

COLLECTIVE SECURITY TREATY ORGANIZATION (CSTO) AND THE  
LIMITATIONS OF RUSSIA'S INFLUENCE OVER THE OTHER CSTO  
MEMBER STATES

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **COLLECTIVE SECURITY TREATY ORGANIZATION (CSTO) AND THE LIMITATIONS OF RUSSIA'S INFLUENCE OVER THE OTHER CSTO MEMBER STATES**

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This thesis aims to discuss the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the sources of Russia's influence over its other member-states. It focuses on the origins of the CSTO and the development of security cooperation within the CSTO framework. The thesis argues that although the CSTO continues to be a Russia-centric regional security organization, Russia's influence over the other CSTO member states has been gradually limited throughout the 2000s due to the increasing diversity in the threat perception of the other CSTO member states and the increasing penetration of the other regional security organizations into the post-Soviet space.

Following the Introduction chapter, the second chapter discusses the origins of security cooperation within the framework of the CIS. The third chapter analyzes the CSTO in terms of its structure and activities since its establishment in 2002. The next chapter outlines the transnational challenges to the security of the post-Soviet states and their threat perception, as well as the efforts to promote regional security by the regional actors. The fifth chapter analyzes the increasing involvement of other regional security organizations, such as SCO, OSCE, and NATO into the post-Soviet space. The concluding chapter discusses the main finding of the thesis.

**Key Words:** CSTO, CIS, Regional Security Complex Theory, Post – Soviet states, Security Threats.

## ÖZ

### KOLLEKTİF GÜVENLİK ANLAŞMASI TEŞKİLATI (KGAT) VE RUSYA’NIN DİĞER KGAT ÜYE DEVLETLERİ ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİNİN SINIRLILIKLARI

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Bu tez Kollektif Güvenlik Anlaşması Teşkilatı (KGAT) ve Rusya’nın diğer KGAT üye devletleri üzerindeki etki kaynaklarını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tez KGAT’ın başlangıcı ve KGAT çerçevesindeki güvenlik işbirliğinin gelişmesine odaklanmaktadır. Bu tez KGAT’ın Rusya merkezli bölgesel güvenlik örgütü olarak devam etmesine rağmen, 2000 yıllarında diğer KGAT üye devletlerinin artan tehdit algısı çeşitliliği ve diğer bölgesel güvenlik örgütlerinin Sovyet sonrası bölgeye artan ilgisinden dolayı Rusya’nın diğer KGAT üye devletlerine olan etkisinin yavaş yavaş sınırlandığını savunuyor.

Giriş bölümünden sonra, ikinci bölüm Bağımsız Devletler Topluluğu (BDT) çerçevesinde güvenlik işbirliği kökenin incelemektedir. Üçüncü bölüm 2002 yılındaki kuruluşundan bu yana KGAT’ın yapısını ve faaliyetini araştırmaktadır. Bir sonraki bölüm Sovyet sonrası devletlerin uluslararası zorlukları ve onların tehdit algısı yanı sıra bölgesel aktörler tarafından bölgesel güvenliği teşvik etme çabalarını özetliyor. Beşinci bölüm Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü (ŞİÖ), AGİT ve NATO gibi diğer bölgesel güvenlik örgütlerinin Sovyet sonrası bölgeye artan ilgisini analiz etmektedir. Sonuç bölümü ise tezin ana bulgularını tartışmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: KGAT, BDT, Bölgesel Güvenlik Kompleksi Teorisi, Sovyet sonrası devletler, Güvenlik Tehditleri.

To My Grandmother Ayi Imetbaeva

and

To My Grandfather Mametisak Borkoev

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
ATC	Anti-Terrorist Center
CACO	Central Asian Cooperation Organization
CAEC	Central Asian Economic Community
CANWFZ	Central Asian Nuclear Free Zone
CAU	Central Asian Union
CCS	Council of Collective Security
Centrasbat	Central Asian Peacekeeping Battalion
CFT	Council of Frontier Troops
CFTC	Council of Frontier Troops Commander
CHG	Council of Heads of Government
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Forces
CMD	Council of Ministries of Defense
CMFA	Council of Ministries of Foreign Affairs
CRDF	Collective Rapid Deployment Forces
CRRF CA	Collective Rapid Reaction Forces in Central Asia

CRRF	Collective Rapid Reaction Forces
CST	Collective Security Treaty
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
ESDI	European Security and Defense Identity
EurAsEC	Eurasian Economic Community
GUAM	Organization for Democracies and Economic Developments (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova)
IASPA	Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PfP	Partnership for Peace
RSC	Regional Security Complex
RSCT	Regional Security Complex Theory
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **1 INTRODUCTION**

The sudden change in geopolitics in early 1990s with the demise of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) raised a lot of questions about the security aspect of the world. The disintegration of the Soviet Union was not only the end of a big Empire, but it was also the end of the bipolar world. Newly emerging post – communist states faced a lot of difficulties in defining their further path of development. The Commonwealth of the Independent States officially stopped the existence of the USSR, and was established to perform the ‘civilized divorce’ of its republics, and was purely symbolic organization without any concrete steps following the foundation. However, during mid – 90’s Russia shifted its foreign policy to ‘near abroad’, its traditional sphere of influence, and began to pay more attention to the integration process within the Commonwealth. The consequent events in late 90’s, such as incursion to Kyrgyz south and attacks in Tashkent by Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), followed by the tragic event on 9/11 led to the establishment of the new regional security organization – Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). The recent developments in the territory of CSTO raised the question of the role of the organization in ensuring security of the member – states and in conflict resolution. Moreover, the viability of the organization will be put under suspect if Russia changes its priorities in foreign policy. These and other issues related to the security establishment of the post – Soviet world will be examined within the context of the thesis.

## **1.1 Scope and Objective**

This thesis aims to examine the role of CSTO in ensuring security of the region. It analyzes the evolution of the cooperation between post- Soviet states since the demise of the Soviet Union first under the framework of the CIS, and later under the framework of CSTO. The thesis focuses on the purpose of the establishment of the CSTO as a regional organization since the 2002 with seven out of 11 members of the CIS.

Integration within the framework of the CIS and CSTO has become the main priority of Russia in the beginning of the XXI century. Following the Soviet Union's demise, Russia chose the western democratic development and the 'near abroad' had fallen out of its interest for some time. However, by the growing outrage along the Russian politicians, and to restore its 'superpower' status, Russia's policy turned to post – Soviet states. The CIS, established as an alternative to USSR has been used as a tool to integration among its members. However until the late 90's the Commonwealth has not done anything of big importance. The CIS countries faced with the challenges of modern world in 1999 by the incursion of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) to the southern Kyrgyzstan and with car attacks in Tashkent, which raised the issue of regional security to the main agenda of the CIS meetings.

9/11 terrorist attack once more stressed the importance of this issue for the national and regional security, so following that event, members agreed to establish the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) to combat terrorism, illicit drug trafficking, illegal migration, and organized crime. The foundation of CSTO led the relations between its members to new level.

This thesis discusses the preconditions of integration within the framework of CSTO, and its effectiveness in ensuring security of the region. Afghan impact is also will be examined within the context of the thesis, as four out of seven members of the Organization are Central Asian countries, while two of them have direct borders

with it. Another fact that all these four countries have majority Muslim population should also been taken into consideration. So, this thesis will focus on the challenges to the security of the region, and will also discuss the growing role of the CSTO and Russia in the region. At last, CSTO member states' relations and cooperation with other international organizations on the territory of the CIS will be discussed.

## 1.2 Review of the Literature

Although the end of the Cold War was a result of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, its former republics began the process of reintegration within the framework of the CIS at the beginning, and later the CSTO. This process first has started as the result of peaceful disintegration without any revolution at the centre or the 'periphery'<sup>1</sup>, which led to the possibility of the further integration. The establishment of the CIS and later CSTO opened new opportunities to the collective security cooperation between the post-communist states.

The CSTO transformed itself from CST, or simply Tashkent Treaty, to regional security organization following the events that threatened the security and stability in the region. The Official reason of its foundation was to improve the effectiveness of interaction between member-states; however, there are some other reasons that are outlined by the scholars. Yulia Nikitina, researcher at Center of post-Soviet studies of Moscow State Institute of International Relations, argues that the establishment of the CSTO as a regional organization followed the establishment of pro-western GUAM in 1997 and Uzbekistan's membership in 1999. Furthermore, the Kosovo crises cooled the relations between NATO and Russia<sup>2</sup>, and in addition there was

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<sup>1</sup> Mozaffari, M., *The CIS' Southern Belt: a New Security System*, in Mozaffari Mehdi (ed.), *Security Politics in the Commonwealth of Independent States*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997, p. 5

<sup>2</sup> Yulia Nikitina, *Vklad Organizatsii Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti v Regionalnoe Sotrudnichestvo v Sphere Bezopasnosti (The Contribution of the Collective Security Treaty Organization to the Regional Security Cooperation)*, *Analiticheskie Zapisi*, No. 3 (43), May 2009, p. 3

terrorist incursion to the southern part of the CIS in 1999 and 2000. Nikitina also outlines that the foundation of the organization coincided with the anti-terrorist operation of coalition, particularly USA, in Afghanistan and with the establishment of US bases on the territory of Central Asian States<sup>3</sup>.



Source: ‘CSTO – a NATO for the East?’, Available at: <http://rt.com/news/csto-a-nato-for-the-east/>

### **Figure 1: Political Map of CSTO**

Since the establishment of the CSTO, there have been various opinions about the effectiveness of the organization in ensuring security in the region. Some scholars believe that the CSTO is a regional security organization that represents and satisfies interests of its members. Andrei Alyaev and Suleiman Dehkanov state that the CSTO will determine and offer the military-political ways of integration and

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



cooperation in security in Eurasia, and particularly in Central Asia<sup>4</sup>. They also outline that the organization will be the stimulus to enhance the integration process in this vast territory<sup>5</sup>. Another scholar from Russia, Orozbai Samatov considers that the CSTO's actuality is very clear for Central Asian states, especially during this very unstable situation within the region. He expresses an opinion that it will also support these states in nation-building process<sup>6</sup>.

On the other hand, there are scholars who perceive CSTO as a Russian dominated organization and Russian tool. Martha Brill Olcott points out that Russia enhances its security positions through CSTO and bilateral cooperation in post-Soviet states to fight back NATO's efforts<sup>7</sup>. Russia opened airbase at Kant, Kyrgyzstan following the establishment of Manas US base, and now planning to open second base and training center on the southern part of the Kyrgyzstan under the CSTO's mandate. Uzbekistan is rejecting the idea, as it is going to have Russian military forces on its borders. Tajikistan also hosts Russian troops of 201<sup>st</sup> Brigade (5000 troops), and leaders of countries are negotiating about opening the second base<sup>8</sup>.

Furthermore, John A. Mowchan also argues that Russia is paying a lot of attention to the transformation of CSTO from purely symbolic organization to military one. He emphasizes that the establishment of the Collective Rapid Reaction Forces (CRRF) of CSTO in February 2009 was with Kremlin's initiative, and 8000 troops out of

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<sup>4</sup> Andrei Alyaev, Suleiman Dehkanov, *ODKB kak Sistema Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti: Sovremennoe sostoyanie i perspektivy (CSTO as a System of Collective Security: Modern Condition and Perspectives)*, Observer 1/2007, pp. 67 – 77, p. 76

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 67

<sup>6</sup> Orozbai Samatov, *Osobaya rol' Organizatsii o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti po Uglubleniyu Integratsii v Ramkah SNG (The special Role of the Collective Security Treaty Organization in Enhancing Integration of CIS)*, Pravo i Politika (Law and Politics), 2005/4, see on <http://www.lawmix.ru/comm/1264/>, [Accessed on December 12, 2010]

<sup>7</sup> Martha Brill Olcott, *Central Asia: Living in Afghanistan's Shadow*, Noref Policy Brief, Norwegian Peace Building Centre, November 2009, No.1, p. 3

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

16000 are provided by Russia, and 4000 troops will be Kazakhstan's<sup>9</sup>. Other four members, except Uzbekistan, are going to provide one fourth part of the CRRF troops, and Uzbekistan will send its troops only in special cases such as anti-drug operation or other regional crisis that threaten its interests.

The leaders of the Tashkent Treaty agreed to hold a joint military drills, and to form Collective Rapid Reaction Forces in Central Asia (CRRF CA) in May 2001. It included 1300 military personal, and Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan agreed to provide with 1 battalion each. Later, its staff was increased in 2004, and Permanent Task Forces of CRRF CA's head quarter was established in Bishkek<sup>10</sup>. However in 2009, joint Collective Rapid Reaction Forces (CRRF), separate military unit under the CSTO, was created following the Russian – Georgian War in 2008. President Medvedev stressed that all the members of the CSTO agreed to establish joint forces if needed, and added that the CRRF could be “turning into serious forces, with capabilities not below those of NATO.”<sup>11</sup> The *Rubezh 2010* military drills hosted in Tajikistan included CRRF forces during the trainings<sup>12</sup>. But the Kyrgyz crises in 2010 questioned the efficiency of the organization, while despite

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<sup>9</sup> John A. Mowchan, *Militarization of the Collective Security treaty Organization*, Center for Strategic Leadership. U.S. Army War College, July 2009, Volume 6 – 09, p.2, Available at: [http://www.csl.army.mil/usacsl/publications/IP\\_6\\_09\\_Militarization\\_of\\_the\\_CSTO.pdf](http://www.csl.army.mil/usacsl/publications/IP_6_09_Militarization_of_the_CSTO.pdf), [Accessed on July 9, 2011]

<sup>10</sup> Andrei Alyaev, Suleiman Dehkanov, *ODKB kak Sistema Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti: Sovremennoe sostoyanie i perspektivy (CSTO as a System of Collective Security: Modern Condition and Perspectives)*, Observer 1/2007, pp. 67 – 77, pp. 69 – 70

<sup>11</sup> Roman Muzalevsky, *CSTO Rapid Reaction Forces Reveal Russia's Security Priorities*, February 02, 2009, Available at: <http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=node/5055> [Accessed on June 20, 2011]

<sup>12</sup> Maks Maksudov, *Tajikistan Hosts Rubezh – 2010 Counter – terrorism exercises*, Central Asia Online, April 27, 2010, Available at: [http://centralasiaonline.com/cocoon/caii/xhtml/en\\_GB/features/caii/features/main/2010/04/27/feature-01](http://centralasiaonline.com/cocoon/caii/xhtml/en_GB/features/caii/features/main/2010/04/27/feature-01), [Accessed on March 27, 2011]

the request of the Kyrgyz authorities to help in stabilizing the situation, it was refused, stating that it is internal issued of the Kyrgyzstan<sup>13</sup>.

Aleksei Malashenko, an expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Moscow, estimated Russia's effort to promote CSTO as a possibility to increase its role on the post-Soviet territories. He also stated that "Generally, [the CSTO] exists as Russia's political tool to keep this area under its own control," doubting that the organization would take active participation in the security of the region. Moreover he added that:

“Russia pays the expenses from its own pocket; it pays through the sale of its weapons at domestic prices. That is what the CSTO means. I cannot imagine the CSTO taking any real action”<sup>14</sup>.

Thus, the organization will not fight against other organizations, like NATO, or that it will not intervene in case of Islamic revolt.

Internal problems, and disagreements among the member states of the CSTO, and strong dependence from Russia also raises the question of efficiency. It is worth to mention that all the activities of the CSTO on existence and contribution to regional security in Central Asia will be questioned if there is no Russian support. So most of the issues are initiated and decided by Russia and it seems like it is an organization where Russia is in one side and all other 11 members in another.

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<sup>13</sup> *Bordyuja: Mejdru Rossiei I Kirgizei byli protivorechiya. No eto ne znachit, chto my doljny byli snosit etu vlast (Bordyuja: There were Contradictions between Russia and Kyrgyzstan. But it does not mean that we had to demolish this Power)*, April 18, 2010, 14:57, Available at: <http://www.ca-news.org/news/360221>, [Accessed on November 14, 2010]

<sup>14</sup> *Russian-Led CSTO Grouping Adds Military Dimension*, Available at: [http://www.rferl.org/content/Rapid\\_Reaction\\_Force\\_Adds\\_Military\\_Dimension\\_To\\_CSTO/1379324.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/Rapid_Reaction_Force_Adds_Military_Dimension_To_CSTO/1379324.html), February 04, 2009 [Accessed on April 6, 2011]

### 1.3 Argument

This thesis argues that although CSTO a regional security organization, where Russian is a dominant power, imposing its own interests and policies, still some of CSTO member – states do not follow Russia's path and try to move away from Russian influence. The CST, or simply Tashkent Treaty was signed in early 1990's to ensure collective security on the territory of the post-Soviet states under the framework of the CIS and in 2002 transformed into independent regional organization, however it has divisive nature. CSTO includes only some of the CIS member states, those which have special relations with Moscow. In spite of this, event the current member states of CSTO are not fully devoted to the organization, thus they try to develop relations with other regional security organizations in the region.

The thesis basis of the thesis is build on Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT), which is blend of neorealist and constructivist approaches to International Relations, introduced by Buzan and Waever. Neorelism is a theoretical approach that argues about power polarity and its main actor is state. Thus, the ideas of territoriality and power distribution of neorealism were used in RSCT, however, RSCT is concentrated on the regional level unlike neorealism, which analysis on global level. On the other hand, RSCT also uses constructivist approach, and applies the pattern of amity and enmity and distribution of power substantially independent index<sup>15</sup>.

The RCST provides us with conceptual framework with distinguished security regions into groups to analyze the regional security. The RSCT's main idea is:

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<sup>15</sup> Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, *Regions and Power: The Structure of International Security*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 4

‘since most threats travel easily over short distance that over a long ones, security interdependence is normally patterned into regionally based clusters: security complex<sup>16</sup>’.

However, it is very important to distinguish RSCs from the general concept of regions. David Lake and Patrick Morgan state that:

‘Regions are now more salient features of international politics. ...Regions are not simply “little” international systems that behave in ways identical to their “larger counterparts”<sup>17</sup>’.

On the other hand, RSC is an analytical concept that studies the security practices and reasoning of actors, and it is build around the ‘*security*’<sup>18</sup>. In the structure of anarchy, RSC’s essential ideas are strong territoriality, power relations and durable pattern of amity and enmity that leads to the pattern of security interdependence. The RSCs can be studied in terms of polarity, and it can be unipolar, bipolar or multipolar<sup>19</sup>. The pattern of amity and enmity is best understood from historical perspective in socially constructed units, thus historical friendships, hatred, conflicts, misunderstanding leads to the formation of the RSC<sup>20</sup>.

Post-Soviet states, particularly, Central Asia, Caucasus, Belarus and Russia have been the part of the one country for more than seven decades, sharing the same culture, ideology, identity, and values. Mehdi Mozaffari argues in his work that the Central Asia and the Caucasus do not constitute one RSC, however they are linked

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan, *The New Regionalism in Security Affairs*, in David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan, eds., *Regional Orders: Building Security in a New World*, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania States University Press, 1997, p. 7

<sup>18</sup> Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, *Regions and Power: The Structure of International Security*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 48

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 29, 45, 49

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p. 50

by ‘extra’ power – Russia<sup>21</sup>. He also allocates other powers in the region such as China, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan that can also substitute Russia. Hooman Peimani points out the weakness of the RSC consisting only Central Asian states, and discusses the desire of its actors to move away from Russian – centric security complex, while taking into consideration Turkey – oriented one or Iran – oriented<sup>22</sup>.

The argument of the thesis complies with the Regional Security Complex Theory, and contributes to the views of some authors who argue that CSTO is an effective organization that promotes Russia’s security interests in the CIS area. This thesis argues that the CIS region does not constitute a single regional security complex but multiple regional security complexes with contradictory security challenges.

#### **1.4 Chapters of the Thesis**

This thesis comprises of five chapters. First is the introductory chapter, the second chapter examines the prerequisites to the establishment of the CIS and its activities. The chapter also focuses on the institutional bodies of the organization, and their main functions. Moreover, it discusses the important activities of the CIS within 20 years of its existence, while security issues also are examined within its framework.

This chapter analyses in detail the demise of the USSR in early 90’s by signing the CIS Treaty by the leaders of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus; the situation within the newly established states; the decision of other post-Soviet states to join the CIS; the Alma-Ata Declaration, and further developments within the Commonwealth. Finally, it shifts its focus to the Tashkent Treaty or Collective Security Treaty,

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<sup>21</sup> Mehdi Mozaffari, *The CIS’ Southern Belt: a New Security System’* in Mehdi Mozaffari, *‘Security Politics in the Commonwealth of Independent States: the Southern Belt’*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, INC.; London: Macmillan Press LTD, 1997, pp. 3 – 34, p. 9

<sup>22</sup> Hooman Peimani, *Regional Security and the Future of Central Asia: the Competition of Iran, Turkey, and Russia*, Westport, Conn: Praeger, 1998, pp. 2, 5

signed in 1992, along with the other institutional bodies of the CIS dealing with the security in the region.

The third chapter discusses the CSTO as a separate regional political – military organization that fights against challenges to security of its member – states. The context includes the discussion of the CSTO becoming as an independent organization apart from the CIS; the institutional bodies of the organization according to its Charter; and its activities since 2002. This chapter focuses on the necessity of the establishment of the organization, its prerequisites, and the attitude of its members to its efficiency. The last part of the chapter examines the activities of the CSTO, and stresses two critical points 2008 (Russo – Georgian War) and 2010 (Kyrgyzstan events). The second case led to the hot discussions about the use of the Collective Rapid Reaction Forces (CRRF), and also reasoned to the further discussions about amendments to the structure of the organization.

The fourth chapter discusses the security challenges to the Post-Soviet region and threat perception by the CSTO member states. It focuses on the international terrorism, drug and arm trafficking, border issues, and other security challenges that poses serious threats to the region and beyond. Afghanistan and instability in Central Asian countries are also discussed in details, as it also impacts the security of the other regions. This chapter gives detailed information about the background of those challenges, the link between them, influence on regional stability, and the current situation of those threats. At last, chapter focuses on the cooperation between states through bilateral, multilateral agreements; international and regional organizations to maintain the stability in the region.

