POST-SOVIE T STATES: SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

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Post-Soviet Space
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
Origin

- Autumn 1991 the dissolution of the Soviet Union
- December 8, Belovezhskaya Pushcha
- An agreement establishing the CIS
The 11 original member states were:

- Armenia
- Azerbaijan
- Belarus
- Kazakhstan
- Kyrgyzstan
- Moldova
- Russia
- Tajikistan
- Turkmenistan
- Ukraine
- Uzbekistan.
At present the CIS unites:

- Azerbaijan
- Armenia
- Belarus
- Georgia
- Kazakhstan
- Kyrgyzstan
- Moldova
- Russia
- Tajikistan
- Turkmenistan
- Uzbekistan
- Ukraine
## The CIS Crisis

- **2003 -2005:** series of *color revolutions*.
- Number of statements made by member state officials - doubt on the potential and continued worth of the CIS.

## Integration:

- Sept, 1993: Agreement on the creation of Economic Union
- 1995: the Agreement on deepening of integration in economic and humanitarian field of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Agreement on creation of Commonwealth of Sovereign Republics (Belarus and Russia).
- Feb, 1999: the Republic of Tajikistan was recognized as participant of the customs union enjoying full rights.
- **October 7, 2002:** the six members of the CST, signed a charter, expanding it and renaming to the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)
- **August 26, 2005:** CIS summit in Kazan
Structure

Interaction of countries in the framework of the Commonwealth is realized through its coordinating institutions:

- Council of the Heads of States
- Council of the Heads of Governments
- Inter-Parliamentary Assembly
- Economic Court
- Council of Foreign Ministers
- Council of Defence Ministers
- Economic Council
- Executive Committee
- Council of Commanders-in-Chief of Frontier Troops
- Council of Collective Security
- Interstate Bank
- Interstate Statistical Committee

Bodies of Branch Cooperation:
- Consulting Council for Labour
- Migration and Social Security of Population
- Transport Coordinating Conference
- Interstate Council for Aviation and Air Space Uses
- Interstate Ecological Council
- Intergovernmental Council for Agro-Industrial Complex
- Council for Electric Energy
- Bureau for Coordinating Anti Organized Crime Activities
- Interstate Euro-Asian Association of Coal and Metal
- Election Observation Missions
Functions

Past

- To keep the divorce civilized
- Important psychological factor
  Ambiguity of CIS’ essence
  (The confederation, integration association, the regional organization) is advantageous.

Present

- Existence of a similar legal and state-building structure
- Key to various ways of cooperation between the post-Soviet states
Problems

- Creation of the control mechanism over the execution set commitments
- Weakness within the legal authoritative branch
- Un-unified cultural and informational channels
- Spread of a positive image of partners across the CIS
- Overcoming the negative stereotypes
- Perception: "the senior brother - the younger brother"
- Lack of openness to people’s, culture and traditions among the neighboring states
- Any success within the CIS is automatically blamed on the non-existent “neo-imperial” Russian politics
- Plurality of "formats"
- Potential of conflict within the CIS geographical sphere
- Strengthening of the Asian and European blocks of Commonwealth aiming for a Stronger internal unity of the Asian block
- Disagreement of various points of view within the CIS
- Un-unified political and informational channels
Experts’ estimates (after CIS summit in Kazan, 26.08.2005)

- Andrei Tsygankov, professor of international relations, San Francisco State University:
  "the Kremlin is saying that the CIS is only alive as long as Russia wants it to be alive"

- Patrick Armstrong, defense analyst for the Canadian government:
  "The CIS was cobbled together to be a bridge between the old Soviet Union and whatever the future would bring. It has outlived that purpose, as well as expectations of its lifetime, and continues feebly today"

- Ira Straus, NATO expert
  "Stagnation is normal for this institution. It serves a useful purpose - even if only to keep the divorce civilized and to avoid self-destructive excesses in sundering interdependencies. Trying to upgrade it significantly would be difficult and counterproductive. Abolishing it would be even more counterproductive"

