
Emerging Security Complexes over Caucasus: Current Trends in Protecting and Threatening

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Preconditions

- ❑ Modern trend to get integrated into the new interstate unions and organizations, which replaced the trend of dissolution and disintegration appeared after the collapse of the Soviet Union.
 - ❑ Collective security format is more preferable option to assure national security by common means, than the narrowly understood traditional realistic approach to national security as an egoistic unilateral activity.
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Security complex

- *"A security complex is defined as a set of states whose major security perceptions and concerns are so interlinked that their national security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another" (Buzan, Wæver, de Wilde 1998: 12).*

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Regional security – Security regions

- Security Regions are described by the following set of criteria:
 - There are 2 or more states,
 - The states are geographically located nearby (this statement is getting less important),
 - Interdependence among the states as positive or negative, but in any case stronger than among each of them and external players,
 - Interdependence among them is deep and durable, long-term, strategic.

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2 types of Security complexes

- **Homogeneous Security Complexes**, where security interdependence among states is created only in one classical sector (for example, in political-military sector).
- **Heterogeneous Security Complexes** – security complexes might exist in more than 1 sector (as among governments/military, societies and business elites of the states).

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Interdependence

- **Positive interdependence – amity**, *is based on mutual perception of cooperation and friendship and is described by Deutsch as Security Community*. In this situation mutual usage of force is not possible (Theory of Democratic Peace: Democracies don't fight against each other)
- **Negative interdependence – enmity**, *is based on fear, rivalry, and mutual perception of threat. Security dilemma among them is presented.*

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Security complexes over Caucasus: Regional cases

Geopolitical map of the Caucasus Region (2008)



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Positive (↔), negative (←) and strategic (↔) interdependence

Geopolitical map of the Caucasus Region (2008)



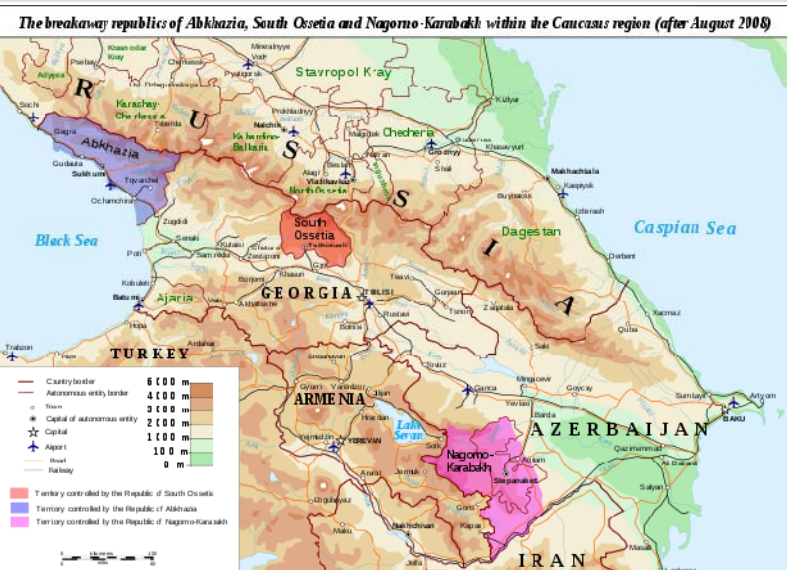
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Negative interdependence in the region: conflicts

- ❑ Nagorno-Karabakh conflict (Azerbaijan, unrecognized Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, Armenia + Russia and Turkey)
- ❑ Georgia vs. Abkhazia and South Ossetia (+ Russian Federation)
- ❑ NATO enlargement (Georgia vs Russia)
- ❑ Energy security projects and contradictions (Caspian sea resource management by neighboring states)
- ❑ Military security cooperation and contradiction (Russia-Azerbaijan issue over Gabala Radar Station)

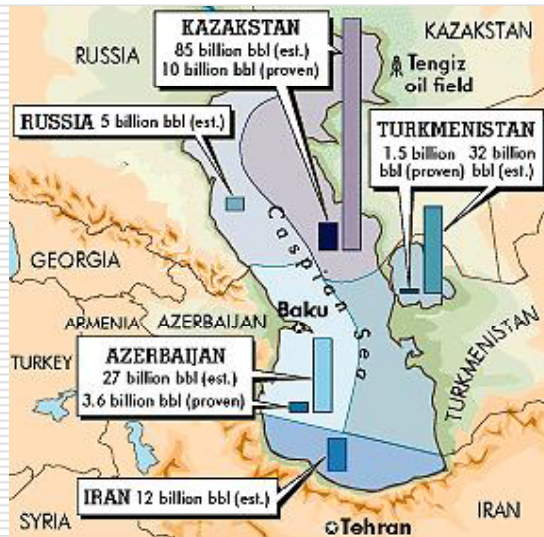
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Regional conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Ossetia



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Caspian sea cost line approach (Russia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan) and "equal share" (Iran, Turkmenistan)



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Turkey-Azerbaijan-Georgia security triangle

- ❑ **Turkey-Azerbaijan - The Agreement on Strategic Partnership and Mutual Support (2010).** Under terms of the treaty, both Turkey and Azerbaijan will support each other "using all possibilities" in the case of a military attack or aggression against either of the countries.
- ❑ **Turkey-Azerbaijan** – trade, cultural unity
- ❑ **Turkey-Georgia** –partnership in terms of NATO membership and trade
- ❑ **Turkey-Azerbaijan-Georgia** - Baku-Tbilisi-Ceichan pipeline and mutual energy security

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Baku-Tbilisi-Ceichan pipeline and regional affairs



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Russia-Armenia-Iran security triangle

□ Russia-Armenia

1. Russian 102nd military base in Armenia (Gyumri), + common border security
2. Trade
3. Strong historical ties
4. Cultural affairs on the level of societies (declining)
5. Armenian labor migration flows mainly to Russia
6. Strategic cooperation and mutual defense in frames of The Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO, since 1992, members: Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Russia, Tajikistan). Azerbaijan and Georgia quitted in 1999, Uzbekistan – in 2012.

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Russia-Iran

- ☐ Cooperation in The **Gas Exporting Countries Forum** (GECF) (11 of the world's leading natural gas producers)
- ☐ The Bushehr Nuclear Power Plant (since 1990)
- ☐ Shared views on containing the US and NATO enlargement in the region
- ☐ Shared views on the Caspian oil and gas fields dispute (contradicting to Azerbaijan)
- ☐ Russian support of Iran in the dispute about invasion by Israel and the US
- ☐ Shanghai Cooperation Organisation membership of Russia and observer status with potential membership of Iran

Armenia-Iran

- ❑ Historical ties, big Armenian Diaspora in Iran and Iranian communities in Armenia
- ❑ Trade
- ❑ Mutual political support
- ❑ Neutral position in Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, and similar perception of threat coming from Azerbaijan (Azerbaijan encourages separatist movement of East Azerbaijan province in Iran)
- ❑ The Iran-Armenia gas pipeline (140-kilometre)

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Homogeneous (---) and heterogeneous (___) security complexes as triangles in the region



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