The fifth chapter examines the increasing penetration of other regional security organization in the CIS territory, and its relations with CSTO member-states. Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) includes five out of seven members of CSTO along with China. It is also one of the important players in ensuring security of the region. The OSCE and NATO's PfP Program are also discussed in the chapter. At last, the conclusion chapter examines the main points of the thesis.

## CHAPTER 2

### 2 COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS) AND ITS APPROACH TO REGIONAL SECURITY

This chapter discusses the attempt of the post-Soviet states to keep friendly relations with each other in the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the organization's formation, institutions and other bodies developed under it, such as EurAsEC, Common Economic Space and Common Monetary Zone. Finally, the chapter will discuss the CIS' performance in dealing with security issues, including Collective Security Treaty or simply Tashkent Treaty, which started under the CIS and then became regional organization in 2002.

#### 2.1 Origins and Formation of CIS

The disintegration of Soviet Empire in the early 1990s put the beginning to the transformation of former communist states. All fifteen states took the path of liberal democracy, abandoning the socialist structure of their countries. A crucial point in that situation was that the Soviet – Russian Empire disintegrated without any revolution at the centre or the 'periphery'. The states merely had to agree with the changes from the top that is from the Central Communist Party in Moscow<sup>23</sup>. This peaceful disintegration of the Soviet Union is very significant as it has a strong impact on further evolution and integration of those states.

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<sup>23</sup> Mozaffari, M., *The CIS' Southern Belt: a New Security System*, in Mozaffari Mehdi (ed.), *Security Politics in the Commonwealth of Independent States*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997, p. 5



The project of the Treaty of “Independent States Union”, prepared by the Mikhail Gorbachev’s team, existed in 1991 as a solution to the crises within the Union<sup>24</sup>. Resolution of Supreme Council of USSR “about the project of the Treaty of Independent States Union” included the followings:

“... to support the project of the Treaty of Independent States Union, introduced on July 18, 1991 by the President of USSR in the name of Preparatory Committee, established by the 4<sup>th</sup> congress of people’s deputies of USSR. Adjudge the possibility of the signing the Treaty with the participation of plenipotentiary union delegation after appropriate completion and agreement among republics<sup>25</sup>.”

According to the procedure of the Treaty of Union, signing was planned on August 20, 1991. On August 4, M. Gorbachev left to Foros for holiday, while on August 19 was the putsh in Moscow that disrupted the signing of the Treaty<sup>26</sup>.

The formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States was spontaneous and hasty and its aim was to liquidate the USSR politically by the leaders of Russia – Boris Yeltsin, Ukraine – Leonid Kravchuk and Belarus – Stanislav Shushkevich<sup>27</sup>. The president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbaev, was also invited to join the

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<sup>24</sup> Sultygov M.I., *K voprosu sozdaniya Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv, (To the issue of Commonwealth of Independent States Establishment, Available at [http://kazgua.co.kz/stat/pig3\\_2000/sultigov.shtml](http://kazgua.co.kz/stat/pig3_2000/sultigov.shtml), [Accessed on February 5, 2011]*

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Barkovskiy, Anatolii, *Desyat let SNG: Nakoplenii opyt I perspektivy (10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of CIS: know how experience and perspectives)*, Sodrujestvo (Commonwealth), June 27, 2001, see on [http://cis.ng.ru/words/2001-06-27/1\\_experience.html](http://cis.ng.ru/words/2001-06-27/1_experience.html), [Accessed on December 13, 2010], [Accessed on December 13, 2010]

leaders in signing the Agreement, but he visited Moscow instead of Minsk<sup>28</sup>, where three leaders were having meeting/ So the “secret meeting” near Viskuli in Belavezhskaya Pusha (Belarus) on December 8, 1991 decided the fate of the Soviet Union and all former Soviet States. Leaders of three Slavic Soviet States signed the document about the disintegration of USSR, as subject of international law and geopolitical realities; and the formation of Commonwealth of Independent States, successor of USSR, on the basis of historical community of nations and relationships among them, considering the bilateral agreements, aspirations to democratization and intentions to improve relations on the basis of mutual recognition and respect to state sovereignty<sup>29</sup>, known as Belavezha Accord. On December 19, 1991 the document was ratified by the Supreme Councils of Belarus and Ukraine<sup>30</sup>.

Presidents of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan held a meeting in Ashgabat on December 13 and adopted declaration of membership terms to the CIS<sup>31</sup>. Declaration states that in the formation of the CIS, it is necessary to provide the equal participation of the subjects of former Soviet Union in the process of solution and document making on Commonwealth of Independent States, therewith all the member-states of the Commonwealth should be recognized as founders and should be indicated in the text as high contracting bodies. It was necessary to consider all the historical and social-economic realities of the Central Asian republics in the documents, resolutions and agreements, which were not

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<sup>28</sup> *Belovezhskaya soglashenie I ih otsenka ( Belavezha Accords and their assessment)* Available at <http://www.bibliotekar.ru/mihail-gorbachev/82.htm>, [Accessed on December 13, 2010]

<sup>29</sup> *Soglashenie o Sozdanii Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv, Ispolnitel'nyy Komitet SNG (Treaty on Establishment of Commonwealth of Independent States, Executive Committee of CIS)*, (Belavezha Accord), Available at <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=176>, [Accessed on December 26, 2010]

<sup>30</sup> Sultygov M.I., *K voprosu sozdaniya Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv, (To the issue of Commonwealth of Independent States Establishment, Available at* [http://kazgva.co.kz/stat/pig3\\_2000/sultigov.shtml](http://kazgva.co.kz/stat/pig3_2000/sultigov.shtml), [Accessed on February 5, 2011]

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*,

subject to discussion during the preparation of the Commonwealth Agreement. And the leaders of these states stated their readiness to become the equal participants of the CIS that considers interests of its all members. Foundation issues were to be discussed in the meeting of the Heads of the Independent State.<sup>32</sup>

Considering the positive attitude to the Ashgabat Declaration, President of Kazakhstan suggested to meet in Alma-Ata for discussion of the assigned issues and decision making. Eleven state leaders participated in the meeting – A. Mutalibov (Azerbaijan), L. Ter-Petrosyan (Armenia), S. Shushkevich (Belarus), N. Nazarbaev (Kazakhstan), A. Akaev (Kyrgyz Republic), M. Snegur (Moldova), B. Yeltsin (Russia), R. Nabiev (Tajikistan), S. Niyaziv (Turkmenistan), I. Karimov (Uzbekistan) and L. Kravchuk (Ukraine). On December 21, the same year, in Alma – Ata 11 out of 15 former Soviet states became CIS’ members<sup>33</sup> by signing the Protocol to the Agreement on Establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States and Alma – Ata Declaration,<sup>34</sup> which conformed the desire of the states to cooperate in various fields of external and internal policies, and declared the guarantees for realization of the international commitments of the former Soviet Union. Particularly, it says:

“Cooperation between the members of the Commonwealth will be based on the principle of equal participation through coordinating institutes,

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<sup>32</sup> Sultygov M.I., *K voprosu sozdaniya Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv, (To the issue of Commonwealth of Independent States Establishment, Available at [http://kazgua.co.kz/stat/pig3\\_2000/sultigov.shtml](http://kazgua.co.kz/stat/pig3_2000/sultigov.shtml), [Accessed on February 5, 2011]*

<sup>33</sup> Alma-Ata Declaration, *11 Countries accede to the CIS*, December 21, 1991, see on: <http://www.lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/belarus/by-appnc.html>, [Accessed on November 17, 2010]

<sup>34</sup> Orozbai Samatov, *Osobaya rol’ Organizatsii o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti po Uglubleniyu Integratsii v Ramkah SNG (The special Role of the Collective Security Treaty Organization in Enhancing Integration of CIS)*, *Pravo i Politika (Law and Politics)*, 2005/4, see on <http://www.lawmix.ru/comm/1264/>, [Accessed on December 12, 2010]

established on parity and functioning orders, determined by the agreements among the member states, which is not a state or upper-state foundation”<sup>35</sup>

Georgia was the latest member to join the Commonwealth in December 1993, so 12 former Soviet countries joined the CIS, except three Baltic States<sup>36</sup>.

For ensuring international strategic stability and security, it was decided to keep the united command of military-strategic forces and united control on nuclear weapon, and the sides agreed to respect each other in tendency to become nuclear-free and (or) neutral state. The loyalty to formation and development of common economic space, common European and Eurasian markets was confirmed<sup>37</sup>. As the result of establishment of Commonwealth of Independent States, Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics ceased to exist, and the member states of the Commonwealth guaranteed to fulfill the international obligations of the former Soviet Union’s treaties and agreements in accordance with their constitution.

In addition to Protocol and Alma-Ata Declaration, the other documents were accepted during Alma-Ata meeting. One of those documents is the “Agreement on coordinating institutions of the CIS”. Supreme organs of the Commonwealth – “CIS Council of the Heads of States” and “CIS Council of Heads of Government” were also established.

The transformation process of former Soviet Union republics to independent states and establishment of new international formation – Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) came to the end in the Alma-Ata meeting. This was the initial point of

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<sup>35</sup> Sultygov M.I., *K voprosu sozdaniya Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv, (To the issue of Commonwealth of Independent States Establishment, Available at [http://kazgua.co.kz/stat/pig3\\_2000/sultigov.shtml](http://kazgua.co.kz/stat/pig3_2000/sultigov.shtml), [Accessed on February 5, 2011]*

<sup>36</sup> Mozaffari, Mehdi, *CIS’ Southern Belt: Regional Cooperation and Integration*, in Mozaffari, Mehdi, *Security in the Commonwealth of Independent States*, St. Martin’s Press, New York 1997, p. 172

<sup>37</sup> Alma-Ata Declaration, *11 Countries accede to the CIS*, December 21, 1991, see on: <http://www.lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/belarus/by-appnc.html>, [Accessed on November 17, 2010]

formation of political system of member states and organization of political interaction system among them.

Outlined as a supranational cooperation of independent states, which were to enjoy a single economic space, unified armed forces and bound by guarantees of human rights<sup>38</sup>, the CIS was left out of attention of Russian foreign policy the first years after the dissolution of USSR. However this non-compulsory participation in the organization has given the opportunity to its members to opt out and oppose the integration process.

Several stages in activities of the CIS should be pointed out. On the one hand, peculiar issues of formation of new type political relations were solved, on the other – economic basis for cooperation were established. The beginning stage of the Commonwealth, which is 1992 – 1993, was marked with the definite dualism in integration strategy of the member states<sup>39</sup>. And numbers of principal agreements were reached in this period.

Following the CIS foundation all the former states were preoccupied with the consequences of the disintegration, and in early 1990's the centrifugal tendencies were predominant<sup>40</sup> among the CIS member-states. So during this period, the CIS was perceived as a “civilized divorce”, continuing disintegration of the USSR's material legacy and was claimed to be the organization that lacked any future<sup>41</sup>. It was only in 1994 that the integration process within the CIS was noted and since

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<sup>38</sup> Webber, Mark, *CIS Integration Trends: Russia and the Former Soviet South*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs: Russia and Eurasia Programme, London 1997, pp. 6-7

<sup>39</sup> Sultygov M.I., *K voprosu sozdaniya Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv, (To the issue of Commonwealth of Independent States Establishment, Available at [http://kazgva.co.kz/stat/pig3\\_2000/sultigov.shtml](http://kazgva.co.kz/stat/pig3_2000/sultigov.shtml), [Accessed on February 5, 2011]*

<sup>40</sup> Webber, Mark, *CIS Integration Trends: Russia and the Former Soviet South*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs: Russia and Eurasia Programme, London 1997, p. 1

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

1995 it became more obvious, and leaders of the member-states began to discuss the issues of cooperation on summits.

The President of Russia Boris Yeltsin claimed on January 1996 CIS summit that “the main tendency for the development of our countries has [now] taken shape. This is a tendency towards the voluntary integration of the CIS member states”, while the First President of the Kyrgyz Republic Askar Akaev called integration to be a “dictum of time” and President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbaev referred to it as “an objective process, a historical necessity”<sup>42</sup>.

By the mid 1990s, the idea of integration has become the dogma of Russian foreign policy, which reflected not only military, economic, political linkages binding to neighbors, but also it enhanced the perception of Russia’s ‘lost’ super power status<sup>43</sup>. However the absence of consensus and priority clashes among Russia and CIS member-states had the following consequences in the integration process. First of all, CIS lacks many of the specifications of integrated association, despite claiming about a ‘development of a single economic space’, ‘joint military strategic space, and has poor development of major multilateral form. The Commonwealth does not have common citizenship, no common currency or no joined armed forces, and it is not a supranational power according to its Charter. On the other hand, the CIS causes confuses in cooperation among the member-states, where interactions are sometimes duplicated and clash with each other.<sup>44</sup> It is the result of cooperation held in multilateral and bilateral bases, while the former one has taken forms of interacting within the CIS, distinct cooperation of few states, and regional associations.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Webber, Mark, *CIS Integration Trends: Russia and the Former Soviet South*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs: Russia and Eurasia Programme, London 1997, p. 2

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 4

The CIS is an organization, possessing coordinating powers in the realm of trade, finance, lawmaking, and security. It has also promoted cooperation on democratization of its member states and cross-border crime prevention, and takes participation in UN peacekeeping forces. The CIS have established trade cooperation between member states through Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC or EAEC), Common Economic Space, and Common Monetary Zone; and security cooperation through Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) or simply Tashkent Treaty.

The EurAsEC was originated by Belarus, Russia and Kazakhstan on March 29, 1996 and in October 10, 2000 Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan joined the organization and signed the treaty. Armenia, Moldova and Ukraine have the status of observers<sup>45</sup>. Organization is mainly working on establishing a common energy market and exploring the more efficient use of water in Central Asia while Economic Space would involve a supranational commission on trade and tariffs and eventually lead even to a single currency. It was established between Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus with an ultimate goal to be a regional organization that would be open for other countries to join.<sup>46</sup> Ukraine after the 2004 Presidential elections has shown renewed interest in joining European Union, such membership would be incompatible with the envisioned common economic space.

The Agreement on creation of a common economic space for Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus was signed, and is effective from January 1, 2010. Furthermore, a

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<sup>45</sup> Foundation Agreement of EAEC - *Agreement on Foundation of Eurasian Economic Community*, see on: <http://www.worldtradelaw.net/fta/agreements/eaecfta.pdf>, [Accessed on June 17, 2011]

<sup>46</sup> Mozaffari, Mehdi, *CIS' Southern Belt: Regional Cooperation and Integration*, in Mozaffari, Mehdi, *Security in the Commonwealth of Independent States*, St. Martin's Press, New York 1997, p. 172

common economic space is planned to be established before January 1, 2012<sup>47</sup>. The leaders of these three countries made a statement that they will continue to deepen the integration process under the framework of the Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC).<sup>48</sup> Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbaev expressed hope that those decisions would "clear the way to the next stage of integration, a unified economic space"<sup>49</sup>. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan expressed their willingness to join the Customs Union<sup>50</sup>, however Tajik President Emomali Rakhmon stated that Tajikistan will take participation as an observer.

On the other hand, it is hard to say that the cooperation within the Commonwealth is going very smooth. The relationship between some member states and Russia has deteriorated on the recent years. On August 12, 2008, after the Russian interruption in the battle for Tskhinvali, the capital of the breakaway region of South Ossetia, the President of Georgia, Mikhail Saakashvili announced Georgia's withdrawal from the CIS<sup>51</sup>. In addition, Saakashvili also called other members to withdraw<sup>52</sup>. Georgia is the first state to leave the CIS since its establishment; however there are some other states, which may follow its path.

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<sup>47</sup> *Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan to establish common economic space before 2012*, 2009-12-20, Available at: [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/20/content\\_12672863.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-12/20/content_12672863.htm), [Accessed on June 27, 2011]

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> *Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan Agree on Customs Union*, December 5, 2009, Available at: <http://www.turkishweekly.net/news/93507/russia-belarus-and-kazakhstan-agree-on-customs-union.html>, [Accessed on June 27, 2011]

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> *Georgia Finalizes Withdrawal from CIS*, Available at: [http://www.rferl.org/content/Georgia\\_Finalizes\\_Withdrawal\\_From\\_CIS/1802284.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/Georgia_Finalizes_Withdrawal_From_CIS/1802284.html), [Accessed on May 26, 2011]

<sup>52</sup> *Georgia will Withdraw from CIS*, Available at: <http://invasionintogeorgia.org/news/georgia-will-withdraw-cis/1227.html>, [Accessed on May 26, 2011]



The CIS Charter provides coordination of member states' policies on international security, disarmament, weapons control, the formation of armed forces, and the maintenance of security within the CIS<sup>53</sup>. So organization adopted a rather large number of documents to regulate cooperation in military security.

At the moment, the Commonwealth is an important institution for Russia, and a lot of meetings have been held within its framework. However, some members of the CIS are not fully involved to its activities. For instance, Turkmenistan and Ukraine have not ratified the Charter of the CIS yet, whereas de-jure Ukraine is not a member – states of the CIS, it is a founder and participant of the Commonwealth, and on 2005 summit, Turkmenistan claimed that it will participate in the CIS as an associate member<sup>54</sup>.

## 2.2 Institutional Bodies of the CIS

On December 21, 1991 was decided to establish coordinating institutions of CIS and appropriate Agreements were signed by the members of the meeting. 82 institutional bodies, 66 of them in sectoral cooperation, were established in the scope of the Commonwealth<sup>55</sup>. Activities of the CIS's sectoral cooperation for the recent years witnesses that many of them has contributed to the further integration process in the framework of the Commonwealth, and the fulfillment of the issues defined by the

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<sup>53</sup> Burnashev, Rustam, *Regional Security in Central Asia: Military Aspects*, in Rumer, Boris, *Central Asia: A Gathering Storm?* M. E. Sharpe, New York and London 2002, p. 134

<sup>54</sup> Official site of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation, *Sodrujestvo Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv, (the Commonwealth of Independent States)*, Available at: <http://www.in.mid.ru/ns-rsng.nsf/8c21fbc45f12ec6d432569e700419ef3/c5363bace1a0db03c3257235004505e5?OpenDocument>

<sup>55</sup> *Informatsiya o structure organov Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (Information about the institutional structure of the Commonwealth of Independent States)*, Available at: <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=11216>, [Accessed on May 23, 2011]

Conception of further development of CIS and Economic Development Strategies of CIS till 2020, were outlined<sup>56</sup>.

The main structure of the CIS includes the Council of Heads of States, the Council of Heads of Governments, the Council of Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Council of Ministries of Defense of member-states, the Council of Frontier Troops Commanders, the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly, and the Economic Court<sup>57</sup>. The Executive Committee of the CIS, which is integrated standing executive, administrative and coordinative institutions of the CIS<sup>58</sup>, provides the organization of activities of all these institutions; works out the strategies of the Commonwealth; legally examines the documents; analyzes the process of the Resolutions' realization, agreements; systematically informs the supreme institutions of the CIS<sup>59</sup>. It is located in Minsk, Belarus and represented by the Lebedev Sergei Nikolaevich since October 5, 2007<sup>60</sup>.

According to the Charter supreme body of the Commonwealth is the Council of Heads of States. The Council of Heads of States is represented by all member-states, discusses and solves all principal issues related to the organization's activity, holding

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<sup>56</sup> *Otraslevye Sovety – osnova integratsii SNG (Sectoral Councils – basis of the CIS integration)*, Available at: <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=11884>, [Accessed on March 24, 2011]

<sup>57</sup> *Ustavnye organy SNG (Authorized Bodies of the CIS)*, Available at: <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=192>, [Accessed on March 22, 2011]

<sup>58</sup> *Polojenie ob Iсполnitelnom Komitete Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (Regulations on Executive Committee of the Commonwealth of Independent States)*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/page.php?id=376>, [Accessed on February 2, 2011]

<sup>59</sup> *Ob Iсполnitelnom Komitete Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (About the Executive Committee of the Commonwealth of Independent States)*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/page.php?id=28>

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

meetings twice a year<sup>61</sup>. One of the meetings of the Council is official and the other is unofficial meeting of the heads of states. The main legal foundation of interstate relations in the framework of the CIS is multilateral and bilateral agreements in various spheres. Representation in the Commonwealth's bodies is implemented in accordance with the Decision of the Council of Heads of States of the Commonwealth from April 2, 1999, in turns for less than a year. In 2010, the representation was carried out by President of Russian Federation Dmitrii Medvedev<sup>62</sup>, and this year the CIS will be represented by the Tajik President – Emomali Rahmon<sup>63</sup>.

The Council of Heads of Government coordinates the cooperation of executive power of member-states in economic, social and other spheres of common interests<sup>64</sup>. The Council deals with the issues entrusted by the Council of Heads of States, along with the realization of conditions states in Agreement of Economic Union Establishment and functioning of free trade zone.

Adoption of joint industry, agriculture and other economy sectors' development programs, and their financing, development of transport, communication and energy systems, establishment of bodies of the Commonwealth in the framework of its competence, appointment of their managers, and controlling and financing of the activities of these bodies are discussed during the meeting held twice a year. The special meeting can be called by the initiation of one of the member-states. The Council also delegates issues to the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the

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<sup>61</sup> Sovet Glav Gosudarstv Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (The Council of Heads of States of the Commonwealth of Independent States), Available at <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=194>, [Accessed on March 24, 2011]

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Official site of the CIS, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/>

<sup>64</sup> *Sovet Glav Pravitelstva Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (The Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth of Independent States)*, Available at: <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=196>, [Accessed on March 24, 2011]

Economic Council of CIS, except those delegated to the Council by the Council of Heads of States<sup>65</sup>. The Chairperson of the Council of Heads of Governments is the Chairperson of the Russian Federation Government – Vladimir Putin. Decisions of both Councils are made on consensus base, and each country may declare its disinterestedness in one or other issue, which is not seen as an obstacle to making decision.

