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RCAPS Seminar Series

International Relations of Central Asia: Theories and Realities of Post-Cold War Period

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Presentation Outline

- I. Introduction to the **region**
- II. Theoretical considerations: Realism, Neo-liberal Institutionalism and Regional Security Complex Theory
- III. Domestic and Foreign Policies of Central Asian republics since early 1990s
- IV. Role of international and regional organizations and institutions on issues of regional cooperation and security
- V. Summary

I. Introduction to the region: General data

Country	Area, 000 m ²	Population, million	Oil, million tons	Gas, billion m ³ *	Uranium, tons
Kazakhstan	2724,9	16,0	4,000	3,300 (6,800)	622,000
Kyrgyzstan	198,5	5,3	5	6	-
Tajikistan	143,1	7,2	2	-	-
Turkmenistan	491	5,4	300	2,860 (23,000)	-
Uzbekistan	447,4	27,6	250	1,875 (5,900)	93,000
TOTAL	4004,9	61,5	4,057 (11)**	8,041 (4)	715,000 (2)

Source: CIA and data of national sources

* In brackets are shown data of national agencies

** In brackets are shown place of the region in the world

Commonwealth of Independent States - Central Asian States



Source: <http://map.primorye.ru>

I. Introduction to the region: brief historical review

2 periods of Russian conquest: Tsarist (1850s-1917) and Bolshevik-Soviet (1917-1991)

1st period: Notion of 'Turkestan' since 1860s: Western or Russian, Eastern or Chinese, and Afghan ([see map](#))

- Russia's first step – conquest of Kokand city (present-day Uzbekistan), 1853
- Establishment of Turkestan Government-General headed by General K.P. von Kaufman, 1867:
 - Construction of Transcaspian Railroad, 1880-1895
 - Opportunities for Russian peasants to access qualitative American upland cotton (by 1911 CA cotton supplies reached 50% of Russia's needs)
 - Migration privileges by Russian authorities brought more than 1 mln. migrants during 1896-1916 (mostly to current territories of Kazakhstan and parts of Kyrgyzstan)

Territory of Turkestan



Source: <http://dic.academic.ru>

I. Introduction to the region: brief historical review (contd.)

2nd period: establishment of Soviet power resulting the October revolution of 1917 in Russia

- Establishment of Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in April, 1918 till 1924 accompanied with nationalization of economy (cotton, mining), establishment of educational institutions, libraries etc.
- National delimitation policies 1924-25 brought to reality:
 - Uzbek SSR with Tajik ASSR (from 1925 joined USSR)
 - Turkmen SSR (from 1925 joined USSR)
 - Kara-Kyrgyz AR within Russia – Kyrgyz AR – Kyrgyz ASSR – Kyrgyz SSR (1936)
 - Karakalpak AR – Karakalpak ASSR (1932, from 1936 within Uzbek SSR)
 - Kazakh ASSR – Kazakh SSR (1936)

Use of “Middle Asia and Kazakhstan” (*Srednyaya Azia I Kazahstan*) notion from mid-1930 to early 1990s based upon trade-industrial complex separation by Soviet authorities

* *Source: Bolshaya Sovetskaya Enciklopedia (Big Soviet Encyclopedia)*

Ethnic composition of Central Asian population, millions, 2003

	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	Turkmenistan	Uzbekistan	Central Asia
Uzbeks	0,371 2,5%	0,666 13,8%	1,691 <u>25,7%</u>	0,453 9,8%	19,233 76,5%	22,414 <u>39,9%</u>
Kazakhs	7,985 53,4%	0,044 0,4%	-	0,098 2,1%	1,050 4,2%	9,177 16,3%
Kyrgyz	-	3,130 64,9%	0,085 1,3%	-	0,219 0,9%	3,434 6,1%
Tajiks	0,026 0,2%	0,047 1%	4,598 69,9%	-	1,395 5,5%	6,066 10,8%
Turkmens	-	-	0,029 0,4%	3,613 78,5%	0,162 0,6%	3,804 6,7%
Russians	4,480 <u>30,0%</u>	0,603 <u>12,5%</u>	0,068 1,0%	0,240 5,2%	<u>1,150</u> 4,6%	6,541 <u>9,8%</u>
Others	2,091 13,9%	0,333 6,9%	0,108 1,7%	0,199 4,4%	1,946 7,7%	4,677 <u>8,3%</u>
Total population	14,953	4,823	6,579	4,603	25,155	56,113

Source: Sharma Akbarzadeh, "Keeping Central Asia Stable," *Third World Quarterly*, 2004.

