

**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY  
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY**

**CHESS GAME POLITICS IN CENTRAL ASIA**

**Master's Thesis**

**NAZRIN ALIYEVA**



**ISTANBUL, 2017**



**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY  
BAHCESEHIR UNIVERSITY**

**SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE  
GLOBAL AFFAIRS**

**CHESS GAME POLITICS IN CENTRAL ASIA**

**Master's Thesis**

**NAZRIN ALIYEVA**

**Supervisor: Y. ALPER ECEVIT**

**ISTANBUL, 2017**

**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY  
BAHÇEŞEHİR UNIVERSITY**

**SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE  
GLOBAL AFFAIRS**

Name of the thesis: Chess Game Politics in Central Asia  
Name/Last Name of the Student: NAZRIN ALIYEVA  
Date of the Defense of Thesis:

The thesis has been approved by the Graduate School of Social Sciences  
Institute.

Title, Name and LAST NAME  
Graduate School Director  
Signature

I certify that this thesis meets all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of  
Master of Arts.

Title, Name and LAST NAME  
Program Coordinator  
Signature

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and we find it fully adequate in  
scope, quality and content, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Examining Comittee Members

Signature

Thesis Supervisor  
PHD, Y. Alper Ecevit

-----

Member  
Ogr.g, Sean Michael Cox

-----

Member  
Ogr.g, Selcuk Tuzcuoglu

-----

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My following dissertation has been on of the most significant academic research I have seen in my life. It was decided long time ago, while I was studying in the 1<sup>st</sup> semester of Global Affairs MA program. During my research on my dissertation I acknowledge that without support and help you can never finish your paper on time.

I would like to send my deepest blessings to my supervisor Dr. Y. Alper. Ecevit who was encouraged me to study in my Master degree and Bachelor degree in highest rate. Despite he is so young in this team; he is an academic guider for my life.

Thanks a lot to Sean Michael Cox, who excited me with his incredible knowledge in Central Asian politics, deep thoughts and valuable guidance on energy politics of the region.

I am deeply impressed with friendly and warm relationship of my professor Selcuk Tuzcuoglu, for his professional critique, brilliant knowledge, experience that I need to follow during my research.

Appreciate my friends, my favorite husband and family, who have always supported me and encouraged me when I was upset while writing my thesis research.

Thanks for my company, which always gave me support to prioritize my research and complete my thesis on time.

## ABSTRACT

### CHESS GAME POLITICS IN CENTRAL ASIA

Nazrin Aliyeva

Global Affairs

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Y. Alper Ecevit

May 2017, 35 pages

The research thesis claims to identify Central Asian alliance formation in the world arena. The study is important because of the geopolitical importance and natural resource abundance, which led to competition world powers in the region. Most scholars criticize Russia lost power in Central Asia, while some other scholars still advocate that Russia is a major dominant power in the region. Thesis illustrated Chinese power strategy based on natural resources, and US military presence importance in the region. Moreover, thesis illustrates alliance formation by using regional and international organizations, pipelines, and networks in the region.

According to CADGAT analyzing team, findings shows that Central Asian alliance formation based on creation of organizations, visits of the leaders and embassies practices in the region. Following analyzing shows that it is similar to the literature view of the research study. Another important finding was the purpose of international based on abundance of natural resource in Central Asian region. Consequently, this study basically illustrates alliance formation in the region based on natural resource of the Central Asia.

**Keywords:** Central Asia, Natural resources, Alliance formation, Organizations, Great powers.

## ÖZET

### CHESS GAME POLITICS IN CENTRAL ASIA

Nazrin Aliyeva

Global Affairs

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Y. Alper Ecevit

Mayıs 2017, 35 sayfa

Tez araştırmasının ana konusu Orta Asya kıtasında yeni bir koalisyon oluşumunun etkilerinden ve dünyada nasıl bir yankı yaratmasından esinlenerek yazılmıştır. Orta Asya'nın siyasetçiler için yeni bilim dalı olmasının ana sebebi yalnız jeopolitik önem taşımaması değil, büyük güçler tarafından bu bölgede yeni enerji kaynaklarının bulunmasıyla ilgilidir. Bir çok siyasetçiler Rusya'nın Orta Asya kıtasında eski gücünü kayıp ettiğini savunurken, diğer siyasetçilerse hala Rusya'nın bölgede dominant rol oynadığını savunuyor. Tez konusunda Çin'in ve Amerika'nın Orta Asya doğal zenginliklerinden faydalanma peşinde olduğundan da bahis ediliyor. Konuda koalisyon oluşumunun ana etkenleri uluslararası organizasyonlar, boru hatları ve yurt dışı ilişkileri olarak gösterilmiştir.

CADGAT araştırmasının sonuçları gösteriyor ki Orta Doğuda koalisyon oluşumu çeşitli organizasyonlar, liderlerin ülkeşere ziyaretlerindenve konsolosluk aktivitesi sonucunda gerçekleşmeye başlamıştır. Tezde literatür taramasıyla araştırma sonucunun özleştigi sonucuna vararak Orta Asya ülkelerinde doğal zenginliklerin önem taşıdığından bahis ediliyor. Sonuç olarak bu ülkelerin jeopolitik önem taşımamasının en önemli faktörü doğal zenginliklerinin olması sonlandırılıyor.

**Keywords:** Central Asia, Natural resources, Alliance formation, Organizations, Great powers.

## CONTENTS

<b>FIGURES</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>1.1 BACKGROUND</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>1.3 CHAPTER STRUCTURES OF THE RESEARCH</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>2. LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>2.1 INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>2.2 REALISM</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>2.3 INSTITUTIONALISM</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>2.4 LIBERALISM</b> .....	<b>10</b>
<b>2.5 CONSTRUCTIVISM</b> .....	<b>12</b>
<b>2.6 GLOBAL PLAYERS AND INTERNATIONAL RIVALRY</b> .....	<b>13</b>
<b>2.7 ENERGY INVESTMENT AND SECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIA</b> .....	<b>15</b>
<b>2.8 FOREIGN POLICY PRACTICES OF CENTRAL ASIAN STATES</b> .....	<b>21</b>
<b>3. DATA AND METHOD</b> .....	<b>24</b>
<b>4. FINDINGS</b> .....	<b>26</b>
<b>5. DISCUSSION</b> .....	<b>31</b>
<b>6. CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>34</b>
<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	<b>36</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b> .....	<b>41</b>
<b>Appendix A. Map of Central Asia</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>Appendix B. Visits of Central Asian leaders to Central Asian states</b> .....	<b>43</b>
<b>Appendix C. Visits of Central Asian leaders to non- Central Asian Region</b> .....	<b>43</b>
<b>Appendix D. List of embassies and consulates in foreign country</b> .....	<b>44</b>
<b>Appendix E. List of foreign embassies and consulates in Central Asia</b> .....	<b>44</b>
<b>Appendix F. List of selected Organizations in Central Asia</b> .....	<b>45</b>

## FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Visits of Central Asian Leaders to Central Asian State .....	26
Figure 4.2: Visits of Central Asian Leaders to non-Central Asian States.....	27
Figure 4.3: Number of Embassies and Consulates Abroad.....	28
Figure 4.4: Number of Foreign Embassies and Consulates in Central Asia .....	29
Figure 4.5: Membership in number of Regional and International Organizations .....	30



## ABBREVIATIONS

CAR	: Central Asian Region
EAEC	: East Asia Economic Caucus
SCO	: Shanghai Cooperation Organization
ESPO	: East Siberia Pacific
CPC	: Caspian Pipeline Consortium
BTC	: Baku Tbilisi Ceyhan
KCTS	: Kazakhstan – Caspian Transportation System
BTE	: Baku Tbilisi Erzurum
TANAP	: The Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline
CAC	: Central Asia Center gas pipeline system
TAPI	: Turkmenistan Afghanistan Pakistan India
CSTO	: Collective Security Treaty Organization

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 BACKGROUND

After collapse of the Soviet Union, five new independent countries in Central Asia: Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan (Appendix A) started to play a crucial role in the world arena. Mostly politicians feared that collapse of Soviet Union could a renewed competition between Super Powers for regional interest in Central Asia (Gleason G. , 1997). The new Great Game structure varies from 19th century competition in many respects (Gleason G. , 1997). First of all, difference between Super Powers and Minor Powers is less well defined today than it was 19<sup>th</sup> century (Gleason G. , 1997). Minor powers national capabilities are great defined in 19<sup>th</sup> century than today. On the other hand, economic interdependence, global communication and public opinion has given Great Powers tolerance today than it was century ago (Gleason G. , 1997). Secondly, Super Powers established political influence a century ago in order to remove potential risk from one`s boarder and ensure safety on neighbor`s territory rather than it`s own (Gleason G. , 1997). Nowadays, political influence of Great Powers has a greater interests and less focused aims to protect boarders in the region (Gleason G. , 1997).

The characteristics of the new Great Game in Central Asia show that there are two phases of influence in the region. The first phase countries have vital interests that directly effect the well being of their citizens or threats to their country`s domestic security (Gleason G. , 1997). The second phase countries put secondary interest in the region, they trying to put long-term considerations of balances of power, ideological or moral concerns, or specific issue such as control oil or nuclear technology in the region (Gleason G. , 1997).

As a matter of fact, the first phase countries are the neighboring states (Russia, China, Turkey, Iran Afghanistan and Pakistan) to the Central Asian countries, which have direct and vital interest in the region (Critchlow, 1992).

Russia is the most important and effective neighbor that puts domestic political interest and extremely affect its foreign policies directly to all Central Asian states. It is proven that large number of Russians still living in the Central Asian states and Russian language still dominant language in the Central Asian countries. In 1994, Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev again announce that Russia would be ready to intervene old Soviet states in order to protect Russians interest in the region.

Formal Soviet Republics were depend on raw materials of some Central Asian states, as a matter of fact this kind of countries still tried to enhance connection with the countries in order not to lose economic ties in the region. Countries continue to see policing their connection with Central Asian states as a Russian responsibility. It is the fact that mostly Central Asian states were also not rejected Russian influence in this term. All presidents of Central Asian states accepted to build good relations with Moscow after independence. Especially, collapse of Soviet Union, Russia appointed ambassadors to all Central Asian states (Gleason G. , 1997).

Russia plays a vital role in terms of energy supply relation with Central Asian states. Russia still seems dominant in Caspian Sea region in terms of oil and gas sector, which gives priority to control political issues in the region. Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan are the most important natural resource countries in the region. Russia`s geopolitical position and political pressure on these region refused to access Middle Eastern and Asian access in the Central Asia.

