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SPECIFICITY OF CONTEMPORARY CENTRAL ASIAN REGIONALISM

In order to respond to the research questions regarding the regionalization of security in Central Asia, it is necessary to consider the security in a regional context as a set of ideas, norms, institutions and identities, which are formed by states. My basic research question is concerned about what is the current dynamics and what are grounds of the Central Asia regionalism. Therefore the aim of my article is to present the specificity of current Central Asian regionalism. I also focus on the constructivist role of social and cultural issues and the contribution of Kazakhstan to the development of regionalization of security in Central Asia. These aspects are important to understand a current evolution of regionalism in the region of Central Asia.

In the first part I decided to put forward essential concepts of regionalism and regionalization that are crucial basis for me to analyze the importance of regional approach on the level of Central Asian countries. Then I concentrate on the trends and grounds of regionalization in Central Asia, the Kazakh role in this process and all my findings and answers to questions are ended by a section of conclusions.

By the end of the Cold War, there has not been any regional research concepts or analyzes in Central Asia. It was a consequence of dominance of the paradigm of realism in the research areas and political strategies, which focused on such security issues as arms control or conventional forces in the context of the nuclear age. Thus, the collapse of the USSR in 1991 had the impact on the development of regional approach in the research on Central Asia.

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1 Z. ZARDYKHAN, own research, (Almaty, Astana), interview with Dr. Z. Zardykhan – KIMEP University, 11-28.08.2013. The research and visits in Kazakhstan and Russia were financed by National Science Centre, Poland.
The appropriate analytical approach on aspects of regionalization in Central Asia², requires to distinguish regionalism from regionalization³, because there is no one coherent approach in the literature in this extent. Both regionalism and regionalization are not new phenomenon and constitute still a crucial, reference object in the discourse in the International Relations. The regionalism is usually seen as a set of ideas, principles and defined purposes, which leads to strengthen bonds among actors on the regional level⁴. However in the same context, the regionalization is treated as a process directly linked to the regionalism, by which these bonds and regional interactions are formed. B. Hettne and P. Katzenstein also assume the same approach with also an evident conceptual distinction⁵.

1. REGIONALIZATION OF SECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIA

The internationalization of threats and the regionalization of international security force states to seek more effective mechanisms in order to solve security problems and to securitize individual and common interests. Most of security issues can be solved at the regional level, but there are some security problems as well, which must be overcome on the global level with the participation of other actors (i.e. in the case of environmental problems).

The specificity of Central Asian regionalism is associated with its social and cultural roots⁶. This region is the area of the New Great Game and its roots mainly lie in the common geography, historical heritage of post-Soviet republics, life-

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² In the article, the region of Central Asia is defined as the area consisted of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan. The region is the dynamic and territorial concept determined by the geography, interactions and common institutional framework. See: B. BUZAN, O. WAVER, J. DE WILDE, Security: a new framework for analysis, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers 1998, pp. 18-19.

³ The regionalism contains greek „sufism” – „ism”, which usually means an act or a theory.


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style, Islam, common politico-economic systems, security problems and interests\(^7\). The end of Cold War had a considerable impact on many regions (East Asia, Africa, Latin America). But in case of Central Asia, this region was mainly under the influence of transition after the collapse of the USSR. Therefore now Central Asia represents a specific combination of pre-Soviet, Soviet and new institutions and practices, where local elites are linked to clans and tribes\(^8\). Currently Central Asian republics are also authoritarian states with dominant position of head of states and with specifically considered democratic rules\(^9\).

In order to understand the regionalism in Central Asia, we should also take into account periods of foreign dominance (Chinese, Persian, Mongolian, British, Russian and Soviet), which have influenced on the current socio-cultural situation in the region. Many Central Asian countries refer to these periods as the basis of new national traditions and newly formed national identities\(^10\). The cult of strong rulers (for example Genghis Khan and Tamerlane) has a very significant impact on the mentality of Central Asian societies and very often justifies the direction of strategies chosen by political elites in the region. Furthermore Central Asia is also now usually referred to the historical Silk Road, because constitutes the analytical and research framework of new concepts such as the New Silk Road in the USA or the New Great Game in Western Europe. The understanding of these socio-historical and cultural issues (cult of elders, authority of power, tradition, nomadic lifestyle) is currently indispensable to the appropriate analysis of the Central Asian regionalism.