With the Decision of the Council of Heads of States from September 4, 1993, The Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Commonwealth was established<sup>66</sup>. According to the Regulations of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the CIS, from April 2, 1999, the Council was defined as the main executive body that provides cooperation in foreign-policy activities of member-states on the issues of mutual interests. It pays a lot of attention to the issues of peacemaking activities, and together with the Council of Ministers of Defense worked out the Regulation of Collective forces on peacekeeping in CIS, and Conception of Prevention and Regulation of Conflicts on the territory of the member-states of CIS.

The Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs as one of the supreme bodies of the Commonwealth is an instance that recommends to the Council of Heads of States and Council of Heads of Governments to approve one or other decisions<sup>67</sup>. It meets in the period between the meetings of the Council of Heads of States and Council of Heads of Governments, and makes decision by their order. The Chairperson of the Council is Sergey Lavrov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation. The Council of Ministries of Defense of member states is another main body that functions under the framework of the CIS, and was established on February 14, 1992

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> *Informatsiya o structure organov Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (Information about the institutional structure of the Commonwealth of Independent States)*, Available at: <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=11216>, [Accessed on May 23, 2011]

<sup>67</sup> *Sovet Ministrov Inostrannyh Del (the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs)*, Available at: <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=198>, [Accessed on March 24, 2011]

by the Decision of the Council of Heads of States.<sup>68</sup> The leaders of Armenia, Kazakhstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan were the initiators of the Council; Kyrgyzstan, Georgia, Belarus joined later on and Moldova, Turkmenistan and Ukraine obtained the status of observer. However Georgia left the Council in 2006. This institution is represented by the Minister of Defense of Russian Federation – Serdyukov Anatolii Eduardovich.

The main functions of the institution are coordination of military cooperation, consideration of conceptual approaches to the issues of military policy and military organization, and making suggestions on issues of states' efforts to prevent armed conflicts. Furthermore, the Council is responsible for the functioning of its branches; it discusses the documents on defense and military organization, and makes offers to the Council of Heads of States<sup>69</sup>.

On June 1992, the Agreement on activities of the CIS Armed Force General Headquarters was signed by the Heads of States, which was rearranged as the CIS Military Cooperation Coordination Headquarters on September 1993. The Council holds meetings twice a year, and 59 meetings were held since the establishment of the Council<sup>70</sup>.

Another institution dealing with the security and stability within the borders of the CIS is The Council of Frontier Troops Commanders, established on July 6, 1992 by the decision of the Council of Heads of States. Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine are

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<sup>68</sup> *Informatsiya o Sovete Ministrov Oborony Gosudarstv – Uchastnikov Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Stran ( Information about the Council of Ministries of Defense of Member-States of the Commonwealth of Independent States)*, Available at: <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=200>, [Accessed on May 23, 2011]

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> *Informatsiya o Sovete Ministrov Oborony Gosudartv-uchastnikov Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (Information about the Council of Ministries of Defense of the Commonwealth of Independent States)*, Available at: <http://cis.minsk.by/page.php?id=200>, [Accessed on May 23, 2011]

the members of the Council, while Azerbaijan is an observer, and Georgia left the Commonwealth on August 18, 2009.<sup>71</sup> The institution mainly maintains with the issues of border defense and stability in the region, such as concordance of efforts in defense of external borders and economic zone; improvement of friendly relations between the frontier troops of the participant – states of the CIS; and improvement and consolidation of the frontier troops<sup>72</sup>

The permanent institution of the Council of Frontier Troops Commanders is the Coordination service, and the main function of the service is counteraction to illegal migration and to illicit drug movement through external borders of the CIS. It is represented by the V.E. Pronichev.<sup>73</sup> However, despite these measures of the institution, the situation on the external borders of the Commonwealth is critical, especially neighborhood with Afghanistan, which is the main supplier of the narcotics through the territory of the CIS<sup>74</sup>.

The Inter – Parliamentary Assembly is another supreme institution established in the framework of the CIS and was signed on March 27, 1992<sup>75</sup>. This is a consultative institution, which discusses and examines the projects of documents of mutual interest. The Convention of the Inter – Parliamentary Assembly was accepted on

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<sup>71</sup> *Sovet Komanduushih Pogranichnykh Voiskami (The Council of Frontier Troops Commanders)*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/page.php?id=202>, [Accessed on March 24, 2011]

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> *General A. Manilov: Granicy SNG. Naibolee Napryajennaya Obstanovka Sohranyaetsya v Sredneaziatskom Regione... (General A. Manilov: Borders of the CIS. The Most Intense Situation is in Central Asian Region...(interview))*, from 16.01.2009, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/page.php?id=202>, [Accessed on April 27, 2011]

<sup>75</sup> *About CIS Inter – Parliamentary Assembly*, Available at: <http://www.iacis.ru/html/index-eng.php?id=50>, [Accessed on March 23, 2011]

May 26, 1995, and came into effect on January 16, 1996. According to Convention the Assembly was recognized as an international institution<sup>76</sup>.

Along with its functions, the Assembly also deals with the peacekeeping activities on “hot spots” of the CIS, and the commission on conflict regulation, established under the Assembly, signed the important document in 1994 – Bishkek Protokol, which is the only political document about ceasing fire in Nagorno Karabakh<sup>77</sup>. The Assembly holds meetings 4 times a year, and its permanent institution is the Secretariat of the Inter – Parliamentary Assembly of CIS, which is located in St. Petersburg<sup>78</sup>.

And the last supreme institution is the Economic Court of the CIS that was established on May 15, 1992 according to the Article 5 of the Agreement on improvement of accounts between economic organizations of the participating states of the CIS<sup>79</sup>. This institutions main function is to solve the international economic disputes.

There have been several changes to the structure of the CIS’ institutions. The Decision on Improvement and Processing of Institutional Bodies of the CIS was signed on April 2, 1999 in Moscow summit<sup>80</sup>, and following the discussion during

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<sup>76</sup> *Mejparlamentskaya assambleya Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (The Inter – Parliamentary Assembly of the CIS)*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/page.php?id=204>, [Accessed on March 24, 2011]

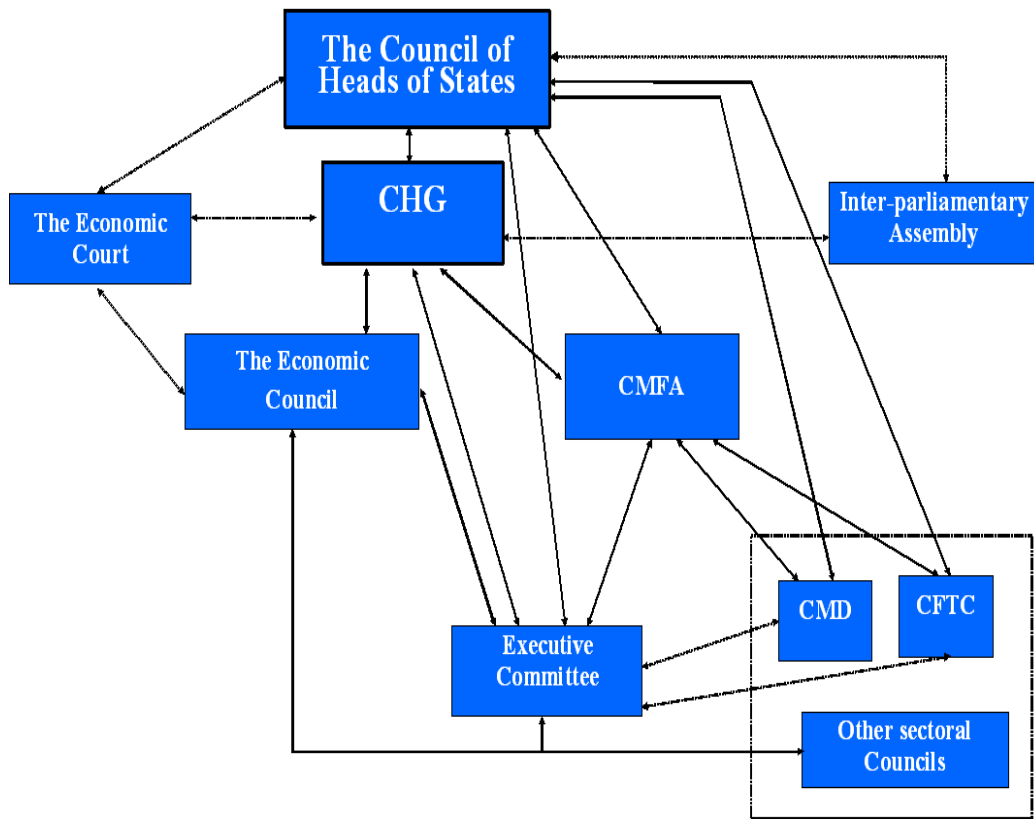
<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> *About CIS Inter – Parliamentary Assembly*, Available at: <http://www.iacis.ru/html/index-eng.php?id=50>, , [Accessed on March 23, 2011]

<sup>79</sup> *Informatsiya o deyatelnosti Ekonomicheskogo Suda SNG (Information about the activities of the Economic Court of the CIS)*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/page.php?id=206>, [Accessed on May 23, 2011]

<sup>80</sup> *Reshenie Soveta Glav Gosudarstv Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv “O Sovershenstvovanii i Reformirovanii Struktury Organov Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv, prinyato v gorode Moskva 02.04.1999 (The Decision of the Council of Heads of*

Astana summit about the reformation of institutional bodies of the CIS, the Council of Heads of States signed decision on August 26, 2005 in Kazan summit<sup>81</sup>.



**Figure 2.** Existing Scheme of CIS' Bodies<sup>82</sup>

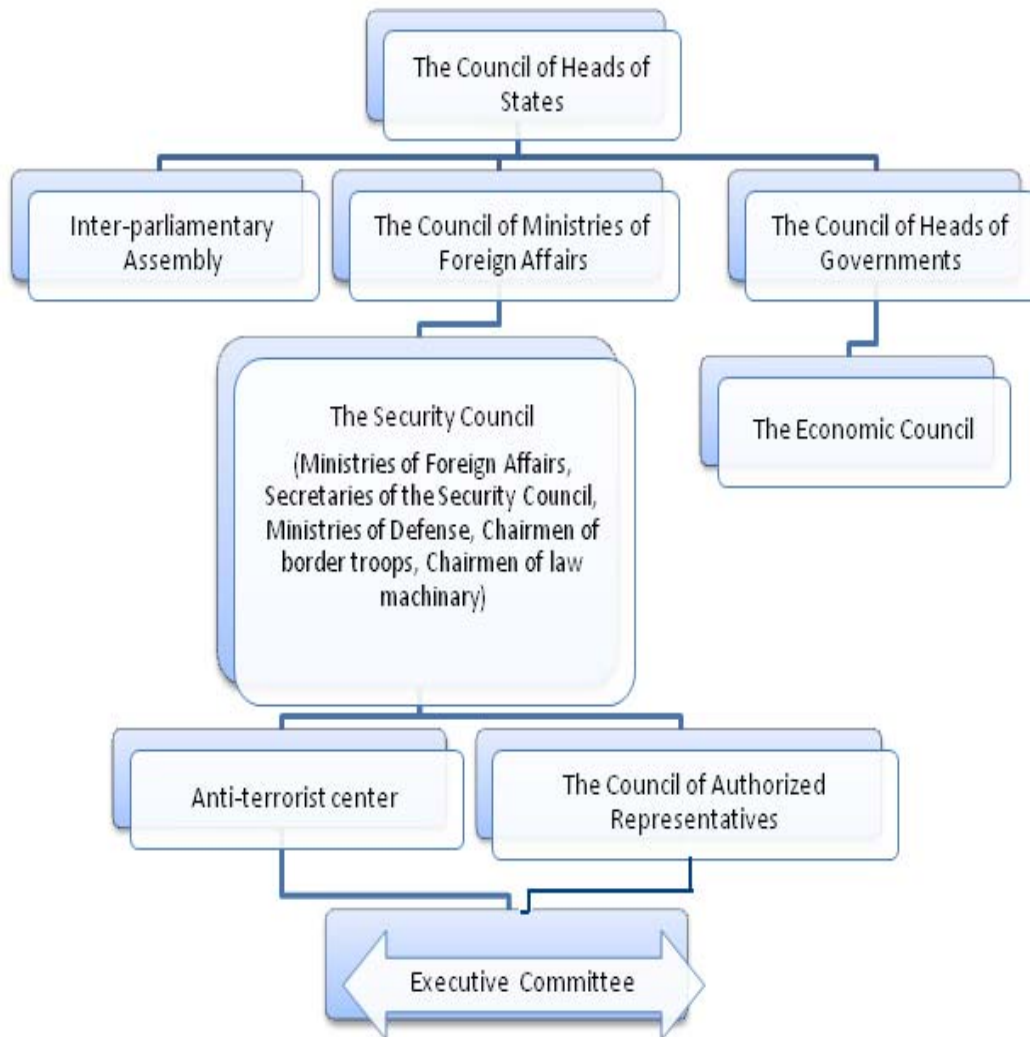
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*States of the Commonwealth of Independent States “on Improvement and Processing of Institutional Bodies of the Commonwealth of Independent States, signed on April 2, 1999 in Moscow), Available at: <http://www.lawbelarus.com/repub2008/sub36/text36233.htm>*

<sup>81</sup> *Reshenie Soveta Glav Gosudarstv Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv ot 26 Avgusta 2005 “O Sovershenstvovanii i Reformirovanii Organov Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (The Decision of the Council of Heads of States of the Commonwealth of Independent States “on Improvement and Processing of Institutional Bodies of the Commonwealth of Independent States from August 26, 2005), Available at: <http://pravo.kulichki.com/megd2007/bz00/dcm00335.htm>, [Accessed on February 2, 2011]*

<sup>82</sup> *Reshenie o Sovershenstvovanii i Reformirovanii Organov Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (Decision of Improvement and Processing of Institutional Bodies of the*





**Figure 3.** Kazakhstan’s Proposal for Reform in CIS’ Organizational Structure from September 16, 2004. According to this structure, expenses for maintenance of the main bodies of the CIS would decrease by 44,7%, and the working staff by 48,2%.<sup>83</sup>

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*Commonwealth of Independent States*), Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/webnpa/text.aspx?RN=N90400111>, [Accessed on February 2, 2011]

<sup>83</sup> *Reshenie Soveta Glav Gosudarstv Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv ot 16 Sentyabrya 2004 goda o Sovershenstvovanii i Reformirovanii Organov Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (Decision of the Council of Heads of States of the Commonwealth of Independent States from September 6, 2004 on Improvement and Processing of Institutional*

### 2.3 Activities of the Commonwealth of Independent States

A lot of meeting and summits have been held since the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States. However, not all of them were dealt with the integration process of former Soviet states, as they were to realize the “civilized divorce” of the former Soviet Union<sup>84</sup>.

The organization has been very passive until mid-90s as Russian foreign policy was mainly concentrated westward<sup>85</sup>. It has began its shift towards the “near abroad” during 1995 and with the resignation of Andrey Kozyrev as a Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Chechen conflict and the NATO expansion to the east was seen as a threat to Russia’s “great power” status, so as a result, Moscow began to increase integration process within the framework of the CIS<sup>86</sup>.

The activities of the Commonwealth are held on the basis of the Charter, which was adopted on January 22, 1993 by the Council of Heads of States<sup>87</sup>, and until the adoption of Charter, the Belavezha Agreement was the main document of the CIS<sup>88</sup>.

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*Bodies of the Commonwealth of Independent States*), Available at: <http://busel.org/texts/cat9ad/id5fwsenr.htm>, [Accessed on February 2, 2011]

<sup>84</sup> Webber, Mark, *CIS Integration Trends: Russia and the Former Soviet South*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs: Russia and Eurasia Programme, London 1997, p. 1

<sup>85</sup> *Andrey Kozyrev Outlines Foreign Policy Priorities*, Nezavisimaya Gazeta, August 20, 1992 [FBIS Translation], Excerpts, in Brzezinski, Zbigniew; Sullivan, Paige (eds), *Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States: Documents, Data, and Analysis*, New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1997, p. 73

<sup>86</sup> Salavyev, Valeriy, *Moscow’s CIS Policy Changes Assessed*, , Nezavisimaya Gazeta, February 9, 1995 [FBIS Translation], in Brzezinski, Zbigniew; Sullivan, Paige (eds), *Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States: Documents, Data, and Analysis*, New York, London: M.E. Sharpe, 1997, p. 140

<sup>87</sup> Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Available at: <http://cns.miis.edu/inventory/pdfs/cis.pdf>, [Accessed on December 12, 2010]

<sup>88</sup> Charter of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=180>, [Accessed on November 17, 2010]

Charter stipulates the goals and principles of the Commonwealth, and rights and obligations of the member states.

Following the Belavezha Accord and the signing of the Protocol to the Agreement and Alma-Ata Declaration, on December 21, 1991<sup>89</sup> state members signed the agreement of Commonwealth's coordinating institutes, which formed supreme organs of CIS – Council of Heads of State and Council of Heads of Government.

For the period of December 1991 to March 15, 2010, CIS Council of the Heads of State held 37 sessions, CIS Council of Heads of Government held 54 sessions and 10 unofficial sessions of the Council of Heads of States. 1899 documents were adopted and 566 of them (29,80%) expired afterwards inventory<sup>90</sup>. 1312 documents (99,1%) came into effect, 995 (75,84%) of them since the date of signing, 31 (2,36%) - after ratification, and 286 (21,79%) – after fulfillment of domestic procedures. For the above mentioned period, 21 documents (1,1%) did not come into effect, as ratification and domestic procedures are not finished yet<sup>91</sup>.

The first meeting of the Heads of States was on December 30 1991, when they signed the agreements on strategic and armed forces, border troops, joint activity in researching and using space<sup>92</sup>. In January 1992, leaders of member states meet in

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<sup>89</sup> Sultygov M.I., *K voprosu sozdaniya Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv, (To the issue of Commonwealth of Independent States Establishment*, Available at: [http://kazgua.co.kz/stat/pig3\\_2000/sultigov.shtml](http://kazgua.co.kz/stat/pig3_2000/sultigov.shtml), [Accessed on February 5, 2011]

<sup>90</sup> *Spravka o Dokumentah, Prinyatyh v ramkah SNG v 1991 – 2010 godah (po sostoyaniyu na 15 Marta 2010 goda), (Reference about the Documents accepted during 1991 – 2010 in the framework of the CIS (from March 15, 2010))*, Available at: <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=8926>, [Accessed on February 7, 2011]

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> *Official site of Executive Committee of CIS: Meetings of the leaders of the CIS member states*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=3358>

Moscow to adopt Protocol on temporal Provisions on the coordinating working group, and Protocol on appointment of its coordinator<sup>93</sup>.

The early meetings of the leaders of the post-Soviet states were mainly concerned with the discussion of the military related issues, whether former Soviet Union's military forces should be divided among the newly independent states or if it should be unified under the framework of the CIS<sup>94</sup>. However, during the following meeting, the idea of Unified CIS Army was opposed by the other member states<sup>95</sup>, as it was seen as a threat to the independence of those countries.

Following these discussion members of the CIS began to establish their own national armies, and all of them rejected CIS as a unified security alliance<sup>96</sup>. Despite of this opposition, on May 15, 1992, six out of twelve members of the CIS signed the Tashkent Treaty on Collective Security (Collective Security Treaty)<sup>97</sup>. Other states decided not to join the Treaty as it was obvious that it will be under Russia's grip in the foreseeable future<sup>98</sup>.

At the same period, the leaders of the CIS countries signed dozen of Agreements on economic cooperation, humanitarian relations, chemical weapons and weapons of

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<sup>93</sup> *Summit SNG (Summits of the CIS)*, "Kommersant" newspaper, #10 (1895), January 26, 2000, Available at: <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc.aspx?DocsID=138369>

<sup>94</sup> Brzezinski, Zbigniew; Sullivan, Paige (eds.), *Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States: Documents, Data, and Analysis*, New York, London: M.E. Sharpe 1997, pp. 441-442

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 441

<sup>97</sup> Mozaffari, M., *CIS' Southern Belt: Regional Cooperation and Integration* in Mozaffari, Mehdi, *Security Politics in the Commonwealth of Independent States: The Southern Belt*, New York: St. Martin's Press, INC., 1997; London: Macmillan Press LTD 1997, p. 174

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 175

mass destruction<sup>99</sup>, and etc. It was also agreed on visaless movement of the CIS member citizens within the territory of the Commonwealth, on interstate TV and radio broadcasting<sup>100</sup>.

1993 was significant with the signing of the Treaty on the Establishment of the Economic Union<sup>101</sup>, which aimed to create favorable conditions for economic interaction of the CIS states. The same year, on December 9, Georgia became the member of the Commonwealth. On the other hand, in 1993, Russia influenced by the nationalist politicians tried to influence the politics of post-Soviet states outside the framework of the CIS<sup>102</sup>.

By 1994, the Collective Security Treaty was ratified by the member states for five years with a possible extension. Another significant event of that year was the signing of the CIS Free – Trade Zone Treaty<sup>103</sup>. During the same year, Russia was able to establish its role in peacekeeping within the CIS territory, by deploying its forces in Tajikistan and Georgia<sup>104</sup> to help to settle the continuing unrests in these countries. However, invasion of Russian troops to Chechnya set other members of

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<sup>99</sup> Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Available at: <http://cns.miis.edu/inventory/pdfs/cis.pdf>, [Accessed on December 22, 2010]

<sup>100</sup> Brzezinski, Zbigniew; Sullivan, Paige (eds.), *Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States: Documents, Data, and Analysis*, New York, London: M.E. Sharpe 1997, pp. 674 – 675

<sup>101</sup> *Meetings of the Leaders of the CIS member states*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=3358>

<sup>102</sup> Goldman , Minton F., *Russia, the Baltic and Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe*, United States: McGraw Hill 2008, Eleventh Edition, p. 51

<sup>103</sup> Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Available at: <http://cns.miis.edu/inventory/pdfs/cis.pdf>, [Accessed on December 12, 2010]

<sup>104</sup> Goldman , Minton F., *Russia, the Baltic and Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe*, United States: McGraw Hill 2008, Eleventh Edition, p. 51

the CIS against the Russian policy, and by 1997 they became critical about the CIS' role as an instrument against their countries<sup>105</sup>.