  "Hopes for a serious deepening of the CIS thus depend on the process, as yet uneven and rather jerky, of deepening Russia's integration into the Euro-Atlantic institutions, primarily NATO and the OECD"

  "As long as the West neglects a cooperative role, other powers tend naturally to step into the vacuum and facilitate regional integration on their own terms, - SCO context, with China as the balancer"
Future

- Process of "formatting", creation of "clubs on interests"
- The decision-making center’s move to the professional dialogue level
- At present: The CIS combines some features of the regional organization and integration association
- Trends: could be transformed from the regional organization to integration association
- Preferable strategic way of development: Development of the CIS combined with various levels of integration
- Cooperation within the framework of the CSTO
  - Mainly the fight against terrorism and extremism with drug trafficking and other types of crime

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POST-SOVIET STATES: FUTURE SECURITY TRENDS

- Belarus
- Russia
- Moldova
- Ukraine
- Azerbaijan
- Armenia
- Georgia
- Kazakhstan
- Kyrgyzstan
- Tajikistan
- Turkmenistan
- Uzbekistan

New Centre of Political Gravity

NATO

CIS

CSTO

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COLLECTIVE SECURITY TREATY ORGANIZATION
Participants

- Armenia
- Belarus
- Kazakhstan
- Kyrgyzstan
- Russia
- Tajikistan
Background

The basis

May 15, 1992: Collective Security Treaty

1999: Azerbaijan, Georgia and Uzbekistan withdrew from the CST

October 7, 2002: the Summit of the CIS countries
A new body - the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)

December 26, 2003: the CSTO was registered in the UN as a regional international organization
The Collective Security Treaty (CST) signed on May 15, 1992

The CSTO Charter, signed on October 10, 2002


The Agreement on Status of Forces and Resources of the Collective Security System ratified on October 23, 2002

The Agreement on General Principles of Military-Technical Cooperation between the Member States of the CST signed on October 25, 2004
Managing Bodies

- The Collective Security Council (CSC)
- The Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (CMFA) and the Council of Ministers of Defense (CMD)
- The Secretariat
The CSTO Secretary General
Nikolay Bordyuzha

“ОДКБ - это сугубо оборонительный союз против угроз, которые сейчас существуют как для России, так и для других стран, образовавшихся на постсоветском пространстве, прежде всего входящих в состав ОДКБ”

19 September 2003
The Collective Rapid Reaction Forces (CRRF)

- Special attention to the creation of the CRRF
- The Moscow Joint Headquarters Decided to form the CRRF regional commands in Belarus, Armenia and Kazakhstan.
- Sources at their present disposal
Major Objectives

- Assurance of peace
- Preservation of territorial integrity and sovereignty of the member states
- Coordination of activities in the fight against international terrorism and extremism, illicit drug trafficking and the organized international crimes
- Immediate military assistance to a CSTO participant in case of military threat
- Measures to create coalition military groupings and supply them with the equipment required
- Creation of the Collective Rapid Reaction Forces (CRRF)
Problems

- Discrepancy of the member states political positions
- The CSTO member states’ cooperation with competitive organizations
- Problem of decision-making
- Financing problem
- Lack of consultative activity
- Lack of the experts’ activity
- Personal ambitions of member states
- Weakness of the control mechanism over the execution set commitments
  - Disagreement of various points of view within the CSTO
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CSTO&NATO

«Мы намерены строить отношения с НАТО на двусторонней основе... Мы сделали предложение от имени ОДКБ наладить контакты...»