According to the thesis of P.J. Luong, we can notice the Soviet form of regionalism in Central Asia, which still exists after the collapse of the USSR\(^11\), because the states in the region inherited the Soviet administrative and governing system. The leaders of regional administration have a privileged access to political and


economic resources provided that they implement central directives. Therefore the principal, local challenge in the region is to maintain the position of regional and local leaders as agents of governments in the authoritarian, republican system. This mechanism is possible due to the strengthening of Soviet regional political identities, interests and in particular due to the asymmetry in the distribution of power in Central Asia. Taking into account such aspects as territory, demography, economy and army, it is necessary to indicate two types of states: strong – Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and weak – Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. This is the main regional dynamics, especially in the context of regional security.

Another aspect of Central Asian regionalism is its multiplicity and complexity which means its various types and features. On the one hand, it could be defined by the context of water management (i.e. many regional initiatives such as the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea – ISAF). On the other hand, it is considered as for instance the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and other institutional efforts of actors (including China and Russia) if they represent their principal interests. In my opinion the SCO might be now considered as the important example of Central Asian regionalism. The SCO was established in June 2001. This is an Asian alliance that includes Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The geopolitical and geostrategic position of the SCO and to some extent the CIS is crucial in the framework of securitization of threats such as extremism or terrorism.

As regards with prospects of regionalism within the Central Asian security structure, S.N. MacFarlane and R. Allison argue that the U.S. administration has strong influence on its development than Russia. This assumption refers to resources and attributes, which enable to deeply penetrate this region. But it is also important to underline that the U.S. administration (in contrast to Russia) did not impose the regionalism as a priority of its activity and a political project. S. Blank emphasizes also the importance of the region for the American security in the economic aspect. Moreover since the September 11, 2001, the region has become not only for the U.S. government, but also for the international society, a very crucial element of the international campaign against terrorism.

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Finally, A. Bohr claims that challenges for the regionalism in Central Asia result from the national dynamics and from the authoritarian attitude of the Central Asian leaders\textsuperscript{15}. N. Swanström believes that mostly the regional cooperation in Central Asia will focus on a crisis management. It is a consequence of the lack of mutual trust and of political readiness to transfer a national jurisdiction to regional organizations\textsuperscript{16}.

2. KAZAKHSTAN AS THE LEADER OF CENTRAL ASIAN REGIONALISM

The contemporary position of Kazakhstan in the region and in the Central Asian regionalism is still increasing. Kazakhstan is now the most active post-Soviet republic. It impacts on political, social and economic processes in Central Asia\textsuperscript{17}. According to the Wealth Report, the position of Kazakh nationality (next to Chinese, Indian, Brazilian, Malaysian and Norwegian) is gradually growing in terms of wealth and real estate in the world\textsuperscript{18}. It is necessary to notice that the number of Kazakh migrants to other Central Asian countries or to the Commonwealth of Independent States is very small\textsuperscript{19}. However at the same time many Uzbeks, Turkmen and Kyrgyz migrate to Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan is also the leader ‘in terms of market reforms in Central Asia’\textsuperscript{20}. R. Brenneman argues that Astana is the most dynamic economy in the region, what results from the natural potential of crude oil and gas\textsuperscript{21}. E. Fitzgerald and V. Vira assume that Kazakhstan is more open than its neighbors in Central Asia\textsuperscript{22}, what is undoubtedly a very important advantage. Kazakhstan wants to become the leader, banker and financial centre of Islamic countries.