The second most influential country in Central Asia is China. After independence of Central Asian states, China developed domestic, political stability, and economic growth strategies in new Central Asian states (Gleason G. , 1997). Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan leaders often mentioned political and economic stability of Chinese intervene in the region.

China`s long term interest in the region was basically criticize as strategic interests, commercial interests, trans boundary issues, and ethic issues of Central Asian states (Gleason G. , 1997). Strategic interest of China depends on the Russian interest of

Central Asian states. Commercial interest of China is basically Central Asian natural resources; second these states also marketing Chinese made products in the region. Trans boundary resources are not play crucial role in the region, however new economic development demonstrates that trans boundary resources will be effective in the future. Ethnic, cultural and linguistic similarity between Central Asian states and China are ancient.

US intervene in the region based on declaration of independence of Central Asian states. One week after independence U.S Secretary James Baker planed meeting with Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan leaders in Alma-Ata (Gleason G. , 1997). Both leaders recognize U.S interest in the region in order to enhance economy, democracy and human right in the region. Therefore, U.S quickly recognized Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan as an independent state and send formal ambassador in the region.

U.S interest in the region was shifted from ideological and moral considerations to security considerations because of four reasons: First of all, existence of nuclear weapons, bombers in Kazakhstan, and nuclear technology of Central Asian states created risk to U.S vital security interest in the region; Secondly, Central Asian states were sending weapons and technology to third parties; Thirdly, political, religious and ethnic similarity with Middle East and West Asia can browse risky relations of increasing selling weapons with this regions. Fourthly, Central Asian states were seen as revolutionary tenet and ideas, which inspired by terrorist organizations in Middle East (Gleason G. , 1997). It is the fact that U.S convinces Kazakhstan to make a decision to forego dominates of the nuclear weapon on its territory. As a matter of fact, U.S and Kazakhstan relation seems much more effective rather than other states in the region.

To sum up all of the following details demonstrates that newly independent countries became a source of military, economic, and energy power for great powers Russia, China and US in the region. These three super actors create their energy companies and NGO's in the region, (Chun, 2011) in order to control all over the region and enhance their national interests in the region. All three super powers have their own interest in the region, while US trying to protect itself from the terrorism, Russia trying to control

domestic issues of Central Asia in order not to lose power in the region and China trying to focus on natural resources. Chinese enterprise in the region based on energy resource for its future demand and supply.

Central Asian progress on economy was seen after rapid growth of oil prices (2005-2007). According to Medlock (2009) this factor also was influential in the Asia-Pacific region as well. He also mentioned that economic development in the energy abundant countries are helping to prioritize foreign policy transformation and international organizations in the region. According to Makarenko (2009), CAR is an exclusive region where relations are in between of international interests, criminality, political violence and legitimate economy.

Recent studies focuses on the key factors of alliance formation in the region, and the role of energy resource factors shaping with cooperation and organizations in the Central Asian states. Research basically shows that three countries out of five Central Asian states are well advanced: Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan in international arena. Especially role of elites, bureaucracy and leaders are significant to enhance economy and politics in the region. On the other hand, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan are using isolated regime in the international arena and ruling strategy of neutralization in the region.

## **1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION**

How can we describe alliance formation in Central Asia in Post Cold war era?

According to scholars, foreign interaction engaged in domestic affairs of Central Asian states basically in 3 ways:

- i) Building diplomatic relations between countries immediately after collapse of Soviet Union.
- ii) Enhancing country affairs via multilateral institutions and organizations slowly in the region.
- iii) Establishing foreign aid agencies in the region a short time later.

After collapse of Soviet Union, large international organizations IMF, World Bank, UN, Asian Development Bank, and OSCE arranged special trips in order to control and establish stable assist in Central Asian region (Gleason G. , 1997).

U.S Agency for International Development (USAID) was such as national foreign aid agencies which establish the first permanent office in Central Asia. In September 1992, Paula Feeney opened USAID field office with a responsibility programs for 5 independent states in the hotel Almaty, Kazakhstan (Gleason G. , 1997). USAID basically consantrates on humanitarian assistance in Tajikistab and Aral Sea region. USAID also restricted security assisatance to Kazakhstan for transforming weapons in the region (Gleason G. , 1997).

The aim of U.S was maximizing technical assistance by sending consultants for governmental and non-governmental organizations in Central Asia. The most U.S financed non-governmental organizations assisted by USAID rather than EU in the region. EU was basically focused on transformation of western communist countries, not passionate with playing crucial role in Central Asia. EU particularly was active in Kyrgyzstan via providing road construction services, tax reforms in the country, financing new projects in the country. This kind of foreign interests in the region basically demonstrates superpower`s interest in Central Asia.

In this past few years many scholars debated in what extent Central Asia play a crucial role for superpowers. Many scholars indicate that agricultural abundance, mineral deposits in the region may affect interest of Western countries. Some other scholars advocate that region could be geopolitical, ideological source for the world.

It is difficult to estimate long-term interests of superpower`s in the region. U.S interest in the region could be negligible with the exception of natural resources in the region. Chinese interest in the region on the basis of enhancing its own economy in the region. Russia basically change religion, language and politics in the region. Integration of Central Asian countries needs to depend on Western values but to change these values seems to be complicated while Russian influence in the region.

### **1.3 OUTLINE OF THESIS**

Introduction provides information about idea of Central Asia and general information of alliance formation in the region. Natural resources of Central Asia create influential factors for superpowers in the world arena. According to the Chapter 2, literature review exemplifies international theories, practices of alliances formations, and effect of international organizations in the region. Chapter 3, using data and analyzing of research methods in order to support findings and answer the major question in the research study. Discussion present the key findings and answers of hypothesis and maintenance to acknowledge how hypothesis reject or agree with literature review. The last Chapter combines practices of research study and shows how countries create an alliance formation in Central Asia.

## **2. LITERATURE VIEW**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

Studies of International Relations classified as several Theories such as liberalism, realism, institutionalism, Constructivism and etc. All these theories are different from each other and each country belongs to one international theory in the world arena. According to researches, these theories characterize by interest of the states, ideological beliefs of the culture and military power of the region.

### **2.2 REALISM**

Waltz identified Realism as anarchy of international system, for him realism is the absence of central authority in one country (Slaughter, 2011). According to realism, state is a great power to protect itself from economically, diplomatically and militarily external attacks of its region. For States, factor of survival is a principal goal in order to maximize their power of continuing to exist (Mearsheimer, 1994). Power is ability to “effect other in order not to effect them” identified as a central concept for realist approach (Morgenthau Hans J., 1974). For this term, States should have military capacity in order protect the land from neighbor. If rival countries possess power to threaten a State this State never can be safe (Waltz, 1979). On the other hand for realism approach Great powers exist with the strength economy and military.

Great – power terms in Central Asia are often emphasize as “ Great Game” which reminding competition of Britain and Russia in 19<sup>th</sup> century (Zeigler, 2014). The competition now changing from expanding territory to gaining more natural resources by using religious extremism, terrorism and narcotrafficking in Central Asian region (Zeigler, 2014; Menon, 2003,). While after Cold war international structure turned to be unipolar system dominated by United States, the Central Asian region is become to be multipolar and in fact it is likely characterized states competition for power than domination of single state (Zeigler, 2014).

The multipolar structure and competition in Central Asia tents to be in cooperation among major powers that have already interest in the region, and between the super

powers and old Soviet Central Asian states together. Liberalism in this case could provide incentives for foreign powers not to compete but to cooperate with each other and with Central Asian states on trade, political stability, energy security, terrorism, narcotrafficking (Zeigler, 2014). At the meantime, according to Zeigler (2014) there are several organizations established to protect borders, enhance trade and customs regulations, and rule mutual security cooperation. However, effectiveness of these kind of organizations still under question (Collins, 2009).

Realism approach analysing great-power dynamics in Central Asia. States want to gain more power and put specific interest in the region (Zeigler, 2014). If power rises, states will be much more effective in the region, if not the action in the region will be less effective. According to Layne (2009), there are some domestic factors such as bureaucratic decision making policies that can influence foreign policy of region. She assumes that this kind of bureaucracy acting on matters of national security, and operate interconnection between international and domestic policies from both connections (Lobell, 2009).

According to realist approach, the main factor of interest is the anarchic international environment which states make rational choices (Zeigler, 2014). The international environment is forces states to be successful, powerful or fail in the region. Geopolitical factors which direct link with power are also important for international environment. Especially, in the case of new states like Central Asia colonial power is a crucial interest in the region. States may view the region as a vital interest or importance to their own security or may assess region as long – standing colonial ties, extend trade and investment in the region (Zeigler, 2014).

### **2.3 INSTITUTIONALISM**

According to Slaughter (2011), institutionalism approach is near to realism approach that State is anarchic, self-interested and country relations still prevent uncertainty between countries. In contrast, institutionalism still believes that co-operation between nations is possible and it could be rational or self-interested strategy for countries (Keohane, 1984). Slaughter (2011) also mentioned that institutions can distribute

norms, practices and decision-making procedures as well as increase of information about State behavior. Consequently, institutionalism provides an explanation for international co-operation based on the same theoretical assumptions that lead Realists to be skeptical of international law and institutions (Slaughter, 2011).

Robert Keohane (1984) highlighted institutionalism as a necessary factor in order to achieve its own purposes. Institutions have advantage to reduce uncertainty in the state in which easily can reduce possibility of the zero-sum game in the region. Existence of common interest, cooperation and to think demand of each states are the best achievement for institutional regimes. Especially, after the end of the Cold War era Central Asian states consider to come together and create regional partnership in order to protect its own interest. According to Hettne, institutionalism has five dimensions: geographic proximity, social relations, institutional cooperation, and supranational entity (Ndayi, 2016). In Central Asia, Social relations and geographic proximity are prominent in Central Asian states. Especially, after collapsing Soviet Union neighborhood relation, religion, language established increase of regional networks between each other (Slaughter, 2011). The EAEC is the strongest institutional factor that has supranational structures and institutional privilege (Rilka Dragneva, 2012), which can rely on pre-existing old soviet ties (Krasnopolsky).

In fact, the EAEC is one of the aiming regional integration models of Central Asian states. The institutional framework of the EAEC is much more optimistic about institutional capacity, cooperation – enhancing ability, and regional and global influence (Jiu, 2012). Most scholars agree that EAEC has more potential to improve integration process and regional cooperation among participating states. Especially, creation of Eurasian Customs Union between Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan was the most significant step for EAEC in 2010.

