ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫ ҰЛТТЫҚ ҒЫЛЫМ АКАДЕМИЯСЫНЫҢ

ХАБАРШЫСЫ

ВЕСТНИК

НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ АКАДЕМИИ НАУК РЕСПУБЛИКИ КАЗАХСТАН

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НАН РК сообщает, что научный журнал «Вестник НАН РК» был принят для индексирования в Emerging Sources CitationIndex, обновленной версии Web of Science. Содержание в этом индексировании находится в стадии рассмотрения компанией Clarivate Analytics для дальнейшего принятия журнала в the Science Citation Index Expanded, the Social Sciences Citation Index и the Arts & Humanities Citation Index. Web of Science предлагает качество и глубину контента для исследователей, авторов, издателей и учреждений. Включение Вестника НАН РК в Emerging Sources Citation Index демонстрирует нашу приверженность к наиболее актуальному и влиятельному мультидисциплинарному контенту для нашего сообщества.

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CENTRAL ASIAN REGION AT THE FOCUS OF GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS

Abstract. In the XXI century the role of Central Asia in international politics is increasing. This region, possessing rich natural, energy, mineral and raw material resources, has an important geostrategic position, in which we see the geopolitical confrontation of global actors. The confrontation is explained by the fact that, for example, for Russia this region, being a "vulnerable underbelly", is included in the traditional sphere of influence, from the perspective of China, the region seems to be an alternative source of energy and a vital partner for stabilizing and developing the troubled Xinjiang province. As for the United States and their allies, this region appears to be an important transportation hub, for example, for military supplies to unstable Afghanistan. Central Asia is not only a key region on the world map, the establishment of control over which allows you to manage the regional transit of hydrocarbons and other types of strategic raw materials for the largest developing economies, primarily China, and, as a result, affect their economic growth and aggregate power. Central Asia is a crossroad of civilizations, control over which, as was believed over the centuries, allows you to rule the world. The region retains its exceptional geopolitical significance today.

Key words: international politics, geostrategic position, geopolitical confrontation, geopolitical interests, sphere of influence, vital partner, allies, transport hub, key region, regional transit.

The relevance of the topic. As a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, in order to fill the remaining vacuum in the 1990s, a new "Big Game" broke out in Central Asia and is still being played out in the second decade of the 21-st century. Currently, it is part of a process that can determine the structure of an international system. Each of the global actors - Russia, China and the United States has its own goals in the region. The three great powers of the modern world cannot be just passive spectators. Now they are actively working to determine which of them, from a geopolitical point of view, what, where and when to receive in Central Asia.

Thus, in the context of globalization of the world economy and with the dominant role of global actors (Russia, China and the USA) in the region, the study of the place of each global actor individually through the prism of the evolution of geopolitical strategy and, based on the development vector, the prospects for their future activities in relation to countries The region is becoming an urgent need [1, P.17].

Materials and methods of research. The most optimal will be the division of the studied works on the issue into several groups. The first group included the works of Western scholars who studied both evolution and the current state, and the potential prospect of geopolitical interests and US foreign policy. This category includes such prominent geopolitics as H. Mackinder (The Heartland theory), A. Mahan (the Atlantism doctrine) and N. Spykman (The Rimland theory). Their scientific works became the foundation of the concept of US foreign policy, initially against the Soviet Union, and now against Russia.

For example, the English geographer and geopolitician H. Mackinder developed a very interesting concept, according to which 1) the geographical location of the country is an important factor that directly affects the course of historical processes; 2) the geolocation of the country previously determines the

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potential strengths and weaknesses of the state; 3) technological progress changes the geographical area of residence of states, has a positive or negative impact on their potential power; 4) The Heartland region is the main "theater stage" of world politics, where political processes of a global scale take place [2, P.83].

In accordance with the doctrine of "Atlantism", justified by A. Mahan, the main global geopolitical actions of the USA in the XX century against the USSR and the socialist bloc were carried out. In particular, the geopolitical interests of the United States with respect to the Soviet Union were implemented through the Anaconda Loop project. According to the geostrategic forecasts of A. Mahan, the United States, using the power of the "Sea Force" and destroying the USSR through gradual strangulation, would have seized Eurasia, and hence Central Asia. To implement this project, such blocs as NATO, ASEAN, ANZUS, CENTO were created, which played a decisive role in counteracting the USSR during the Cold War [2, P.90].