II. Theoretical considerations: Realism, RSCT, and Neo-liberal Institutionalism

- Realism: notions of power, alliance (Thucydides, Morgenthau)
- Neoliberal institutionalism: role of institutions, rationality, interdependence (Keohane)
- Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT): defining regions of the world according to security concerns (Buzan, Wæver)
- Regionalism: abolition of trade barriers, establishment of institutions for regional cooperation

II. Theoretical considerations: Classical Realism and Neoliberalism

Classical Realism

Key assumptions:

- International arena appears as anarchical, brutal arena
- Balance of power: military capabilities and alliances as key requirement of security, but they are not able to preserve peace or independence of states
- Order at both domestic and international levels is yet another important component of balance of power

Neoliberalism

Key concepts:

- Rationality: costs-benefits calculations of states in foreign policy decision-making
- international regimes defined as sets of principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures
- Multilateralism: cooperation among three or more states that enhances scope for mutually beneficial deals

II. Theoretical considerations: Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT)

- RSCT: attempt to explain new structure in international security system and to assess relationship between regional and global trends

- Central idea of RSCT:

since threats travel easily over short distances than over long ones, security interdependence is normally patterned into regionally based clusters:

security complexes

- 3-tiered scheme of powers: superpower, great powers, and regional powers
- RSC around Russia with 4 subregions: Baltic states, western group of states, Caucasus, and Central Asia

Definitions

Security

- "Security" by Kolodziej - absence of unique definition

For many scholars - "preservation of state" and "nation-state system"

Other view - "physical security of individuals in civil society and their reliance on the state to arbitrate their differences and to defend them against foreign aggression"

Third definition - "economic welfare and material well-being of populations as central security concern"

Finally – "threats to the global environment and commons"

Definitions (contd.)

Region

- *'a group of countries which have legal framework of cooperation covering an extensive economic relationship, with the intention that it will be of indefinite duration, and with the possibility foreseen that the region will evolve and change' (Sheila Page, 2000)*
- Two types of "regional" approaches with regards to Central Asia:
 - 1) Politically: Central Asian republics + Russia + Afghanistan
 - 2) Economically: Central Asia + Russia + Afghanistan + Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region

III. Domestic and Foreign Policies of Central Asian republics

Types of Economic reforms (Schroeder, 1995)

- Moderate reformers: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan
- Latecomer to moderate reform: Uzbekistan
- Very slow reformers: Tajikistan, Turkmenistan

Types of Political reforms (Makhmudov, 2009)

- Democratic reformers: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan
- Non-Democratic, authoritarian reformers: Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan
- Mixed reformers: Tajikistan

III. Domestic and Foreign Policies (contd.)

- 1991-2000: decade of establishing national identity (constitution, legislation), membership in IOs (UN, IMF, WB, ADB) and post-Soviet organizations, low level participation of Turkmenistan, influence of Yeltsin's rule on regional cooperation
- 1992-1997: Civil War in Tajikistan
- Feb, 1999: Coup d'etat attempt in Uzbekistan resulting in deterioration relations with regional partners and Turkey
- 2000-2009: decade of rising importance of the region resulting from (1) 9/11 events in US, US and Russian military basis in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan; (2) rich natural resources (especially gas); (3) new policies of Putin's and then Medvedev's Russia
- Spring, 2005: "Tulip revolution" in Kyrgyzstan (March); Andijan events in Uzbekistan (May)

IV. International and regional organizations involved

- **Multinational organizations**

- Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) composed of 57 states
- Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA)
- Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO)

- **Supra-regional organizations**

- Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
- Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)
- Eurasian Economic Community (EEC)
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), and
- ADB Program Central Asian Regional Economic Cooperation (CAREC)