Energy development is also playing significant role for multilateral cooperation in Central Asia. Many scholars suggest that Central Asian states are dealing with China and Russia in the context of SCO rather than bilaterally. Some other scholars emphasize that bilateral cooperation is much more effective and productive than multilateral

cooperation. From the institutionalism view, multilateral cooperation should be beneficial for all parties involved China, Russia and Central Asian states and much potential to cooperate in energy, security and economic sphere (Guang, 2009).

Russian and Chinese involvements in the region are crucial in terms of regionalization process in Central Asia. However, some scholars still advocate that effective role of Russia in EAEC negatively effecting on regionalism in Central Asian region (Krasnopolsky). As well as, Chinese involvement in the region economically has not been sufficient to create strong regional cooperation in the region (Krasnopolsky). China lacks to promote economic based multilateral cooperation in the region and Russia driven integration model influence negatively in the region. The proceeding discussions shows that regional organizations and interest of state actors emphasized that Institutionalism has a weakness in explaining the nature of cooperation in the region (Krasnopolsky). As well as, social norms are also play a crucial role in regional cooperation in Central Asia than institutional frameworks. Consequently, according to Krasnopolsky combination of realism and social constructivism approaches may provide better correlation in terms of understanding nature of Central Asian states (Krasnopolsky).

## **2.4 LIBERALISM**

Theory claims the similarity for all States. By contrast with institutionalism and realism approach in liberalism all States have the same goals and behaviors (Slaughter, 2011). One of the liberalist critique Doyle mentioned that liberalism is democratic peace (Doyle, 1997) there is absence of War between the States and this kind of states do not fight each other.

According to Slaughter (2011), International relations liberalism have 3 core assumptions:

- a) Non – State actors: individuals and private groups are fundamental actors in world politics
- b) State actors: State represent society and serve interest in politics
- c) State behavior: configuration of these preferences across the international system determines State behavior (Moravcsik, 1997)

In these views, States protect individual and group interest in international system. Liberalism declined in Central Asia. Religious freedom, human right has been restricted in Central Asia. After Collapse of Soviet Union laws in Central Asia allow some liberal approach applying from international system. However, government creates some reductions on those freedoms in Central Asia. Legislation is not only basis for government restrictions – this region has also been plagued with unwritten regulations with lack of strong basis of rule of law and arbitrary enforcement of liberal laws which means legislation is a key element of tracking the level of freedom in a country (Clarck, 2013).

Western countries emphasize the term “waiting for democracy” in Central Asia are appropriate to ask if classical liberalism are to be found in Central Asia (Gleason). The standard of democracy are usually identified with values, principles, and institutions of liberalism (Slaughter, 2011). This kind of principles in liberalism are usually creates limited fragmentation, perhaps respect of individual right and rule of law are very important tool in constructional government. Constitution is a written element in which include three separating powers legislative, executive and judiciary powers in the government. These powers are effective only if the principles, institutions and statues of rule of law observed in the country.

According to Akcali (2004), newly independent countries required to develop their own democratic principles of political framework and state-building process. However, after Collapsing Soviet Union, Central Asian states established authoritarian type of regime in the country. According political critics, the only countries near to the liberal democracy in Central Asia are Kazakstan and Uzbekistan. Kazakstan as newly independent state gain larger progress compare with other countries. The reasons for Kazakstan`s movement toward democracy are the term of compromise. The territory, religion, language and economic policy are based on compromise in Kazakhstan. Kazakh`s did not develop the same territorial institutions while others did. Population divided between Muslim, Turkic speaking people and Russian-speaking people. Kazakstan was supplier of raw materials such as steel, oil, and gas in Soviet economic system. It was easy to integrate to world economy after collapse of Soviet Union.

It is the reality that Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan may not be the same democratic development of France or Britain, but it is good that these countries are moving direction of new form of liberalism, which based on new values, social norms and institutions. Mostly scholars agree that Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan is likely liberal but that doesn't mean that they are "European". These two countries basically cannot be a lesson for Europe it could be lesson for Asia. Kazakstan and Uzbekistan civil and liberal development are deserving to be called "Asian liberalism" (Gleason).

## **2.5 CONSTRUCTIVISM**

Wendt criticized that for constructivist approach objective factor of the relation is not important but social meaning of relation is a key factor (Wendt, 1995). He argued that states could also use anarchy in international system. Basically, constructivist approach can explain history, ideas, and norms and believes of State behavior. The meaning of friends and enemies, justice and fairness all become constructivist approach in State behavior. Constructivism is also attentive to role of social norms in international politics (Clarck, 2013). In Constructivism has also non-State actors such as NGO's or transitional cooperation's changing State believes war or international trades. Such actors can change State behavior by using forms of lobbying, inducement, and shaming. Constructivists have also arguing that bureaucracies may use their own interest against the State actors (Finnemore M. , 1996). According to Ted Hopf, political leaders can choose other states as friend or enemy depending how they close to each other (Hopf, 1998). In the other words, norms and values are the key factor to define who and what viewed as threatening (Finnemore M. , 1996).

The Copenhagen School is defining constructivism in Central Asia as how "speech acts", "enemies" and "threats" in particular issues as an existential threats for region (). According to Ole Waever, securitization defined as a process of particular issue to be an "existetial threat" to a referent object (Barry Buzan, 1998). Nicole J.Jackson describe strengths and weaknesses of securitization process in Central Asia of human and drugs trafficking, exemplify how Shangai Cooperation Organization create security on "extremism, seperatism and terrorism" in the region (Jackson, 2005). Securitization process in the region is not automatic, however in Central Asia the state actors cannot

resist the illegal practices in the region. But whatever the practices is attractive, the securitization will be essentially the same as enabling of emergency measures (Cummings, 2012). Some scholars, identify securitization process in Central Asia as “panic politics” of the government which removes security agenda which easily should be handled as political issues.

Consequently, Central Asia has still problems of normative act for desecuritization. In the Western liberal countries democratic rule characterized by rule of law which is not acceptable for Central Asia where “panic politics” is a norm for region (Cummings, 2012). This means securitization much more easy to achieve in authoritarian regime than democratic polity. Constructivists mainly focus on how certain actors have become ruler and dominant than others.

## **2.6 GLOBAL PLAYERS AND INTERNATIONAL RIVALRY IN CENTRAL ASIA**

Brzezinski (1997) mentioned that, Central Asia is an important matter for its geographical location it moved from a regional to global level of thinking, and it becomes heard of the Eurasia (Brzezinski, 1997). Rummel and Zhukov mentioned that Central Asia has arisen because of the US declaration “The Global War on Terror” since events of 9/11 and Central Asia were involved into enmity with Afghanistan (Rummel, 2005). Key factor on the Rummel's analysis was Islamic factor in Central Asia; Crisis in domestic affairs by creating ruling regimes; dynamics of economies and institutional reforms failure in socio – economic sphere. Rummel's whole work was important for the policies of US, Russia, and China. Kekitli (2014) focused on interest Central Asian rising regional power by major players in the region. All super powers focused on territorial integration, economical power, and culture in order increases significance of the region. Foreign powers changed their interest because of their economic and political discourse.

Russian asset in Central Asia starting for a long time with mutual and cooperation. Soviet Union put huge efforts on energy security in Central Asian countries. These efforts became much more successful in Putin's term. Putin structure was based on get

rid of instabilities in the region. He tried to control oligarchs who are a big influential factors in Central Asia. Some of scholars emphasize that after disintegration Soviet Union Russia cannot play a vital role in Central Asia (Blank,1995). He basically concluded his reseach with finding that after collapse of Soviet Union major actors such as Russia and US generate common interest such as energy security and general security in order to achieve full economic authority in Central Asia.

After Collapse of Soviet Union Russia lost to follow up active foreign policy in Central Asia. Russia started to compete with international actors like US and China and with regional actors that had historical, regional and cultural ties with Turkistan geography. To protect its power in Central Asia Russia tried to create a balance and control China by Shangai Cooperation Organization in Central Asia. Grigory Loginov ( representative SCO ) stated that there is no plan and no aims to transform organization to military bloc. However, he also emphasized military should be agains to increase of terrorism (Somuncuoglu, 2011). Russia tried to create dependence of Central Asia because of natural resources in the region. Apart from all these, Russia tried to protect Central Asain influence with Commonwealth Countries and Eurasian Economic organization in the region (Ozdasli, 2012).

Some scholars are also mentioned that if Russia and US support each other they could be possibly achive full of economic authority over the region. However, (Klimenko, 2011) argued that, whilst Central Asian energy resources have never been primacy for US policy. Washington promoted energy security, and human rights as the basement of strategy in Central Asia. US only interested to put military base to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan and focused on reduce influence of Russia in Central Asia. US tried to establish “New Silk Road” to in order to enhance trade and connctions with other countries in the region as well. Some scholars criticize that this stratey will renewed trade ties with Afganistan and Central Asia as a policy which aimed to boosting Afganistan`s economy rather than Central Asia itself (Standish, 2015). One of the US attempts is to strengthen economical ties with using democratic valuses in the region. Especially after Russian annexation of Crimea, Central Asia does not want to be

completely depend on by Russian or China but if Washington pushes for human rights this might be drive them further away (Standish, 2015).

Nowadays, Central Asia is not only significant point of US and Russia, but also China is the main actor in the international policy. Central Asia is a primary goal for economic development for China. China put an interest of oil and nuclear weapon production in Kazakhsan, gas field in Turkmenistan, hydropower in Kyrgyzstan (Paramanov, 2010). According to some other scholars relations between China and Russia could possible strengthen Chinese power strategy on Central Asia. Chinese population access to the region could possibly sustain development of Central Asian power. For that reason Russia should take a dominant position and control American and Chinese presence into the region.

Consequently, all of these studies shows that Central Asia considered as the most essential area due to its geopolitical importance and natural resources. Some other studies also claim that this kind of competition between the superpowers creates less attention Central Asian states itself. There are several clashes between the region state's interests and strategy; their short and long term goals in cooperation with world powers (Weitz, 2006).

## **2.7 ENERGY INVESTMENT AND SECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIA**

Asia's market participation to energy usage started since 1990. It is likely become a pick point in the recent years. For instance, Asian market actively participate in oil and gas investment around the world, it makes global energy sector highly depend on the Asian markets for the future.

This kind of grows tend to US decline of Energy sector interest. China put investment for future demand and earns good connections with energy abundant countries. After rapid growth of oil prices (2005-2007) Asian countries starting to developed their economies. Global incremental demand growth has been dominated by trends in the Asia-Pacific (Medlock A. M., 2013).

