#### America and Russia oppositions in middle Asia after eleven September

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Abstract: After union of soviet republics collapsing, dominance in middle Asia was one of main and key American foreign politics purposes. This act was discussed after eleven September incidences and American presence in Afghanistan more than ever. American politics in middle Asia are parallel with main politics of this country in world level and confronts with countries that countries that dominated on region and their politics aren't parallel with American benefits. According to this procedure, America thinks about limiting dominance in middle Asia and exiting this region under Moscow security umbrella. Russia as soviet heir wants to preserve traditional dominance in region and surveys American efforts for dominance on region carefully and tries to neutralize it.

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#### 1. Introduction

Forty years cold war developed pattern of relations between America and soviet that its main characteristics is competition and confront in all of security, economical, political and army and even cultural eras in one geographical space . After collapsing communist united, America wanted to dominance as the great power in regions that before it was under dominance and union of soviet republics. 2001 eleven September and America army invasion to Afghanistan created a space that was a road to America middle Asia strategic region. Russia that had been decreased its dominance region, because of problems after 1991 Gregorian year, suddenly was confronted with its old rival in privacy yard. NATO efforts for developing to east, fear from decreasing international credit, Russian minorities' presence in region, great energy resources presence and competition with America were problems that caused Russia put near foreign in the top of foreign politics programs. American strategy in dominance on energy resources and controlling on its transmission lines and also compete with terrorism, needs more army and political presence of this country in this region. But for Russia, America presence and dominance is considered as potential threat. America army presence in south of Russia parallel with NATO expansion to east for economical and security benefits of Russia is considered as important worry. Russia always by insisting on its positions in middle Asia emphasizes on this point that America should committed to determined time period and exit its army forces form region, when army activities will finishes.

# 1.1. Russian and American foreign politics in middle Asia region after eleven September:

United States of America had had dynamic and active foreign politics as a powerful country. 2001

eleven September in America caused redesigning international security environment and expended changes in foreign and security politics priorities and in fact is influenced other foreign politics priorities of this country. This changing direction had important incomes on Russia and America relations and totally with middle Asia countries. united states of America in comparison with new autonomy governments in middle Asia, continued American public procedures in using new facilities for reaching American national benefits . these are incentives that united states of America assess all of changes in political and economical space according to them and its perception from its place in world to see if it can use new conditions for following its national resources or " for following democracy " or not(Smith .T. 1995). America constructed its strategy in middle Asia for preventing from creating powerful in region, because in American viewpoint the more regional forces are independent, the more will be dangerous for that country benefits . Now, implementing this politics has been caused creating different challenges between Russia and America, because Moscow has conflicts with Washington for determining its dominance region and wants creating and stabilizing forces its environment (Dannreuther, R.2000). Russia spent severe conditions as the main soviet kingdom survivor in its birth time in 1991 Gregorian year. the main problem of Russia was unorganized economical condition of this country that even caused Kremlin decreased his wants against foreign powers such as . but with increasing growth of energy cost at the end of ninetieths decades and parallel with it changes in Russian leader frame, this country could dominated on problems(Lapidus, G.W.2001). With puttin power in 2000 January and economical, political and social conditions development in Russia and also, America presence in Afghanistan, Russia paid

attention to middle Asia again. Because in nineties decade because of more problems. Russia didn't paid attention to its environment regions and wants to organized internal conditions. Russia has more benefits and more interests in middle Asia as main regional actor. This region is so important for Russia. Because Russia can parade to have more dominance on this region as a power in region. Russian politicians have been known middle Asia as their dominance heel at the end of nineteenth century. Today, they also worry for geo politics changes in middle Asia and wanted to remove security threats (Smith, M.A. 2002). In Moscow viewpoint, previous republic should be remained in Russian dominance region. in Michael riokin viewpoint, new autonomy republics, are like karaieb countries that are under American mastery (Pushdor, Alexik (Winter 1993). but for Russia, security collaboration an presence and American army dominance in middle Asia , is considered as unprecedented threat . it is clear that if eleven September didn't existed, Russia never didn't bear American army forces presence in its traditional dominance region . today , middle Asia region has been converted to interaction and competition of two main powers of cold war, means Russia and America and these countries wants to work their politics for national benefits . both of countries have advantages for following their purposes in comparison with their rivals, in below we survey some of these advantages:

# 2.1. Russia superiorities in comparison with America in region:

#### 1.2.1. – Army power in region:

By flowing oil incomes in last year's, Russia governments have been thought about reconstruction and updating army forces and defense industries. Russia was the greatest weapons exporter in world from 2001 Gregorian year up to now. And solely have 30 percent of weapons sell in world. according to a program that will be implemented between 2006 to 2015 Gregorian years, Russia government wants to update army facilities of this country with two hundred million dollars cost. This is while; army Russia cost has been fourfold from 2002 to 2006 Gregorian years (Peimani, H. 2002). Absolute army superiority of Russia caused this country didn't have so much problem in advancing its purposes. Russia have launching pad in Kazakhstan and radar station in sari shanganti, that is one of first alarm systems. Russian sea army force has international communication center in iskok kol. There is space preserving station in nork in Tajikistan (Carley, P.1995).

#### 2.2.1. Shanghai collaboration organization:

Shanghai collaboration organization that is included 43 percent of today world population, is syndicated in 1996 Gregorian year and five years after collapsing soviet united. China, Russia, Kazakhstan,

and Tajikistan first signed a declaration with decreasing stress purpose and also army collaboration reinforcement. This declaration caused creating shanghai collaborations organization in 2001 Gregorian year And in that time Uzbekistan joined to this declaration. Also after this time, Mongolia, Iran, china and Pakistan joined to shanghai declaration as supervisor members. Shanghai collaboration organization basics that was signed by all of members in 2002 Gregorian year, is emphasized on this organization don't act against any country or international organization. Despite of that, this organization is considered as a regional organization, gradually has been considered as a replacement against NATO and America dominance on middle Asia. Shanghai declaration importance isn't a economical affaire for Russia in first priority, but it is a subject that is tied by Russian security strategy before everything. This declaration is considered as leverage for Russia against American army station expansion in neighbor countries with Russia. Also, middle Asia countries leaders see this declaration more different with other declarations. Shanghai declaration is considered as confronting leverage for this group with colorful revolutions against their autocratic regimes (Plater-Zyberk, H.2002).

#### 3.2.1. Residential Russian minorities in region:

Middle Asia countries placed similar complex of different ethnics and people in themselves. Ethnic majority usually is considered as a threatened agent of social security. The more ethnic and language integrity is equal; we can claim that that country has high degree of social security. In all of middle Asia countries, ethnic problem and other ethnic groups always is discussed as a disturbing and threatening agent of social security. Threaten that is present in all of middle Asia countries, Russian minorities presence that is considered as main pressure Russian leverages. Today, about 30 percent of Kazakhstan population, 12.5 population, 5.5 percent of Uzbekistan percent of population, 4 percent of Turkmenistan population and 1.1 percent of Tajikistan population are Russian residential. Residential Russian people of these republics are responsible for sensitive posts in political sections, army – industrial complexes, army forces and security services, and play important role in preserving and continuity of Kremlin dominance (Vernon Loeb, 2002). In addition to this, Russia according to a rule let to army force to interfere in all of independent countries for preserving Russian minorities in that country, when minority's situation is in danger in that countries and this means that permanent threat against national security in all of region countries. Presence of these minorities is a positive score for Russia against America efforts for dismissing these countries of Russian government.

#### 4.2.1. Common benefits countries society (CIS):

The most prominent Russian action after collapsing soviet alliance, for adjusting dimensional army security structure that is consist of middle Asia, creating common benefits countries organization (CIS) according to Tashkent declaration. Russia wanted to unite these countries in CIS region through helping to reconstruction army units in middle Asia countries and converted them to near Russian alliances prevent from foreign powers access to Asia. This country declared "group security declaration" in 1992 Gregorian year in Tashkent by Kazakhstan, White Russia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Armenia (lank, S. 2002) and convinced member countries for signing declaration creating peace preserving force, and was responsible for peace placement in crisis regions. in new doctrine, foreign politic of this country that was so-called "Russian foreign politic concept "has been emphasized on convergence procedure reinforcement in CIS, reciprocal and integral relations development with member countries and its development program in a determined period to 2005 Gregorian year (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation 2000). totally, Russia try to keep them in economic era especially in energy and relation to itself, in addition to intensifying and making rapid of convergence procedure of common benefits countries society . also , in security background, first in addition to continues presence in strategic regions especially crisis region, try to preserve controlling previous soviet borders second control directing and managing crisis that can be a background for west dominance and exploit them for controlling foreign behavior of region countries.