Thus, G. Kissinger, in his books The World Order and On China, points to the futility of the American strategy of global dominance and emphasizes the importance of spreading market and democratic values. Another master of American geopolitics Z. Brzezinski, starting in the late 1970s, developed the ideas of a unipolar world with the dominant role of the United States and the prevention of an opponent in Eurasia that could challenge the United States. In his works, Z. Brzezinski extremely negatively assesses attempts to artificially introduce a democratic system in other countries, regarding them as undermining the geopolitical position of the United States. He also states that the concept of a universal fight against terrorism, due to its narrow focus, is unable to be the central system-forming principle of US foreign policy [3].

In his scientific works, F. Fukuyama, another no less famous representative of American geopolitics, associates hopes for the formation of a new geopolitical picture of the world with the modernizing role of the United States, and considers the recognition by the American elite of the principles of multipolarity as the condition for its fulfillment [3].

But, nevertheless, despite the certain successes of American scientists in the study of relations between Central Asian countries and the United States, it is noted that the level of knowledge of relations between the United States and Central Asia does not reflect the whole picture and does not correspond to the scale of the current and planned policies of this state in this region.

The second group of published scientific works consists of the works of Russian scientists. The works of A. Strokov, O. Stolpovsky, D. Ziyatdinov, I. Ippolitov, R. Gumerov, D. Babayan, S. Nikolaev and D. Popov are worth noting. In general, in the works of Russian scientists [4].

According to the chronology of historical events, Russia's foreign policy towards Central Asian countries, starting from the period of Soviet implosion and up to the present day, has not been consistent. The author, analyzing Russian foreign policy doctrines, coupled with her practical activities of those times, conditionally divides Russia's foreign policy into three periods: "indifference", "return" and "rehabilitation" [4].

The period of "indifference" witnessed a huge loss by Russia of its influence in Central Asia and the entry of the Western powers into it. As a result, the initial mistakes made in this period became a serious obstacle to the process of Russia's later return to Central Asia.

Considering the "return period", the author notes that during this period Central Asia was no longer seen as part of the CIS system, but rather a vital region that Russia could not afford to lose. Russia, depending on the specific economic and political situation and the security situation in each country, carried out a differentiated policy. For Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan, which were fairly close partners, Russia intensified multi-level cooperation with other partners such as Belarus. Russia has made significant efforts to promote the regional unification of these countries, especially in developing a common economic zone and reaching consensus on a consistent foreign policy. Although Uzbekistan, which was initially resistant to Russia's influence, was insurmountable as a result of leaving the collective security system with Russia as a dominant, Russia still used Uzbekistan's fragile defensive ability and tried to prevent it from getting closer with the United States, trying to establish military-technical cooperation. Despite the fact that the signing of the Russian-Uzbek agreement on military-technical cooperation was far from practical, both sides at least showed interest in long-term cooperation in the field of military training and technological exchanges. In the case of Turkmenistan, which declared itself a neutral state, Russia actively used its armed forces to ensure the security of its border territories. Russia was also uncompromising in terms of Turkmenistan's independence from Russian oil and gas pipelines.

In general, Russia urgently needed the support of Central Asia to revive its great power in the international arena, hoping to create a Eurasian community over which Russia has absolute control. Although the Central Asian states more or less successfully coped with Russia's influence, the unstable economy and vulnerable border were their "Achilles heel" [5].

Research results. Over the past 28 years, having undergone many metamorphoses, the relations between the two neighboring countries have reached a new level of strategic partnership. An extensive regulatory framework has been formed that regulates and promotes development in the political, legal, trade, economic and humanitarian spheres. The "cornerstones" of many years of fruitful cooperation are the Treaty on Good Neighborhood, Friendship and Cooperation, signed on January 15, 2007, and the Joint Declaration on Establishing a Strategic Partnership between Tajikistan and China of May 20, 2013. There is a clear trend in the development of trade between the two countries. Despite the fact that earlier, being part of the USSR, Tajikistan remained an unknown country for the Celestial Empire, and later, in the 90s, becoming exclusively a market for Chinese products, the economic relations of the two countries underwent a significant evolution in a positive way. Today, Chinese investors who are interested in the Tajik economy are investing not only in the mining sector, but also in related industries, thereby stimulating the development of the economy of both countries.