В.В. Путин

23 июня, 2005

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**Measures and commitments made within the framework of NATO-CSTO dialogue**

**NATO-CSTO main cooperation objectives:**

- Control over weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
- WMD non-proliferation
- Fight against drug trafficking and other types of crime
- Highest priority - Fight against international terrorism

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<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Commitment</th>
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<td>решение Совета коллективной безопасности ОДКБ от 18 июня 2004 года</td>
<td>Письмо Генерального Секретаря ОДКБ Н.Н. Бордюжи от 8 июля 2004 года Генеральному Секретарю НАТО Яапу де Хооп Схефферу</td>
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*Note: NATO and the CSTO use different definitions of the term 'terrorism.' Therefore, a common ground essential for real and practical cooperation is not yet achieved.*
Future Trends of NATO-CSTO cooperation:

NATO and CSTO express their vision for future cooperation in different ways

- Development of bilateral ties between CSTO’s member states and NATO within the frameworks of PfP Programme
- Use Russia’s experience as an example of how to cooperate with NATO
- Expert information sharing is essential (i.e. via briefings)
- CSTO’s member states consultations with NATO

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Practical steps toward the development of NATO-CSTO cooperation:

- Activities towards development of practical cooperation:

  For example...

  - offer experience through technical and human resources that could be useful for NATO according to its' interests in Central Asia

  - Launch a joint programme to reduce Afghanistan’s drug trafficking
**Prospects for development**

**The CSTO at present:**
* (According to various sources)*

- Aim at creating a positive future for CSTO
- Create a culture of mutual cooperation
- Engaging experts to form strategic estimates and decision-making in the field of the most promising aspects of CSTO development
- Strengthening collective security sources

**Pledge for successful development:**

- Tolerance and respect for the opinions of diverse member states' during the decision-making process
- Acceptance of constructive criticism and taking responsibility for one's own problems and mistakes
- Being flexible in accepting all world views and taking into consideration local conditions
- Develop willingness to cooperate with other international institutions

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NATO – CIS/CSTO

Bilateral relations

- NATO PfP Programme
- NRC
- NUC

Organizations’ Framework

- many problems
- trends are uncertain
Do Not Forget About China!

- Russia’s Dilemma: West or East - where to go?
- 21st Century - “Chinese” Century
- Russia - China Relations: more questions than answers
- Russia-China joint military Peace “Mission” exercise (August 2005)
Shanghai Cooperation Organization: an Anti-NATO Block?

- 26 October, Moscow - Summit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization
- 7 Members - Russia, China, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, India, and as 3 observers - Iran, Mongolia, and Pakistan took part (population over 2 billion)
- Fight against terrorism and security issues remain priorities.
- An impressive number of joint military training activities the SCO members have recently had
- The Russian Ambassador to the SCO Vitaly Vorobyov said that the SCO charter provides for cooperation in defence and security spheres, which does not mean that the organization will become a military alliance in its entirety

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CSTO Future - ?
СОГЛАШЕНИЕ О СОЗДАНИИ СОДРУЖЕСТВА НЕЗАВИСИМЫХ ГОСУДАРСТВ
(Ратифицировано Верховным Советом РСФСР (Постановление № 2014-1 от 12.12.91 г.)
http://www.ln.mid.ru/Ns-rsng.nsf/8c21fbc45f12ec6d432569e700419ef3/3b1f35047970d68743256b0b00228576?Open Document

УСТАВ СОДРУЖЕСТВА НЕЗАВИСИМЫХ ГОСУДАРСТВ
(Ратифицирован Верховным Советом РФ (Постановление № 4799-1 от 15.04.93 г.)
http://www.ln.mid.ru/Ns-rsng.nsf/8c21fbc47ec6d432569e7ac5fa6ca6aa2ae8b43256b0b0025d60c?Open Document

О Соглашении об основных принципах военно-технического сотрудничества между государствами - участниками Договора о коллективной безопасности от 15 мая 1992 г.
http://www.ln.mid.ru/Ns-rsng.nsf/3a813e35eb116963432569ee0048fdbe/432569d8002214664325699c003b5efe?Open Document

УСТАВ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ДОГОВОРА О КОЛЛЕКТИВНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ
http://www.ln.mid.ru/Ns-rsng.nsf/3a813e35eb116963432569ee0048fdbe/72e0ed40c0a90b4543256c5b0038498e?Open Document

Договор о коллективной безопасности (ДКБ)
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Questions?