

## Comparison the policies of west (United States America and NATO) and East (Russia and Shanghai) in the Middle Asia

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**Abstract:** After the Cold war era and creation the power vacuum in some world areas, the multilateral and regional organizations significantly developed in globalization age. Middle Asia and Caucasus were from the most important areas that faced power vacuum in the new international system and Russia federation as the main heir of Soviet Union from one side and The West collection from the other side attempted that benefit that conditions with adopting various methods. Formation and strengthening the regional organizations are been considered as the most important approaches of both to coordinate Middle Asia countries and Caucasus with own goals, benefits and policies. The present article try to investigate Russia policies and west powers as two main actors of developments in that area within the comparison policies that have tried to create alliances, coalitions and new organizations for own special preferences, benefits and goals or they try to join coordinator countries to own specific organizations.

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### 1. Introduction

Historically, Caucasus is one of the oldest and the most important centres of human civilization that it was a section of Iran. It frequently has been changed hands between Iranian, Roman, Greek civilizations that Tsar Empire dominated it gradually. It was exchanged to contrast scene and Russia, UK, Iran and Ottoman competitions called "Great Game" beside the Middle Asia in the end of the nineteenth century and the earlier of the twentieth century. In terms of cultural, Caucasus is the collision place of Islamic and Christian civilization, Russian culture, Aran and Turkish, Pan-Turkism thoughts and also it is habitat of more than 50 ethnic groups. Economically, this area has significant resources of oil-gas and rare metals. It is path of energy transit Middle Asia and Caspian Sea to Europe so according to neighbourhood of Central Asia and Caucasus with Caspian area, it has important position in the calculations of regional and ultra-regional countries, because Caucasus is been mentioned as entry gate to Middle Asia that has been collision place of Warsaw and NATO contract. Also according the geopolitics theories, it having geostrategic and geo-economics dimensions is from areas that being a section of Hartland in Eurasia beside Middle Asia is very important in Halford Mackinder theory and it is field of great powers collision. While the countries of Middle Asia and Caucasus always welcome to alliance and coalition strategy in order to supply of own benefits in the different political, economic, security fields and maximizing own benefits for the internal problems and security concerns. Because of the security and economic considerations specially fear from Russia domination, some of the countries

have paid attention to the west in instructions to create the balance (Blua, Antoine. 2004) . We must note to intensity and weakness of their look at the west. Some of them follow confederacy approach with west and other profit by economic advantages of West; while they like having the west for need time because of historical concerns.

#### 1.1. Russia and Middle Asia:

Despite Russia decline and separation the Middle Asia and Caucasus from framework of that country, the basic and strategic importance of Middle Asia and Caucasus maintained for Moscow and the Russians that were owing an historical and strategic thought against that area, followed the ancients conduct. The political changes after the decline don't show that basic changes in look at the Middle Asia Caucasus in politicians priorities of Moscow. We must search the root of this long-lasting tradition in the belief of some of the Russian geniuses that believe the Russia influence and presence in the Middle Asia countries and Caucasus can supply the Russians benefits. They referred the role of Russia in the civilizing those societies and its historical achievements such as defence from Georgia against Turks in the end of the eighteenth century protection Ukrainian against Polishes in the seventeenth century that they were very vital and important. So Russia always treats that area very important and follow to supply own benefits (Rall, Ted. 2006). Accordingly, one of the important discussions in Russia after decline is the plan of security benefits field in the former Russia. So the first strategy Russia was prepared in 1992 that the geographic area of the former Russia mentioned as the Russia national