Asia-Pacific region increased 56% global primary oil demand from 2000 to 2010, and estimations show that it will increase 70% of global oil demand growth 2010-2020. It is also possible to estimate Chinese development in 10 years (48%). There is 18% East Siberia-Pacific (ESPO) crude exports from Far East Port of Kozmino were shipped to the US (2012) which placing just behind Japan and China. It shows that it changed radically as US imports diminish and Chinese imports will increase in June 21 2013 the agreements between Rosneft and CNPC and after pipeline expansion completed from ESPO to Chinese boarder. Finally, Russia and in particular, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan will seek increasingly to drive their oil and gas exports to high demand countries such as China, Japan, India and South Korea. Transneft`s ESPO has capacity to transport 600.000 barrels per day to Kozmino. Eurasia export capacity for oil to move to the east, it means sizable oil flows will be directed away from Europe. That means Asia will be more powerful both in economics and energy usage than Western countries.

The reason of being economic integrity let to China and India focus on the energy and regional security for Eurasian countries and Africa (Marketos, 2009). China made it choice in favor of promoting the county`s interests in the form of “soft power” the economic link between Central Asia and China (Rozanov, 2013). The best tool for putting power to the region is Shanghai Cooperation Organization which is mainly enhancing the economic cooperation and strengthening the role of the Organization in response to modern challenges and threats to security, particularly in the military and political sphere. Despite there are some lacks in SCO, many of the states of Central Eurasia, such as India, Pakistan, and Iran, are inspiring to become full members and US want to take advantage as being observer in Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

Several researches claimed that SCO is playing significant role on energy cooperation and pipeline construction. (Ruseckas, 1998) claimed that pipeline construction and energy security terms are political in nature and it could be linked to the energy, political and economical growth. Mostly scholars divided energy security studies into two groups. According to Shadrina (2014), and Nakamura (2002) the first group is focusing on market and economy, and the second group considers energy security over

geopolitical lenses. This kind of geopolitical atmosphere creates tool of conflict or cooperation in order to achieve energy security in the countries.

The most important energy supplier in Central Asia is Russia. *Gazprom* one of the biggest gas supplies which is directly dependent on the government. 75% of the gas supplies to Europe and the price regulated by the state. Because of the decline gas resources in the Zapolyornoe field, which is giant field in Gazprom, there were difficulties to sending gas to the European markets. That`s why Russian authoritarians effectively admit creating Nord Stream and South Stream which provide extra flexibility and daily capture in the future.

National control of Gazprom to the international market give the United States plans to import LNG to Europe and Asia. Estimations show that more LNG in Europe has helped drive spot gas prices lower on the continent and caused Gazprom reduce its prices in 2011 and 2012. Under the Third Energy Package, a legislative package for an international gas and electricity market competition rules call for equal access to EU markets including Russian companies and require Gazprom to unbundle its pipeline assets from its gas supplies. The US rise a force in global gas markets already poses challenges for Russia, but these problems will be more acute if exports from US, together with giant projects in Australia and elsewhere, come to be dominant in Asian markets (Kalikci, 2013).

Gazprom was devoting a big share of its capital expenditures for the new gas pipeline construction to link up new production center on Yamal with the new export infrastructure, in particular 55-bcm *Nord Stream*, bringing gas directly to European consumers through the Baltic Sea and bypassing Ukraine (Mitrova, 2014). Nord Stream, a 1,224-km gas pipeline, crosses the Baltic Sea and directly links the Russian and European gas transmission systems. Nord Stream is an example of Russia`s policy new routes for direct gas export to Europe which is completed in 2012. It connected with NEL and OPAL pipelines, yet there are also discussions about on expanding Nord Stream pipeline by adding third and fourth line to the two existing lines. After Nord Stream, the next priority of Gazprom and state is *South Stream* pipeline construction

and deadline completion of pipeline is 2017 (Mitrova, 2014). This project is mainly about to improve Europe's energy security by constructing a Ukraine by-pass under Black sea to Southern and Central Europe. The Gazprom is the sole source of natural gas for some countries and vigorously lobbies against any alternative non-Russian pipelines that might carry gas into there captive markets. It is still looking to start up 63 bcm per year South Stream pipeline in 2016 in partnership with Eni, EDF, and Windershall, Gazprom will work hard to head off competing supplies to core European markets (Kalikci, 2013).

Russia has been more successful in diversifying toward Asian markets with oil than with gas. Transneft's ESPO pipeline has the capacity to transport 600,000 barrels per day to Kozmino with about 420,000 bpd expected to be shipped in 2013 and 600,000 bpd in 2015 (Kalikci, 2013). It shows that sizable Russian oil exported to the east and it's away from Europe. Estimations clearly show that this kind of trend double over 25 years and it has made Rosneft the world's largest publicly traded oil company. Actually, high demand of oil supply requires a second pipeline link.

For Eurasia, the export picture differs between the eastern and western Caspian countries. Traditionally Caspian oil and natural gas went directly to Russia through the Soviet pipeline system where some of it could go to Western markets (Administration, 2013). *CPC (Caspian Pipeline Consortium)* is an oil pipeline which commissioned in 2001 runs from Kazakhstan's Tengiz oil field to the Russian port of Novorossiysk on the Black Sea. In 2011 CPC partners decide to increase capacity until 2016. It will provide additional transportation capacity to accommodate increase production from Tengizchervoil.

*Baku-Novorossiysk* pipeline is 830 miles long especially it runs from Sangachal Terminal to Novorossiysk Russia on the Black Sea. There were ongoing disputes about tariffs between Socar and Transneft. There are declaring increase capacity of pipeline.

One of the European countries investing alternative export routes is *Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC)* pipeline, which is 1-million bbl/d line in Azerbaijan came online in

2006. Kazakhstan has good contract with Azerbaijan about sending 500.000 bbl/d to Azerbaijan via BTC pipeline, which signed in 2008. The oil tankers come to Baku via Caspian Sea. BTC pipelines runs 1,110 miles from ACG field in Caspian Sea, via Georgia, Ceyhan (Mediterranean port) and Turkey. Oil shipped to the European market via tanker. Nowadays, Kazakhstan has a plan constructing the *Kazakhstan-Caspian Transportation System (KCTS)*, which exports oil primarily at Kashagan and Tengiz to East-West energy corridor via Eskene-Kuryk-BTC. The plan is mainly to sell the oil to Azerbaijan and from there on through the BTC pipeline. *BTE (Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum)* is the gas pipeline for entering European gas markets. The pipeline began operating in 2007 and has capacity to transport about 280 Bcf of natural gas. It has the same route with BTC pipeline but pipeline`s final point located in the Erzurum. Gas is entering to the European markets via tankers from Erzurum.

By European Commission in 2009 May was accepted the policy of Southern Gas Corridor. There were also discussed EU`s Trans-European Networks Energy (TEN-E) program as being “of Strategic Importance” were originally included in the SGC. *Nabucco* pipeline (interconnector Turkey-Greece-Italy) and *White Stream pipeline* (undersea project from Georgia to the Balkans) were the major discussion point in the program. In fact, South Stream was a means of countering the original Nabucco pipeline (CUTLER, 2009). Construction of a Trans-Caspian Gas Pipeline with Nabucco will create a transit route between Central Asia and Europe that entirely bypassed Russia. While plans for the Nabucco pipeline were being elaborated, Turkey decided not to join to the Energy Community, in order to preserve transit conditions and sale of gas crossing its borders. There is also *Blue Stream* pipeline from Russia snakes along the bottom of the Black Sea and resurfaces in the Turkish port of Samsun. Opened in 2003 with successful negotiation and construction, it was due to deliver 10 bcm of gas in 2007, with its full capacity of 16 bcm scheduled to be reached this year (Öğütçü, 2010). Actually, Russia aims to doubling capacity and selling the gas to the Europe, perhaps forestalling the Nabucco pipeline though which the Europeans want to import Caspian, Central Asian and interestingly one day Iranian gas without crossing Russian territory. That`s why it has never operated at its planned capacity and never will work achievement in an economical way (Culter, 2009).

There also planning pipeline name as *The Trans Anatolian Natural Gas Pipeline (TANAP)* has taken place of the Anatolian segment of the planned Nabucco pipeline. It is project directly transfer Azeri gas to Europe via Turkey (Culter, 2009). Azerbaijan would be not only the gas supplier but also the seller. After the long negotiations Baku stay an insistent position to transit of Shah Deniz TWO via Ankara is finally agreed. It would expandable to 31 bcm per year by 2026 and eventually 60 bcm per year (Kalikci, 2013). The extra capacity could some day accommodate additional future regional gas production. It may reduce to political importance of Russia in the world arena. TANAP project created a huge dispute between Azerbaijan and Russia.

One of the major oil export pipeline of Kazakhstan is *Uzen-Atyrau-Samara* which is linked to the Russia`s Transneft and connecting to the world market via Black sea. Before CPC pipeline, Kazakhstan exported all of its oil through it`s pipeline.

*Central Asia-Center gas pipeline system (CAC)* is delivering to the European market by linking to the Russia pipelines. Despite, it is Turkmenistan gas, pipeline controlled by Gazprom. The eastern branch of the pipeline originates in the southeastern gas fields of Turkmenistan. The western branch originates on the Caspian seacoast of Turkmenistan. All of Turkmen and Uzbek gas is delivered via the eastern branch but the western branch is so old and always creates some operational problems.

Not only Europe is interested to Eurasian countries gas and oil, but also East Asian countries interested to the energy resources. For instance, Japan Bank for International Cooperation has expressed interest in financing pipelines projects, such as Caspian Pipeline Consortium, which could bring more oil to the world market. ***Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline*** is one of the important pipelines which delivering Caspian oil to East Asian markets. It takes 1,384 miles from Atyran port in northwest Xinjiang region with huge capacity 240,000 bbl/d. Recently, pipeline is to increase capacity to 400,000 bbl/d. Turkmenistan`s eastern natural gas field enters Uzbekistan and runs to southern Kazakhstan. It crosses the Kazakhstan-China border at Khorgos and connects to the West-East Gas pipeline. There is also ***Turkmenistan- China gas*** pipeline, which is commissioned in 2009, transports up to 1.4 trillion cubic feet of natural gas per year

from Turkmenistan directly to the Xinjiang region (Metelitsa, 2013). Actually, Kazakhstan plans to link this pipeline to its own natural gas production Beineu-Bozoi-Shymkent Gas pipeline, from some of its western fields to its southern consuming regions. New pipeline goals from western Kazakhstan into the export pipeline from Turkmenistan, which crosses eastern Kazakhstan on its way to China.