- 3. Comparison table between Russia and America foreign politics tools in middle Asia:
- 1.3. The comparison between foreign politics tools of Russia and America in middle Asia:

#### 1.1.3. Foreign politics tools of Russia:

- 1 Army power in region.
- 2 Shanghai collaboration organization.
- 3 Residential Russian minority in region.
- 4 Common benefits countries societies (CIS).

#### 2.1.3. Foreign politics tools of America:

- 1 Media power.
- 2 Middle Asia countries support of America presence in region.
- 3 America exploitation of NATO in middle Asia.
- 4 America exploitation of democracy in middle Asia. America tools for dominance on middle Asia:

#### **1.2.1.3: Media power:**

Media power and control on world multi media that today converted to one of main tools for governments for shaping world public thoughts and drawing attention and other countries support, create one of main agents of government's power. This is while this era was in west countries and top of them America's authority and Russia didn't have more share in this era. albeit , in last year's , by installing multi language network in all around world try to compete in this era , but it isn't seen that government has ability to challenge America and west government on media era in short term and midterm.

## 2.2.1.3: Middle Asia countries support from America presence in region:

Middle Asia countries leaders despite of abundant differences in their foreign politics , after eleven September happening were welcomed from political and army American presence , these countries incentive has different reasons for supporting from America government , such as :

- 1. Developing economical conditions: the first incentive is financial need and economical bad conditions in these republics. They hope to America economical support and international organizations for developing their economical problems that is background for security, economical and social threats against their governments. After America army presence, economical and technical supports of these countries have been developed to region countries so much.
- 2. Repressing Islamic movements: leaders of these countries hope to repress semi armies Muslims that are residential in middle Asia in Forgane valley and had close relation with Algade fights and are considered as main threat against security and their governments. according to security structures and army shortage in these republics, they don't have ability to confronted with these threats and existent security structures in region, it means that rapid reaction of group forces and shanghai organizations don't responsible for their security needs . rapid reaction forces that was created in 2001 may 25 in same benefit leaders meeting in iravan, don't have enough readiness and they need to collaboration and cooperation of region governments and they were directed more by Kremlin . Also, shanghai collaboration organization don't have determined army and defense structure. so, most of leaders of these countries see as stable agent to army presence that can prepare their America development in secure and reliable economical environment, in addition to decreasing these threats.
- 3. Preserving national governments against Russia: because of several years' soviet alliance government in middle Asia region, Russia always has natural government on this region even after their autonomy. Top of these countries always see their national government in danger from Moscow. So, after America invasion to Afghanistan and this country presence in middle Asia, governments of these countries support America presence in region for preserving and stability of their national governments against Russia and even they let America to install army bases. united states of

America try to use this governments worry from army and political and technical dependency for their benefits and by provoking national feelings in foreign politics, not only demoralize Russia position as power center and convergence polar in region, but also strength their positions in middle Asia and south of Asia (LUZYANIN S. 2011).