\textsuperscript{17} W. KUROWSKI, Secretary of Department of the Promotion of Trade and Investment of the Polish Embassy, own research, (Almaty, Kazakhstan), 11-28.08.13.
\textsuperscript{21} R. BRENNEMAN, WikiCable: Kazakhstan as a Pentagon satellite, 09.01.2011, Wordpress.com.
Kazakhstan has made uneven progress towards the establishment of democratic, political institutions. Despite the fact that the OSCE deemed improper presidential and parliamentary elections in Kazakhstan in 2004 and 2005, nevertheless N. Nazarbayev was to his mind that the progress has been made so far in his country in terms of the development of political institutions gave him the chance to be the first post-Soviet state chairman of the OSCE in 2009. Furthermore Kazakhstan is the first Central Asian country which stood at the head of the OECD.

In the future Kazakhstan has a potential to become the link between Europe and South Asia. Kazakhstan is also the link between Central Asia and Russia (Customs Union, SCO, economic bonds), USA, EU, OECD, China (SCO). There is as well numerous offices of international institutions and organisations. According to the president of Kazakhstan - N. Nazarbayev: ‘Kazakhstan should become the crucial country in Central Asian region, the integrator of intra-regional economic relations and the centre for attracting a foreign capital and investments’. The organization of negotiations in the framework of 5+1 formula (Russia, China, France, USA, UK + Germany) on Iran in Almaty, 25-26.02.2013 has proved the recognition of Kazakhstan's international position and its role in the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. These talks reminded about the role of Central Asia in the promotion of solutions regarding the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Kazakhstan is also very active at the international level. Within the rivalry between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan for the leadership in Central Asia, Kazakhstan has more favorable position in the world than Uzbekistan. Some experts argue that there is no rivalry between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. After the signature of the treaty of alliance with Russia in October 2005, Tashkent accepted the leadership of Kazakhstan. Astana held a successful chairmanship of the OSCE. At the regional level, it constitutes the pattern of regional and institutional projects. Kazakhstan is also the initiator of regional initiatives (Central Asian Regional Information and Coordination Centre for Combating Illicit Trafficking of Narcotic

23 Kazachstan wspólnie z UE na czele państw Azji Centralnej Euroazjatyckiego programu OECD utrzymywania zdolności konkurencyjnej, Department of the Promotion of Trade and Investment of the Polish Embassy, Almaty, 04.03.13.
27 F. Toliyov, Central Asia is a Region of Five Stans, “Central Asia and the Caucasus”, No. 2 (38), 2006, p. 24.
28 M.B. Olcott, Eyes on Central Asia: How to Understand the Winners and Losers, http://src.h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no16_1_ses/01_olcott.pdf.

The president of Kazakhstan also proposed many new regional concepts as the Central Asian Union and the Idea of Eurasianism. N. Nazarbayev in 1994-1995 and in 2007 called for the establishment of the Central Asian Union. In 1994 during one of his speech, he was frustrated by the lack of implementation of various agreements signed by the members of the CIS, noted that ‘since the creation of the CIS, approximately 400 agreements have been adopted. However, so far there has been no significant results because national governments continue to reject certain provisions and interpret the meaning of contracts through the prism of their own interests’29. Hence the aim of the Eurasianism is to restore and rebuild the economic cooperation among the former Soviet republics. N. Nazarbayev assumes that ‘Eurasia is a unique region where Islam and Christianity can coexist peacefully, which for centuries have been mutually enriched by Slavic and Turkish people’30. Kazakhstan plays a significant role in the promotion of the Idea of Eurasianism within the debate on the Eurasian Economic Community31.

According to some researchers, Kazakhstan is now shown as one of the most developed countries in the region towards democratic and liberal values32. There are even grounds for concluding that ‘Kazakhstan is on the way towards a new form of liberalism, based on new values, new social conventions and new institutions33. ‘The Asian model of liberalism in Kazakhstan may not have much effect for the political development in Europe, Russia, or even in other parts of Central Asia, however, the importance of the success of democratic transformation for other parts of Asia cannot be underestimated34.

Another argument to prove my thesis regarding the increasing position of Kazakhstan in the Central Asian regionalism is the fact that Kazakhstan for centuries

33 Ibidiem, p. 384.
34 Ibidiem, p. 384.
has been considered as the crucial element of security architecture in Central Asia. Both in the tsarist and Soviet policy (the concept of Central Asia and Kazakhstan), Kazakhstan was treated separately.