IV. International and regional organizations involved (contd.)

● Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

- Original involvement of former Soviet republics (excluding Baltic states and Georgia)
- Setting of SIXTY institutions and signature of THOUSAND docs
- Resemblance with Soviet-type institutional framework with its highly bureaucratic and centralized structure and Russia's dominance

● Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)

- Established in May 1992
- Original members: Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan (Azerbaijan, Moldova, Ukraine joined in observer status in 1993 and in 1999 together with Georgia and Uzbekistan left CST)
- Charter (Kishinev, 2002), observer status in meetings of UN GA (2004)
- Minsk 2006: Declaration on increase of efficiency; restoration of Uzbekistan's membership
- *Russia's objective to prevent expansion of NATO*

IV. International and regional organizations involved (contd.)

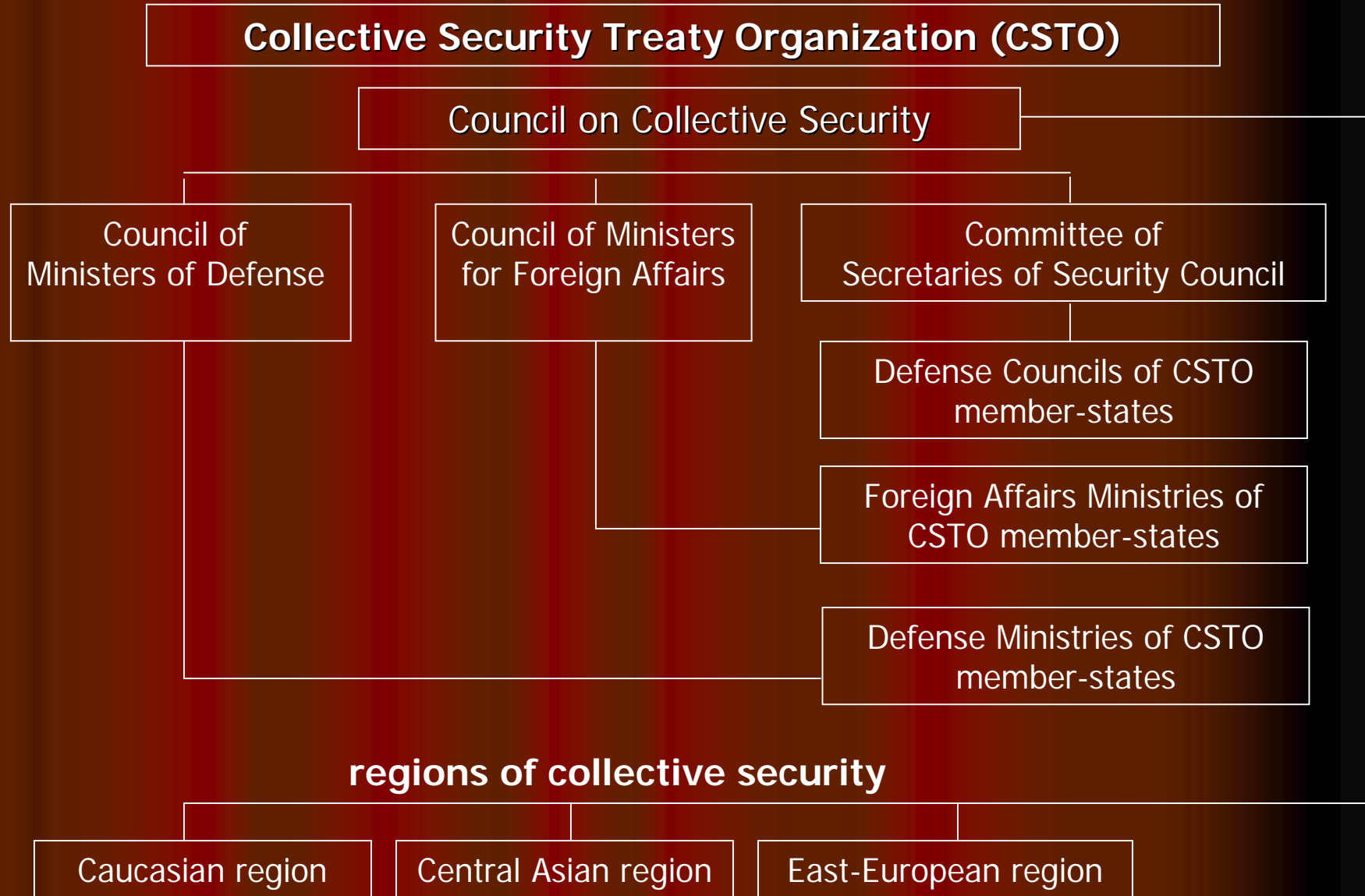


Chart 1. Agencies established within CSTO framework (Source: www.odkb.gov.ru)