Caspian countries also supported the project of *Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI)* pipeline to supply South Asia with natural gas. It would diversify its supplies toward the southeast and avoids Russian opposition to gas heading west to Europe. US accepted TAPI as a way to support Afghanistan, to provide India and Pakistan with an alternative source of gas to Iran, and help to increase South Asian cooperation by using Turkmenistan as a gas supplier (Kalikci, 2013). Estimations show that the capacity of pipeline will be 1 trillion cubic per year. Most recently, tensions between Pakistan and India have threatened to stop project. Nowadays, Caspian oil transfers through South Asia primarily via Iranian oil swaps: Central Asian countries sent oil to Tehran and Tabriz and this energy delivers to the Persian Gulf.

## **2.8 FOREIGN POLICY PRACTICES OF CENTRAL ASIAN STATES**

Foreign Policy is the strategy which chosen by government in order to achieve specific goals in the external relations (Valerie, 2008). Foreign Policy in Central Asian countries conducted by Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Foreign policy of the states and structure of external policies controlled by the President of the country. The President has superpower to control both internal and external relations in the country. Especially, after gaining independence countries confused to recognized the New World Order formation concept of independence and interdependence (Tolipov).

September 11 attacks was turning point for Central Asian states to join international system in the post-Cold War era. Strategic cooperation grew in the context 9/11 with Uzbekistan and United States. Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan joined to the NATO members a military presence in the Central Asia region and become part of the “Global War on Terror”. Within following this date international attention in Central Asia increased considerably and Central Asia suddenly found itself in the focus of

international attention (Tolipov). Meanwhile, Central Asian states become multi-directional in their foreign policy, cooperate with other states and join exclusive alliances such as CIS, GUUAM, the Eurasian Economic Community (EEC), Asian Cooperation Organization (CACO), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) and, the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC).

All of international and regional organizations based on highly demand to economic integration, military stance and regional factors. Basically, CIS countries following on the integration of the economic sphere of post – soviet countries. There are 3 main organizations like EEC, SCO and GCA ( Greater Central Asia). The EEC organizations tent to be reintegration modeling in the post- Soviet countries. There are several models of integration process such a content of economic integration, political issues within the CIS countries but it is not disjunctive model compared to the CIS itself.

CIS states also been created to the Collective Security Theaty Organization (CSTO) in 1992 which basically focused on security in the region. The only country Uzbekistan joined to the organization in 1998 after democratic revolution in the country. After 2006 CSTO accepted Uzbekistan as a full member of the Organization. In the meantime, five countries Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan Kyrgyzstan and Russia created CACO within EEC organizaiton. Russia became full-fledged member of CACO which damaged the geographical configuration and political attempts of Central Asia`s organization (Tolipov).

SCO is another organization which Russia again actively promote regional stability in the region. Compare with other organizations, SCO is the largest organization which focusing on political, economical, military, social and democraphic spheres of the countries. SCO pretents to play security role in the region in order fighting with terrorism, separatism adopted in the Regional Anti-terrorist Structure (RATS) due to provide security.

GCA is a project aimed at bringing all Central Asian countries and Afghanistan together in order to maximize economic and social development for democratic transformation of the countries together. Frederick Starr mentioned that GCA is mostly demonstrate US interest in the region (Starr, 2004). The project implies against extremism and drug trafficking, economical integration modeling, development of trade and transportation, counter-terrorism issues, support of Muslim societies democratic processes in the regional level (Tolipov). GCA project mostly create a big threat for Russia and China. Consequently, foreign strategy and the tools and goals they use are significant to gain superpower in the region.

To find the balance of superpowers, countries like Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan adopted multivectoral foreign policy with superpowers. Basically, Kazakhstan partnership with Russia and US seems inaccurate in the political studies. Some scholars argue that Kazakhstan is highly dependent on Russian policy, but others highlighted cooperation between US and Kazakhstan in energy security strategy. Uzbekistan basically focus on independence of its region and enhance relations with US in order to get loans for military and economic needs. Due to Turkmenistan is important for its natural gas it is clear that Turkmenistan's foreign policy based on neutrality of region. Kyrgyzstan's basically concentrate re-establish balance of power by closing American military base, and received financial aid from China and Russia.

It is true that independence and democratization models in newly independent countries like Central Asian countries need international support. It would be great that all of countries in Central Asia create regional cooperation and energy security in the region. This would possibly create positive diversification of foreign issues in Central Asian states.

### 3. DATA AND METHOD

Central Asia is a region that geopolitically only important because of the natural resources of the region. In this research, the majority of research was mainly based on literature view analyzed by documents and materials. The method is essential to understand the role of alliance in the politics of Central Asian states, as their cooperation for drug trafficking, securitization, terrorism is the main variable in this research.

External factors of each state touch base with foreign strategy of Central Asia. According to OSCE Academy and NUPI (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs) CADGAT (Central Asia Data Gathering and Analyzing Team) collected between April and June 2012 by one researcher in each states, in order to analyze political and foreign issues of Central Asian countries as qualitative part of research of the questioning. The objective of the research identifies factors of creation allies in Central Asia after Collapse of Soviet Union.

According to alliance formation in the region, Kazakhstan prioritizes economic ties and integration with Russia, and also developing effective relations with China and other Western countries. The powerful establishments of external policy in Kazakhstan also influence integration for other Central Asian states. Kazakhstan is interested different kind of resources in order to enhance economy of the region and invested energy projects in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Kyrgyzstan is one of the strategic partners for Kazakstan, particularly in case of competition with Uzbekistan. Kazakstan and Turkmenistan relations are basically for developing energy sector project in the region with Turkmenistan – Kazakstan – China project. Kazakstan also is one and only country in the Central Asia, which can provide humanitarian aid and finance, and developed an Assistance Program on Reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Turkmenistan declared foreign policy on the basis of neutrality. That`s the reason that Turkmenistan does not exist in a regional organization, however it has good connections with Central Asian states. Turkmenistan using Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan relationship

in its energy export strategy routes. As well as, Turkmenistan – Afghanistan – Pakistan – India gas pipeline project shows that Turkmenistan plays an effective role in development Afghanistan closely.

Uzbekistan is an active participant in the regional organizations in terms of protection from the terrorism and Norco-trafficking of the countries; on the other hand in bilateral cooperation it is much more effective on security, political issues of countries rather than multilateral forums. Relation with Turkmenistan and Tajikistan strained in last couple of years, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan seems much more stable in terms of political relations. Uzbekistan also using Afghanistan for its commercial, energy and infrastructure interest for its power gains politics in the region.

Some authors mentioned that weak political institutions, wrong transition to democratization and rise of authoritarian regime are the negative effect of rich natural resources on political development in Central Asia after 1991 (Amineh, 2006). The authors criticized that natural resource ownership directly link to government and top of authorities in Central Asian states. These authoritarian elites are using the vast natural resources for their personal interest and for survival functions. On the other hand, it is rarely seen that some scholars (Menaldo, 2011) may not agree on relevancy authoritarianism to vast of resource in the county by claimed that resource is not lead to the political regime of the country. It is the fact that energy has a potential to influence on political and economic leverage in Central Asia.

### **3.1 HYPOTHESIS:**

H<sub>1</sub> – Alliance formation has no effect on Central Asian integration to international system since 1991.

H<sub>2</sub> – States creating alliance formation via visiting to the countries, and building international relations after collapse of Soviet Union.

H<sub>3</sub> – An increase in resource, security and power interest from the US, Russia, and China in the Central Asian region only leads to create regional organization and cooperation in the region.

## 4. FINDINGS

Chapter will present findings based on CADGAT established by The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) and the OSCE Academy in 2009 and literature review of the politics. The purpose of the CADGAT is to provide information for researches, NGOs and politicians about new regional data and alliance formation on Central Asian states, particularly in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. According to new date of the international relations of each country based on the new data on May 2017. This chapter focusing on findings about internal and external issues among five Central Asian states.

The first finding is about an overview of official meetings and visits of other states to the region and Central Asian heads to other countries between 1991-2009. The key findings illustrate that 27% Kazakhstan is much more active to establish relations with Central Asian states and foreign countries after collapse of Soviet Union. Turkmenistan put 10% interest on cooperation with Central Asian states which demonstrates that it is less than other countries in Central Asia. Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan showing stable relation and connection between Central Asian countries.

**Figure 1. Visits of Central Asian Leaders to Central Asian States**

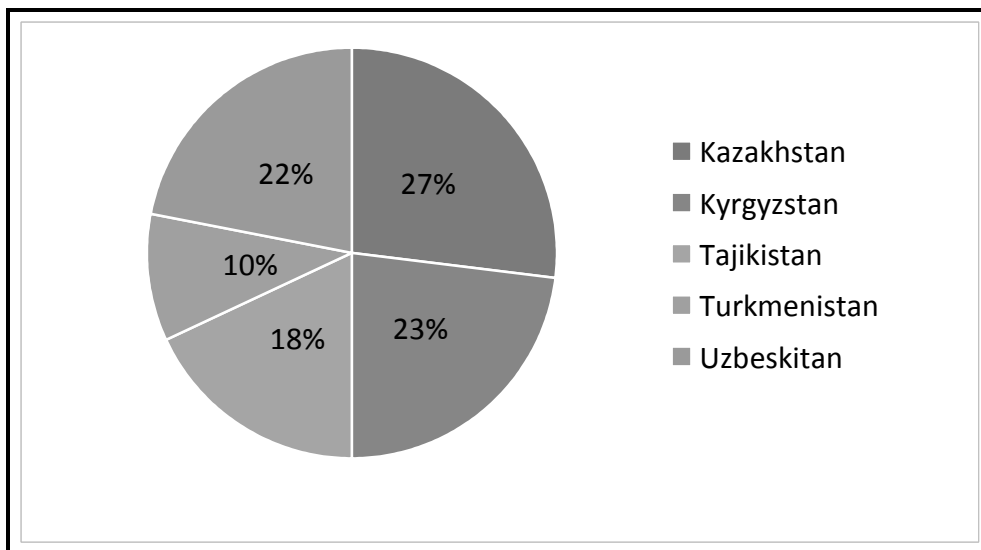
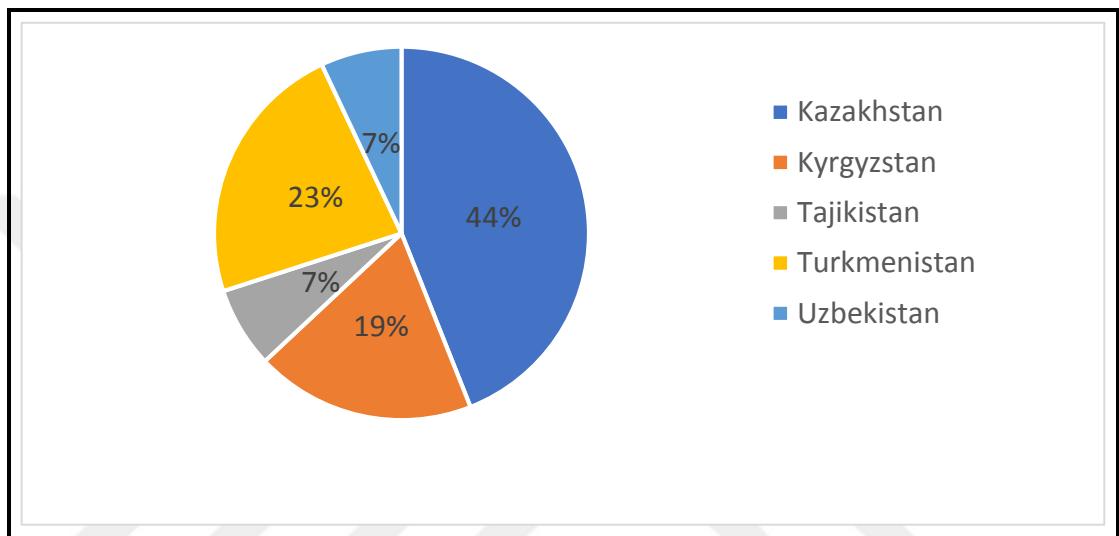


Figure 2 shows that out of the total visits of non- Central Asian countries, 44% are represent by Kazakhstan leader in foreign country its region, whereas 7% from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and 23% from Turkmenistan, 19% from Kyrgyzstan. Interestingly, Uzbekistan seems as building ineffective foreign relation with non-Central Asian states.