security area. This approach was strengthened after Yeltsin. The Middle Asia and Caucasus are a component of Russia national security benefits area and it is considered as a geopolitical area. The resident people in this area have lived within a country for a long time. Russia is very sensitive to the fate of the Russian minorities in those countries. Protection the Russian race is an important element in the regional policy of Russia that the Russian politicians consider it today. So that if the political behaviours of powers be against to expectations and goals of Russia, its policies and influences cause to not achieve the rival strategies to expected results. So if a power tries to weaken Russia in political field and finally area geopolitical, it will confront resistance and reaction of Russia. Because if Russia be weakened in that area, the competitors enter to it and this will damage Russia security. So it seems that despite the defects of Russia policy in area that caused by new conditions and independence of the new countries, there are the conditions that other countries follow own goals in the Middle Asia and Caucasus. So in the new conditions, Russia try that if it can't be the sole influential and determining power in the Middle Asia and Caucasus, at least it can prevent playing such role by others. On the other hand, Russia benefits in south Caucasus are very similar with benefits of NATO members, but approach of Moscow in that area is completely different from west (Murat Laumulin. 2007). The basic attention of Russia is confidence from security of south borders of this country. Moscow wants to have the good relations with three countries in Caucasus, because having such relations increases the power of this country to maintain the stability in North Caucasus. Although Russia has great reserves of oil and gas, but it has a great tension to hydrocarbons benefits in Caspian, so Russia like to keep west away from what is the specific benefits of it.

### 2.1. Policy of U.S. in the Middle Asia:

The strategic and geopolitical situation of Eurasia has made inevitable the presence of U.S. While U.S. extends own opportunities in the politics, economics and security fields, it wants to obtain a base to control Russia, China and even Iran. So we can divide the foreigner policy of U.S. to two times before and after the 11 September event. Before the event policy of United States was preventing the ideological and radical of Russia, preventing development of the nuclear weapons that they have remained from communism era, stopping Islam development and radical against west in area, completion of Iran siege, domination on natural resources of area and protection from democracy and

free market economy and preventing and controlling civil wars that 11 September event in 2001 caused the rotation foreigner policy of United States. United States noticed to that event more than Eurasia. After the terroristic attacks in 11 September, Moscow agreed with America request based on the militaries access of that country to the former Russia bases in the Middle Asia and Caucasus. So America could conclude several short martial contract with Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan in order to establish the militaries of that country and use of their bases and military equipment that is was the first step i.e. the military presence of America and in the next step it decided to play a role in the regional problems and promote the security orders that were improbable and change the martial and defensive structures from eastern system to western one. However, Russia came to an agreement with martial presence of America, but it created some challenges to the presence of that country in Caucasus that is vital for Russia. The existence the crisis in the area can cause to be lost north Caucasus. For Russia control on that area it could influence on strategic policies of energy and world policies of oil pipe lines and energy transition. Anyhow as mentioned, the United States goal after 11 September is domination on Eurasia, because Hartland Mackinder view is very important yet. Because of that America acts in several forms to be present in the Middle Asia and Caucasus preventing formation the martial contracts and unions with the different forms from Iran, Russia, India, China and some of the Middle Asia governments such as Shanghai organization. Because of not having access to that domain from east and west, it had considered Caucasus the gate of entrance to that area being Georgia republic the first step. Because that country is very important for its geopolitical and geostrategic situation. After 11 September events, it has tried to power the faces with the change of region leaders that the people be relatively satisfied them and they be related to America the enforcer of Washington policies. We can point at support NATO development to the east and the martial westernized contracts such as Guam and also granting the pecuniary, technical and martial aids to above - mentioned republics.

### 3.1. NATO

The survival necessity and martial costs of NATO were considered exactly with decline of Russia and ending the cold war. The structural realistic believed that it doesn't need the survival cost of NATO with decline of rival power. Against of it, the neoliberal institutionalises believed that although the communism threat has destroyed, the principle

one has maintained yet. Finally, view of institutionalises convinced the heads of NATO. They undertook in the public meeting in 1991 that NATO will survive with dissemination of spread to east. NATO redefined own nature, goal and structure by that approach. According to importance of area for the west, NATO entered to the area by performing two plans that one of them performed via creating the cooperation council of North Atlantic and the other one was to fulfil the participation plan for the peace. The participation plan for the peace was designed to observe on the military forces, doing the joint operation that NATO guided it and the communication between the member states. NATO documents indicates that the partnership program for the peace enables the member states to strengthen own relations with NATO for their benefits and capabilities. The participation exercises have been designed for the peace in order to promote the practical military cooperation.