CONCLUSIONS

Within many years of research and analysis of the region, I remarked that the regionalization process in Central Asia is very dynamic and determined by frequent changes of regional structures\textsuperscript{35}. The region is very vulnerable to changes. It relates to interactions inside and outside post-Soviet republics (instable political system in Kyrgyzstan – „Tulip Revolution“\textsuperscript{36} or social unrest in Uzbekistan\textsuperscript{37}) or between Central Asian countries and other actors (ambivalent attitude of the Uzbek regime towards political and economic projects proposed by Russia and China or multi-vector Central Asian states policy towards USA and Russia)\textsuperscript{38}. It relates to the U.S. military bases in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan or the Russian military presence in Kazakhstan and Tajikistan. Thus the involvement of many actors increased the ability of Central Asian states to pursue the multi-vector policy in the region\textsuperscript{39}.

Currently there is a regional structure with unique patterns and interactions in Central Asia. It is also important therefore to analyze patterns of security in the region. These patterns derived from patterns of amity and enmity such as hostilities regarding sharing of resources, natural border issues and artificial, imposed, ethnic divisions. Thus Central Asian countries are now bound within a single, separate regional security complex, whose roots (as it has been mentioned before) lie in their common geography, historical heritage and common security issues and interests. The basic dynamics of regional security is competition between strong countries (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan) and animosities between strong and weak countries (including Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmeni-

\textsuperscript{35} E. CHUNG, \textit{Multiple Regional Security Frameworks for Central Asia}, “Austrian Institute for International Affairs”, 27.11.2006, p. 293.


\textsuperscript{38} E. CHUNG, \textit{Multiple Regional Security}, p. 291.

\textsuperscript{39} A. BOHR, \textit{Central Asia: responding to the multi-vectoring game}, Chatham House, 22.02.2010.
stan and Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan). While the rivalry and fear of domination reduce the prospects of cooperation, but the relationship among the Central Asian states are durable, because the security of the region is interdependent. This is the result of internal dynamics caused by the presence of two types of countries: strong in terms of capacity (territory, population, economy, army – Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan) and weak (Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan). No country is able to effectively exist separately from other countries of the region because of the strong interdependence.

The rivalry among countries of Central Asia, the fear of loss of sovereignty and the need to balance the interests of world powers is an obstacle for Central Asian republics for a proper regional integration, similar to the EU and a coherent front against external influences and an unified position in the case of a joint regional engagement in Afghanistan.

This regional structure is determined by the Central Asia rhetoric and the distribution of power in the region. The specificity of this rhetoric addresses frequent use of extremist and terrorist arguments as threats to the security of Central Asia. This security discourse allows ruling elites not only to justify the existential nature of the endangered, reference objects, but also to use force and violate the existing public order.

Countries in the region are currently trying to strengthen the national approach and at the same time to develop regional ties. However, there are also differences arising from patterns of hostilities (ethnic divisions, border issues) and concerns about new, emerging, regional projects and structures. Due to this fact, Turkmenistan is beyond the arrangements for economic union within the CIS. Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are also less interested in greater integration with Russia, particularly in terms of political and military aspects that is motivated by the protection of sovereignty.

Staying attention to Kazakhstan, after careful analysis and observation of the situation in the region, I can say that Kazakhstan is becoming a leader of the region and the processes of regionalization in Central Asia, often replacing Russia in this role acting the regional leadership in terms of political, economic and social affairs.

The regionalism and the regionalization in Central Asia refer not only to the political and economic cooperation\(^40\), but also to the regional identity and to the common regional security policy. Finally, it is necessary to underline that the ap-

\(^{40}\) E. Büyükkâncı, Patterns of Integration in Central Asia, Department of International Relations, Galatasaray University, Istanbul, 2012.
approach of each Central Asian states towards the regionalism is egocentric. Therefore, the development of the regionalism in Central Asia in the future will be rather centrifugal and will be under the influence of nearby succession of power in Uzbekistan. Many Central Asian leaders are now often very aged and this fact encounters many issues for the future stability in this region.