The following years were dealt with discussion of the peacekeeping, conflict resolution, economic cooperation and organized crime. The Collective Security Treaty was prolonged for another five years on April 1999<sup>106</sup> and the military cooperation development within the CIS until the 2001<sup>107</sup> was discussed.

The issue of international terrorism was not in the CIS agenda until the car bombs in Tashkent and 1999 Batken incursion. Moreover, Putin, after his assignment as an acting President, stressed the importance of fight against terrorism and anti – terrorist struggle<sup>108</sup>, as it coincided with Russia's policy in separatist Chechnya<sup>109</sup>. The other CIS leaders agreed to enhance multilateral security cooperation within the framework of the CIS and CST; so terrorism, drug and arm trafficking were seen as the main threats to the security of the region.

The next year was outstanding with the signing of the Declaration on Maintaining Strategic Stability, and with the decision to establish joint CIS Anti-Terroristic Center to counteract the international terrorism<sup>110</sup>. This center held military exercises in 2002, 2003, 2004 summers. The same year Russia ratified the START-2 Treaty

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Available at: <http://cns.miis.edu/inventory/pdfs/cis.pdf>, [Accessed on December 12, 2010]

<sup>107</sup> *Meetings of the Leaders of the CIS member states*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=3358>

<sup>108</sup> Jonson, Lena, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia: the Shaping of Russian Foreign Policy*, London: I.B. Taurus and Co Ltd., 2004, p. 64

<sup>109</sup> Goldman , Minton F., *Russia, the Baltic and Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe*, United States: McGraw Hill 2008, Eleventh Edition, p. 44

<sup>110</sup> *Meetings of the Leaders of the CIS member states*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=3358>

(Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty), and Anti – Ballistic Missile Treaty<sup>111</sup>, and it was supported by the other members of the organization. However, on the other hand, it should be noted that by 2000, Russia was not very optimistic about the CIS, as the member states signed several agreements with the western countries that bypassed Russia: Azerbaijan and Georgia agreed with United States and Turkey to build a pipelines, and other countries began to cooperate with US<sup>112</sup>.

9/11 events were the turning point for the CIS – US relations. Following the tragic terrorist attacks, CIS member – states expressed their willingness to cooperate with US to combat the international terrorism. In this cooperation, Dr. Minton F. Goldman stresses to three main objectives of cooperation: encouragement of democratization in post-communist countries; loosening ties with Russia; and participation in anti-terrorist mission<sup>113</sup>, which led to the skeptical attitude of some members to the membership in the Commonwealth. Moreover, Russia has also showed its sympathy to US in fight against international terrorism, as it justified Russia's invasion to Chechnya. It was agreed to establish US bases on the territory of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, which will serve as a staging ground for military activities in Afghanistan<sup>114</sup>.

As the result of all these events, Russia makes effort to enhance the role of CST, which was reformulated as Collective Security Treaty Organization on May 15,

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<sup>111</sup> *Russia Ratifies START II, Extension Protocol; ABM – Related Agreements Also Approved*, Arms Control Association, Available at: <http://www.armscontrol.org/print/671>, [Accessed on January 18, 2011]

<sup>112</sup> Goldman , Minton F., *Russia, the Baltic and Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe*, United States: McGraw Hill 2008, Eleventh Edition, p. 51

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. pp. 51 – 52

<sup>114</sup> Spechler, Martin C., *Regional Cooperation in Central Asia*, Problems of Post Communism, vol. 49, No. 6, November/December 2002, pp. 42 – 47, p. 44

2002<sup>115</sup>, and the following year, Russia opened a base on Kyrgyz territory 30 km from Manas air base<sup>116</sup>. Another base establishment for 5,000 troops followed in 2004 in Tajikistan<sup>117</sup>. The agenda of the meeting during that time was mostly concerned with the illicit drug, organized crime, illegal migration, cooperation on border guard, international terrorism. UN Under Secretary General, Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes Antonio Maria Costa and Executive Director of the Joint UN program on HIV/AIDS Peter Piot took participation on September 2004 summit of the heads of states<sup>118</sup>.

“We are very aware of the fact that the CIS countries’ leaders are very much concerned of this problem and do their utmost to organize the struggle against drug-relating crimes both on the national and international levels....”<sup>119</sup>, – said Antonio Maria Costa, and stressed UN’s support of CIS’ decisions related to the issue.

Turkmenistan withdrew from the full membership and it became ‘an associate member’ of the Commonwealth in 2005<sup>120</sup>. Later in 2006, Georgia and Ukraine began to talk about their withdrawal from the organization; and on February 2006,

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<sup>115</sup> Markedonov, Sergei, *Post – Soviet Integration: CST, CSTO, CRRF etc.*, Post – Soviet World, January 20, 2010, Available at: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/sergei-markedonov/post-soviet-integration-cst-csto-crrf-etc-2>, [Accessed on November 27, 2010]

<sup>116</sup> Radyuhin, Vladimir, *A New Big Game in Central Asia*, CDI Russia Weekly, July 18, 2003, Available at: <http://www.cdi.org/russia/268-12.cfm>, [Accessed on May 16, 2011]

<sup>117</sup> Olcott, Martha Brill, *Central Asia’s Second Chance*, Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005, p. 189

<sup>118</sup> *Meetings of the Leaders of the CIS member states*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=3358>

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Goldman, Minton F., *Russia, the Baltic and Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe*, United States: McGraw Hill 2008, Eleventh Edition, p. 52



Georgia officially withdrew from the Council of Ministries of Defense of the CIS<sup>121</sup>. This event made the member states to discuss more about making efficient organization, and to stress again the integration process among the CIS members.

In 2007 the Council of Ministries of Defense discussed the military cooperation until 2010, and agreed to organize the Comradeship-in-Arms joint exercises in June and September of that year. Financial issues of the CIS joint Air Defense System<sup>122</sup> was also on the agenda of the day.

Russia strengthened its soft security policy towards the CIS member states throughout 2008. *Roszarubezhentr* was established in six member states<sup>123</sup>, which is a cultural and research center that operates in 75 countries all around the world. The main purpose of these institutions is to create a positive image of Russia abroad and to enhance the influence in ‘near abroad’.

In addition, 2008 was outstanding with the Russian – Georgian relations, following the five – day war in separatist region – Southern Ossetia<sup>124</sup>. The same year Russia recognized the independence of both Abkhazia and South Ossetia, which led to the withdrawal of Georgia from membership in the CIS on August 2009<sup>125</sup>. Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili commented it as following:

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Available at: <http://cns.miis.edu/inventory/pdfs/cis.pdf>, [Accessed on December 12, 2010]

<sup>123</sup> *The Kremlin Reinforces Russia's Soft Power in the CIS*, Center for Eastern Studies, September 18, 2008, Available at: <http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/eastweek/2008-09-18/kremlin-reinforces-russias-soft-power-cis>, [Accessed on March 22, 2011]

<sup>124</sup> *Moldova 7 October 2009, Chisinau hosts CIS leaders*, October 9, 2009, Available at: <http://www.newsahed.com/preview/2009/10/09/moldova-9-oct-2009-chisinau-hosts-cis-leaders/index.php>, [Accessed on April 5, 2011]

<sup>125</sup> *Georgia to Stop Its CIS Membership from August 2009*, Available at: <http://www.unian.net/eng/news/news-277574.html>

‘We certainly have to leave the CIS. The CIS totally failed as an international organization. It is some kind of post-Soviet thing that basically could not do anything to prevent this tragedy from happening. And, you know, by leaving the CIS, we are giving final [goodbyes] to the Soviet Union<sup>126</sup>’.

The main disappointment of Georgia was breaking of the territorial integrity of the country, which have to be respected. For the 18 years of establishment, Georgia was the first country to stop its membership in the CIS, and which totally turned away from Russia.

The same year, other unpleasant news came from Ukraine, as it refused to hold CIS anti-terrorist exercises on its territory. CIS Anti-Terrorism Center head Colonel-general Novikov commented about this event as:

‘The refusal to hold the exercises in Ukraine was given with reference to the country's constitution, which bans foreign military units from operating on its territory<sup>127</sup>’.

Renewal of Russian – Ukrainian relations with Yanukovich coming to the power was observed in 2010, along with signing the Agreement on Common Economic Space, which will fully operate by January 2012<sup>128</sup>. However, the crisis in Kyrgyz south, interethnic conflict, made both the CIS and CSTO to think about measures that could be taken in such situations. According to the CIS Charter, it cannot intervene or prevent interethnic conflicts on the territory of its member states.

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<sup>126</sup> *Georgia Finalizes Withdrawal From CIS*, Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty, Available at: [http://www.rferl.org/content/Georgia\\_Finalizes\\_Withdrawal\\_From\\_CIS/1802284.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/Georgia_Finalizes_Withdrawal_From_CIS/1802284.html), [Accessed on May 26, 2011]

<sup>127</sup> *Ukraine Refuses to Hold CIS Anti-Terrorist Drills on its Territory*, KyivPost, October 29, 2009, Available at: <http://www.kyivpost.com/news/nation/detail/51441/>, [Accessed on March 27, 2011]

<sup>128</sup> *2010 a Milestone for CIS*, Rianovosti, December 29, 2010, Available at: <http://en.rian.ru/opinion/20101229/161977847.html>, , [Accessed on April 8, 2011]

The CIS is going to celebrate its 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2011, and there have been ups and downs in developments within the organization. There are unsolved problems even among the member states, such as Nagorno – Karabakh tension between Azerbaijan and Armenia. A lot of ‘hot spots’ in Moldova, Central Asia have not been solved since the demise of the USSR, and may arise any moment as the case of Osh (Kyrgyz – Uzbek relations). However, it should be noted that Russia pays a lot of attention to its CIS policy, which may bring more integration to post-communist countries.

#### **2.4 Performance of CIS in Dealing with Security Challenges**

There were two parallel collective military structures within the CIS and one of them is the Council of Ministers of Defense established in 1992 by the Decision of the Council of Heads of States<sup>129</sup> to work out the single military policy, which has the permanent secretariat and Headquarters of Military Cooperation coordination of CIS. The other is the Collective Security Treaty or Tashkent Treaty, which was established in the framework of CIS and became independent international organization in 2002.

The CIS charter provides coordination of member states’ policies on international security, disarmament, weapons control, the formation of armed forces, and the maintenance of security within the CIS<sup>130</sup>. So organization adopted a rather large number of documents to regulate cooperation in military security. An important document is Collective Security Treaty or Tashken Treaty that was signed on May 15, 1992 in Tashken, Uzbekistan by Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russian

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<sup>129</sup> *Informatsiya o Sovete Ministrov Oborony Gosudarstv – Uchastnikov Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Stran ( Information about the Council of Ministries of Defense of Member-States of the Commonwealth of Independent States)*, Available at: <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=200>, [Accessed on May 23, 2011]

<sup>130</sup> Burnashev, Rustam, *Regional Security in Central Asia: Military Aspects*, in Rumer, Boris, *Central Asia: A Gathering Storm?* M. E. Sharpe, New York and London 2002, p. 134

Federation, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan<sup>131</sup>. Azerbaijan, Georgia and Belarus jointed the treaty in 1993, so the treaty came into effect on April 20, 1994.

During the 1997 October meeting of CIS prime ministers, the main issues were conflict resolution, peace keeping and organized crime. Despite intensive discussion about terrorism in February 1999, it has not been CIS agenda till the car bombs in Tashkent and Batkent events in south Kyrgyzstan<sup>132</sup>. And Central Asian leaders agreed with Putin's framework to develop multilateral security cooperation within CIS and CSTO.

In addition, the CIS has one more supreme institution, the Council of Frontier Troops, which is engaged with the border issues of the member states<sup>133</sup>. This institution also coordinates illicit drug trafficking and illegal migration through the external borders of the CIS. Along with the CFT, the Inter – Parliamentary Assembly also has its contribution to the peacekeeping mission of the Commonwealth. The Assembly deals with peacekeeping activities in the CIS' 'hot spots'. An important document was signed by the Assembly's commission in 1994 – Bishkek Protocol. This is the only political document ceasing fire in Nagorno – Karabakh<sup>134</sup>.

Since then terrorism became the top priority of the CIS agenda along with transnational threats such as drug trafficking and weapon smuggling. Aftermath of the incursion of extremists to Kyrgyzstan in 1999, Russian Federation, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan offered their units that joint common-and-staff exercise as

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Toktogulov, Beishenbek, *NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) Program and Regional Security in Central Asia*, Ankara, METU - September 2007, p.33

<sup>133</sup> *Sovet Komanduushih Pogranichnymi Voyskami (the Council of Frontier Troops)*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/page.php?id=202>, [Accessed on March 24, 2011]

<sup>134</sup> *Mejparlamentskaya assambleya Sodrujestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv (The Inter – Parliamentary Assembly of the CIS)*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/page.php?id=204>, [Accessed on March 24, 2011]

Southern Shield 2000 exercise<sup>135</sup>. Furthermore, the second such an exercise's goal was against the incursion by extremist from Afghanistan to CIS area and combat training and interaction in armed forces, security service, border troops and interior troops were involved.

The Anti-Terrorist Center was created in December 2000 with its headquarters in Moscow and its branch in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan<sup>136</sup>. The following year Kyrgyzstan hosted South –Antiterror exercises<sup>137</sup>. In August 2005, CIS organized a major command staff “Anti-Terror 2005” exercise in western Kazakhstan. The Council of Ministries of Defense have also signed the CIS Unified Air Defense Agreement on April 19, 1995, which is the only defense system of the CIS at the moment<sup>138</sup>. Several drills were held within the framework of this Agreement in 1996 and 1997.

In 2004, special data base was established within the CIS Anti – terrorist Center, which will gather information about the people and organizations related to any terrorist activities. The head of the legal support group of the anti-terrorist center – Polukarov stated that:

"Of course, every CIS region has its priority tasks. However, our approach to evaluating interior

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<sup>135</sup> Allison, Roy, *Central Asian Military Reform: National, Regional and International Influence*, in Cummings, Sally (ed.), *Oil, Transition and Security in Central Asia*, London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003, pp. 226 - 227

<sup>136</sup> Allison, Roy, *Structure and Frameworks for Security Policy Cooperation in Central Asia*, in Alison, Roy; Jonson, Lena (eds.), *Central Asian Security: the New International Context*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2001, p. 221

<sup>137</sup> *CIS Anti-Terrorist Center Established a New Working Group*, Agency WPS, Defense and Security (Russia), November 24, 2004, Available at: <http://www.armeniandiaspora.com/showthread.php?13522-CIS-anti-terrorist-center-established-a-new-working-group>, [Accessed on March 23, 2011]

<sup>138</sup> *Informatsiya o Sovete Ministrov Oborony Gosudarstv – Uchastnikov Sodruzhestva Nezavisimyh Stran ( Information about the Council of Ministries of Defense of Member-States of the Commonwealth of Independent States)*, Available at: <http://cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=200>, [Accessed on May 23, 2011]

and exterior threats coincides, and differences linked with these priority tasks must not prevent us from coming to an agreement<sup>139</sup>."

He also stressed that the center will establish legal ban to such organization's activities. And this year, it proceeded by developing of a terrorism warning system<sup>140</sup>. It should be also stressed that this project fully depends on Russia's financial and staff support. According to the budget of ATC, it 'seems little more than a symbol of Moscow's aspiration to assemble a CIS – political military bloc<sup>141</sup>, as was noted by Vladimir Socor, IASPA Senior Fellow.

The most significantly, in August 2001 a Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF) was established in Central Asia fully equipped battalions each from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan with their own Command and Headquarters with a permanent task force in Bishkek<sup>142</sup>. It is a tangible factor of multilateral integration in dealing with international terrorism. The next year, it was decided to open Russia's air base at Kant in Kyrgyzstan in framework of the CSTO<sup>143</sup>, which would markedly enhance security in the region facing a steady increase in radical Islamic activity.

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<sup>139</sup> *CIS Anti-Terrorist Center Established a New Working Group*, Agency WPS, Defense and Security (Russia), November 24, 2004, Available at: <http://www.armeniandiaspora.com/showthread.php?13522-CIS-anti-terrorist-center-established-a-new-working-group>, [Accessed on March 23, 2011]

<sup>140</sup> *CIS Antiterrorist Center developing terror warning system*, Belarusian Telegraph Agency, February 21, 2011, Available at: <http://news.belta.by/en/news/society?id=613498>, [Accessed on March 23, 2011]

<sup>141</sup> Socor, Vladimir, *CIS Antiterrorism Center: Making Time in Moscow, refocusing on Bishkek*, Washington DC: Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies (IASPS) Policy Briefings: Oil in Geostrategic Perspective, November 3, 2002, No.2, Available at: <http://www.israeleconomy.org/strategic/socor10.htm>, [Accessed on March 5, 2011]

<sup>142</sup> Allison, Roy, *Central Asian Military Reform: National, Regional and International Influence*, in Cummings, Sally (ed.), *Oil, Transition and Security in Central Asia*, London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003, pp. 227 – 228

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228

CSTO's CRRF with the participation of Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan has engaged in several major anti-terrorist exercises such as *Rubezh-2004*, *Rubezh-2005* to practice their tactics against terrorist incursions<sup>144</sup> along with counter drug trafficking, which also became important CIS agenda. *Rubezh-2008* is the largest scale military exercise held in Armenia where a combined total of 4,000 troops from all seven member countries conducted operative, strategic, and tactical training with an emphasis towards furthering efficiency of the collective security element of the CSTO partnership<sup>145</sup>. And *Rubezh – 2010*, which was held in Chorukh – Dayron, Tajikistan included CRRF's battalion's company<sup>146</sup>. Fight against terrorism, border security, and illegal drug trafficking were the main directions of the drills.

## 2.5 Conclusion

This Chapter has discussed the transition of the USSR into the CIS after its demise in 1991. From the Chapter, it is understandable that Russia's foreign policy made a shift in mid-1990's towards its 'traditional' sphere of influence. Since 9/11 this ties have been enhanced, however, Georgia withdrew its membership. The Chapter discussed integration within the CIS, its activities, and structure. Chapter three will discuss the common challenges to security in the region.

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<sup>144</sup> Beishenbek Toktogulov, *NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) Program and Regional Security in Central Asia*, Ankara, METU - September 2007, p.35

<sup>145</sup> *Rubezh 2008: The First Large-Scale CSTO Military Exercise*, Available at: <http://www.pims.org/news/2008/08/06/rubezh-2008-the-first-large-scale-csto-military-exercise>, [Accessed on May 27, 2011]

<sup>146</sup> Maksudov, Maks, *Tajikistan Hosts Rubezh – 2010 Counter – terrorism exercises*, Central Asia Online, April 27, 2010, Available at: [http://centralasiaonline.com/cocoon/caii/xhtml/en\\_GB/features/caii/features/main/2010/04/27/feature-01](http://centralasiaonline.com/cocoon/caii/xhtml/en_GB/features/caii/features/main/2010/04/27/feature-01)

## CHAPTER 3

### 3 COLLECTIVE SECURITY TREATY ORGANIZATION (CSTO): STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITY

In this chapter, the military integration of the CIS member states in the framework of the Collective Security Treaty Organization will be explored. The chapter will discuss the establishment of the CSTO as a regional security organization by analyzing its formation and structure of the organization. Finally, the chapter will discuss the activities held by the organization for the period of its existence and consequences of these activities in establishing security in the region.

#### 3.1 From CST to CSTO

The new century caused new threats to the security of the whole world in the face of international terrorism. The events of 9/11 changed all the notions of security, where the main enemy was the state, but now there is another non-state actor – radical Islamists. This and many other threats, such as global warming, economic crisis, AIDS, human and drug trafficking, of the XXI century pushes the states to close cooperation, which reasoned to the emergence of regional organizations. Since the disintegration of the Soviet Empire the countries of CIS are also face dilemma as to ensure security of their nation states through the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) or separately.

The CSTO is a post-Soviet regional security bloc, established on October 7, 2002<sup>147</sup>, which has 7 members at the moment: Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan,

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<sup>147</sup> Orobai Samatov, *Osobaya rol' Organizatsii o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti po Uglubleniyu Integratsii v Ramkah SNG (The special Role of the Collective Security Treaty Organization*



Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, where Azerbaijan is an observer states. Uzbekistan was the latest country to join, it joined the organization on June 23, 2006 and its parliament ratified on March 28, 2008<sup>148</sup>. Since the establishment, the CSTO was seen as Russian lead military-political organization by the west, which aimed to oppose the NATO. The NATO enlargement to the east is shrinking Russia's traditional strategic territory and establishment of anti-missile systems in Eastern Europe countries is the threat to the national security of Russia. So by reinforcing the military relations with the CIS member states within the framework of the CSTO, Russia is enhancing its traditional influence in the region to oppose the pressuring strategy of USA and NATO. This became of one the prior strategies of Russia towards the CIS.

The organization has its origins back to the Soviet Empire's disintegration. The early years after the demise of the USSR were devoted to the discussion of the former Soviet Union's military forces whether it should be kept united under the CIS or whether it should be divided among newly emerged nation states.<sup>149</sup> During the following meeting, member states opposed the idea of Unified CIS Army<sup>150</sup>, as it was seen as a threat to the independence of those countries.