We conditionally divided the formation of Sino-Kazakhstan relations into 4 stages:

- First stage. From 1991 to 1996. The period is characterized by the development of bilateral relations. Relations have developed in the field of foreign policy, which have developed through the establishment of diplomatic relations and mutual visits at a high government level; at that time, economic, trade, security cooperation was steadily developing, mutual understanding was reached in areas related to the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons;
- The second stage began with the signing by China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan in Shanghai of the "Agreement on building confidence in the military sphere and mutual reduction of armed forces in the border zone," which was noted as the agreement of the Shanghai Five. Thus, Kazakh-Chinese relations entered a new period of parallel development of bilateral and multilateral relations;
- The third stage. In 2005, President Hu Jintao and President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev signed a declaration on strategic partnership between the two countries. The Chinese side has confirmed that it will continue cooperation with Kazakhstan in the framework of the SCO and CICA;
- The fourth stage. Since 2011, the countries have established a "comprehensive strategic partnership" relationship, expanded energy, transport and communication cooperation.

As regards Sino-Uzbek relations, the author concludes that in the absence of a common border, their strategic partnership is built on the foundation of political understanding. Both countries have always supported each other's security, sovereignty and territorial integrity, firmly supporting each other in choosing "development paths", they follow the principle of non-interference in internal affairs [6].

Relations between China and Kyrgyzstan are determined by the fact that Kyrgyzstan is much smaller and weaker than China, but, as in the case of Russian-Kyrgyz relations, Kyrgyzstan plays an important role in achieving China's national and economic interests in the region. Currently, the two countries cooperate quite widely in the field of economy and security. Both countries are members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Kyrgyzstan is also important for China because of its hydropower potential, as well as gold and other metal and mineral resources. Kyrgyzstan also serves as a transit zone for the Chinese New Silk Road project, which aims to connect the markets of Southeast Asia and Europe. In other words, as in relations with the United States and Russia, the geographical position of Kyrgyzstan determines the importance of its role in the long-term geopolitical and geo-economic thinking of China [3].

Kyrgyzstan is also an important partner for China in matters of national security. It borders China and, most importantly, the Chinese Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, which is known for its troubled relations with the Chinese government. More than 35,000 Uyghurs live in Kyrgyzstan, and their total number in other countries of Central Asia is about 500,000. Therefore, it is extremely important for China to maintain close security relations with Kyrgyzstan and other Central Asian states in order to prevent the potential organization of large-scale anti-Chinese activities carried out by the Uyghurs. Moreover, any political instability in Kyrgyzstan worries China, because it could have a direct negative impact on China's security in the Xinjiang region. For this reason, it is in the interests of China to ensure security and other assistance to Kyrgyzstan and ensure its stability and prosperity [4].

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Also, in the part concerning the evolution of the formation of US geopolitical interests in the region, it is noted that Central Asia is a "middlegame" in the Great Chessboard and even with the assistance of any kind of assistance, the United States of America is guided by its national interests. C5 + 1 format promises positive results for Central Asian countries. But it is worth paying special attention to the fundamental goals pursued by the United States of America in the framework of its geostrategic "chess game" in this region, the main of which are the prevention of strategic partnerships in the form of military blocs and political alliances, especially between world and regional powers, reduction the economic presence of Chinese capital in the economies of Central Asian countries, a decrease in the military-political influence of Russia, restraining the growth and influence of economic unions, as well as direct or indirect control of hydrocarbon reserves in Central Asia. And the quintessence of all strategic goals and objectives is to maintain the global leadership of the United States of America [5].

Russia uses many tools to ensure regional security, and remain a key external player in post-Soviet Central Asia. However, in order to regain its dominance, Russia actively demonstrates its hard and soft powers in order to keep the region in the sphere of its influence. The author also examined Russia's interests in Central Asia, such as control over energy resources, ensuring security forces and the formation of regional organizations. The countries of the region have never disputed the status of a great power of Russia and its Eurasian identity. Nevertheless, the Eurasian center has become a contested region for the rest, both world and regional actors. Western policy is seen as a challenge to Russia's spheres of interest. At present, Russia's aspirations in Central Asia are clearly characterized as a "neo-imperial" policy, and it involves the desire to curb external influence in the region, which reflects, in fact, substantial evidence of Halford Mackinder's Heartland philosophy [6].