### 3.2.1.3. American exploitation of NATO in middle Asia:

Really, NATO has been presented a network of different scientific and technical to economical and political procedures in central Asia for attaining its purposes to last decade of twenty first century. also, in twentieth century NATO invented internet connection propagation between Caucasus and middle Asia that has been presented in great frame of virtual silk road and has been passed important stages of this innovation in middle Asia and Afghanistan (Jones A. Elizabeth, 2001) but eleven 2001 September was carrier of situation for NATO and was a important phenomenon for middle Asia region, because after west Europe that inclined to membership in NATO , today also middle Asia more than virtual cooperation and far from center, see benefits and NATO activities in expanding this organization to this region's countries. Especially, stable freedom operations and ISAF forces in Afghanistan needed NATO army presence increase in middle Asia countries. Several weeks after eleven 2001 September, tony beller that time president in England proposed to substitute new security organization (PJC). a week after this proposal , in NATO and Russia collaboration committee meeting ( NRC ) and in meeting in Moscow with NATO secretary - general George Robertson and Russia president Vladimir pottin discussed and consulted about collaboration in three terrorism, armament control such as developing nuclease weapons and preserving peace. (Yavuzalp, O.2002) that needed convergence to west because of Russia economical and political purposes. So, first agreements were done for convergence. So, at the end of 2001 Gregorian year, after America invasion and its allied countries to Afghanistan, with collaboration increase between middle Asia countries, NATO introduced itself as an actor and security organization in middle Asia. albeit, in this section two branches were created in NATO, in one hand America and on the other hand was European NATO, that they had differences and conflicts with each other about subject and degree of using army forces and innovation in directing army collaborations . because of this reason , ISAF with European counterparts patronage in 2001 December 20 declaration , security committee in nations organization were responsible for preparing Kabul security and its around regions. But these efforts weren't confronted so much with Washington

welcome. America didn't want to give this war command to NATO like Kosovo war (Cheng Ning, 2005). In 2004 January meeting in Istanbul meeting, NATO leaders emphasized on middle Asia increment of middle Asia importance and they named this region in addition to Caucasus region, "special focus". Also, they accepted about liaison leader disposition in regional command organization in almaty, Kazakhstan for supporting of NATO and SOS programs to region. Despite of existent differences in NATO between America and Washington European counterparts, NATO is considered as an army supporter and reliable counterpart for America. As, NATO presence background in middle Asia was prepared by creating backgrounds of America in last decades of twentieth century.

## 4.2.1.3. America exploitations of democracy in middle Asia:

Democratization and transformation to democracy is one of important subjects that was considered in past and especially is considered after happening eleven September incident and great middle east pattern . today , according to being universal phenomenon and governments interactions and human societies intensity, democracy speaking were placed in people minds so much that apparent opposition isn't possible with this and also, even dictators in countries used democracy for preventing from internal and external pressures and governments and country named themselves democratic. So, America tried to progress its purposes with continuity and organizations expansion and democracy liberal values in middle Asia and exploitation of democracy popularity, in addition to preventing from other powers prevalence in middle Asia region.

#### 4. Discussion:

Middle Asia and Caucasus because of geostrategic position, security importance, existence some of crisis and ethnic differences, existence of energy resources and its transportation to consume markets always has been considered by regional and powers . Russia deficiency after infra regional collapsing and west oriented procedures government caused less attention to middle Asia and Caucasus that at last power shortage was created in this region. New conditions after collapsing and geo politic benefits in region cause competition between different powers for presence and dominance in this region. After puttin reached to power in 2000 Gregorian year Russia changed its procedure against region. Middle Asia and Caucasus are considered as geo Russian strategic and geo politic depth in Russian leaders mind. Moscow's more dominance and presence in this region causes Russia international and regional position increase and Russia national benefits in strategic, security, political and economical reconvergence with dependant republics such as Caucasus and middle Asia. In this frame. Russia rivals control and adjustment are one of Moscow's proposes .west powers with exploitation of security and economical benefits try to increase its dominance and presence. in this case, NATO by implementing "collaboration for peace "and "Europe - Atlantic cooperation committee " programs , try to prepare west political and strategic purposes . in addition to this, west by presenting educational programs and economical and financial supports and financing for transforming energy from east to west and presenting support for solving problems try to prevent from Iran, china and Russia dominance that are parallel with west politics and benefits. Caucasus and middle Asia countries, because of worry of Russia dominance return and need to economical and financial tended to interaction with powers and organizations and multidimensional institutes in one hand, and on the other hand, economical infra structures of this countries dependant to Russia that was heritages soviet era and security problems and ethnic differences and presence some of crisis were caused these countries couldn't deny relations and collaboration with Russia . Important point in independent countries is foreign politic should go ahead with government's survival and help them for solving problems and collaboration and alliance and multidimensional collaborations are welcomed until they were in foreign politic services. First competition in Caucasus and middle Asia are between Russia and west especially untied states of America

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