**Table1: comparison the Russia and U.S. in the Middle Asia:**

	U.S.	Russia
<b>Russia and U.S.</b>	1-control and weakening Russia 2-control of China in area 3-confronting with Iran influence 4-access to energy resources of Caspian sea 5-strengthening and influence of Israel in area 6-preventing fundamentalism growth 7-preventing nuclear weapons development remained from communism era 8-complete the Iran siege 9-domination on the natural sources of area 10-support the democrat and free market economy 11-prevention and control the civil wars	1-obtaining the past role and influence again 2-maintaining stability of the area 3-preventing influence of the foreigners in the Middle Asia 4-continuance the connection of the communication structures with the external world via Russia 5-transit the energy resources to the world usage markets by the oil and gas transition lines of Russia 6-strengthening own place as one of the basic suppliers of the economic and technologic needs of these countries and preventing their convergence with the west structures 7-maintaining the rest monopolies from Russia era in area maintaining their connection with Russia 8-use the first resources and the raw materials of area countries 9-transit the part of goods and products of area to north of Europe specially for the republics not having a way to the free waters 10-use the ways of area to commercial connection with Iran and the countries of the south of Asia

And the joint capabilities in the states that the program emphasises on them and also to help to develop the cooperation capabilities between the allied forces of NATO and the partner countries. Thus the identity of NATO was changes from the nature of a defence treaty to a development – oriented power and gazed to more than the geographic area of Caucasus Middle East and Middle Asia. In this regard, NATO has presented a network from the various scientific, technical, economical and political strategies in order to reach own goals in the Middle Asia since the last decade of twenty – one century, also NATO presented the initiative of promotion the internet connection between the Middle Asia countries and Caucasus within the virtual silk highway and now it has traversed the important steps from that initiative in the Middle Asia and Afghanistan. It replaces the management of the international crises, extreme nationalism, fundamentalist; terrorism and struggle with the proliferation of mass destruction weapons with own previous goals i.e. the communism control. NATO considered a special place for their own in the Middle Asia and Caucasus by that strategy. The increasing number of member states from 16 to 26 and effort of Australia and Japan on military connections with NATO are some examples from structural changes in NATO. Now all of the countries of Eastern Europe are members of NATO. Thus, NATO has organized the sensitive connections for Russia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Ukrainian. From the view of Russia, that area is been considered as a security domain. Moscow defined destroying that area, disruption of the stability and balance of the area powers. So Russia considers it as red channel. But NATO hasn't considered these warning signals seriously. It draws own regional policies with criteria of the power balance. So it considers process of spread to east as an inhibition policy against the potential threats of area. In this approach, the process of combat with terrorism, preventing the proliferation and publication of mass destruction weapons and confronting with fundamentalism and efforts to spread the democracy along that inhibition strategy and establishment a hegemony power in area finds meaning. In this approach, the spread of NATO to east is a means to institutionalize hegemony of U.S. in Eurasia. U.S. is able to prevent the appearance any rivals in area by these political leverage. U.S. always thinks about the unipolar system with own leadership after the cold war and fears of new rivals such as Europe and China. So U.S. tries to play the basic role in the international changes by maintaining own excellence in institutions such as NATO. Although the Security Council as an efficient tool can be an appropriate assistance for expansion of U.S., but the