IV. International and regional organizations involved (contd.)

- Eurasian Economic Community (EEC)

“ an international economic organization vested with functions relating to the formation of common external customs boundaries of the countries who form it (Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan), to the elaboration of unified foreign economic policies, tariffs and prices and to other operational components of the common market. ” (Source: evrazes.com)

- Originated from Customs Union between Belarus and Russia in 1995
- New status resulted from Astana meeting (Oct. 2000)
- Armenia, Moldova and Ukraine as observers (2002-2003) and Uzbekistan as member from Jan. 2006 to Nov. 2008
- Primary focus on Customs Union between Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia with objective of single currency and unified labor market till 2011
- Merge of CACO during St's Petersburg meeting, 2005
- Moscow Summit 2009: Anticrisis Fund of \$10 bln: Russia - \$7,5 bln, Kazakhstan - \$1 bln

IV. International and regional organizations involved (contd.)

- Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)

- Prototype organization – Shanghai Five 1996 (Kzsk, Krg, PRC, Rus and Tjk)
- New status from 2001: Declaration; three *-isms* terrorism, separatism and extremism; and membership of Uzbekistan
- Attempt to counterbalance US post-Cold War hegemony
Astana Declaration of July 2005:

“Considering the completion of the active military stage of antiterrorist operation in Afghanistan, the member states of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation consider it necessary, that respective members of the antiterrorist coalition set a final timeline for their temporary use of the above-mentioned objects of infrastructure and stay of their military contingents on the territories of the SCO member states.”

- New areas of cooperation: energy sector, trade, investment, education, culture, water issues
- SCO – Shanghai Communist Organization? (Admission of Belarus and DSR of Sri Lanka as dialogue partners during Yekaterinburg meeting, June 2009)