Rejecting the idea of the CIS as a unified security alliance, CIS member states began to establish their own national armies<sup>151</sup>. However, on May 15, 1992, six out of twelve members of the CIS signed the Tashkent Treaty on Collective Security

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*in Enhancing Integration of CIS*), Pravo i Politika (Law and Politics), 2005/4, Available at: <http://www.lawmix.ru/comm/1264/>, [Accessed on December 12, 2010]

<sup>148</sup> Akhmadov, Erkin, *Uzbekistan is Back in the Collective Security Treaty Organization*, Central Asia – Caucasus Institute, April 2, 2008, Available at: <http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=node/4830>, [Accessed on July 23, 2011]

<sup>149</sup> Brzezinski, Zbigniew; Sullivan, Paige (eds.), *Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States: Documents, Data, and Analysis*, New York, London: M.E. Sharpe 1997, pp. 441-442

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 441

(Collective Security Treaty)<sup>152</sup>. By April 20, 1994, Treaty came into effect and included Armenia, Azerbaijan (withdrew in 1999), Belarus, Georgia (withdrew in 1999), Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan<sup>153</sup>. Those states that did not sign the Treaty wanted to stay out of the influence of Russia, as it was obvious that Russia will control the Treaty and its forces in the foreseeable future<sup>154</sup>.

The main activation stimulus and support of the Collective Security Treaty (CST) was the Russia's enhancement of its integration direction towards the "near abroad" at late 90's. There were several reasons of the CST's activity activation<sup>155</sup>. First of all, escalation of the situation in Afghanistan, which required the protection of the southern parts of the CST from external invasions created serious threats to the security of all CIS member states, including Russia. Taliban regime took control over Kabul in 1996<sup>156</sup>, and activated military activities near the CIS southern borders.

In addition, Chechen separatists were very active those years, requiring independence from Russia. During 1996 – 1999, Aslan Maskhadov declared himself the President of Chechniya, and in 1999, Basayev, who once was a prime-minister of Chechen Republic, invaded neighboring Dagestan's villages to force them to join Chechen resistance<sup>157</sup>. So, the activation of the extremist - Muslim bands from

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<sup>152</sup> Mozaffari, M., *CIS' Southern Belt: Regional Cooperation and Integration* in Mozaffari, Mehdi, *Security Politics in the Commonwealth of Independent States: The Southern Belt*, New York: St. Martin's Press, INC., 1997; London: Macmillan Press LTD 1997, p. 174

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175

<sup>155</sup> Alyaev Andrei, Dehkanov Suleiman, *ODKB kak Sistema Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti: Sovremennoe sostoyanie i perspektivy (CSTO as a System of Collective Security: Modern Condition and Perspectives)*, Observer 1/2007, pp. 67 – 77, p. 68

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> Goldman, Minton F., *Russia, the Baltic and Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe*, United States: McGraw Hill 2008, Eleventh Edition, pp. 43 – 44

Central Asia, supported by Taliban and other fundamental center of Arabic-Muslim world, was also critical for Russia.

Another reason was the military-political situation in the southern part of Kyrgyzstan in 1999 autumn and 2000 spring. The invasion of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) to Batken, and car bombs in Tashkent raised the issue of international terrorism<sup>158</sup> and made it the main agenda of the CIS leaders' meetings. And the last, first wave of the NATO enlargement, approach of the alliance to the western border<sup>159</sup> of the CIS and CST member states with perspective of new enlargements made Russia to rush back to its 'traditional' territory of influence.

Since then, the main topics of the discussions were peacekeeping, conflict resolution, economic cooperation and organized crime. On April 1999, the Collective Security Treaty was prolonged for another five years by six member states of the CIS<sup>160</sup> and the military cooperation development within the CIS until the 2001<sup>161</sup> was agreed. Uzbekistan withdrew from CIS and joined GUUAM the same year. However its membership in the alliance was not very long as in 2005 Uzbekistan left the GUUAM<sup>162</sup>, and joined CSTO in 2006<sup>163</sup>. In 2001, for the first time, CST

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<sup>158</sup> Toktogulov, Beishenbek, *NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) Program and Regional Security in Central Asia*, Ankara, METU - September 2007, p.33

<sup>159</sup> Alyaev Andrei, Dehkanov Suleiman, *ODKB kak Sistema Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti: Sovremennoe sostoyanie i perspektivy (CSTO as a System of Collective Security: Modern Condition and Perspectives)*, Observer 1/2007, pp. 67 – 77, p. 68

<sup>160</sup> Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Available at: <http://cns.miis.edu/inventory/pdfs/cis.pdf>, [Accessed on December 12, 2010]

<sup>161</sup> *Meetings of the Leaders of the CIS member states*, Available at: <http://www.cis.minsk.by/main.aspx?uid=3358>

<sup>162</sup> *GUUAM: One Less Character. Uzbekistan Leaves the Post-Soviet Alliance*, May 5, 2005, Available at: <http://www.besttopnews.com/news/news/05-05-2005/1264-0/>, [Accessed on July 23, 2011]

participants discussed and agreed to hold joint military actions. It was decided to establish Collective Rapid Deployment Forces in Central Asia<sup>164</sup>

The tragic events in US, 9/11 terrorist attack had big impact on further development of the CST, and enhanced US and post-Soviet states relationship. Central Asian countries began to cooperate closely with US in fight against terrorism, and Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan agreed to establish US bases on their territories<sup>165</sup>. Following those events, Russia makes effort to strengthen the role of CST, as a result CST was transformed into Collective Security Treaty Organization on May 15, 2002<sup>166</sup>, and it came into effect on September 18, 2003. Russia opened a base on Kyrgyz territory, Kant air base, which is 30 km from Manas air base<sup>167</sup> to enforce its position in the region. Another base for 5,000 troops followed in 2004 in Tajikistan<sup>168</sup>. CIS summits during that time were mostly devoted to the problems of illicit drug, organized crime, illegal migration, cooperation on border guard, international terrorism.

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<sup>163</sup> Akhmadov, Erkin, *Uzbekistan is Back in the Collective Security Treaty Organization*, Central Asia – Caucasus Institute, April 2, 2008, Available at: <http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=node/4830>, [Accessed on July 23, 2011]

<sup>164</sup> Obshie Svedeniya Organizatsii Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti (General Information about the Collective Security Treaty Organization), Available at: <http://www.odkb.gov.ru/start/index.htm>, [Accessed on July 20, 2011]

<sup>165</sup> Spechler, Martin C., *Regional Cooperation in Central Asia*, Problems of Post Communism, vol. 49, No. 6, November/December 2002, pp. 42 – 47, p. 44

<sup>166</sup> Markedonov, Sergei, *Post – Soviet Integration: CST, CSTO, CRRF etc.*, Post – Soviet World, January 20, 2010, Available at: <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/sergei-markedonov/post-soviet-integration-cst-csto-crrf-etc-2>, [Accessed on November 27, 2010]

<sup>167</sup> Radyuhin, Vladimir, *A New Big Game in Central Asia*, CDI Russia Weekly, July 18, 2003, Available at: <http://www.cdi.org/russia/268-12.cfm>, [Accessed on May 16, 2011]

<sup>168</sup> Olcott, Martha Brill, *Central Asia's Second Chance*, Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005, p. 189

According to the Charter of the organization, Participant states are not able to join other military alliance or other groups of states, while aggression against one participant state is perceived as an aggression against all<sup>169</sup>. The organization is open to new members and states may withdraw from it if they wish.

“CSTO is gradually transforming itself into a full-blooded military set-up<sup>170</sup>” – noted Ilya Kramnik, RIA Novosti military commentator. RIA Novosti also said that Russia is planning to build a strong military contingent in Central Asia within the framework of the CSTO comparable to NATO forces in Europe<sup>171</sup>, citing a Russian business daily.

According to Alyaev and Dehkanov, the process of military – political integration among the group of post-Soviet states in the framework of the CSTO (CST) was traditional that is from formal signing of the related agreement to the establishment of the organizational structures on its base, the way that NATO passed in its formation<sup>172</sup>. At the moment, CSTO is an observer organization at the United Nations General Assembly<sup>173</sup>.

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<sup>169</sup> *Ustav Organizatsii Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti (The Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization)*, Available at: <http://odkb.gov.ru/start/index.htm>, [Accessed on November 17, 2010]

<sup>170</sup> *CSTO: Joining Forces in Crises*, Feb. 5, 2009, Available at: <http://en.rian.ru/analysis/20090205/119991573.html>, [Accessed on May 26, 2011]

<sup>171</sup> *Russia Wants CSTO to be as Strong as NATO*, May 29, 2009, Available at: <http://en.rian.ru/russia/20090529/155118377.html>, [Accessed on May 26, 2011]

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Hamroboyeva, Nargis, *CSTO Anti- - terror Drill, Dubbed Rubezh – 2010, Takes Place in Tajikistan in April*, Information Agency ‘Asia Plus’, March 1, 2010, Available at: <http://news.tj/en/news/csto-anti-terror-drill-dubbed-rubezh-2010-takes-place-tajikistan-april>, [Accessed on July 25, 2011]

### 3.2 Structure of CSTO

The bodies of the CSTO were accepted on April 28, 2003 by the Council of Collective Security in Dushanbe on the basis of the Charter. The structure of the CSTO is very similar to the structure of the CIS. The Council of Collective Security, the Council of Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Council of Ministries of Defense are the supreme institutions of the organization, and include the same staff as the CIS institutions.

The institutions of CSTO may be divided into three, as working institutions; consultative and executive institutions; and auxiliary institutions. According to the Charter of the Organization, the supreme body of the organization is the Council of Collective Security (CCS), which consists of the heads of the member-states of the organization. The Council examines the principal activity issues of the Organization and takes decisions about realization of its aims and tasks. It also provides the coordination and joint activity of the member-states for realization of this aims.<sup>174</sup> The Permanent Council dealing with coordination and interaction in approved decisions' realization issues, where each member-state has its own representative.

As in the CIS, the Council of Ministries of Foreign Affairs coordinates member-states relations in external policy sphere, while the Council of Ministries of Defense is responsible for military policies and relations<sup>175</sup>. And the Committee of Secretaries of Security Council coordinates the interaction of member-states in

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<sup>174</sup> *Ustav Organizatsii Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti (The Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization)*, Available at: <http://odkb.gov.ru/start/index.htm>, [Accessed on November 17, 2010]

<sup>175</sup> *Obshie Svedeniya ob Organizatsii Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti (General Information about the Collective Security Treaty Organization)*, Official Internet – representation of CSTO, Available at: <http://www.paodkb.ru/html/?id=127>, [Accessed on July 20, 2011]

ensuring their national security<sup>176</sup>. These are the consultative and executive institutions of CSTO, and they have sub – institutions, such as working group on Afghanistan, working group on Informational Security, and other social structures.

The Secretariat is permanent working institution of the Organization. It realizes informational, organizational, analytical, consultative and etc. guarantees of other institutions' activities<sup>177</sup>. Secretariat is headed by Secretary General, which is the highest administrative post. The Secretary General is appointed for three years by the Council of Security among the citizens of the member – states<sup>178</sup>. At the moment Nikolai Borduzha is at the head of the Organization's secretariat<sup>179</sup>. The Secretariat is located in Moscow on the basis of the appropriate international Agreement.

CSTO also has the United Headquarters, which is permanent working institution of CSTO. It is prepares propositions about military components of CSTO and responsible for its realization<sup>180</sup>. And it is planned to improve of CSTO's

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<sup>176</sup> *Ustav Organizatsii Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti (The Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization)*, Available at: <http://odkb.gov.ru/start/index.htm>, [Accessed on November 17, 2010]

<sup>177</sup> *Obshie Svedeniya ob Organizatsii Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti (General Information about the Collective Security Treaty Organization, Official Internet – representation of CSTO)*, Available at: <http://www.paodkb.ru/html/?id=127>, [Accessed on July 20, 2011]

<sup>178</sup> *Ustav Organizatsii Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti (The Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization)*, Available at: <http://odkb.gov.ru/start/index.htm>, [Accessed on November 17, 2010]

<sup>179</sup> *Organizatsiya Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti (Collective Security Treaty Organization)*, Available at: [www.geopolitics.ru/common/organizations/odkb.htm](http://www.geopolitics.ru/common/organizations/odkb.htm), [Accessed on November 30, 2010]

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

institutions. Borduzha and Sargsyan, the President of Armenia<sup>181</sup> discussed this issue during their meeting on August 2008.

In addition, CSTO also has auxiliary institutions, Inter-state Commission on military – economic cooperation with its sub – institutions, such as coordination council to prevent illicit drug trafficking, coordination council to prevent illegal migration, and coordination institute on state of emergency.

The CSTO employs a “rotating presidency” system in which the country leading the CSTO alternates every year. And the Chairman of the Council of Collective Security is the head of the state that holds the annual meeting of the CSTO<sup>182</sup>. If necessary, extraordinary meetings could be held by the suggestion of at least two member – state. In case if the Chairman cannot fulfill his function, then for the rest term new Chairman should be elected<sup>183</sup>.

### **3.3 Activities of CSTO**

On October 2002 the Charter of the CSTO was signed by the Heads of States in Chisinau (Moldova) in order to transform Collective Security Treaty to international regional organization, and on September 23, 2003 the Charter and the Agreement of CSTO were ratified by all member states and came into force<sup>184</sup>. Financial activities and the bodies of CSTO were adopted during the Dushanbe (Tajikistan) summit of the Council of Collective Security on April 28, 2003.

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<sup>181</sup> *Sargsyan, Borduzha Discuss CSTO-related Issues*, August 18, 2010, Available at: <http://www.arka.am/eng/defence/2010/08/18/21066.html>, [Accessed on June 30, 2011]

<sup>182</sup> *Ustav Organizatsii Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti (The Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization)*, Available at: <http://odkb.gov.ru/start/index.htm>, [Accessed on November 17, 2010]

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> *Basic Facts*, Available at: [http://www.dkb.gov.ru/start/index\\_aengl.htm](http://www.dkb.gov.ru/start/index_aengl.htm), [Accessed on November 17, 2010]



Due to the situation within the borders of the CIS in late 90's, the main task of the CST was to prevent the terrorist's efforts to destabilize the situation in the region. And following the 9/11, the member states decided to establish the Collective Rapid Deployment Forces (CRDF) to combat the terrorism<sup>185</sup>.

As discussed above, following the 9/11, Central Asian countries agreed to host US military forces on their territories. The next year, it was decided to open Russia's air base at Kant in Kyrgyzstan under the framework of CSTO, and 5,000 troops were deployed in new base in Tajikistan in 2004<sup>186</sup>. The aims of those bases were to enhance security in the region facing a steady increase in radical Islamic activity, and also balance the US forces in the region. The same year on December, UN General Assembly accepted resolution that brought observer status to CSTO in the UN General Assembly<sup>187</sup>.

Following the Andijan events on May 2005, Uzbekistan left GUAM in 2005, and in 2006 Islam Karimov, the President of Uzbekistan signed the Treaty to join CSTO<sup>188</sup>. Because of criticism by US about that tragic events that resulted with death of several hundred citizens (several thousand according to some other sources), Uzbekistan became suspicious about military presence of US on its territory. Another reason for that was consequent 'color revolutions' in Georgia, Ukraine and

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<sup>185</sup> Allison, Roy, *Central Asian Military Reform: National, Regional and International Influence*, in Cummings, Sally (ed.), *Oil, Transition and Security in Central Asia*, London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003, pp. 227 – 228

<sup>186</sup> Olcott, Martha Brill, *Central Asia's Second Chance*, Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005, p. 189

<sup>187</sup> *UN and Collective Security Treaty Organization Sign Cooperation Deal*, the Journal of Turkish Weekly, March 24, 2010, Available at: <http://www.turkishweekly.net/news/100252/un-and-collective-security-treaty-organization-sign-cooperation-deal.html>, [Accessed on March 27, 2011]

<sup>188</sup> Akhmadov, Erkin, *Uzbekistan is Back in the Collective Security Treaty Organization*, Central Asia – Caucasus Institute, April 2, 2008, Available at: <http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=node/4830>, [Accessed on July 23, 2011]

Kyrgyzstan. So it was decided to close US base in Karshi – Khanabad (K – 2) military base<sup>189</sup>. The Senate Oliy Majlis of Uzbekistan ratified the Charter of CSTO and other related Agreements on June 23, 2008<sup>190</sup>.

The CSTO holds yearly military command exercise for the CSTO nations to have opportunity to improve inter-organization cooperation. The first large – scale CSTO military exercise is “Rubezh 2008” hosted in Armenia where combined total of 4,000 troops from all 7 participant states conducted operative, strategic, and tactical training with an emphasis towards furthering efficiency of the collective security element of the CSTO partnership<sup>191</sup>.

There has been crisis within the CIS in 2008 with Russian invasion to Georgia and recognition of two breakaway regions’ independence – Abkhazia and South Ossetia<sup>192</sup>. The events were discussed in CSTO summit, however Russia declared that it will not press its allies to recognize the independence of Abkhazia and Ossetia and in interview with Abkhazian journal *Apsny*, Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sergei Lavrov stressed that:

‘As for the official recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia by the CSTO member states, this is the sovereign matter of each state. Naturally, we are interested in our partners making this step. They are well aware of this. But

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<sup>189</sup> Goldman , Minton F., *Russia, the Baltic and Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe*, United States: McGraw Hill 2008, Eleventh Edition, pp. 69 – 70

<sup>190</sup> Akhmadov, Erkin, *Uzbekistan is back in the Collective Security Treaty Organization*, Central Asia – Caucasus Institute, April 2, 2008, Available at: <http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=node/4830>, [Accessed on July 23, 2011]

<sup>191</sup> *Rubezh 2008: The First Large-Scale CSTO Military exercise*, Available at: <http://www.pims.org/news/2008/08/06/rubezh-2008-the-first-large-scale-csto-military-exercise>, , [Accessed on May 27, 2011]

<sup>192</sup> *Moldova 7 October 2009, Chisinau hosts CIS leaders*, October 9, 2009, Available at: <http://www.newsahed.com/preview/2009/10/09/moldova-9-oct-2009-chisinau-hosts-cis-leaders/index.php>, [Accessed on April 5, 2011]

we cannot and will not put pressure on them, which we have repeatedly declared<sup>193</sup>.

This event brought to the withdrawal of Georgia from the CIS completely, which was the first case in CIS' history. On August 2009, the final Decision to stop the membership of Georgia<sup>194</sup> in the Commonwealth was accepted.

Following the event in South Ossetia, in August 2009, military exercise began, marking the first official testing of the new Collective Rapid Reaction Forces (CRRF)<sup>195</sup> established under the framework of the CSTO in southern Kazakhstan. CRRF is seen as a further integration within the organization, while some of its members opposed. The decision has been taken in a very short time by the initiative of Russia on February 4 of the same year<sup>196</sup>. It was the largest drills including 14,000 troops, and 7,000 firing ground operations<sup>197</sup>. However, it should be noted that the 95% of the troops were soldiers of Russia and Kazakhstan, while other members participated for show. Uzbekistan even refused to take participation.

An important document, declaration on cooperation, was signed on March 28, 2010 between two Secretary Generals of UN and CSTO, Ban Gi-moon and Nikolai

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<sup>193</sup> *Russia Will Not Press Allies To Recognize Independence of Abkhazia, south Ossetia, Foreign Minister Says*, Office for a Democratic Belarus, Brussels, February 2, 2009, Available at: <http://democraticbelarus.eu/node/5911>, [Accessed on February 18, 2011]

<sup>194</sup> *Georgia to Stop Its CIS Membership from August 2009*, Available at: <http://www.unian.net/eng/news/news-277574.html>

<sup>195</sup> *CSTO Rapid Reaction Exercise Get Off To Discouraging Start*, August 27, 2009 Available at: [http://www.rferl.org/content/CSTO\\_Rapid\\_Reaction\\_Exercises\\_Get\\_Off\\_To\\_Discouraging\\_Start/1808735.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/CSTO_Rapid_Reaction_Exercises_Get_Off_To_Discouraging_Start/1808735.html), [Accessed on January 24, 2011]

<sup>196</sup> *First Exercise of the CSTO Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF)*, October 21, 2009, Available at: <http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/eastweek/2009-10-21/first-exercise-csto-collective-rapid-reaction-force-crrf>, [Accessed on January 18, 2011]

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

Borduja<sup>198</sup>. According to this document, CSTO was fully recognized by UN as a regional organization along with other organizations, such as NATO.

There has been another uprising in Kyrgyz Republic on April 7, 2010, which resulted to the power change and to the unrests within the country, killing more than 80 citizens<sup>199</sup>. General Secretary of CSTO Nikolai Borduja stated that the delegation of CSTO will held the meeting with the representatives of different political parties and social movements of Kyrgyzstan, along with the leaders of the force agencies of the republic to analyze the events and prepare the report to the Council of Collective Security<sup>200</sup>. He also stressed that one of the main tasks of the organization is to assist to the organization of the dialogue for establishing peace in the country and prevent the consequences of these tragic events. And the main task is to stop the violence, and ensure law and order within the Kyrgyzstan. The other task was outlined to be the organization of negotiations of all political forces<sup>201</sup>.

The Kyrgyz Acting Minister of Defense Ismail Isakov made a statement right after the power change in the country that the Kyrgyzstan would strictly fulfill obligations to the CSTO<sup>202</sup>, and stressed that the Ministry would continue the cooperation with the Secretariat of the organization in military and territorial security issues. He met

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<sup>198</sup> Socor, Vladimir, *The UN Accepts CSTO as a Regional Organization*, European Dialogue, March 31, 2010, Available at: <http://www.eurodialogue.org/eu-central-asia/The-UN-Accepts-CSTO-as-a-Regional-Security-Organization>, [Accessed on March 29, 2011]

<sup>199</sup> *Kirgiziyu Ohvatili Novye Besporyadki (New Unrests in Kyrgyzstan)*, April 17, 2010, Available at: <http://www.dni.ru/polit/2010/4/17/189940.html>, [Accessed on July 6, 2011]

<sup>200</sup> *Delegatsiya ODKB Pristupila k Rabote v Bishkeke (CSTO Delegation proceeded to business in Bishkek)*, April 9, 2010, Available at: [http://www.khovar.tj/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=20134](http://www.khovar.tj/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=20134), [Accessed on July 6, 2011]

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> *Kyrgyzstan Pledges Compliance with Commitments to CSTO*, Monday, April 12, 2010, Available at: <http://www.turkishweekly.net/news/101085/kyrgyzstan-pledges-compliance-with-commitments-to-csto-.html>, [Accessed on July 6, 2011]

with the CSTO's delegation to Bishkek led by the CSTO Deputy Secretary Valery Semerikov and made statements about the situation in the country<sup>203</sup>.