Driven by economic interests, especially the desire to ensure the security of resources and the desire to maintain stability and security in its Xinjiang region, China's significant interaction with Central Asia has aroused what has been called the "New Big Game" in a region where the influence and interests of Russia, China and the United States are often collide. As China's economic participation in Central Asia continues to expand, its relative influence in the region with respect to Russia and Western countries has grown with it. There is no doubt that China's economic dynamism and expansion could be a mutually beneficial agreement that would benefit China, as well as the Central Asian states, for which the growth of Chinese trade and investment is a catalyst for growth [7].

Thanks to its diplomatic relations and growing economic cooperation, China is having an impact on the internal affairs of Central Asia. But China's participation and influence in security matters was very modest compared to its wider economic obligations, mainly revolving around the SCO, China's main multilateral instrument in the region, which proved unable to act in times of crisis, such as the 2010 ethnic conflict in Kyrgyzstan. While many in China are concerned that the deteriorating security situation in the region, which leads, for example, to mass emigration, Islamic fundamentalism, drug trafficking, and internal and regional conflicts, could jeopardize trade and economic cooperation and, ultimately, jeopardize China's domestic policy. Under conditions of stability, China does not want to intervene or mediate in major crises, while the SCO's effectiveness, which is very ambitious on paper, is limited by competition between China and Russia.

Russia and China have different strategies, different interests and different priorities in Central Asia, which sometimes seem incompatible with the growing role of China. Although cooperation between them in the areas of energy, investment, high technology and military equipment has grown significantly over the past two decades, given the strategic rapprochement between Russia and Central Asia, it is too early to say whether the phenomenon of cooperation / competition between Russia and China will lead to an agreement about joint control over the region, or the region will serve as a field of confrontation between them [8].

Due to the isolation of the region within the mainland and the lack of access to the sea or oceans, objectively the region is not of economic interest to the United States. Taking into account the total mutual trade between the United States and the countries of the region in the most successful year, from the point of view of the global market situation, 2013 amounted to about \$ 3.29 billion, which is less than 1% of the total US trade with the outside world. For comparison, this is lower than the US export-import operations with a country such as Jordan or, for example, Morocco, where there are no large hydrocarbon reserves [9, P.68].

Under the conditions of a truncated trade and investment relationship between the United States and Central Asia, the policy chosen by Washington to pursue an active economic policy here seems unreasonably intrusive, dissonant with a real contribution to the economic life of the territory. Moreover, as it becomes clear from a more detailed analysis, such a disproportionately active "economic" diplomacy of the overseas partner is aimed not so much at the region's progress, but at containing the growing cooperative ties of Central Asia with Russia and China [10, P.145].

In the conclusion we would like to note, that The United States of America uses Central Asia as a kind of platform for the deployment of American troops to different countries of the Near and Far Abroad to combat terrorism. If before the events of September 11, United States policy in the region was aimed more at reducing the level of dependence of post-Soviet countries on Russia and removing Russian influence from the orbit, along with the democratization of the region, then after the tragic terrorist attack on the Gemini towers on September 11, 2001, With the proclamation of the fight against terrorism as the main foreign policy priority of the United States, the policy of the United States in the region has been radically revised. Against the backdrop of the fight against terrorism, the United States launched a large-scale anti-terrorism campaign in Afghanistan.