IV. International and regional organizations involved (contd.)

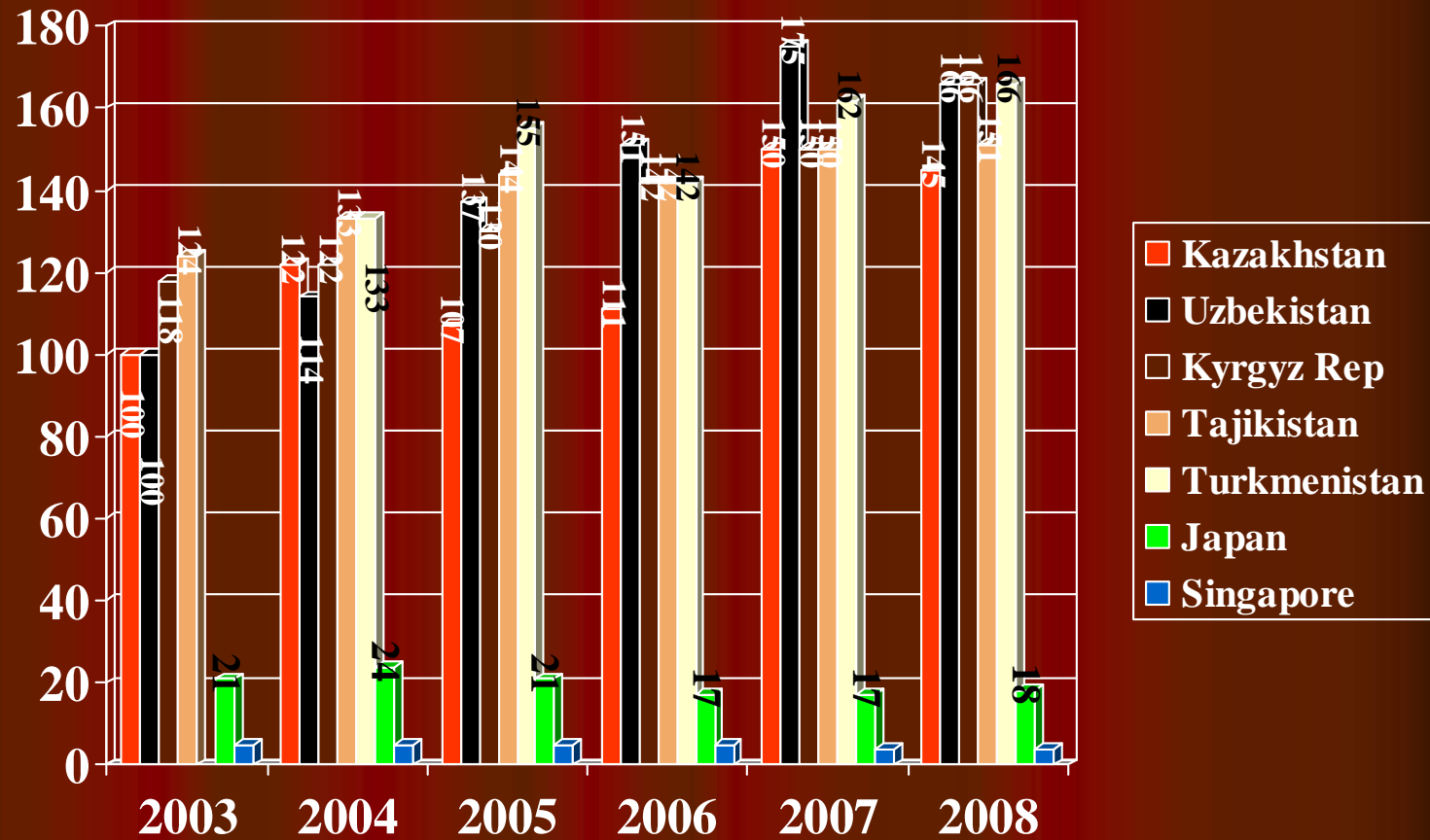
- ADB Program Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation (CAREC)

- Launched in 1997 with focus in 4 key areas: transport, energy, trade policy and trade facilitation
- Combined amount of assistance \$2.3 billion for 42 projects
- "Region" includes besides CA states Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Mongolia and People's Republic of China with focus on Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region
- Linkage with EBRD, IMF, IsDB, UNDP, WB and SCO, EEC
- "Two tiers" in activities: "first tier" expressed in projects covering 4 areas; "second tier": CAREC Institute, HIV/AIDS Program, Avian Flu Regional Cooperation, Disaster Management Program/Environment, Business Development Forum, and Economic Corridors/Business Enterprise Linkages

Current challenges restraining regional cooperation

- Lack of trust (enmity) among regional leaders (Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan)
- Weakness of national legislations
- High level of government corruption, especially of customs officials, contributes both to easy passage of drugs, weapons and militants, and restrains passage of goods and services between states (see Graph 1.)
- Lack of consensus on use of regional rivers Amudarya, Surdarya (see Picture 1.)
- Negative impact of powers (US, Russia)
- Absence of purely regional organizations

Corruption perceptions index (CPI)



Source: Compiled of annual reports by Transparency International

Regional river basin



Source: <http://davidderrick.files.wordpress.com>

V. Summary

- Lack of efficient *purely* regional organization leads to preference of whether dealing at *bilateral level* (classical realism) with great powers (US, Russia) or at *institutional level* (neoliberalism) with supra-regional and international organizations (CIS, CSTO, EEC, SCO and ADB CAREC)
- High interest in post-Soviet era Russia-led institutions (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan)
- Cautious approach in membership (Uzbekistan) and passive attitude (Turkmenistan)
- Weak power of law, on one side, and high level of corruption and presence of unresolved demarcation issues, on the other, leads to various types of border conflicts
- Importance of international donors' expertise (ADB, WB) in dispute resolution (case of power plants in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan) and trade promotion
- Recommendation to reanimate CACO with joining of Turkmenistan as member and WB and ADB as expert-advisor agencies

Thank you for your attention!

Q & A session