The challenge for the Central Asia over the next decades will be the succession of power and the future and stability in the region. With regard to stability in the region, the attention is focused on Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. According to many experts, Tajikistan will have to deal with problems as the country bordering with Afghanistan. The threat of destabilization in Kyrgyzstan is a challenge for the Central Asian states, especially in the context of existing threats, which include: social tensions, Islamic radicalism. Turkmenistan remains isolated republic because it is the most undemocratic country in the region. Analyzing the global policy of actors towards the region, we can anticipate the intensification of strategic rivalry between Russia and China, because of the lack of the U.S. catalyst after the withdrawal of contingents from Afghanistan. Russia is now seeking to restore Russian military contingents at the Tajik-Afghan border and to re-enable the countries of the region to the security architecture of the post-Soviet zone.

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41 Z. Zardykhan, own research, (Almaty, Astana), interview with Dr. Z. Zardykhan – KIMEP University, 11-28.08.2013; W. KUROWSKI, Secretary of Department of the Promotion of Trade and Investment of the Polish Embassy, own research, (Almaty, Kazakhstan), 11-28.08.13.
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Kazachstan wspólnie z UE na czele państw Azji Centralnej Euroazjatyckiego programu OECD utrzymywania zdolności konkurencyjnej, Department of the Promotion of Trade and Investment of the Polish Embassy, Almaty, 04.03.13.


KUROWSKI W., Secretary of Department of the Promotion of Trade and Investment of the Polish Embassy, own research, (Almaty, Kazakhstan), 11-28.08.13.

W celu udzielenia odpowiedzi na pytania badawcze dotyczące procesu regionalizacji bezpieczeństwa w Azji Środkowej, niezbędne jest rozważenie kwestii bezpieczeństwa w kontekście regionalnym jako zespołu idei, norm, instytucji i tożsamości, które są tworzone przez państwa. Moje podstawowe pytanie badawcze: jaka jest obecnie dynamika oraz jakie są podstawy specyfiki regionalizmu Azji Środkowej. Koncentrując się także na konstruktywistycznych rolach społecznych i kulturalnych kwestii oraz na wkładzie Kazachstanu w rozwój regionalizacji bezpieczeństwa w Azji Środkowej. Te aspekty są ważne, by zrozumieć obecną ewolucję regionalizmu w regionie Azji Środkowej.
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W pierwszej części zdecydowałem się przedstawić istotne koncepcje regionalizmu i regionalizacji, które stanowią dla mnie kluczową podstawę umożliwiającą analizę znaczenia podejścia regionalnego na poziomie krajów Azji Środkowej. Następnie skupiam się na trendach i podstawach regionalizacji w Azji Środkowej, kazachskej roli w tym procesie, zaś wszystkie moje wnioski i odpowiedzi na postawione pytania zwieńczone zostały sekcją poświęconą konkluzjom.

Słowa kluczowe: Azja Centralna, regionalizm, regionalizacja, bezpieczeństwo.

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Summary

In order to respond to the research questions regarding the regionalization of security in Central Asia, it is necessary to consider the security in a regional context as a set of ideas, norms, institutions and identities, which are formed by states. My basic research question is concerned about what is the current dynamics and what are grounds of the Central Asia regionalism. Therefore the aim of my article is to present the specificity of current Central Asian regionalism. I also focus on the constructivist role of social and cultural issues and the contribution of Kazakhstan to the development of regionalization of security in Central Asia. These aspects are important to understand a current evolution of regionalism in the region of Central Asia.

In the first part I decided to put forward essential concepts of regionalism and regionalization that are crucial basis for me to analyze the importance of regional approach on the level of Central Asian countries. Then I concentrate on the trends and grounds of regionalization in Central Asia, the Kazah role in this process and all my findings and answers to questions are ended by a section of conclusions.

Key words: Central Asia, regionalism, regionalization, security.

42 Z. ZARDYKHAN, own research, (Almaty, Astana), interview with Dr. Z. Zardykhan – KIMEP University, 11-28.08.2013. Research and visits in Kazakhstan and Russia were financed by National Science Centre, Poland.