*Rubezh – 2010*, the most recent military exercises was held in Chorukh – Dayron, Tajikistan between April 22 – 26, and included CRRF's battalion's company<sup>204</sup>. Sherali Khairullayev, Tajik Ministry of defense said:

“Emerging trends suggest that in the 21st century, Central Asia is gradually turning into the centre of shifting global processes. Our aim is to not allow the region to turn into a place of conflict”<sup>205</sup>.

He also stressed the importance of these drills for Tajik national security. More than 1,000 troops took participation in the exercise from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan. Uzbekistan sent only observers due to its objection to Russian base in Kyrgyzstan. The main aims of this drill were fight against terrorism, border security, and illegal drug trafficking.

Six leaders out of seven met on an unofficial meeting of the Heads of member – states on May 8, 2010 in Gorki, Moscow oblast<sup>206</sup>. The President of Kyrgyz Republic was absent due to the unrests in the country and change of the power. Two joint documents were adapted during the meeting, the declaration of the member – states on the situation in Kyrgyz Republic and the declaration of the member – states on the Treaty between Russia and USA.

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<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>204</sup> Maksudov, Maks, *Tajikistan Hosts Rubezh – 2010 Counter – terrorism exercises*, Central Asia Online, April 27, 2010, Available at: [http://centralasiaonline.com/cocoon/caii/xhtml/en\\_GB/features/caii/features/main/2010/04/27/feature-01](http://centralasiaonline.com/cocoon/caii/xhtml/en_GB/features/caii/features/main/2010/04/27/feature-01)

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> *Sostoyalsya Neformalnii Summit Organizatsii Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti (Unofficial Summit of Collective Security Treaty Organization was held)*, Available at: <http://www.dkb.gov.ru/start/index.htm>, [Accessed on May 17, 2011]

Following the power change, there has been another tragic event in Kyrgyzstan on June 2010 – interethnic clash between Kyrgyzs and Uzbeks in Osh city. During the events in Kyrgyzstan the use of Collective Rapid Reaction Forces (CRRF) have been questioned a lot, as would it be used in case of sharp destabilization of situation in member-state of CSTO. Kyrgyz leaders of the Interim Governments asked for help during the Osh events, however it was refused by the CSTO. In his respond to the questions of reporters Borduja stated that:

“Our organization owns the potential force (CRRF, peacekeeping forces of CSTO) that can be used. It can be used if there is external threat, which is not the case of Kyrgyzstan. We are completely aware of the situation and hold meetings with all leading forces, and prepared report to the Heads of States. The use of force is out of discussion, as it is an internal matter of Kyrgyz people. We are not policemen<sup>207</sup>,”

That is according to the Treaty on Collective Security, the security is maintained on collective basis, and if one of the member – states is faces threat to its security, territorial integrity and sovereignty, if there is an international threat, then mechanism of joined consultations to take measures to resolve the threat will be activated by the members-states<sup>208</sup>, whereas the case of Kyrgyzstan is not seen as an external threat to the security. Charter of the CSTO states that “...matters falling within the national jurisdiction of the member – state<sup>209</sup>” shall be strictly respected, along with the territorial integrity of the member.

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<sup>207</sup> *Bordyuja: Mejdru Rossiei i Kirgizei byli protivorechiya. No eto ne znachit, chto my doljni byli snosit etu vlast (Bordyuja: There were Contradictions between Russia and Kyrgyzstan. But it does not mean that we had to demolish this Power)*, April 18, 2010, 14:57, Available at: <http://www.ca-news.org/news/360221>, [Accessed on November 14, 2010]

<sup>208</sup> *Treaty on Collective Security*, Article 2, Available at: [http://www.dkb.gov.ru/start/index\\_aengl.htm](http://www.dkb.gov.ru/start/index_aengl.htm), [Accessed on April 3, 2011]

<sup>209</sup> *Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization*, Chapter II, Article 5, Available at: [http://untreaty.un.org/unts/144078\\_158780/5/9/13289.pdf](http://untreaty.un.org/unts/144078_158780/5/9/13289.pdf), [Accessed on November 17, 2010], [Accessed on November 17, 2010]

However, the Kyrgyz case stressed again to the ineffectiveness of the organization during crises within the member states. So in August 20 – 21, 2010, the Heads of member – states of CSTO gathered for extraordinary meeting in Erevan, Republic of Armenia. The main agenda of the summit was the discussion of the collective and bilateral efforts of member states to stabilize the situation in Kyrgyzstan. The Secretary General of the Organization, Nikolai Borduja, suggested discussing the *crisis reaction mechanism* within the framework of CSTO<sup>210</sup>. The issue was left to further discussion during the next official meeting of the Collective Security Council on December 10, 2010 in Moscow. Along with it, other actual issues examined were the cooperation between the member – states and ensuring security are planned to be discussed during the summit<sup>211</sup>. The representation of the 2011 is held by Belarus.

In Moscow meeting of the Collective Security Council on December 10, 2010 crisis reaction mechanism measures were the main agenda, along with the improvement of the role of the CRRF and peacekeeping forces of CSTO in preventing crises<sup>212</sup>. Russian President Dmitrii Medvedev pointed that: ‘The late events in Kyrgyzstan obviously points to the necessity to improve effectiveness of our Organization to prevent the modern challenges<sup>213</sup>.’ He also stressed that the amendments to the Organizations’ statutory documents were made for this purpose during Erevan extraordinary meeting of the heads of states.

According to the Charter, the Organization is open to accept new members and observers, and the current members may leave the organization if they wish so.

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<sup>210</sup> *O Neofisialnoi Vstreche Glav Gosudarstv – Uchastnikov ODKB v Respublike Armenia (About the Unofficial Meeting of the CSTO’s Heads of Participant – States in Republic of Armenia)*, Erevan ODKB – Avgust – 2010 (Erevan CSTO – August – 2010), Available at: <http://www.dkb.gov.ru/start/index.htm>

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> *Zasedanie Soveta Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti ODKB (The Meeting of the Collective Security Council)*, December 10, 2010, Moscow, Available at: <http://www.dkb.gov.ru/start/index.htm>, [Accessed on April 3, 2011]

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

Charter also states that the participant states may not join other military alliance<sup>214</sup>, and aggression against one member state will be perceived as an aggression against all.

Today, CSTO has 3,500 people in his peacekeeping forces, along with it, the Organization holds operations such as anti – terrorist operation ‘*Kanal*’, operation ‘*Nelegal*’ against the illegal migration, and operation ‘*Proxi*’, which counterparts the criminal use of internet server. The Organization declared to be open to consider other applicants and suggested Iran to join<sup>215</sup> the organization. Its members also agreed to a major expansion that would create a CSTO peacekeeping force that could deploy under UN mandate<sup>216</sup> or without one in its members. It has also signed an agreement with Shanghai Cooperation Organization in order to broaden cooperation on issues of security, crime and drug trafficking.

### 3.4 Conclusion

This Chapter discussed the establishment, structure and activities of Collective Security Organization and the participation of the member – states in its activities due to the influence of the Organization to the national and regional security of those countries. The Chapter is divided into two parts as Collective Security Treaty under the framework of the CIS until 2002, and as CSTO, independent regional organization since 2002, which was the result of consequent event challenging the

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<sup>214</sup> *Ustav Organizatsii Dogovora o Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti (The Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization)*, Chapter VI, Article 19, Available at: <http://odkb.gov.ru/start/index.htm>, [Accessed on November 17, 2010]

<sup>215</sup> *Iran invited to join Collective Security Treaty Organization*, see on <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=5696>, [Accessed on July 10, 2011]

<sup>216</sup> *Gerdarme of Eurasia*, October 8, 2007, Kommersant Russia’s Daily Online, Available at: [http://www.kommersant.com/p812422/CIS\\_CSTO\\_Russia\\_Lebedev/](http://www.kommersant.com/p812422/CIS_CSTO_Russia_Lebedev/) [Accessed on May 10, 2011]



security of the region. The fifth Chapter will discuss the viability of CSTO as a regional organization and its cooperation with other regional organization.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **4 INCREASING DIVERSITY IN THE THREAT PERCEPTION OF THE CSTO MEMBER STATES**

In this chapter, the challenges to security and stability aftermath of Soviet Union's disintegration will be explored. The chapter will discuss the security challenges on post-Soviet space by analyzing their background, connection between them and the impact of radical Islam to the regional security of the region. Finally, the chapter will examine the cooperative responses to cope with the challenges by the CIS member states and the establishment of Tashkent Treaty.

#### **4.1 Transnational Security Challenges aftermath of Soviet Union's Disintegration**

The demise of the Soviet Union in the early 90<sup>th</sup> brought serious security challenges to its former republics. Drug trafficking, ethnic clashes, organized crime, poor nation- building, corruption, instability in Afghanistan and terrorist incursion to the territory of the former Soviet Union, and other new security threats having social, political and economic consequences have arisen in the region. The border problems as the result of the Soviet authorities artificial division in the 1920<sup>th</sup> and 1930<sup>th</sup> became the basis of many problems, such as ethnic clashes on the basis of territory claims; letting drug smugglers, militants pass the borders using gaps in the national border security systems and controlling them.

Disintegration of the Soviet Union caused the border problems not only with outside countries, but even among former Soviet countries.<sup>217</sup> Border demarcation of the Soviet period was made abstractly, so the neighbors became the citizens of the different countries. As a result, after the independence, authorities began to dispute on border issues, which still remains a problem for many republics, such as the case of Kyrgyz – Tajik border, which is still uncertain and causes clashes<sup>218</sup> in the border which is difficult to protect because of its mountainous locality. And this border uncertainty is stands for easy passing among these countries, which provides advantage to drug and weapon trafficking.

Poor border management in Central Asia leads to the huge flow of illicit narcotics to the country, and as Nicole Jackson allocates that it became ‘*major transit route*’ of drug from Afghanistan to Russia, following Eastern and Western Europe<sup>219</sup>, causing huge threat to the security in the region. The weakness of Central Asian states and corrupted authorities sets up favorable term for drug dealers. Furthermore the cultivation of narcotics have increased in Afghanistan, and so the role of Central Asia in smuggling. In addition, the drug cultivation reached northern territories of Afghanistan, approaching southern borders of the CIS. And drug trafficking is obviously connected to the terrorism, organized crime and insurgency in the region, so it causes threat not only to ‘soft security’, but also to ‘hard security’.

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<sup>217</sup> Pınar Akçalı, *Nation-State Building in Central Asia: A lost Case?*, in Mehdi Parvizi Amineh, Henk Houweling (eds.), *Central Eurasia in Global Politics: Conflict, Security and Development*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2005, p. 97

<sup>218</sup> *May 12, 2006 an armed gang from Tajikistan attacked a border post and killed five Kyrgyz border guards*, Available at: <http://www.world-asia.info/Kyrgyzstan>, [Accessed on January 15, 2011]

<sup>219</sup> Nicole J. Jackson, *The Trafficking of Narcotics, Arms and Human in post-Soviet Central Asia: (mis)Perceptions, Policies and Realities*, Central Asian Survey, March 2005, 24 (1), pp. 39 – 52, p. 40

According to the estimation of the Interfax 75% of all Afghan narcotics pass through Central Asian region, and European Commission estimates it as 65%<sup>220</sup>. Four out of six main routes of drug trafficking passes through Central Asia: Kandahar – Balkh – Jaujan – Uzbekistan – CIS – Europe; Kandahar – Herat – Turkmenistan – CIS – Europe; Peshawar – Chitral (Northern Pakistan) – Afghan Badakshan – the Gorno – Badakshan autonomous oblast (Tajikistan) – Kyrgyzstan – CIS – Europe; and Konduz – Khatlonskaia oblast of Tajikistan – Russia – Europe<sup>221</sup>.

Terrorist incursions of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) to the territory of Kyrgyzstan allegedly waged to create a caliphate in Ferghana valley suggested to have drug related motivation after Kyrgyz government's comparative success to control one of the main routes from Khorog in Tajikistan to Osh in Kyrgyzstan<sup>222</sup>. It is assumed that the IMU's base in Tajikistan is located to control drug trafficking from Afghanistan to Central Asia. However there is no evidence to the direct connections between IMU militants and drug smuggler.

Economic instability and unemployment as the result of the mass privatization of state property, closure of many factories and increasing poverty, created a critique situation for many people, who were forced to leave the country to find a job and supply their families. Most of them migrated to Russia and Kazakhstan legally and illegally working in very poor conditions and for meager payment. Some of them were involved in human – trafficking, especially women, who were send to Turkey and Arabian countries for sex-industry. Others, especially children are used for

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<sup>220</sup> Erica Marat, *Impact of Drug Trade and Organized Crime on State Functioning in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan*, China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly, Vol. 4, No.1, 2006, p. 96

<sup>221</sup> Sultan Akimbekov, *Conflict in Afghanistan: Conditions, Problems and Prospects*, in Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: Gathering Storm*, New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2002, p. 86

<sup>222</sup> Svante E. Cornell and Regine A. Spector, *Central Asia: More than Islamic Extremists*, The Washington Quarterly, Winter 2002, pp. 193 – 206, p. 197

organs and men for labor slavery.<sup>223</sup> This is a woeful situation that attracts the whole world's attention and involves almost every country, but it is new for Central Asia and the most widespread reasons are the decreasing living standards; unemployment and under-employment; and poverty.

Civil War in Tajikistan between the 1992 and 1997 decreased the social and economic conditions in the country, and took the lives of some 50,000 people and displaced 800,000<sup>224</sup>. Despite the fact that the Agreement on Peace was reached in 1997 between two fighting sides, it was just on macro-political level, and tension still stays among the population. It is obvious that the reason of the civil war was the regional division and fight for the power of those regional leaders and this is the problem for all Central Asian countries. Thus all Central Asian culture includes the division into tribes, clans, regions and kinship has a strong influence on the politics of the countries. Nation is divided into *zhuz* as the case of Kazakhstan, *north and south* in Kyrgyzstan, *mahalla* in Uzbekistan, and regionalism as the case of Tajikistan (*mahalgaroi*) and Turkmenistan. In addition, people feel greater loyalty to these divisions into tribes, clans and regions than to the rule of the national government. Turkmenbashi tries the policy to unite all population under "Turkmen", claiming it was more important than being a part of particular tribe or clan.

"To have our state united in the future we must completely eradicate the epidemic habit of talking about tribal relations. No matter what tribes we come from, we remain...sons of the one big family of Turkmenistan",

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<sup>223</sup> UNICEF-supported report "Child Trafficking in Kyrgyzstan" reveals gap in reliable data, UNICEF Central and eastern Europe, Commonwealth of Independent States, July 4, 2008, Available at: [http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/media\\_9266.html](http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/media_9266.html), [Accessed on May 15, 2011]

<sup>224</sup> Kirill Nourzhanov (June 2005), *Saviours of the nation or robber barons? Warlord politics in Tajikistan*, Central Asian Survey 24 (2), p. 112

– said in his book published in 1994.<sup>225</sup> Other presidents also made many attempts to unite the population, which is divided into tribes and ethnicities; however these divisions are still an important issue.

Today, there is a tremendous gap between poor and rich on post-Soviet territory and people feel unprotected. Corruption, which is widespread, threatens the economy and social conditions. Orozbek Moldaliev defines corruption as:

“a dangerous phenomenon and a serious destabilizing factor for the reform efforts...It breeds a sense of distrust among the population toward the authorities, lower political activity, and creates mass pessimism and low morale”.<sup>226</sup>

It stays as one of the main reason of the economic and social destruction.

Next issue is the multi-ethnic character of all five Central Asian states. As the result of Soviet policy, there were thousands of people forced to migrate and transferred, so there are a sizable minorities living in these countries today. Furthermore, in last years of Soviet Union, there were two major clashes in the region – conflict between the Meskhetian Turks and the Uzbeks in the Ferghana in June 1989 and conflicts between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the city of Osh in June 1990<sup>227</sup> leaving many people killed and wounded, which increased the local authorities concerns about ethnic relations. And the Osh June 2010 interethnic conflict one again reminded that the problem still remains.

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<sup>225</sup> Pinar Akçalı, *Nation-State Building in Central Asia: A lost Case?*, in Mehdi Parvizi Amineh, Henk Houweling (eds.), *Central Eurasia in Global Politics: Conflict, Security and Development*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2005, p. 103

<sup>226</sup> Orozbek Moldaliev, *Secutiry Challenges for Kyrgyzstan*, in *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, Gary K. Bertsh, Cassady Craft, Scott A. Jones, Michael Bek (eds.), Routledge, New York and London 2000, p. 267

<sup>227</sup> Pinar Akçalı, *Nation-State Building in Central Asia: A lost Case?*, in Mehdi Parvizi Amineh, Henk Houweling (eds.), *Central Eurasia in Global Politics: Conflict, Security and Development*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2005, p. 109

When we look through the demographic content of Central Asia in early years of its independence, we can see that the Kazakhstan (with total population of 17 million) and Kyrgyzstan (4,4 million people) are the countries with sizable ethnic minorities (Kazakhstan – 46% Kazakhs and others are other national minorities, Russian being the largest – 35%, Kyrgyzstan – 53% Kyrgyzs and again Russians are the largest ethnic minority, which constitute 18% of total population and Uzbeks being the second largest group – 13%). Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, in comparison with two mentioned above, have less minorities and majority ethnic groups make up the almost 70 percent of their populations<sup>228</sup>.

Despite the percentage has changed during eighteen years of independence, there are still big amount of ethnic minorities in territories of Central Asian states and the ethnic tensions are still actual. There are still small clashes between different ethnic groups such as Kyrgyz-Uzbek (1990, 2010), Kyrgyz-Dungan (especially 2007 Iskra case), Russian-Kazakh (1986), Uzbek-Tajik, Kyrgyz-Tajik and so on. And it is a threat to stability within the republics, which may became a threat to whole region and to the relations between five states.

All these problems create a big dissatisfaction among the population of the Central Asian countries. So, there are huge amount of protests organized against the ruling elites. Aksy events in 2002, which had victims and Tulip Revolution that occurred in March 24, 2005 shows us that the population was not satisfied with the policy of the Akaev's regime in Kyrgyzstan and they were against fraud and corruption used in parliamentary elections of February 2005. However, after five years, there was another uprising in Kyrgyzstan, which also ended with the power change. The Interim Government of Kyrgyz Republic has taken the power on April 7, 2010, and Roza Otunbaeva was appointed as the President of the Interim Government. Roza Otunbaeva's term ends on December 2011, so the Presidential Elections in the

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid., p. 110-111

country are set on October 30, 2011<sup>229</sup>. These elections are very important for the Kyrgyzstan, as it will define the further path of the country and the absence of obvious favorite for the President makes it unpredictable.

Andijan massacre that was an attempt of mass protest, unfortunately, ended very tragic where some 300-500 people were killed according to official estimation of Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights<sup>230</sup> and over thousand people killed and buried secretly in communal graves outside the town as Human Right organizations (through representatives in Tashkent as well as Andijan) claim<sup>231</sup>.

Armenia and Belarus enjoy more homogeneous population in contrast with Central Asian states. While Belarusian population composed of 83,7% of Belarusians, followed by Russian minorities of 8,3%, and others by 2009<sup>232</sup>, Armenians consist 97,9% of the Armenia's total population by July 2010 and it is the only country of the former USSR with almost mono-ethnic population<sup>233</sup>. However, Nagorno-Karabakh dispute still remains problem for the region. The conflict that began in 1988 by demonstration of Armenian of Nagorno-Karabakh escalated to the war that took lives of thousands and dislocated hundreds of thousand people from both

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<sup>229</sup> Kubanychbek Zholdoshev, *Prezidenttik Shailoonun Moonotu Anyktaldy (The Date of Presidential Elections were set)*, Azattyk Unalgysy, 30.06.2010, Available at: [http://www.azattyk.org/content/kyrgyzstan\\_parliament\\_election\\_president/24251405.html](http://www.azattyk.org/content/kyrgyzstan_parliament_election_president/24251405.html), [Accessed on July 22, 2011]

<sup>230</sup> OSCE and ODIHR, *Preliminary findings on the Events in Andijan, Uzbekistan, 13 May 2005*, Warsaw, 20 June 2005, p. 8, 23

<sup>231</sup> Shirin Akiner, *Violence in Andijan 13 May, 2005: An independent Assessment*, Silk Road Paper, Sweden, July 2005, p. 20

<sup>232</sup> *Ethnic Composition of the Population of the Republic of Belarus*, Population Census 2009, Vol. III, National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus, Available at: <http://belstat.gov.by/homep/ru/perepic/2009/itogi1.php> [Accessed on July 20, 2011]

<sup>233</sup> *Naselenie (Population)*, Mejdunarodnii Institut Yazykov SNG (International Institute of Languages of the CIS), Available at: [http://inlang.linguanet.ru/Cis/CisCountries/detail.php?ELEMENT\\_ID=2606](http://inlang.linguanet.ru/Cis/CisCountries/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=2606) [Accessed on August 2, 2011]



sides<sup>234</sup>. Today despite the talks between the leaders of the two republics, there has been no solution to the conflict, and the relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan still remain tense.

## 4.2 Terrorism and Instability in Afghanistan

The demise of Soviet Union brought the freedom of religion within the former Soviet territory and opened the gates to many radical grouping to enter the CIS countries. However Islam has always been perceived as a threat by Moscow, and even by the Romanov's empire, and had to be tamed and subordinated. Despite all efforts of Soviet authorities, it was impossible to eliminate Islam, especially in rural areas of Central Asia and North Caucasus. But Soviet regime did not anticipate any serious danger until 1960's and early 1970's. It was a period when some 'extremist' Muslims were expressing their position to be 'anti-Soviet' and 'anti-social' and demanding from other believers not to join Soviet army and not to send their children to be the Pioneers or the Komsomol<sup>235</sup>.