existence of the strong oppositions of U.S. such as China and Russia in the Security Council has decreased largely the possibility of relying to that. According to the powerful and executive role of NATO in the world, today that organization is a valuable tool more than ever. After the cold war of NATO it considered the plan of spread to east in the international system by the broad definition of security threats in order to maintain the stability in different areas in the world. Therefore, the long-term goals such as dominance on the geostrategic and geocologic of area, management of the immense resources of petrochemicals of area, confronting with countries that manufacture the nuclear and chemical weapons, confronting with Islamic fundamentalism, information exchange, preventing the formation of the traditional power of Russia in area, diffusion barrier of spread China power, blockade of Iran, to pressure the Pakistan, alongside compete with power of India are some of goals of U.S. that only achieve them via power of NATO. So it seems that in association with security issues in the Middle Asia and Caucasus, two security organizations and Europe cooperation and contract organization of North Atlantic (NATO) act co-ordinately. NATO follows the spread of military relations, information exchange and doing the joint maneuvers with countries of area within the participation plan for the peace, while the security organization and Europe cooperation act resorting to various political practices such as early warnings, preventive diplomacy, humanitarian aids and management of crisis via mediation in conflicts and other peaceful methods of the settlement of disputes. Indeed, these organizations are complementary of each other about the security issues.

#### 4.1. Shanghai

Indeed, the cooperation organization of Shanghai is a soft balancing against hegemony of U.S. The appearance and evolution of cooperation organization of Shanghai potentially is a balancing act in reaction to U.S. unilateralism. China suggestion to form the cooperation organization of Shanghai is a reason to opposition of that country with American view of the international system and U.S. claim about unipolar world. The increasing presence and influence of U.S. in the Middle Asia specially after 11 September and occupation of Afghanistan has become a security concerns of China that has caused to cooperate China more seriously and institutional with neighbouring countries within the cooperation organization of Shanghai creating the balance with coordination of Russia against the growing influence of U.S. Peking leaders have considered the view of multiple system in contrast to

unilateralism of U.S. in different occasions. However, until 2001 and even in recent years, that organization has frequently announced that it doesn't try to form the block against U.S. and west (Navrozov, Lev. (2006). The main activities of that organization are within areas of business, investment, economic and financial affairs, education and culture. From 10 mechanisms of cooperation organization of Shanghai, 4 groups are belonging to Eden policy affairs (economy, transportation, culture and parliament), 4 groups to law and order (border affairs, attorney, law and emergency cases), and only 2 groups are related to defence and state. But it doesn't mean that the organization is incurious to growing presence of NATO in area. As Shanghai has increased the quantity and quality of own military manoeuvres in area against exercises and military training cooperation of NATO since 2003. In July 2005 Shanghai in cooperation with NATO in Afghanistan in condition of determining schedule agreed to get out of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. After leaving Uzbekistan and U.S. attempt to increase the presence in Kyrgyzstan, Shanghai tried to power off to U.S. by doing the military manoeuvres 2005 in China and 2007 in Russia. On the other hand, in Astana summit in 2005 it emphasised on the collective action strategy against foreign terrorist plots or expansion with spread of terrorist threats (Stakelbeck, Frederick W., Jr. (2005). In addition, after that summit, struggle with racial separatism and extremism added to its tasks. Also, the members of organization were committed to supply the stability in area, struggle with terrorism, separatism and extremism act intercommunion and coordination in order to promote the cooperation. In addition, in 2006 it announced in a statement that the members of that land don't use themselves to compromise the rule, security or the territorial integrity of the other members and don't allow to those organizations and other groups to activate that they compromise the other member benefits. After strengthening and security jobs of that organization and interest of Russia and China to prevent the military and security interventions of the ultra-regional powers specially U.S., this organization asks U.S. in heads summit to determine program of exit of the military powers from area. Indeed, the close cooperation of China and Russia as two permanent members of the Security Council in area has encouraged the member states to convergence and more cooperation with the organization.

#### 5.1. The contrast and cooperation Shanghai and NATO in the Middle Asia:

We can evaluate the complex and invisible relations of NATO and Shanghai in the new