**Figure 2. Visits of Central Asian leaders to non-Central Asian states**



Diplomatic relations also important tool for characterize alliance formation between countries in the region. In the second finding, the table shows visa regulations and number of embassies abroad and in Central Asia in 2017. Figure 3 illustrate that Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan are active on sending embassies and consulates abroad, while Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are passive in International cooperation and interaction.

**Figure 3. Number of Embassies and Consulates Abroad**

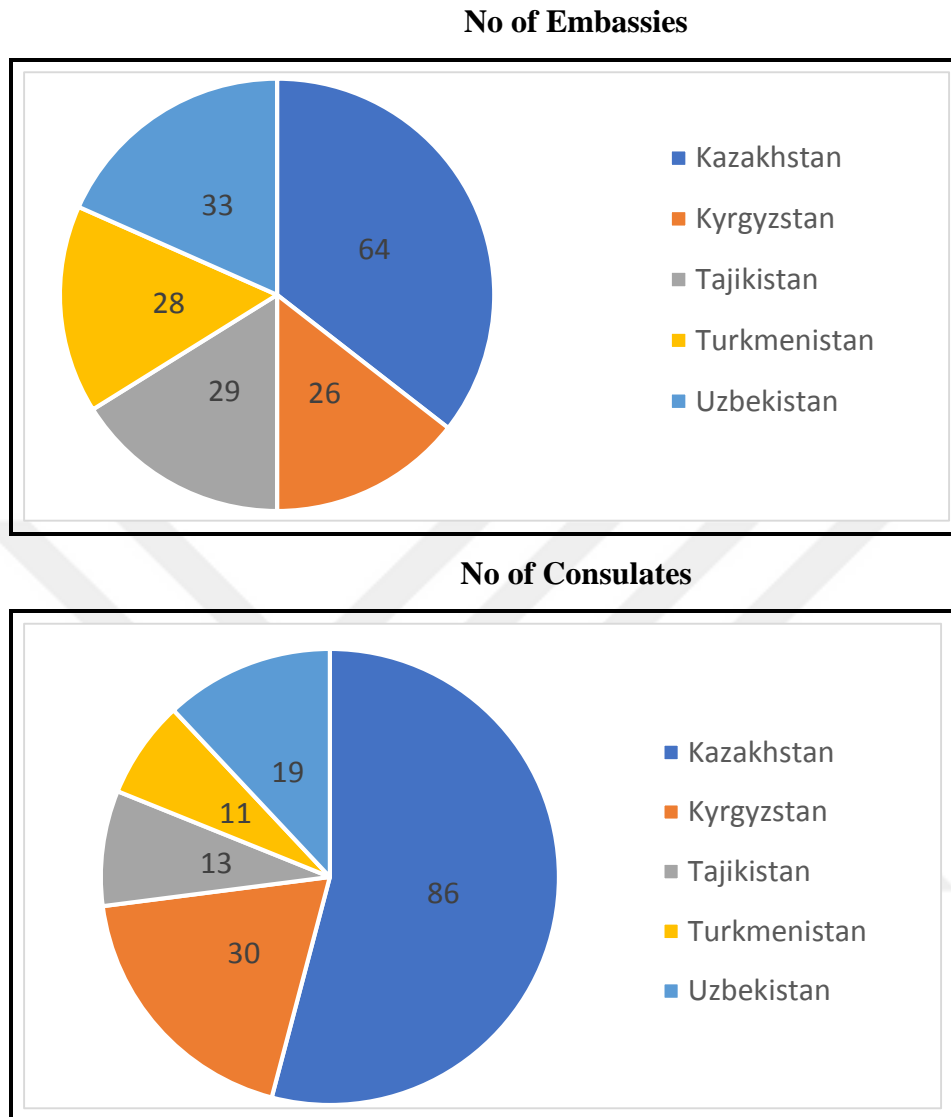
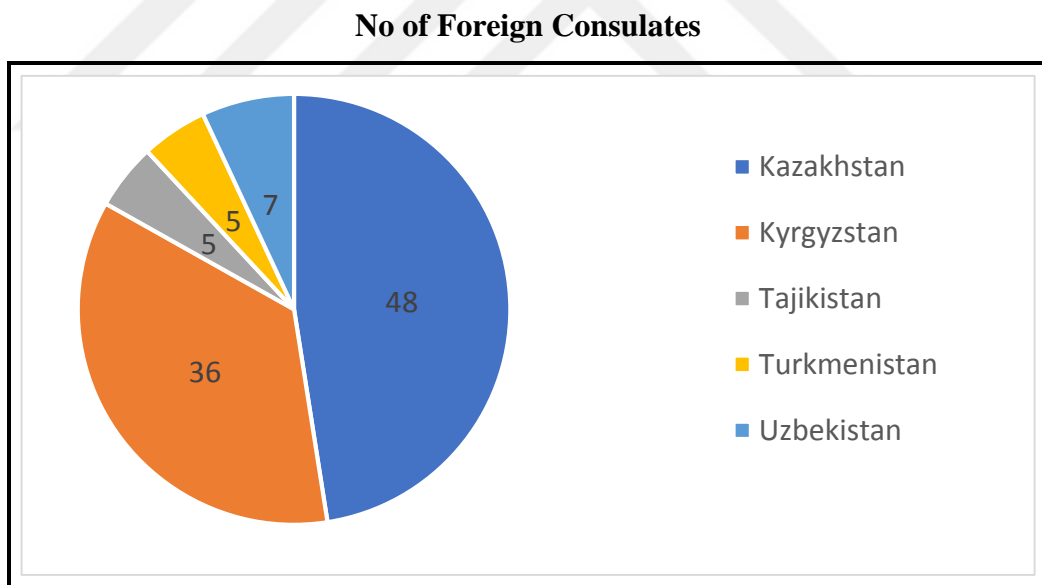
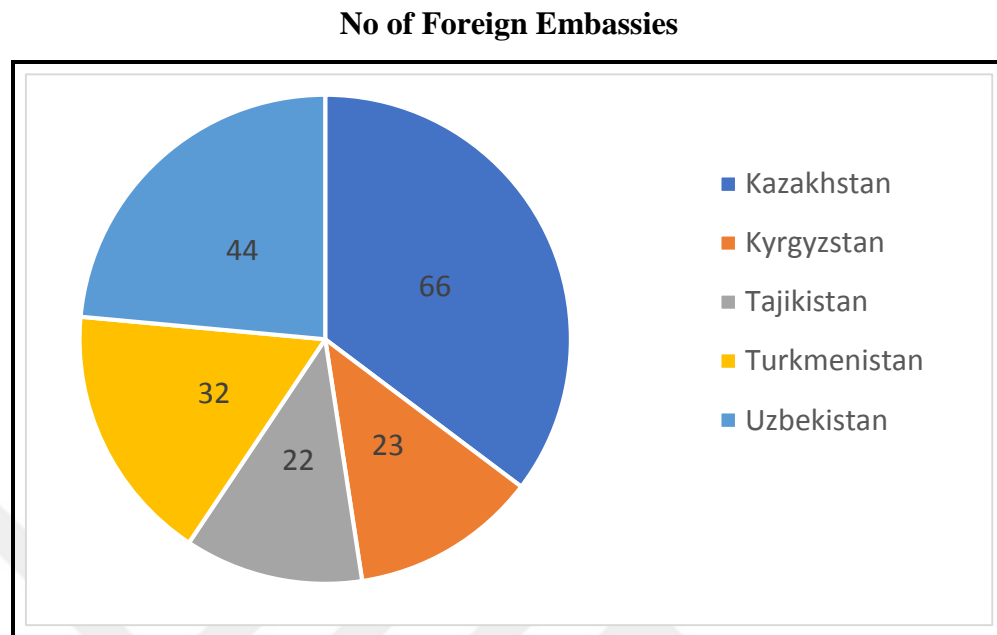


Figure 4 demonstrates number of foreign consulates and ambassadors in Central Asia. Particularly, numbers identify how foreign countries are using alliance process in Central Asia. In this figure, highest rate of number of foreign embassies is in Kazakhstan and the lowest rate seems in Tajikistan which basically illustrates that Kazakhstan is much more important for foreign countries.