Islam began to obtain renewed importance in the 1980's, especially by the support of some Muslim movement that emerged during that time, and which based in rural areas of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan with very small number of members in it<sup>236</sup>. Uzbekistan witnessed the first signs of these movements during the protests to increase the role of Islam in politics, where Tohir Yuldashev, supporter of Adolat Party and later the head of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), took participation. The Adolat Party was banned by the government in 1992, and its

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<sup>234</sup> *Nagorno – Karabakh*, Global Security, Available at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/nagorno-karabakh.htm> [Accessed on August 2, 2011]

<sup>235</sup> Yaacov Ro'i, *Islam in the CIS: A Threat to stability?*, London, The Royal Institute of International Affairs: Russia and Eurasia Programme, 2001, p. 2

<sup>236</sup> Shirin Akiner, *Modernisation, Politics, and Islam in the Post-Soviet Central Asian States*, Separate Print of Religion und Politik, Chur/Zurich 2001, pp. 105 – 118, p. 113

followers with Yuldashev moved to Tajikistan and took active participation during Civil War, supporting Islamic Opposition<sup>237</sup>. The end of the Civil War in Tajikistan with the compromise made Yuldashev and his followers, along with IMU's military strategist Jumaboi Ahmadzhanovich Khojaev or just Juma Namangani, to join the forces of Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan<sup>238</sup>.

9/11 event emphasized the importance of Central Asian region to the global security, and these countries obtained more attention by international actors. Geographical destiny and economic instability of these countries made them sensible to Taliban Afghanistan and terrorism (some religious movements); drug traffic through these countries to Russia, Europe and US; human trafficking and the cruel human rights abuses (Andijan events 2005) and etc. The problem of international terrorism has been on the CIS agenda since the Tashkent car bombs and terrorism invasion to the southern part of Kyrgyzstan – Batken in 1999. The growing number of the members of Islamic extremist organizations such as IMU, Huzb ut-Tahrir, is another problem for the region and indicator of the poor life standards of the local population.

Following the demise of Soviet Union, border with Afghanistan was protected by Russian troops, but still there were cases of drug and weapon trafficking<sup>239</sup>. Today it is also home for many Islamist extremist groups, which is threatening the security of the neighboring countries. During Taliban regime, Afghanistan, which shares borders of 2087 km with three Central Asian countries, also became home for many radical Islamist groups such as IMU, Huzb ut – Tahir. So the instability in Afghanistan poses serious threats to CIS member states, and its stability is very important for regional security.

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<sup>237</sup> Richard Weitz, *Storm Clouds over Central Asia: Revival of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)*, *Studies and Conflict and Terrorism*, 27, 2004, p. 466

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Pinar Akçalı, *Nation-State Building in Central Asia: A lost Case?*, in Mehdi Parvizi Amineh, Henk Houweling (eds.), *Central Eurasia in Global Politics: Conflict, Security and Development*, Brill, Leiden – Boston 2005, p. 97

Afghan issue has began much earlier than 1996 Taliban seizure of power. It has its roots in ‘Great Game’ between great powers in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, while the Duran Line, drawn by British Empire left large number of Pashtun tribes in British India. In addition, Agreements between Russian and British Empires of 1873 and 1887 included territories settled by large Uzbek, Tajik and Hazaras population within Afghanistan, which also has its impact on continuing Afghan civil war in 1978 by overthrowing the President Muhammad Daud by the Popular Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). In 1979 Soviet forces entered the country, and USSR was involved in long term civil war, and in 1989 it withdrew its forces<sup>240</sup>.

In early 1992 the conflict in Afghanistan came to the end despite both Soviet Union and Pakistan delivering weapon to the country. And by April of the same year communist regime under President Najibullah fell. Leaders of Islamic Party of Afghanistan, Gulbuddin Hekmtyar tried to establish authority and control over the Kabul until the Taliban appearance in 1994, however due to the limited forces it was unsuccessful. The end of the cold war, decreased interest of US and Russia in Afghan issues and the conflict divided the country into discrete zones, controlled by field commanders and military – political fractions<sup>241</sup>. More than 60 000 Tajik refugees crossed the Afghan border as a result of the civil war in Tajikistan in 1992, and on the other hand thousands of Afghan refugees fled to the north and settled in Central Asia<sup>242</sup>. Thus Afghanistan is closely interconnected with Central Asian region.

The 1996 seizure of Kabul in September by radical Islamic Taliban bring out the Central Asian leaders’ fear of radical changes in the region. So the leaders of these

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<sup>240</sup> Sultan Akimbekov, *The Conflict in Afghanistan: Conditions, Problems, and Prospects*, in Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: Gathering Storm*, New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc, 2002, pp. 69 – 113, p. 70

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74

<sup>242</sup> A. Hyman, *Afghanistan and Central Asia*, in Hooman Peimani (ed.), *Regional Security and the Future of Central Asia: The competition of Iran, Turkey, and Russia*, London: Praeger, 1998, p. 129

republics, except Turkmenistan, met with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin in Almaty on October 4, 1996. For the first time since independence Central Asia faced external threat in the face of Taliban movement, so these countries urged to Russia for defense. Thus, Russia once again became active political shield and informal political leader in the region since the demise of the Soviet Union<sup>243</sup>. Unified anti-Taliban coalition was established in northern Afghanistan as the result of Almaty meeting, which became buffer zone between Taliban Afghanistan and the CIS south. By the 2000, almost all the territories of Afghanistan, except Panshir valley, were controlled by Taliban regime. On August 20, 1998 Osama bin Laden's bases were attacked by US Air Force in southern Afghanistan, and Taliban was accused in having connections with Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda.

In 1999 and 2000, with aim to establish Islamic Caliphate in Fergana Valley, shared between Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, IMU intruded Uzbekistan and Southern Kyrgyzstan. Svante Cornell and Regine Spector also stress that the IMU is not '*a solely Afghanistan – related phenomenon*', and that its purpose of incursion to Ferghana valley was to control the drug trafficking routes, and that both invasions were from Tajikistan, not Afghanistan as was discussed above. Juma Namangani, the military leader of IMU, and his followers joined Islamic Tajik Opposition after leaving Uzbekistan in 1992 – 93, and the IMU still remains in the territory of Tajikistan after the end of civil war, despite Tajikistan's claim to the contrary<sup>244</sup>. The IMU developed relations with Afghan movements, including Taliban, during this conflict, which makes Afghanistan a direct security threat to the region. However it is believed that the IMU's bases have been severely attacked during US-led war in Afghanistan in 2001. But there is another extremist movement – Hizb – ut – Tahrir

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<sup>243</sup> Sultan Akimbekov, *The Conflict in Afghanistan: Conditions, Problems, and Prospects*, in Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: Gathering Storm*, New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc, 2002, pp. 69 – 113, p. 81

<sup>244</sup> Svante E. Cornell and Regine A. Spector, *Central Asia: More than Islamic Extremists*, *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 1, Winter 2002, pp. 193 – 206, p. 196

al – Islami (The Party of Islamic Liberation)<sup>245</sup>, which possesses current concern to security.

Hizb – ut – Tahrir (HT) is a secretive organization, which involves unemployed, disappointed young citizens. Despite being established in 1952 in Middle East, it became known in Central Asia since late 1990's, and already functions in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and southern Kyrgyzstan. HT also has the same goals as IMU that is to establish Islamic caliphate in Ferghana valley, however, in contrary with IMU, HT propagates its dogma through leaflets and flier, not by using force<sup>246</sup>. Instability in the region, weak economy, corrupted authorities, large scaled unemployment, lack of information about traditional Islam and its values, decreasing health and social welfares, and poverty create positive conditions for the extremist movements to involve people to its network.

### **4.3 Efforts for Promote the Regional Security in Central Asia**

Challenges to the regional security of Central Asia forced the Central Asian countries to develop cooperation with each other. Especially situation in neighboring Afghanistan and along the Tajik – Afghan border became the region's greatest concern. Another concern is the border issue that was officially resolved in the 1991 Almaty Declaration which stated that “former administrative borders within the Soviet Union are inviolable and are not subject to change”<sup>247</sup> but still had some uncertainties. As the result cooperative security dynamics were developed by the

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<sup>245</sup> Nicole J. Jackson, *The Trafficking of Narcotics, Arms and Human in post-Soviet Central Asia: (mis)Perceptions, Policies and Realities*, Central Asian Survey, March 2005, 24 (1), pp. 39 – 52, p. 45

<sup>246</sup> Svante E. Cornell and Regine A. Spector, *Central Asia: More than Islamic Extremists*, Washington Quarterly, Vol. 1, Winter 2002, pp. 193 – 206, p. 200

<sup>247</sup> Orozbek Moldaliev, *Security Challenges for Kyrgyzstan*, in *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, Gary K. Bertsh, Cassidy Craft, Scott A. Jones, Michael Bek (eds.), Routledge, New York and London 2000, p. 262

local actors to ensure the security of their countries, however none of these attempts have been success.

The authorities of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan discussed the situation in the region and in 1994 established Central Asian Union (CAU) to reinforce the cooperation between Central Asian states, and later in July 1998, it was renamed as Central Asian Economic Community (CAEC) with the Tajikistan joining the union. Founded to reinforce the intra-regional trade, the CAEC quickly began to deal with security and military cooperation. In December 1995 Joint Council of Defense Ministers was formed with the CAEC's decision that was tasked to deal with the regional security and defense coordination, including coordination of air defense, military exercise, others, and was also responsible for the cooperation with NATO PfP Programme. And the same year, Centrasbat, peacekeeping battalion of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan was founded.

The incursion of the Islamist – extremist groups, particularly IMU in 1999 to the south part of Kyrgyzstan, provided common security threat, where CAEC's foreign Ministers and Heads of National Security joined on the militant activity and outlined terrorism to be the international and global threat to all regions. In April 2000, presidents signed an agreement on fighting terrorism and extremism and trans-border crime Thus in 2000, IMU incursion to Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan tested the consolidation of CAEC, and in the Bishkek meeting in August, four country leaders asked Russia to join the anti-terrorist agreement<sup>248</sup>. signed in April. As the result CAEC began its close relation with CIS's Collective Security Council on anti-terrorist struggle and began to act more likely behind Russia/CIS than separately.

Prevention of the drug trafficking and its impact to economy was also another important issue discussed by the CAEC member states, which was renamed Central

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<sup>248</sup> Beishenbek Toktogulov, *NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) Program and Regional Security in Central Asia*, Ankara, METU - September 2007, p.30

Asian Cooperation Organization (CACO) in 2001<sup>249</sup>. As the result of the lacking information about the link between the drug trade, corruption and national economies, this issue remained only in paper. CACO was initially transformed from CAEC to perform single security zone in Central Asia, and to ensure the regional security in the region. However, the outcome was discouraging, and it was seen as a tool to control the entire region by the Uzbekistan, which was viewed as a potential hegemonic power in the region by other Central Asian states<sup>250</sup>.

Negotiations of Central Asian leaders on CANWFZ, Central Asian nuclear weapon free zone ended on September 27, 2002<sup>251</sup> and became an important issue in the sphere of disarmament and arm control. Initiated by Uzbekistan, CANWFZ was supported by neighboring Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, and on February 28, 1997 in “Almaty Declaration”, leaders of three states declared their intention to pursue this endeavor.

‘6+2’ group of ‘neighbors and friends’ was established by the initiative of Uzbekistan in 1997 to confront the Afghan issue, as instability and Taliban regime in Afghanistan was perceived by Central Asian authorities as a direct threat to their national securities. The group included six countries bordering Afghanistan with United States and Russia. The group signed fundamental principles of peaceful settlement of the conflict in Afghanistan during meeting in Tashkent in 1999, and in February 2000, it requested the United Nations Drug Control Programme (UNDCP) to take participation in reducing the illicit drug trafficked from Afghanistan<sup>252</sup>. And

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<sup>249</sup> Ibid., p. 31

<sup>250</sup> Niklas Swanstrom, *The Prospects for Multilateral Conflict Prevention and Regional Cooperation in Central Asia*, Central Asian Survey, March, 2004, 23 (1), pp. 41 – 53, p. 44

<sup>251</sup> Dastan Eleukenov, *Perspectives on Security in Kazakhstan*, in *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, Gary K. Bertsh, Cassady Craft, Scott A. Jones, Michael Bek (eds.), Routledge, New York and London 2000, p. 246

<sup>252</sup> Todd Diamont, *The Six-Plus-Two Group Unveils Anti-Trafficking Action Plan For Afghanistan*, Eurasia Insight, September 15, 2000, Available at:

on September 13, 2000, leaders of '6+2' group approved a Regional Action Plan in New York headquarters to stop the flow of narcotics from Afghanistan. However, despite group's effort it was not very effective in settling Afghan conflict and reducing drug smuggling from Afghanistan.

As discussed above, Central Asian countries, especially Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan were active in cooperating with each other in establishing regional security in the region. Tajikistan, due to Civil War, which extended between 1992 and 1997, was unable to participate in these agreements till the Agreement on Peace was signed in 1997 by two opposing parts and the special Representative of the UN Secretary – General. However, due to the inconsistency of interests, low level of confidence, and tensions among Central Asian states, they cannot cooperate effectively.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

The Chapter analyzed the security challenges within the post-Soviet territories, outlining the importance of Afghanistan's geographical proximity and its role in terrorism and illicit drug trafficking. The perception of threat of the CSTO member states and their expectations from the organization was stressed. It also discussed the problems of Central Asian states and their effort to promote security in the region. Next Chapter will be devoted to the CSTO's establishment and its role in ensuring security of its member states.



## CHAPTER 5

### 5 INCREASING PENETRATION OF THE OTHER REGIONAL SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS INTO THE POST-SOVIET SPACE

This Chapter examines the enhanced penetration of other regional security organizations, such as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in post-Soviet space. The Chapter will also discuss the cooperation of these organizations with former Soviet states and Russia's attitude towards this cooperation.

#### 5.1 Increasing Influence of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in post-Soviet Space

Established as a Summit on common border issues, Shanghai Summit was officially institutionalized as an international Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) on June 15, 2001 and nowadays it consists of six states and four observers. Afghanistan, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) are attending summits as guests. The SCO covers almost 60 percent of the Eurasian landmass and consists of 1.5 billion people<sup>253</sup> which make it significant not only in regional level, but even in world politics.

Its roots go back to Soviet Union, when China and former Soviet Union commenced in November 1989 to negotiate about the border issues that has been unclear. These two empires had a common border of about 11,000 kilometers and much of it was

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<sup>253</sup> Richard W. X. Hu, *China's Central Asia Policy: Making Sense of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization*, in Mozaffari, Mehdi, *Security in the Commonwealth of Independent States*, St. Martin's Press, New York 1997, p. 131

disputed<sup>254</sup>. So after the collapse of the Soviet Union, China hurried to establish a diplomatic relations with former Soviet republics in Central Asia and Russia, and resolve its border problems. So on April 26, 1996 Shanghai Five group<sup>255</sup> was established with the signing of the Treaty ‘Agreement on Confidence Building and the Military Sphere in the Border Areas’ in Shanghai by its members China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. By April 1997, the leaders of Shanghai Five group’s member-states have agreed and signed the Agreement on the Mutual Reduction of Military Forces in Border Areas in Moscow, which became the guarantee for five states to increase trust along the borders.

Since then annual meetings were organized and China-Kazakhstan and China-Kyrgyzstan border agreements were reached while small area between China-Russia and China-Tajikistan border cases stays complicated<sup>256</sup>. From 1997 organization began its transformation into official institutionalization and its tasks for cooperation were pointed. First of all, Shanghai Five aimed to expand and develop its mechanism gradually to comprehensive, cooperative institution at many levels, covering multiple fields, along with supporting security cooperation in the region. Then, SCO also facilitates bilateral and multilateral economic and trade cooperation, and improves cooperation in international affairs. So, the organization added regional security to its agenda, and began to fight against factors that destabilize the situation in the region. In 1999, in Bishkek Summit, it was decided to organize an Anti-Terrorist Center (ATC) in Bishkek.<sup>257</sup> Later in 2000, the five presidents met in

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<sup>254</sup> Ibid., p. 127

<sup>255</sup> Michael Clarke, *China and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: The Dynamics of ‘New Regionalism’, ‘Vassalization’, and Geopolitics in Central Asia* in Emilian Kavalski (ed.), *The New Central Asia: The Regional Impact of International Actors*, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd., 2010, pp. 117 – 147, p. 124

<sup>256</sup> Richard W. X. Hu, *China's Central Asia Policy: Making Sense of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization*, in Mozaffari, Mehdi, *Security in the Commonwealth of Independent States*, St. Martin’s Press, New York 1997, p. 136

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., p. 137

Dushanbe where Uzbekistan participated as an observer and expressed desire to become a full member of the organization.

So, in June, 2001, in Shanghai, organization was officially established as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and became an international organization, which is based on potential cooperation in three areas: regional stability and opposition to the “three evil forces” (terrorism, separatism, extremism); economic cooperation; and potential strategic cooperation<sup>258</sup>. Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism were the main concern of the organization, where the regional security obtained importance. Moreover, the members also agreed to cooperate in fighting against the illegal arms smuggling, drug trafficking, illegal migration and criminal activities.

The multilateral relations within the SCO initiated by Beijing were built on the ‘Shanghai spirit’ of equality and mutual benefits. From the early 1990’s Beijing changed its foreign policy to ‘*new regionalism*’ and ‘*new security concept*’ that were to promote China’s ‘*peaceful rise*’ on international arena. Thus, this multilateral cooperation of China and former Soviet states was the example of ‘new regionalism’ that facilitated open, interest-based, functional cooperation of neighbor countries. Hence Chinese policy in Central Asia can be considered on national level as domestic security developments, concerning Xinjiang – Uigur Autonomous Oblast; on regional level – specific interest in Central Asian region on border issues and the problem of terrorism; and on global level – Chinese attempt to increase its global role<sup>259</sup> and to counter the US hegemony. The respect to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member-states and non-interference to internal matters of each other, along with mutual non-aggression, mutual benefit, peaceful coexistence and equality were emphasized by China as the basis of the SCO’s foundation.

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<sup>258</sup> Boris Rumer, *The Search for Stability in Central Asia*, in Boris Rumer (ed.), *Central Asia: Gatherin Storm*, New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc, 2002, pp. 3 – 66, p. 54

<sup>259</sup> Michael Clarke, *China and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: The Dynamics oh ‘New Regionalism’, ‘Vassalization’, and Geopolitics in Central Asia* in Emilian Kavalski (ed.), *The New Central Asia: The Regional Impact of International Actors*, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd., 2010, pp. 117 – 147, p. 118

China does have special interest in the region because of the need to counteract the possible intensification of Turkic influence in areas of Central Asia contiguous to and historically linked with its Xinjiang – Uigur Autonomous Province which is a threat to stability in the country<sup>260</sup>. Since the 1970's, Muslim separatism and radicalism have risen among the Turkic Muslim Uigurs with violent struggle for independence. In addition, these part of population of China have developed connections with radical Islam in Afghanistan and Pakistan, some of them were trained in religious schools and camps. Stability in Xinjiang is significant for country's stability, as it might encourage other non-Chinese population of Inner Mongolia and Tibet<sup>261</sup> to struggle for independence, and also weaken the possibility of reunification with Taiwan.

During 1996 and 2000, SCO faced with growing radical Islam in Central Asian region, along with the Taliban seizure of Kabul in Afghanistan. China and Russia were alerted by the rise of Islamic radicalism in Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, and the linkage of local terrorist groups, such as IMU, Hizb – ut- Tahrir, with Afghan Taliban. The same period, China began to use strict control over religious and cultural expression of Uigur minorities in Xinjiang province, and in 1998 Chinese authorities faced with uprisings of 'separatists' that were using illegally smuggled weapon from abroad<sup>262</sup>.

Following the establishment of Anti-Terrorist Center (ATC) in Bishkek and transformation of Shanghai Five group into Shanghai Cooperation Organization

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<sup>260</sup> Burnashev, Rustam, *Regional Security in Central Asia: Military Aspects*, in Rumer, Boris, *Central Asia: A Gathering Storm?* M. E. Sharpe, New York and London 2002, p. 127

<sup>261</sup> Richard W. X. Hu, *China's Central Asia Policy: Making Sense of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization*, in Mozaffari, Mehdi, *Security in the Commonwealth of Independent States*, St. Martin's Press, New York 1997, p. 132

<sup>262</sup> Michael Clarke, *China and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: The Dynamics of 'New Regionalism', 'Vassalization', and Geopolitics in Central Asia* in Emilian Kavalski (ed.), *The New Central Asia: The Regional Impact of International Actors*, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd., 2010, pp. 117 – 147, p. 125

(SCO), on July 7, 2002, the member-states of the SCO signed the Agreement on Establishment of Regional Antiterrorist Structure (RATS) with headquarters in Bishkek. The enhancement of cooperation was also affected by the US presence in the region following the 9/11 events, and close cooperation of Central Asian states with US, hosting its bases on their territories. On 2003 Tashkent summit, the decision to establish the SCO secretariat in Beijing from January 1, 2004, and the decision to transfer RATS to Tashkent from Kyrgyzstan was announced. By these decisions, China and Russia attempted to draw away Uzbekistan from US influence, and to return back its position in the region<sup>263</sup>.

The 2005 events in Central Asia were significant for SCO to reestablish its previous positions. The Kyrgyz Tulip revolution and Andijan violence changed the perception US presence in Central Asia, and criticized USA in promoting democracy and human rights in contrast to ‘stability’. The same year the organization held large scaled drills ‘*Mirnaya Missiia 2005*’ that were perceived as a concern by some Western and Asian countries. In 2006 summit, the leaders of the member-states agreed on enhancing the cooperation to combat terrorism within the organization<sup>264</sup>. 2007 summit was hosted in Bishkek, and 2008 Dushanbe summit was dedicated to the discussion of the Russia’s intervention in Georgia. It was unwelcome for Beijing, as separatism was outlined as one of ‘three evils’ in SCO’s policy. SCO pays attention to the military cooperation within the organization, however, it claims that it is not an ‘*Asian analogy of NATO*’, and it fights against terrorism and international organized-crime.