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ОРТАЛЫҚ АЗИЯ РЕГИОНЫНЫҢ ҚАЗІРГІ ЗАМАНҒЫ ГЕОСАЯСИ МҮДДЕЛЕРДЕГІ ОРНЫ

Аннотация. XXI ғасырда халықаралық саясаттағы Орталық Азияның рөлі артып келеді. Табиғи, энергетикалық, минералды және шикізат ресурстарына бай бұл аймақ маңызды геостратегиялық жағдайға ие, онда жаһандық субъектілердің геосаяси қарама-қайшылығы бар. Қарама-қайшылық, мысалы, Ресей үшін бұл аймақ «әлсіз», дәстүрлі ықпал ету аймағына кіретіндігімен, Қытайдың көзқарасы бойынша, аймақ балама энергия көзі және проблемалы Шыңжаң провинциясын тұрақтандыру мен дамыту үшін, Америка Құрама Штаттары үшін маңызды серіктес болып табылатындығымен түсіндіріледі. және олардың одақтастары бұл аймақ, мысалы, тұрақсыз Ауғанстанға әскерлер жеткізу үшін маңызды көлік торабы болып көрінеді. Орталық Азия бұл әлемдік картаның шешуші аймағы ғана емес, бақылау орнату арқылы дамып келе жатқан ірі экономикаларға (ең алдымен Қытайға) көмірсутектер мен басқа да стратегиялық шикізат түрлерінің аймақтық транзитін басқаруға мүмкіндік береді және нәтижесінде олардың экономикалық өсуіне және жиынтық қуатына әсер етеді. Орталық Азия - өркениеттердің тоғысқан жері, оны басқару ғасырлар бойы ігілік пен әлемді басқаруға мүмкіндік береді. Бүгінгі таңда аймақ өзінің ерекше геосаяси маңызын сақтап келеді.

Орталық Азия мемлекеттері өзінің геосаяси және экономикалық маңызына, табиғи және адам ресурстарына, трансконтинентальдық сауда мен көлік үшін транзит мүмкіндіктеріне байланысты әлемдік қоғамдастықтың назарын аударады. Орталық Азияның барлық елдері тең геосаяси қолайсыз жағдайда, өйткені теңіз коммуникациясына шығу жолы жоқ. Алайда, өңірдің дербес геосаяси маңызы әр түрлі жобалардың іске асырылуына қарай өсетін болады. Өңір елдері жүйелі жұмыс жүргізуде, ұлттық және халықаралық ауқымдағы жобалар іске асырылуда,қазіргі көлік инфракұрылымына үлкен капитал салу жасалуда. Қазіргі уақытта жетекші әлемдік державалардың геостратегиялық мүдделерін шоғырландырудың аса маңызды орталықтарының бірі Орталық Азия болып табылады, геосаяси аймақтандыру шеңбері Қазақстан, Қырғызстан, Өзбекстан, Тәжікстан және Түрікменстан бес тәуелсіз мемлекетінің аумақтары арқылы айқындалады. Ресми түрде бұл атау 1993 жылы қаңтарда қабылданды. Мемлекет және үкімет басшыларының Ташкент қаласында өткен жалпы кездесуінде одан әрі Орта Азия мен Қазақстанды Орталық Азия деп атау ұсынылды.

Орталық Азияның географиялық тұрғыдан орналасуы өте ерекше: ол Еуразия құрлығының ішінде орналасқан және мұхиттарға шыға алмайды. Орталық Азия мемлекеттерінің табиғи ресурстары, капиталдары мен басқа да ресурстары тек ішінара егеменді болып табылады және өңірдің барлық мемлекеттері арасында даулы аумақтар, су және минералдық ресурстарды бөлу, көлік бағыттарын салу жолдары, электр энергетикалық және мұнай-газ магистральдары негізінде бірқатар еңсерілмейтін келіспеушіліктер бар. Орталық Азиядағы екіжақты және көпжақты қатынастарды күрделендіретін басқа факторлардың қатарына: мемлекеттердің саяси және экономикалық құрылымдарының әлсіздігі мен дәрменсіздігі, олардың экономикаларының криминализациясы, есірткі трафигі, этникалық және діни алауыздық жатады. Өңір мемлекеттері бетпе-бет

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келіп отырған басты сын-қатерлер әскери-саяси емес, экономикалық жауапты талап етеді; Орталық Азия елінің сыртқы ресурстарын тартпай, одан әрі құлдырауға және перманентті тұрақсыз-дыққа тыйым салынған. Алайда, тіпті өңірлік құрылымдарға біріктіріліп, Орталық Азия мемлекеттері өзінің әлеуметтік-экономикалық және саяси проблемаларын, әдетте, өңірден тыс шешеді,бұл мұнда сыртқы басқаруды орнату үшін қолайлы орта жасайды. Орталық Азия мемлекеттерінде биліктегі кландарды бір мезгілде байытқан кезде кедейлі пен тұрақсыздық дамиды; жергілікті режимдер жаппай репрессивті және авторитарлық сипатты сақтады.