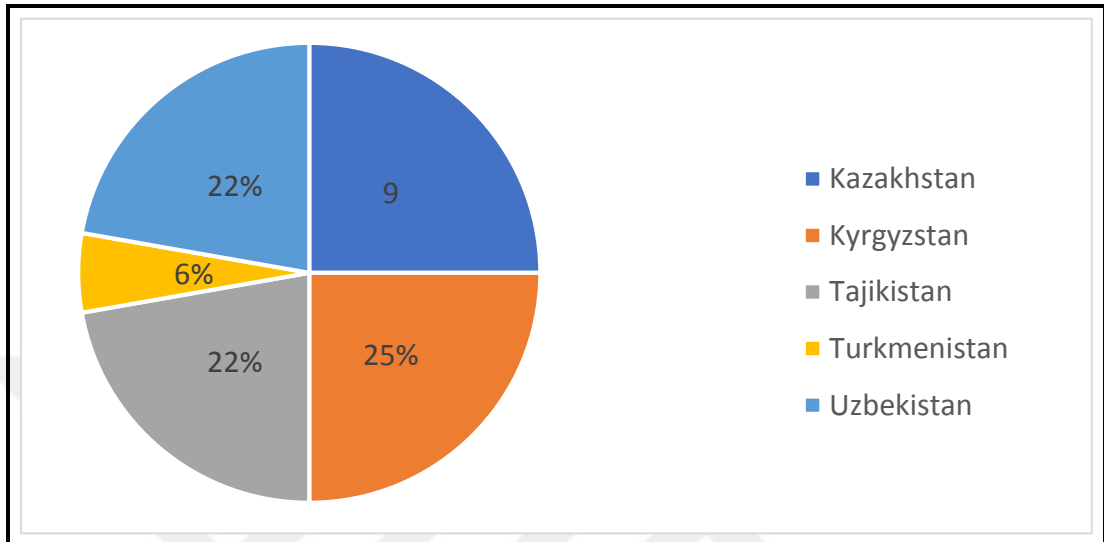
**Figure 4. Number of foreign embassies and consulates in Central Asia**



According to CADGAT analyzing, memberships also play an important role for alliance formation in Central Asia. Findings illustrate 9 important regional and international organizations in order to build alliance formation with foreign countries. According to Figure 5 Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan participate most international and regional organizations (Appendix C), whereas other Central Asian states still dubious to develop

cooperation with other countries. These organizations maintenance to build cooperation with super powers like Russia, China and US.

**Figure 5. Membership in number of Regional and International Organizations**



## 5. DISCUSSION

In this chapter, discussion summarized the key findings of alliance formation in Central Asian region. The main purposes of the research was analyzing the factors of the alliance formation, and criticize the reasons of the developing regional organizations and cooperation in the region. Chapter will present main research question mentioned in the introduction chapter, and explain hypotheses and limitations of the questions about Central Asian states.

Findings mostly illustrate literature view acknowledgements and criticize that Kazakhstan, as a newly independent country is to near democracy. According to Gregory Gleason Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan practices of liberalism could not be the same as France and Britain, however civil development of these countries might be the best examples for Asian states. Similarly, CADGAT findings of the visits Central Asian leaders to the foreign country also illustrate that Kazakhstan is to keen to integrate in world arena. According to scholars, Kazakhstan using multilateral connections with Western countries and trying to minimize Russian role in the region.

CADGAT also mentioned that Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan participate most regional and international organizations in the region. These results are coherent with Standish theory that Western and Chinese influence in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are much more active, whereas Russian practices became inactive in the region (Standish, 2015). Literature view exemplifies that China put interest on natural resources via enhancing infrastructure in the region, US trying to create energy security in the country via using NATO in the region, and Russia still trying dominating power via organizations and pipelines.

In the discussion, chapter serves to prove hypotheses or failed the hypotheses within collecting data and findings about Central Asian alliance formation in the region. The hypotheses of Chapter 3 are provided below.

H<sub>2</sub> – States creating alliance formation via visiting to the countries, and building international relations after collapse of Soviet Union.

This hypothesis is acceptable because Central Asian states tried to integrate world arena since 1991. According to Rummer (2005) and Kelkitli (2014) superpowers focused on economic power, cultural and territorial integration of Central Asian states since 1991. It is very interesting that according to findings mostly superpowers sent observers to the region in to order to create alliance formation in the region. US tried to focus on cultural and economic level of the region via enhancing education systems of the states, Russia tried to keep language and culture as well as old elites identities in the region, China tried to use infrastructure to enhance economy in the region. Blank (1995) also describe major actors such as Russia, China and US generate common interest on energy security in order to get full economy in the region. Findings also describe that in order to enhance relation with Central Asian states in total 164 embassies and 35 consulates sent to region since 1991.

H<sub>3</sub> – An increase resource, security and power interest from the US, Russia, and China in the Central Asian region only leads to create regional organization and cooperation in the region.

No significant evidence found about US participation in regional and international organization with Central Asia since 1991. Whereas, GCA is project of US aimed, to maximize economic and social development of Afghanistan and Central Asian region. According to Starr (2005), GCA is a big threat for Russia and China in the region. On the other hand, there is Shanghai Cooperation Organization which is the biggest organization in the region aimed to integrate political, economical and military shares of the countries in the region. Findings show that Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are active to participate this kind of international and regional organizations, however other Central Asian states still using inactive role in cooperation such superpowers in the region. Especially, Uzbekistan is not active on international organization since 1991. Consequently, hypothesis failed to prove that Central Asia region build relationship with superpowers only with regional organizations.

Result of the hypothesis shows that there are certain limitations to show interest of superpowers in Central Asian states. Energy, politics, and economy play crucial role in order to understand alliance formation in the region. However, short and long term process of cooperation could create clashes of states interest in Central Asian region (Weitz, 2006). One source of weakness in the CADGAT findings is showing one part of alliance formation in the region, whereas lots of scholars mentioned pipelines, networks, and projects in the region. Findings also illustrate literature part of analyzing in this research.



## 6. CONCLUSION

Chess game politics was designed to illustrate strategies, competitions of great powers in the Central Asian region. In order to achieve the main goal, the researcher exemplifies the reasons of importance alliance formation in the region. Important aspects of alliance formation illustrated as natural resources, pipelines, and formation organizations in literature review. This chapter provides acknowledgements of the research result from Central Asian study.

The answer of the research question demonstrates great powers politics in the region. Mostly scholars claimed that organizations, building pipelines, international visits; economic and political cooperation is an important tool for alliance formation in the region. The idea importance natural resources of alliance formation in Central Asia are also primary focus of this study. It could be possible that Central Asian states also have an interest to share the economic and political practices in order to develop and integrate in world arena by influence of great powers.

CADGAT data used to exemplify research question in this study. Hypotheses tested in the findings and conclude that organizations are not only influential factor to create alliance formation in the region. Mostly scholars mentioned that visits to the countries, building international relations with countries are the most influential factor for alliance formation in the region. Some scholars still advocate that no matter fact that Central Asia enhancing relations with China and US, Russian factor still vigorous in the Central Asia. Findings also illustrate that Central Asia build an important relations with great powers, however mostly visits conducted again to Russia since 1991.

Central Asia is very abundant with natural resources and cultural basement for its neighbor. For that reason, mostly scholars and foreign policy makers needs to provide an experimental research in the region in order to analyze the main factors of alliance formation in the region. According to Heartland theory, geographical pivot of the world politics remains to Central Asia and it use to be geopolitical interest for foreign powers.

Abundance of natural resources such as oil, gas and others in the region influence internal and external relation in the region.

Furthermore, in this research China, Russia and U.S trying to maximize power, in order to secure geo strategic interest in the Central Asian region. Chinese presence in the region used to be bilateral relations after independence of the region from Soviet Russia. Russian and Chinese long term interest in the region seems ineffective in the region. Russia is going to lose the power in the region. Countries are going to build relationship to gain modernity for its nation. Furthermore, mostly scholars claim Russian influence in the region is going to be weak in the region. Chinese interest in the region based on soft power relation with Central Asian countries. China couldn't be effective in the region because of the US effective presence in the region. US practice in the region trying to enhance securitization and demolish power of Russia and China. It shows US trying to build long-term relationship in the region. Russia is trying to be number one priority in order not to lose power in the region. These kinds of influential factors established alliance, culture and foreign formation in the region.

## REFERENCES

### *Books*

- Barry, B. O., 1998. *Security: A new Framework for Analysis*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Barnett, M. N., 2004. *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. US: Cornell University Press Ithaca.
- Brzezinski, Z., 1997. *The grand chessboard: American primacy and its geostategic*. New York: Basic Books.
- Culter, R. M., 2009. *Robert 28 The Role of the Southern Gas Corridor in Prospects for European Energy Security*. Canada: Senior Research Fellow, Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian studies, Carleton University.
- Cummings, S. N., 2012. *Central Asia Politics and contested transformations*. London: Routledge.
- Doyle, M. W., 1996. *Ways of War and Peace: Realism, Liberalism and Socialism*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- Finnemore, M., 1996. *National interests in international society*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.
- Guang, P., 2009. China in Shanghai Cooperation Organization. In & Z. Gungwu W., *China and the New International Order*, pp. 237 - 255. London: Routledge.
- Gleason, G., 1997. *The Central Asian States Discovering Independence* U.S: Westview Press
- Kalikci, J. H., 2013. *Russia and Eurasia*. US: Woodrow Wilson Center Press with Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Keohane, R. O., 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Layne, C., 2009. The influence of Theory on Grand Strategy: The United States and a Rising China. In E. H. In Annette Freyberg - Inan, *Rethinking Realism in International Relations*, pp. 103 - 135. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Lobell, S. E., 2009. Threat Assessment, The State, and Foreign Policy: A Neoclassical Realist Model. In S. E. Lobell, *Neoclassical Realism, The State and Foreign Policy* (pp. 42-74). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Marketos, T. N., 2009. *China`s Energy Geopolitics The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Central Asia*. New York, USA: Routledge.
- Medlock, A. M., 2009. *China`s Energy Geopolitics. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Central Asia*. New York: Routledge.
- Medlock, K. B., 2013. China, India and Asian Energy. In D. L. Jan H. Kalicki, *Energy and Security: Strategies for a World in Transition*, pp. 282-302. US: JHU Press.
- Mitrova, T., 2014. *The Geopolitics of Natural Gas*. US: Harvard University`s Belfer Center and Rice University`s Baker Institute Center for Energy Studies.
- Rozanov, A. A. (2013). *The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and Central Asia`s Security Challenges*. Switzerland: The Geneva Centre for Democratic Control Armed Forces.
- Valerie, M. H. (2008). *Foreign Policy Analysis. Classic and Contemporary Theory*. UK: Institute of International Relations, NGO.
- Waltz, K. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. United States of America: Waveland Press.