conditions of the Middle Asia in the analysis of the competition and reconciliation components. Two clear characteristics in the Middle Asia affect the spread of NATO to east and the military policies of U.S. in area geopolitically and geoeconomically. The Middle Asia geopolitically locates in vicinity with 4 areas of the Middle East via the shared borders with Iran, vicinity with Indian Subcontinent via the shared border with Afghanistan, Caspian Sea, Russia and also China. Establishment in this area for U.S. means to access to centres of threatening. On the other hand, the importance of energy resources of that area in the future has made U.S. sensitive to increasing Russia influence in the Middle Asia. In the early of summer in 2009, the energy information office of U.S. (EIA) predicted the intense decreasing of world oil reserves. According to Michael klar the cheap oil era is going to finish and likely the lethal competition will begin for energy. According to Pip Skobar, Afghanistan war isn't for the terrorism, it is for the energy. He is one that by expressing Pipelineistan term and the explanation the pipeline claims that Afghanistan locates in centre of energy transition and then he says: Do not "Afghanistan" and "oil", because they are similar. Indeed, we can say that many of the geopolitical and geoeconomical calculations of powers of the Middle Asia rotate about axis of energy and it unites the west in Persian Gulf wars in last decade of twentieth century and then Afghanistan and Iraq war in the first decade of twenty – one century, so it seems that Russia in addition own lone – riding policies in the energy markets in area and world, now is sought to create a east energy block. Simultaneous with summit of Shanghai heads in Bishkek in August 2007, Kremlin announced that he has decided to create an energy club among the members of that organization. It means more dominance of Russia on the energy markets and so the political exploitation from that economic instruments against west. But despite the mentioned conflict backgrounds in the Middle Asia, U.S. and NATO from one side, Russia and China i.e. Shanghai from other side have some shared concerns that it can provide the compromise and cooperation background of these two fronts. The existence of the shared threat called terrorism, drugs and organized crimes are the axis of that compromise that is an intolerable threat to them. In recent months, they have been called by NATO officials, Russia, China and Shanghai to cooperate in order to finish Afghanistan war. It seems that China is more interested in these discussions and Russia is urgent to guidance these cooperation. Making a formal discussion with cooperation organization of Shanghai may help to strengthen the role of NATO in the Middle Asia countries. However, NATO is lacking of formal relations with that organization or China

(Colson, Charles. ( 2003). The regional issues such as the social and economical development, energy utilization, struggle with terrorism and drug trafficking inhibition, control of the mass destruction weapons, cooperation in the management of the natural disasters can provide the background to strengthen NATO negotiations.

**Table2: comparison Shanghai policy and NATO in the Middle Asia:**

	Shanghai	NATO
<b>Comparison the policy of Shanghai and NATO in the Middle Asia</b>	1-creating a barrier against the security threats from Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan 2-maintaining the stability of area 3-preventing terrorism and separation in Syngiiyang province 4-to access to the energy resources 5-creating the block of east energy 6-creating a powerful force against hegemony policy of U.S. patriarchal Power	1-struggle process with terrorism 2-preventing proliferation and publication of the mass destruction 3-contrast with fundamentalism 4-effort to promote democracy 5-establishment a hegemony power 6-inhibition of China and Russia

## 2. Discussion:

The regional and ultra-regional powers always have considered the Middle Asia and Caucasus for their geostrategic situation, security importance, existence some crises and ethnic differences, existence energy reserves and its transit to usage markets. The weakness of Russia after decline and westernized approach of Yeltsin state caused to low note at the Middle Asia and Caucasus and power vacuum in that area. The new conditions after decline and the geopolitical advantages of area caused the competition between different powers for presence and influence in that area. After Putin came to power in 2000, Russia changed own approach to area. The Middle Asia and Caucasus within the thoughts of Russia leaders are the depth of geostrategic and geopolitical of Russia. The more presence and influence of Russia in area cause to increase the regional and international situation and national benefits of Russia in review the economic, politic, security and strategic integration with independent republics in the Middle Asia and Caucasus. In this framework, control and moderating

Russia competitors are goals of Moscow. West powers try to increase own presence and influence in that area by use economical and security advantages. In this regard, NATO tries to supply the political and strategic of west by performing 'partnership for peace' and 'partnership council of Europe – Atlantic' programs. In addition to, west tries to prevent influence of Russia, China and Iran by presenting the educational programs, the financial and economic assistance and investment to energy transfer from east to west and help to settlement of disputes.

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