the framework of the SCO was the receipt by of the status of an observer member in the SCO. Concerning the rapprochement of 's positions on the main foreign policy approaches with the SCO, ian Vice President R. Aref noted: "In recent years, cooperation at the regional level was one of the priority directions of the foreign policy activity of the Islamic Republic of . The SCO occupies a special place in establishing such contacts. Recently, we came to the conclusion that the membership of the IRI in this organization will meet the national interests of the Islamic Republic of and contribute to the strengthening of stability in the region "⁶. Aref noted that in recent years, openly announced its intention to become a full member of the SCO.

's official position on the issue of rapprochement with the SCO is the need to establish close cooperation between the SCO⁷.

All preparatory work for the adoption of as a member of the observer in the SCO was successfully carried out by the administration of the President of the reformer Mohammad Khatami, who laid the foundation for the new relationship of the country with the world community. The question of joining the SCO went through the whole process of harmonization in all the higher echelons of power: first it was discussed and approved by the Islamic Council - the parliament of the country; At the next stage, he received approval from the Supreme National Security Council and in the end received approval of the leader of the Islamic Revolution, Seyyid Ali Khamenei, who traditionally relies on the conservative wing of 's political and religious forces.

Despite pessimism over the diminishing role of in international affairs, the government of M. Ahmadinejad expressed readiness to further develop the course towards rapprochement with the SCO as a priority direction of foreign policy activity, although he called 's accession as an observer to the SCO as "a change in the regional and international balance of power in favor of ”.

However, due to a change in regional interests after the events of September 11, 2001, when the Taliban and Al Qaeda threats took a serious character, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization strengthened its positions in the anti-terrorism and anti-extremist directions.

IRI was admitted to the SCO as an observer country in 2005. President of the Republic of Tajikistan E. Rahmon, during his meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of , M. Mottaki, announced official support from Dushanbe for the entry of the Islamic Republic of into the SCO as a permanent member. SCO Secretary-General B. Nurgaliyev, commenting on this issue, noted that an application was sent from the Islamic Republic of to the SCO Secretariat on joining the organization, but the organization does not have a time frame for considering such issues. as an observer country can take part in any kind of its activities, he stressed.

6 IRNA. 5.07.2005.

7 IRNA. 6.07.2005.

Along with Pakistan and India, receiving observer status with the SCO, sought and achieved observer status in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization for

On the question of membership in the SCO, the Iran has a chance to choose one of two options:

1. To continue to remain as an observer and to conduct today's semi-active participation in awareness of the decisions taken by the Organization and participation in those aspects that are likely to coincide with the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

2. Strive to join the full-fledged members of this organization and actively participate in its tasks to enhance its regional and international role. At the same time, participate equally in both regional economic cooperation and in supporting the international political principles of the Organization. The advantage of the first option is that, only as an observer, without any obligation to implement all decisions of the Organization, Iran can participate in all positions of the Organization and influence the decisions made by it in a limited form. At the same time, it is likely that will be able to benefit from the useful positions and common measures taken by this Organization.

Concerning the second variant, for example, the entry of the Iran into the membership of this organization, it can be argued that, naturally, this provision will provide the Iran with new opportunities in economic and political activity. And, in proportion to the increasing role of the Organization at the regional and international levels, the role of the Islamic Republic of will also increase. However, this provision is due to the fact that will be obliged to take all decisions and positions that are acceptable to this Organization.

Returning to the above-mentioned long-term scenarios, if the first scenario is implemented, the desire of the Iran to join full members, as well as the strengthening of the Organization, will not have much significance.

And for the Iran it will be enough to keep participation at today's level. However, if the Organization moves towards the third scenario, the full participation of the Iran in this Organization will enhance its regional and international role. At the same time, the Iran will have certain obligations. If the Shanghai Cooperation Organization will strive to become a full-fledged economic organization, then it will be especially useful for the Iran to join the full-fledged members of this Organization.

Of course, the SCO would have a new headache in connection with a significant expansion, but, on the other hand, it would add to the SCO's quality weight and geopolitical significance. Assuming that the side effects outweigh the benefits, it would mean conceding to the doubts of the West, which fears the emergence of the SCO as a powerful counterweight to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

One potential advantage of the membership of the Islamic Republic of in the SCO is that it would allow China and Russia to more positively influence the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of and, consequently, the Muslim world. The SCO would clearly benefit from the admission of IRI into its ranks, since this would reduce its main concern related to terrorism. The membership of the Islamic Republic of Iran the SCO would lead to the strengthening of regional cooperation in the fight against

Islamic extremism, including In the Muslim regions of Russia and China, as well as in the whole of Central Asia along with the Caspian basin.

**ЖАҲОН ИҚТИСОДИЁТИ ВА ДИПЛОМАТИЯСИ
УНИВЕРСИТЕТИ
ЗАМОНАВИЙ МОЖАРОЛАР ВА МИНТАҚАВИЙ ХАВФСИЗЛИКНИ
ТАДҚИҚ ЭТИШ ЛАБОРОТОРИЯСИ**

**МИНТАҚАВИЙ ВА ГЛОБАЛ ХАВФСИЗЛИК МАВЗУСИГА ОИД
ЁШ ОЛИМЛАР ИЛМИЙ МАҚОЛАЛАРИ ТЎПЛАМИ**

**УНИВЕРСИТЕТ МИРОВОЙ ЭКОНОМИКИ И ДИПЛОМАТИИ
ЛАБОРОТОРИЯ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ
КОНФЛИКТОВ И РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ**

**СБОРНИК НАУЧНЫХ СТАТЕЙ МОЛОДЫХ ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЕЙ
ПО ТЕМАТИКЕ РЕГИОНАЛЬНОЙ И МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ
БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ**

Муҳаррир: М.Боротов
Техник муҳаррир: А.Мустафакулов
Компьютерда саҳифаловчи: Б.Хайдаров

ISBN 978-9943-4663-7-1

Босишга руҳсат этилди 28.03.2017 й. Бичими 60x84 1/16
Офсет қоғози. Ризограф усулда. Тимес гарнитураси.
Шартли босма табағи 2.8 Нашр. ҳисоб табағи 2,0.
Адади. 300 нусхада. Буюртма № 14-11.

“IMPRESS MEDIA” МЧЖ босмаҳонасида чоп этилди.
Манзил: Яккасарой тумани, Қушбеги кўчаси 6 уй.

**UNIVERSITY OF WORLD
ECONOMICS & DIPLOMACY
CONTEMPORARY CONFLICTS &
REGIONAL SECURITY
STUDY LABORATORY**

54 Mustaqillik avenue, Tashkent, 100077 Uzbekistan
www.uwed.uz

ISBN 978-9943-4663-7-1



9 789943 466371