### *Periodicals*

- Akcali, P., 2003. Nation- State Building in Central Asia: A lost Case? Perspectives on Global Development and Technology, pp.103.
- Amineh, M., 2006. The resource curse: oil-based development in Central Asia. *International Institute for Asian Studies* , 42, pp.27-28.
- Blank, S., 1995. Energy, economics and security in Central Asia: Russia and it`s rivals. *Central Asian Survey* , pp.373-406.
- Chun, K. H., 2011. Security and Stability in Central Asia. *Global War on Terror*, pp.215-235
- Collins, K., 2009. Economic and Security Regionalism Among Patrimonial Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of Central Asia. *Europe-Asia Studies*, pp.249 - 281.
- Hopf, T., 1998. The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory. *International Security* , 23 (1), pp.171-200.
- Jackson, N. J., 2005. International Institutions and the Securitisation of Human and Narcotic Trafficking, pp.18-19.
- Jiu, W. L., 2012. Russia`s Eurasian Union Strategy and its Impact on Sino - Russian Relations and SCO, *CIR*, 22,2 , pp.86 - 96.
- Kelkitli, F. A., 2014. The Meeting of the Crescent and the Dragon: Cold War Sino - Turkish Rivalry and Cooperation in Central Asia and the Middle East. *Journal of Central Asian & Caucasian Studies* , pp.149-178.
- Klimenko, E., 2011. Central Asia as a regional Complex. *Central Asia and the Caucasus* , pp.7-20.
- Mearsheimer, J. J., 1994. The False Promise of International Institutions. *International security* , pp.5 - 49.
- Menaldo, S. H., 2011. Do Natural resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A reappraisal of the Resource Curse. *American Political Science Review* , 105(1), pp.1-26.
- Menon, R., 2003. The new Great Game in Central Asia, *Survival*. 45, pp.187 - 204.
- Moravcsik, A., 1997. Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics. *International Organization* , pp.513 - 53.
- Nakamura, Y., 2002. The Historical Flow of Black Gold: Two Approaches to Energy Security. *Institute for International Policy Studies*, pp.12-17.

- Ndayi, Z. V., 2016. Theorasing the rise of Regionness. *Politikon* , pp.113-114.
- Öğütçü, M., 2010. Turkey and the Changing Dynamics of World Energy: Towards Cleaner and Smarter Energy. *Insight Turkey Vol. 12 / No. 3* , pp.63-88.
- Ozdasli, E., 2012. Çin ve Rusya Federasyonu'nun Perspektifinden Şanghay İşbirliği Örgütü. *Journal of Social Sciences Institution*, pp.108 – 122.
- Paramanov, V. & Stokov, A., 2010. China in Central Asia: Energy Interests and Energy policy. *Central Asia and the Caucasus* , pp.18-30.
- Rummer, B., 2005. Central Asia at the end of the transition. *Armonk* , pp.3-71.
- Ruseckas, L., 1998. Energy and Politics in Central Asia and the Caucasus. *Access Asia Review* , 1(2), pp.50-91.
- Shadrina, E., 2014. Russia`s natural gas policy toward Northeast Asia: Rationales, objectives and institutions. *Energy Policy* , pp. 54-67.
- Standish, R., 2015. U.S. Chases New Role in Central Asia Against Mounting Security Concerns. *Foreign Policy* , 5 Nov. pp. 2-4.
- Starr, S. F., 2005. A Partnership for Central Asia. *Foreign Affairs* , no.4, pp.84.
- Weitz, R., 2006. Averting a new great game in Central Asia. *The Washington Quarterly* , pp.155-167.
- Wendt, A., 1995. Constructing International Politics. *International Security* , pp.71 - 81.
- Zeigler, C. E., 2014. Russia in Central Asia: The Dynamics of Great - Power Politics in a Volatile Region. *Asian Perspective* , pp.589 - 617.

## ***Other Publications***

- Administration, I. S., 2013, *CASPIAN SEA REGION*. [online]  
[http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis\\_includes/regions\\_of\\_interest/Caspian\\_Sea/caspian\\_sea.pdf](http://www.eia.gov/beta/international/analysis_includes/regions_of_interest/Caspian_Sea/caspian_sea.pdf). [accessed 26 May 2015].
- Clarck, E. A. (2013). *Liberalism in Decline: Legislative Trends Limiting Religious Freedom in Russia and Central Asia* . USA.
- Dragneva, R. & Wolczuk. K., 2012, *Russia, The Eurasian Customs Union and the EU: Cooperation Stagnation or Rivalry?* Chatham House, Russia and Eurasia Programme: [www.chathamhouse.org](http://www.chathamhouse.org),  
[http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Russia%20and%20Eurasia/081\\_2bp\\_dragnevawolczuk.pdf](http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Russia%20and%20Eurasia/081_2bp_dragnevawolczuk.pdf).  
[accessed 27 November 2016].
- Gleason, G. (n.d.), *academia.edu*.  
[www.Acedemia.edu:http://www2.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/demokratizatsiya%20archive/05-03\\_gleason.pdf](http://www2.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/demokratizatsiya%20archive/05-03_gleason.pdf)  
[accessed 3 December 2016]
- Krasnopolsky, P. (n.d.). *Major powers and regionalism in Central Asia*. Nottingham, Ningbo, China.
- Makarenko, T., 2009. *Central Asia: where power, politics and economics collide*. Nato review:  
[www.nato.int/docu/review/2009/asia/central\\_asian\\_geopolitics/en/index/htm](http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2009/asia/central_asian_geopolitics/en/index/htm)>, [accessed 12 April 2016].
- Metelitsa, A., 2013. *Caspian countries are developing new oil and natural gas export capacity*. Today in Energy:  
<http://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.cfm?id=12931>  
[accessed 26 May 2015].
- Slaughter, M. (2011). *International Relations, Principal Theories*. *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* , 28.
- Somuncuoğlu, A., 2011. *Rusya'nın Orta Asya Güvenlik Politikası: İç Güvenlik Krizlerinde Müdahale*,. [www.21yuzyildergisi.com](http://www.21yuzyildergisi.com):  
<http://www.21yuzyildergisi.com/assets/uploads/files/43.pdf>  
[accessed 30 October 2016].
- Tolipov, F. (n.d.). *The Foreign Policy Orientations of Central Asian States: Positive and Negative Diversification* src-h.slav.hokudai.ac:  
[http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no16\\_1\\_ses/02\\_tolipov.pdf](http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no16_1_ses/02_tolipov.pdf)  
[accessed 15 October 2016].

**APPENDIX**



## Appendix A. Map of Central Asia



Source: The Hollinger Centre, <http://www.hollingscenter.org/great-games-local-rules>, accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> December 2016.

## Appendix B. Visits of Central Asian leaders to Central Asian states

Visits of Central Asian leaders to Central Asian states	Tajikistan	Turkmenistan	Kazakhstan	Uzbekistan	Kyrgyzstan
Kazakhstan	9	13		14	16
Kyrgyzstan	8	3	29	5	
Tajikistan		5	8	2	4
Turkmenistan	2		10	7	1
Uzbekistan	4	10	25		5

Source: Central Asian Data Gathering and analyzing team. Available: <http://www.osce-academy.net/upload/CADGAT/CADGAT7.pdf>, accessed 9 December 2016.

## Appendix C. Visits of Central Asian leaders to non- Central Asian region

Visits of Central Asian leaders to non- Central Asian states	Russia	China	USA	TURKEY	IRAN
Kazakhstan	51	13	8	10	
Kyrgyzstan	27	3	2	3	
Tajikistan	8	2	2		1
Turkmenistan	17			12	14
Uzbekistan	12				

Source: Central Asian Data Gathering and analyzing team. Available: <http://www.osce-academy.net/upload/CADGAT/CADGAT7.pdf>, accessed 9 December 2016.

#### **Appendix D. List of embassies and consulates in foreign country**

Country	Number of embassies in foreign countries	Number of consulates in foreign countries
Kyrgyzstan	26	30
Uzbekistan	33	19
Kazakhstan	64	86
Tajikistan	29	13
Turkmenistan	28	11

Source: Embassy pages of each country. Available: <http://www.embassypages.com>, accessed 22 May 2017.

#### **Appendix E. List of foreign embassies and consulates in Central Asia**

Country	Number of foreign embassies	Number of foreign consulates
Kyrgyzstan	23	36
Uzbekistan	44	7
Kazakhstan	66	48
Tajikistan	22	5
Turkmenistan	32	5

Source: Embassy pages of each country. Available: <http://www.embassypages.com>, accessed 22 May 2017.

## Appendix F. List of selected Organizations in Central Asia

	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Tajikistan	Turkmenistan	Uzbekistan	Notes
International Fund for Saving Aral Sea	since 1993	since 1993	since 1993	since 1993	since 1993	
Central Asian Economic Community (Central Asian Union 1994 - 98)	1993-2002	1998-2002	1998-2002	NA	1993-2002	Became OCAC in 2002
Organization of Central Asian Cooperation (OCAC)	2002-2005	2002-2005	2002-2005	NA	2002-2005	Russia 2004-05; Merged with EurAsEC in 2005
EurAsEC	Since 2001	Since 2001	Since 2001	NA	2006-2008	Russia Belarus since 2001
Collective Security Treaty Organization	since 1992	since 1992	since 1992	NA	1992-1999; 2006 -2012	Russia, Armenia Belarus
Shangai Cooperation Organization (Shanghai Five till 2001)	Since 1996	Since 1996	Since 1996	NA	Since 2001	China 1996, US wanted be observer
Turkic Council	Since 2009	Since 2009	NA	NA	NA	Turkey and Azerbaijan
Economic Cooperation Organization	Since 1992	Since 1992	Since 1992	Since 1992	Since 1992	Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Pakistan
Organization of Islamic Conference	Since 1995	Since 1992	Since 1992	NA	Since 1995	

Source: Central Asian Data Gathering and analyzing team. Available: <http://www.osce-academy.net/upload/CADGAT/CADGAT7.pdf>, accessed 9 December 2016.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

**NAZRIN ALIYEVA**

Phone (Mobile): 05074428961 E-mail: [neza-aliyeva@hotmail.com](mailto:neza-aliyeva@hotmail.com)

### EDUCATION

---

**Bahcesehir University, Social Sciences Institution, Global Affairs master program,**  
Istanbul, Turkey 2014/..

**Bahcesehir University, Political Science and International Relations,** Istanbul, Turkey  
2012/2014

**Western University, Western Regional Relations and Political Science,** Baku, Azerbaijan  
2009/2012

**European Lyceum,** Baku, Azerbaijan  
1998/2009

### EXPERIENCE

---

**Working Managing Director at London Lifestyle and Investment company**  
2015/...

**Research Assistant of Alper Ecevit, Sabri Sayarı Political elections of parties in Turkey**  
2014/2015

**Student assistant Dean office,** Bahcesehir University, Istanbul, Turkey  
2013/2014

**American Research Center,** Bahcesehir University, Istanbul, Turkey  
Summer 2013

**NATO student department assistant,** Western University, Baku, Azerbaijan  
January 2012

**Head of department Foreign Relations “AGRO-SERVICE & OASIS Production”**  
Azerbaijan July 2011

**Minister of Youth Company,** Western University, Baku, Azerbaijan  
May 2011

**Department Assistant “COWAY CO LTD” AZERBAIJAN**  
December 2010

**Head of assistant Erasmus and foreign student Coordination,** Western University,  
Azerbaijan, October 2010