Түйін сөздер: халықаралық саясат, геостратегиялық жағдай, геосаяси қарама-қайшылық, геосаяси мүдделер, ықпал ету саласы, өмірлік серіктес, одақтастар, көлік торабы, негізгі аймақ, аймақтық транзит.

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ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОАЗИАТСКИЙ РЕГИОН В ФОКУСЕ ГЕОПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ИНТЕРЕСОВ

Аннотация. В XXI в. роль Центральной Азии в международной политике все более возрастает. Данный регион, обладая богатыми природными, энергетическими, минерально-сырьевыми ресурсами, имеет важное геостратегическое положение, в котором наблюдается геополитическое противостояние глобальных участников. Противостояние объясняется тем, что, к примеру, для России данный регион, будучи «уязвимым подбрюшьем», входит в традиционную сферу влияния, с перспективы Китая регион представляется альтернативным источником энергоносителей и витальным партнером для стабилизации и развития беспокойной провинции Синьцзян. Что же касается Соединенных Штатов и их союзников, этот регион представляется важным транспортным узлом, например, для военных поставок в нестабильный Афганистан. Центральная Азия — не только ключевой регион на карте мира, установление контроля над которым позволяет управлять региональным транзитом углеводородов и других видов стратегического сырья для крупнейших развивающихся экономик (прежде всего, Китая) и, как следствие, влиять на их экономический рост и совокупную мощь. Центральная Азия — это перекресток цивилизаций, контроль над которым, как считалось на протяжении веков, позволяет властвовать над миром. Это свое исключительное геополити-ческое значение регион сохраняет и сегодня.

Государства Центральной Азии вызывают пристальное внимание мирового сообщества в силу своего геополитического и экономического значения, природных и человеческих ресурсов, возможностей транзита для трансконтинентальной торговли и транспорта. Все страны Центральной Азии находятся в равном геополитически невыгодном положении, поскольку не располагают выходами к морским коммуникациям. Однако самостоятельное геополитическое значение региона будет возрастать по мере реализации разных проектов. Странами региона ведется системная работа, реализуются проекты национального и международного масштаба, в существующую транспортную инфраструктуру делаются большие капиталовложения. Одним из наиболее важных центров сосредоточения геостратегических интересов ведущих мировых держав в настоящее время является Центральная Азия, рамки геополитической регионализации которой определяются территориями пяти независимых государств Казахстана, Кыргызстана, Узбекистана, Таджикистана и Туркменистана. Официально это название было принято в январе 1993 г. на общей встрече глав государств и правительств в городе Ташкенте, когда было предложено именовать далее Среднюю Азию и Казахстан Центральной Азией.

Расположение Центральной Азии в географическом отношении крайне своеобразно: она находится внутри евразийского континента и не имеет выхода к океанам. Природные ресурсы, капиталы и другие ресурсы центральноазиатских государств являются лишь частично суверенными, и между всеми государствами региона существует ряд непреодоленных разногласий на почве спорных территорий, распределения водных и минеральных ресурсов, путей прокладки транспортных маршрутов, электроэнергетических и нефтегазовых магистралей. К числу других факторов, осложняющих двусторонние и многосторонние отношения в Центральной Азии, относятся: слабость и несамостоятельность политических и экономических структур государств, криминализация их экономик, наркотрафик, этническая и религиозная рознь. Главные вызовы, с которыми сталкиваются государства региона, требуют не военно-политического, а экономического ответа; без привлечения внешних ресурсов страны Центральной Азии обречены на дальнейшую деградацию и перманентную нестабильность. Однако даже будучи объединены в региональные структуры, централь-

ноазиатские государства решают свои социально-экономические и политические проблемы, как правило, вне региона, что создает благоприятную среду для установления здесь внешнего управления. В государствах Центральной Азии прогрессирует бедность и нищета при одновременном обогащении находящихся у власти кланов; местные режимы сохраняют почти повсеместно репрессивный и авторитарный характер.

Ключевые слова: международная политика, геостратегическое положение, геополитическое противостояние, геополитические интересы, сфера влияния, витальный партнер, союзники, транспортный узел, ключевой регион, региональный транзит.

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