As it was mentioned above, Central Asia is a crucial region for China. Border issues; regional security; terrorism, separatism, extremism; weapon, drug trafficking are the main common concerns of the members of the SCO. In addition, economic

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<sup>263</sup> Ibid., pp. 129-130

<sup>264</sup> Alyaev Andrei, Dehkanov Suleiman, *ODKB kak Sistema Kollektivnoi Bezopasnosti: Sovremennoe sostoyanie i perspektivy (CSTO as a System of Collective Security: Modern Condition and Perspectives)*, Observer 1/2007, pp. 67 – 77, pp. 74-75

cooperation is an important factor for all six countries of SCO. Due to the negative perception of military cooperation within the SCO by some other countries, the SCO demonstrates caution in determining concrete cooperation goals. Hence, the relations between the CSTO and SCO on military sphere would be limited with the counter-terrorist and peacekeeping operations during joint drills on bilateral base.

## **5.2 Increasing Influence of Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in post-Soviet Space**

Following the demise of the USSR, former Soviet republics became members of OSCE, initially founded as Conference for Security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in 1975 by signing Helsinki Final Act. The Conference lost its purpose of bridging East and West by the end of the Cold War, and it has to transform itself to comply with the current situation. CSCE transformed into OSCE in January 1995, and became an organization for peace and cooperation. The OSCE activities have three dimensions of comprehensive security such as the politico – military dimension; economic and environmental dimensions; and human dimension, which is the main sphere of the OSCE<sup>265</sup>.

The politico-military dimension deals with conflict prevention and resolution, such as arm control, border management, combating terrorism, military reform and policing while the economic and environmental dimension monitors developments in the OSCE region and assists in creating economic and environmental policies of participating states. These activities also include the promotion of economic prosperity and ecological balance. The human dimension, that is the core activity of the OSCE in Central Asia, is a set of norms and activities related to human rights, democracy and rule of law that are accepted as one of the dimensions of security regarding to OSCE. Activities in this dimension also include such fields as

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<sup>265</sup> Maria Raquel Freire, *The OSCE in the New Central Asia*, in Emilian Kavalski (ed.), *The New Central Asia: The Regional Impact of International Actors*, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co. Pte. Ltd., 2010, pp. 49 – 69, p. 50

education; free and fair election; gender equality; Media freedom; minority rights; and fight against trafficking;. Moreover, after the terrorist attack on 9/11 OSCE also began to develop fight against terrorism and has started playing a significant role in preventing and combating terrorism<sup>266</sup>.

Since the early 1990's, the OSCE has played active role in mediating conflicts on post-Soviet territory, including Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Tajikistan. It played bigger role in Nagorno-Karabakh than in any other conflicts on the post-Soviet space. The absence of Russian peacekeeping mission in Nagorno-Karabakh also resulted to the larger involvement of OSCE in that conflict. For mediation of the conflict the Minsk group was established in 1992<sup>267</sup>. However by 1993 Russia attempted to regain its influence in the region and despite enjoying full membership in OSCE, Russian authorities led dual approach to the organization by criticizing OSCE's role in the conflict. In 1994 Budapest Summit, OSCE decided to send peacekeeping battalion to Nagorno-Karabakh for political solution to the war. During the summit Russia pressured to enhance the role of the OSCE in peacekeeping and security, suggesting the OSCE to transform into a leading organization in European security. Thus, during 1990s Russia promoted the OSCE to be the political umbrella for all security organizations, such as NATO and the CIS<sup>268</sup>. Nevertheless today Russia does not perceive the OSCE to be the only institution to contact with western organizations, and it develops bilateral cooperation instead.

The first field activity in Central Asia was in 1993 mission to Tajikistan. The OSCE with UN mediated in negotiations that brought to the Tajik Peace Agreement of

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<sup>266</sup> Ibid. pp. 51, 54

<sup>267</sup> Gary K. Bertsch, Cassady Craft, Scott A. Jones, Michael Bech (eds.), *Crossroads and Conflicts: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, New York, London: Routledge 2000, p/19

<sup>268</sup> Maria Raquel Freire, *Russia, Its Neighbors and the OSCE*, in Maria Raquel Freire, *Conflicts and Security in the Former Soviet Union: The role of the OSCE*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2003, pp. 98-99

1997, ending the civil war that lasted since the collapse of the Soviet Union in this country.<sup>269</sup> And the organization attempts to enhance democratic institutions in the region; however the effect has been low, even in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

The OSCE development in the region has four stages since 1992. First stage is a period between 1992 and 1999, a diversification in the field. After the conflict management mission in Tajikistan, OSCE established a small Central Asia Liaison Office in Tashkent in 1995, which was responsible for the whole region. Only after 1999, OSCE opened centers in each state<sup>270</sup> and the organization tried to establish contact with the region. Second stage is between 2000 and 2002 when activities of OSCE shifted to counter – terrorism while we can observe that during the first stage comprehensive security became more relevant in the region after the Islamist incursion in 1999 and 2000 to two CA countries – Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. The emphasis of human dimension was balanced with politico-military and economic-environmental activities. The OSCE began to pay more attention to the security threats and to closer cooperation with international financial institutions. Large number of security related conferences and meetings were held, where terrorism was seen as a collective threat that should be addressed in a comprehensive way.<sup>271</sup>

Third stage that was between 2001 and 2004 was busy with the activities fighting terrorism, while regional strategy for the region envisaged since 1999 was still waiting to be realized. The centers in the region were poorly financed and the lack of the personal (30 out of the total 3,500 OSCE personals) made hard to realize the activities in the region. So it was a time, while Central Asia became a focal point of OSCE's activities and got more financing. And the last stage that has begun in 2005

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<sup>269</sup> Barry, Robert, *The OSCE: A Forgotten Transatlantic Security Organization?*, Research Report 2002.3, British American Security Information Council (BASIC), July 2002, p. 24

<sup>270</sup> Kreikemeyer, Anna, *Balancing Between Commitments and Co-operation. The OSCE in Central Asia*, in Berg, Andrea/Kreikemeyer, Anna, *Realities of Transformation. Democratization Policies in Central Asia Revisited*, Nomos, Baden-Baden 2006, p. 102

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103



returned OSCE back to conflict management and crises prevention because of the destabilizations in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. So OSCE turned its attention to the Tulip revolution and the power change in Kyrgyzstan during February and March 2005, and following May 13, 2005 Andijan violence. While in Kyrgyzstan, it was always possible for dialogue, in Uzbekistan the OSCE could hardly cope with the restricted laws towards international organizations, so Tashkent center worked more balanced and struggled to stay on the ground<sup>272</sup>. The 2010 Kyrgyz events of conflict resolution have been the biggest since 2008 South Ossetia for the OSCE. International Police Forces were asked to be deployed in the country to regulate the interethnic violence in the southern part of the country, however due to the demonstrations against OSCE's police forces and opposition of some Kyrgyz officials, international polices forces have not deployed in the country<sup>273</sup>.

The OSCE is active today in Central Asia and it is mostly engaged in conflict management, human dimensions and fight against terrorism. In addition it cooperates with other international organization like UN, ODIHR and etc in its mission in the region. However despite OSCE's efforts, it is not enough to see the presence of the organization in the region.

### **5.3 Increasing Influence of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and PfP Program in post-Soviet Space**

The attacks in New York and Washington, DC in 9/11 increased the relevance of Central Asian region for North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Before 9/11, NATO mainly concentrated on Western Europe and Asia Pacific perceiving these areas to be vital for its security, and latter Gulf in Middle East. With the end of Cold

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<sup>272</sup> Ibid., p. 105

<sup>273</sup> *Kyrgyz Officials and Public Speak Out Against International Police Forces*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Available at: <http://kyrgyzstan.carnegieendowment.org/2010/07/kyrgyz-officials-and-public-speak-out-against-international-police-force/>, [Accessed on August 11, 2011]

War and dissolution of Warsaw Pact, NATO was without role, so aftermath it began transforming into to more broadly based defense management. So it has diversified its role and it began to maintain what it has already achieved and to give confidence to the emerging democracies in Central Asia and Eastern Europe. Remaining at core a security organization, it also developed two other clearly discernible roles: the management of crisis and the projection of stability.<sup>274</sup> The new command structures and agreements on European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI); and the Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF) are the most obvious indicators of its preparation to crisis management. And it is significant for Central Asia, as it has numerous potential flashpoints. But the main interest for the region is the projection of stability which will be crucial to develop politically and economically as democracies. NATO has fashioned three approaches to project stability: enlargement, the Partnership for Peace (PfP), and the two special relations formed with the Founding Act with Russia and the Charter Agreement with Ukraine<sup>275</sup>.

Following the end of the Cold War, NATO began the process of transformation, and its policy moved from collective defense to collective security. The 'Alliance's New Strategic Concept' adopted at the 1991 Rome Summit was the first step to the transformation. On Brussels Summit of 1994, NATO's Partnership for Peace Programme was adopted, which sought cooperation with newly independent eastern countries<sup>276</sup>. As PfP is an individual cooperation with member states, the degree of development of cooperation between NATO and PfP countries vary. Some countries, such as Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia developed enhanced cooperation with the Alliance and were accepted as full members in 1999 and 2004.

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<sup>274</sup> Ewan W. Anderson, *NATO Expansion and Implications for Southern Tier Stability*, in Gary K. Bertsch, Cassidy Craft, Scott A. Jones, Michael Bek (eds.), *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*, Routledge, New York and London 2000, p. 130, 132

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132

<sup>276</sup> Ted Galen Carpenter, *The Future of NATO*, London: Frank Cass and Co., 1995, p. 65

Military officials from Central Asia began to get training at the George C. Marshall Center in Garmisch, Germany, as part of a German – American security initiative since 1993. So by the mid-1994, all Central Asian countries – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, except Tajikistan, which joined the program later in 2002 because of the civil war during 1992-1997, joined NATO's PfP Program, which is a program that hosted a series of exercises to provide training in peacekeeping activities and develop interoperability. So since then, countries participated in series of peacekeeping exercises. Furthermore, in December 1995, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan jointly established a peacekeeping unit under the support of CENTCOM – Central Asian Battalion (Centrasbat), which was created to maintain stability in the region. So since 1997, Centrasbat has been holding annual exercises with participation of three Central Asian states, United States and other NATO member states with a focus on field and command training<sup>277</sup>. These trainings facilitated the strong reaction of Russia's Duma, and they have expressed their concerns about NATO members' military maneuvers near Russian borders. So the next year, Russia also participated in the exercises.

Rustam Burnashev states that NATO military policy in Central Asia has four main components: establishment of direct military contacts; assistance in democratic transformation (civil-military relations, civilian control, and defense management and accounting); expansion of cooperation (training, doctrines, and equipment); support for security measures (nonproliferation and control over weapons)<sup>278</sup>.

After 9/11 event, region's importance was obvious for Euro-Atlantic security and NATO intensified its activities towards Central Asia. Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan provided their territories for US and Allied countries for operations in Afghanistan. Manas airport near Bishkek, and airspace and Karshi-Khanabad (K-2) airport in

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<sup>277</sup> Elizabeth Wishnic, *Growing U.S. security interests in Central Asia*, Miami: University Press of the Pacific Oct. 2004, p. 10-11

<sup>278</sup> Rustam Burnashev, *Regional Security in Central Asia: Military aspects*, in Rumer, Boris, *Central Asia: a Gathering Storm?*, M.E. Sharpe, New York and London 2002, p. 120.

Uzbekistan were used by US and NATO troops. After Andijan events, Uzbekistan closed the K-2 base and refused for independent commission in Andijan events<sup>279</sup>. SCO Summit in 2005 in Almaty required from both countries the closure of the bases, so in December 2008, Kyrgyz President Kurmanbek Bakiyev announced about the US base closure in Bishkek<sup>280</sup>.

Proximity to Afghanistan of Central Asian states made them significant in ensuring security and stability in Afghanistan. Thus the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) of NATO in Afghanistan in 2001 increased NATO's involvement in security affairs of the region. It was decided to strengthen the relationships with Central Asian states and appoint the special representative to the region during the Istanbul Summit in 2004. Moreover, the desire of Uzbekistan to develop Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) was discussed. However, some scholars point out that despite increasing importance of Central Asia, NATO involvement in the PfP in Central Asia and other regions, such as Eastern Europe and Balkan, limited<sup>281</sup>. Thus, NATO is active in Central Asia though it's ISAF in Afghanistan, and its presence in Central Asia is mainly because of its global trends rather than regional security of Central Asia.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

This Chapter discussed the increasing penetration of SCO, OSCE and NATO in post-Soviet space, and their policies and activities in the region. The Kyrgyz case put

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<sup>279</sup> Beishenbek Toktogulov, *NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) Program and Regional Security in Central Asia*, Ankara, METU - September 2007, pp.71, 76

<sup>280</sup> *Kyrgyzstan to Close US Air Base*, December 18, 2008, News Blaze, Available at: <http://newsblaze.com/story/20081218074550zzzz.nb/topstory.html>, [Accessed on July 22, 2011]

<sup>281</sup> Bruno Coppieters, *Between Europe and Asia: Security and Identity in Central Asia*, in Lisbeth Aggestam and Adrian Hyde-Price (eds.), *Security and identity in Europe*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 2000, p. 198

under suspect the efficiency of the CSTO, as during the interethnic clash no measures were taken by the organization despite the request of the Kyrgyz leaders to do so, and inefficiency of the CSTO in crises within the member states can lead to the cooperation of its member states with other institutions. Furthermore, the Russian reaction to the enhancement of other regional security organizations in 'near abroad' is discussed along with Russian relations with these organizations.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **6 CONCLUSION**

This thesis seeks to answer the question to what extent Russia's policies identical with those of the other CSTO member states. It has examined the security integration process of the CIS states within the framework of the CSTO by focusing on the evolution of the reintegration process of the former Soviet states. First, the thesis has been devoted to the early years after the end of the Cold War, the establishment of the CIS, further analyzed the security challenges faced by the post-Soviet states, and then efforts to ensure security in the region and relations of the countries. The aims and purposes of establishment of the CSTO as a separate regional organization and its relations with other regional organizations in the region were discussed in detail within the framework of the thesis.

Following the Introductory chapter, the second chapter of the thesis discussed the disintegration of the Soviet Empire, and the origins and establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The establishment of the CIS at the very beginning was not to integrate the former Soviet states, but it was aimed to maintain 'civilized divorce' of the Soviet Union. However, there was an alternative to the CIS, as a solution of the crises within the Union, prepared by the Gorbachev's team in 1991, the project of the Treaty of 'Independent States Union', which was planned to be signed on August 20, 1991. But it was disrupted by the putsh in Moscow the day before.

Further, this chapter covers the process of formation of the CIS, first as a continuing disintegration of the Soviet Union, then as an integrating institute. The CIS has become Russia's main foreign policy in mid 1990s, when Russia realized that it is losing its 'traditional' territory of influence and also wanted to return back its 'lost' super power status. The CIS is not a supranational structure; it does not enjoy common citizenship, no common currency and joint armed forces. And sometimes, it

causes confuses among its member states in cooperation because of the interactions that are duplicated sometimes or clash with each other. The organization deals with realm of trade, finance, lawmaking and security. In addition, it promotes democratization and crises prevention, participating in UN peacekeeping forces. EurAsEC, Common Economic Space, and Common Monetary Zone were established within the framework of the CIS to promote economic cooperation among its member states.

Then the chapter analyzes the institutional structure of the organization and provides with the overview of its activities for the period of its existence. The leaders of six CIS countries signed a Treaty on collective security in Tashkent summit in 1992, that later transformed itself into regional security organization – CSTO. However, until the separation of CSTO, the CIS had two parallel military structures: the Council of Ministries of Defense and the Tashkent Treaty. And until the 1999 and 2000 terrorist incursions, conflict resolution, peacekeeping and organized crime were on the agenda of the CIS Prime Ministers meetings. So the chapter discusses the performance of the CIS in dealing with security in the region in detail.

The third chapter is devoted to the analysis of the CSTO as a separate regional security organization, which aims to ensure security and stability on its territory. This post – Soviet security bloc is a successor of the CST or simply Tashkent Treaty under the framework of the CIS, and it was established following the increasing transnational threats, especially 9/ 11 events, activation of the terroristic groupings, and their incursion to its territory. In this chapter, I have also discussed the formation of the CST into CSTO in details, which have been a treaty for five years with a possible extension.

Established as a result of Russia's security concerns, the CSTO includes seven members. Uzbekistan, which was a member in GUUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development, joined the CSTO in 2006 following the Andijan events. The organization holds yearly military command exercises that help to improve cooperation among its members. 'Rubezh 2008' hosted in Armenia has

been the first large scale exercise, and 'Rubezh 2010' was held in Tajikistan and included CFFR's battalion. The main of this year's exercise was to combat terrorism, illicit drug trafficking, and to enhance border security.

Following the Russia's recognition of the Georgia's breakaway regions' independence – Abkhazia and South Ossetia in 2008, it was decided to test CRRF by the Russia, despite opposition of some other members. Kyrgyz events again renewed discussions of CFFR's use, and despite the request of the interim government of Kyrgyzstan, the use of CFFR was refused and events in Kyrgyzstan were described as internal matters of the country. And these interethnic violence in the southern Kyrgyzstan have arisen the question of efficiency of the organization, and it was decided to make amendments to the charter of the CSTO during the following summits. One of the suggestions was the establishment of the *crisis reaction mechanism* under the CSTO, which is being discussed at the moment.

The chapter four of the thesis provides a short overview of the security challenges to the security of the post-Soviet states, and different threat perception of the CSTO-member states. The post-Soviet states have faced transnational threats to security, which had bad influence on the political, economic conditions of those countries with consequences that spread to other regions. The issue of border security and border demarcation has multiple influences to the security of the region that leads to the drug smuggling, weapon trafficking and free border crossing of the terrorist groups. Illicit drug have a huge negative impact to the population of those countries by affecting the health, increasing the crime, and funding the extremist groupings. Moreover, the weak border protection is the reason of the illegal transactions and illegal immigration.

The new revival of the religion after the independence obtained new importance for the population of the Central Asia, and new Muslim movements became active within the region. These movements tried to increase the role of Islam in politics and even build an Islamic caliphate in Fergana valley. The economic instability of these countries, large scaled unemployment forced people to join the various religious



movements. The activity of the IMU and its incursion to the territories of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan in 1999 and 2000 made authorities realize the seriousness of this problem, and following 9/11 events confirmed the fact and pushed states to close cooperation in combating international terrorism.

Geographical proximity of the CIS to Afghanistan makes stability and security in Afghanistan very important for the region, as all unrest could easily travel to the territory of the CIS member states. So the US operation against terrorism in Afghanistan was met positively, and some Central Asian states agreed to host US military on their territories. Moreover, there have been efforts to promote security in the region and organizations such as '6+2' group of 'neighbors and friends', CACO, SCO, and CSTO were established.

The last chapter analyzes the increasing penetration of other regional security organizations in post-Soviet states, and their cooperation with local actors. Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and NATO PfP Programme are discussed in detail within the framework of this chapter. Moreover, 9/11 tragic events increased the importance of the region for the global security, so all of above mentioned organizations closely cooperated with the regional actors to combat international terrorism. Hence, Central Asian countries

The SCO, founded as Shanghai Five, was established to address the problems with common borders between China and former Soviet republics, and it includes five out of seven members of the CSTO. Most part of the 11,000 km border was disputed, so China hurried to cooperate with newly independent states to settle border issues right after the end of the Cold War. By 1997 Shanghai Five began to transform itself into institutionalized organization, and in June 2001 it became Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). 'Three evil forces' – terrorism, separatism and extremism, along with economic cooperation and potential strategic cooperation were outlined as the core directions of cooperation. Thus China's cooperation within the SCO can be outline on three levels: on national level, Beijing's concerns about the Xinjiang

Uigur Autonomous Province, which threatens stability of China, on regional level, China cooperates with Central Asian states on border issues and fight against terrorism, and last global level is addressed to limit US presence in the region.

The OSCE has three main dimensions of cooperation: military dimension; economic and environmental dimension; and human dimension, which is the core sphere of the organization. In post 9/11 period, OSCE switched its attention to the issue of international terrorism, however following the events in Kyrgyzstan (color revolution) and Uzbekistan (Andijan violence), it turned back its attention to the conflict management and crises prevention. The organization has also been active in resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and Civil War in Tajikistan. The OSCE has also sent representative to Kyrgyzstan due to the uprising in the country and interethnic violence in the southern part. It is the biggest challenge to the conflict management policy of the OSCE since South Caucasus 2008. In 24 June 2010, the interim government of Kyrgyzstan asked the OSCE to send international policing force, however mass demonstrations against such decision stopped the deployment of police forces.

Three stages could be outlined in NATO's relations with Central Asian states. First period is between the end of the Cold war and 9/11 event. This was period while NATO cooperated with the regional actors through PfP Programme, however Central Asia was not its target. Situation changed following the 9/11 and ISAF mission in Afghanistan, which is the second stage that lasted until 2003. And the last stage is 2003 onwards, while the NATO's influence has decreased after the revolutions in post-Soviet territories. It should be also stressed that the cooperation between Central Asia and NATO is mainly focused on Afghanistan and NATO's global security policy rather than with security of the region. So the Chapter discusses cooperation post-Soviet states with these three regional security organizations.

To sum up, this thesis shows that although the CSTO continues to be a Russia-centric regional security organization, Russia's influence over the other CSTO

member states has been gradually limited throughout the 2000's due to the increasing diversity in the threat perception of the other CSTO member states and the increasing penetration of the other regional security organizations into the post-Soviet space. The existence of the CSTO will be questioned if there is no Russian support, so the most issues in the organization are initiated and decided by Russia. However, due to the various internal matters of those countries and different perception of the challenges to their security, the CSTO member states also develop good relations with other regional security organizations. The CSTO member states have very different expectations from the organization, such as the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh for Armenia, energy security for Belarus, and international terrorism for Central Asia. Inconsistency of interests leads to the disputes and controversies within the organization.

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