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«RUSSIAN-CHINESE RELATIONS FOR SECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIA: A DYNAMIC MODEL OF CO-INVOLVEMENT»

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STRUCTURAL ABSTRACT

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The relevance of research

The national security of the Russian Federation requires taking into account the national interests of other leading international actors and the practice of their implementation. One of such actors at the present is the People's Republic of China. Relations between Russia and China are considered to be the strategic partnership. Nevertheless, each of the partners pursues its own goals and interests in different issues. One of such issue, both in a geographical and in a political and economic sense, is Russian-Chinese interaction in the Central Asian region (CAR).

In Central Asia the interests of the leading powers of the modern world order (Russia, China, the US, the EU, Iran, etc.) intersect because of CAR's geopolitical position, transport and logistics potential and natural resources. Central Asia is a buffer for negative processes from neighboring countries (in Afghanistan, Pakistan and the Middle East) as well as is a source of threats itself. The Central Asian republics are characterized by internal instability, competition for leadership, the presence of various threats: military-political, ethno-religious, terrorist, environmental, etc. The development of Central Asia raises the question: is this regional system united and whether it has the ability to self-regulate and adapt. In other words, is the Central Asian regional system of international relations able to response to the signals of the external and internal environment in order to maintain its balance and homeostasis. In conditions of interconnectedness and interdependence of the world, the Central Asia security and the ability of this regional system to maintain its stability and development directly affects the interests of neighboring countries.

Russia is interested in protecting its southern borders, including in the framework of the fight against drug trafficking coming from Central Asia. Russia's geo-economic interests are mainly related to the energy sector, transport projects, trade and economic cooperation, etc. At the same time, Russia's positions in the field of economy, culture and politics have significantly weakened over the past 25 years.

The policy of China, along with the policy of Russia, is of key importance for the development of the Central Asian region. At the official level, the main Chinese interests here are the security of the northwestern areas of China, the fight against terrorism and separatism as well as the economic projects implementation in the Central Asian republics, access to resources and transit potential of the region. However, the region is not a priority for China.

Being neighbors in Central Asia Russia and China have common goals and interests here, primarily related to security ensuring, development and stability of the regional system. Within military cooperation Russia and China are actually involved in the processes taking place in the region. At the same time, both Russia and China are interested in deepening their own presence in Central Asia and in dominating (specializing) in economics, politics and cultural influence. This leads to their competition in the region, which actually threatens to affect the nature of Russian-Chinese relations in general. In this regard, it is necessary to understand the principles of interaction between Russia and China in the CAR in order to build a model of regional interaction for maintaining a balance of their presence in Central Asia in interests of their own and of the whole CAR system.

It is also necessary to take into account the desire of the Central Asian states for independence and prevention of pressure on the region from outside. It explains the concern of the CAR countries regarding the impact of Russia and China on the regional affairs. However, the Central Asian political and economic regional system is characterized by weak integrity and coherence between its elements, insufficient internal resources of the region's states for self-regulation, stability and adaptation of the system to dynamically changing environmental conditions. This causes the need for participation – or involvement – in maintaining the CAR system's homeostasis of non-systemic actors, primarily Russia and China as the closest neighbors and major partners.

The key issue of such participation will be the goals' balancing of all involved parties, the main of which are the security and development of the CAR and

preventing the interests of non-regional actors from reaching the detriment of the interests of Central Asian states.

The purpose of the research is an interaction model building for Russia and China in Central Asia, which resolves the contradictions between their foreign policy interests in the region by observing the principles of strategic partnership for the security of the entire CAR and developing their mutually beneficial cooperation.

In accordance with the purpose the following **tasks** were set:

1) to identify the internal potential of the Central Asian international political system to ensure its own homeostasis (integrity and dynamic stability) and security;

2) to determine the nature of Russian-Chinese relationship in the CAR;

3) to determine the norm for security and stability of the Central Asian system and the correlation between the norm and participation of Russia and China in the development of the region;

4) to identify the regulator of stability of the CAR system;

5) to identify the principles of interaction between Russia and China in CAR;

6) to build a model of interaction between Russia and China in Central Asia in order to ensure the security of CAR and to realize their own interests;

7) to determine the necessary tools for the implementation of specialization in the framework of interaction between Russia and China in Central Asia;

8) to conduct a strategic analysis of the involvement of Russia and China in ensuring security in CAR;

9) to offer recommendations for the implementation of the proposed model to maintain the homeostasis of the Central Asian system of international relations.

The Research Object is the interaction of Russia and China to ensure security in CAR.

The Research Subject is the principles and criteria of Russian-Chinese interaction to ensure the stability, development and security of the CAR international political system.

The theoretical basis of the Research includes ideas and provisions of the theory of regional security; theories of complex adaptive systems; theories of homeostatics; methodology of embedded structures, nested constructions and balanced systems; theory of exchange; the theory of strategic management, strategic culture and others.

As a methodological basis, a set of general scientific and private scientific methods is used. The diverse nature of the investigated problem has determined the necessity of using statistical and historical methods, a functional approach to addressing the situation. The systematic approach made it possible to identify the interconnectedness of the elements of the national security system, and, together with the application of the empirical approach, to study the processes with taking into account regional characteristics. The historical approach helped to look at the evolution of the main provisions and approaches within the framework of the security politics of Russia, China and the countries of Central Asia. The functional approach allowed to study the mechanisms for implementing policies to ensure China's national security in the Central Asian region.

The statistical method made it possible to assess the effectiveness of Russian and Chinese economic strategies in the region, as well as their actual presence in the region. The methodology of homeostatic theory made it possible to focus the study on the needs of systems for the ability to adapt and self-regulation.

In addition, the preparation of this dissertation included the use of methods of analogy, analysis, synthesis, comparison, extrapolation, modeling, index, content and event analysis, statistical, balance methods, a method of constructing matrices, studying intercultural differences, etc.

The scientific results obtained by the author, and their novelty:

1. The homeostasis of the international relations system is understood as the process of maintaining a stable state of the international political system, which is ensured by dynamic balanced counteraction and adaptation of its elements

(subjects of international relations) to changes in the internal and external environment. Such homeostasis is realized due to adaptive potential of political system provided by the internal resources of the system to reflect internal and external threats and create conditions for the development of the system.
According to the results of the analysis, it was concluded that the Central Asian region is a complex adaptive system that at the present time has a weak internal adaptive potential to provide its own homeostasis.

2. The interests of extra-regional actors are concentrated in CAR, the most influential of which are China and Russia, that are at the same time in a state of soft antagonism to each other due to competitive interests in the region. Based on the definition, such antagonists have diverging interests regarding the system, but, also, are interested in realizing its main goal - its stable state and security.

3. The norm for security and stability of the Central Asian system reflects the realization of the vital interests of the individual, society and states-elements of the system and is expressed in reducing the level of external influence and its own conflict potential to 0. The achievement of such a norm determines the interaction between Russia and China on the principle of complementarity of their resources used in the region to create conditions for its stable development. Several management levels are distinguished in the work: at the level of interaction between Russia and China and at the level of interaction between the Russian-Chinese liaison and Central Asian states. The state of stability of the system determines the norms of interaction at each level. The norm for security and stability of CAR allows varying the actions of Russia and China, necessary for its achievement.

4. In the context of the low internal adaptive potential of the Central Asian system, the intersection of interests of extra-regional actors in CAR and the significant role of Russia and China in the processes of the regional development, just Russian-Chinese cooperation is of the greatest importance for the region. The security of CAR and the creation of conditions for the system internal potential development

will be facilitated by the creation of a model of a complex dynamic homeostat "Russia-China". Such a homeostat, being formed by combining antagonists, will provide homeostasis for the CAR system.

This homeostat is actually a "system-in-system" - an integrated structure formed by at least two independent elements in the interests of the regional system. "System-in-system" (or a second-order balanced homeostat) is the result of a coordinated and purposeful harmonization of the policies of the two actors to maintain the stability of the regional system. "System-in-system" has the potential to regulate the stability of complex adaptive systems of international relations, since it can contributes and optimize resources.

5. The nature of the strategic partnership between Russia and China, as well as their common interests in Central Asia, causes their interaction in the region through the regulation of diverging national interests and goals. The CAR security, its adaptation to internal and external signals, the system internal potential development will be facilitated by the creation of a complex dynamic Russia-China homeostat model, which is based on the implementation of four principles:

- the principle of joint involvement of Russia and China in the development of the region,
- the principle of complementarity of actions and resources of Russia and China in CAR,
- the principle of specialization of Russia and China in the region,
- the principle of balanced regulation of Russia and China presence in CAR.

6. Mutually beneficial cooperation between Russia and China in CAR is achieved through the implementation of a theoretical model of a complex dynamic homeostat, formed on the principles of the involvement of their policies in the regional processes, complementarity of resources and potentials within specialization of activities. We name this model as "dynamic model of co-involvement".

The functioning of the proposed model (homeostat) is regulated by system goals, expressed in the desire of the system to maintain stability, development and security. A model based on the principle of co-involvement will allow the simultaneous, voluntary and mutually beneficial participation of external actors (Russia and China) in the processes in the regional political system (Central Asia), while maintaining the independent position of the states that form it.

7. The dynamic model of co-involvement determines the specialization of Russia and China in Central Asia, which requires an integrated approach to assessing the resources and potentials. Such an assessment can be obtained by modeling by strategic management methods and mathematical tools. The developed algorithm includes: conceptual and structural-functional modeling, strategic planning (using SWOT analysis adapted to the research field, the McKinsey matrix), and the resource matrix construction for Russia and China in different spheres of life.

8. Based on the results of the strategic analysis and calculations as fields, where joint efforts are needed, are highlighted the creation of joint industries, the implementation of infrastructure projects and the activation of educational programs. The directions of activity that are unique to the actor (so, other actor can't share the results) are also identified. These are almost all issues of using soft power tools.

9. The implementation of the principle of specialization, which acts as a balancer, allows to maintain partnership between Russia and China in CAR. The proposed homeostatic model of co-involvement of external actors in the development of regional international system contributes to the creation of conditions for its self-regulation and adaptation, taking into account the interests and capabilities of the actors participating in it. The model is aimed at achieving the goals of the system while preventing confrontation between external actors participating in the model and is implemented through a set of measures aimed at building confidence and coordinating the actors' policies (Russia and China in CAR).

The theoretical significance of the work. The research provisions supplement and develop theories and approaches to studying the problems of ensuring regional security and interstate interaction, which are of great importance for the development of the Russian foreign policy strategy in general and the conceptual basis of Russian-Chinese relations in particular. The study substantiates the consolidation of the concept "homeostasis of the international political system" in the theory of international relations. The adaptive potential was discovered as a characteristic that is necessary for the regional system of international relations to maintain it and its development, which complements the theory of complex adaptive systems. As part of the development of theories of regional security, a stability regulator of international political homeostasis in the form of a "system-in-system" has been proposed; the norm for security and stability of the regional international political system has been revealed; a model of interaction between states in the region based on the discovered principles of co-involvement of external actors has been developed, that allows expanding the application of theories of homeostatics and nested constructions.

The practical significance of the research is in the fact that its results can be used in developing the foreign policy of the state by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Russian Federation, the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation, as well as to develop training courses on the theory of international relations and world politics, special courses on the interaction of Russia, China and Central Asia by universities and scientific centers, including the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University), etc.

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