

AVİM Report No: 7 • August 2014

**REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEX
THEORY AND THE SOUTH CAUCASUS:
SECURITY PERCEPTIONS AND THEIR
REFLECTIONS ON REGIONAL LEVEL**

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Retired ambassador Alev Kılıç is the director of the Center for Eurasian Studies.

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Regional Security Complex Theory and the South Caucasus: Security Perceptions and Their Reflections on Regional Level

Özge Nur ÖĞÜTCÜ

Abstract

As technology develops and demands increase due to new “emerging powers” as India, Pakistan and so on, the nature of international security is evolving as well. We are no longer able to describe the term “security” as it has been understood within the context of international relations. Despite nation states being the main actors when it comes to security, we are no longer able to talk only about their policies because of the new challenges such as cyber security, food security, energy security, piracy, and the unclear threat based on the various motivations of groups such as religious extremists. With the increasing dependency, cooperation and coordination among the actors on international level, the role of international and/or regional organizations, as well as multi-national companies, is also becoming more important. With all the actors involved, the finite resources of the world are becoming harder to manage, particularly energy. Hence, conflicts occur and energy becomes a political tool, as well as an economic and technological one, to influence policies of countries that are heavily reliant on others; Georgia and Russia being good examples for this situation. I will talk about Caucasus, gas markets will be on the focus more and I will try to explain the challenges and future prospects with the Regional Security Complex (RSC) of Buzan and

Waever. I will try to explain the current developments related to the energy issues in Caucasus through focusing on their relations with external actors, particularly EU and NATO. These relations will give us an insight about the balances in the region and different security perceptions in the South Caucasus. Also, I will be focusing on security issue in a limited region, with RSC theory and underline the need to find different resources to produce gas in order to create a balance among actors. The “negative dependency” among countries in the former Soviet Union region might cause more crises in the future. I will include Turkey, as a possible energy hub that will diversify the alternatives, to my study.

Introduction

Collapse of the Soviet Union changed many structures and perceptions that were built between the years 1922 – 1991, and even after. Nature of the understanding of the security and the actors widened, while only actors in the international system have been considered as “nation states” now one should take the role of international organizations, even individuals, lobby groups and many other institutions (regional, economic etc.) into consideration to understand the current developments and their consequences. For instance with the establishment of United Nations,

and NATO based on the UN Charter Article 51¹, a supra-national organization, European Union² - a unique example in the history for now, a new structure-building process has started during the Cold War Era. These organizations served as important actors that provide platforms to the member countries where they can discuss issues in order to find a political-diplomatic solution build mutual trust among each other therefore increase the cooperation, pool information and capabilities as well as create balance via working together on global challenges.

The traditional “security” term has been described to be an issue among nation states. But nowadays there are new challenges, and emerging ones, to tackle. For example climate change, energy security, cyber threats and emergence of extreme religious groups are some of the new areas where countries cannot handle alone.

So as the nature of the “security” is changing, new actors are also being involved into the system. In his book titled “Theory of World Security” K. Booth calls the new system a global one, not an “inter-national” one in order to underline the need to review what we understand from the term “security”. This idea do not challenge the realist perspectives, on the contrary it enlarges the definition and the system while keeping the states as the “main” actors, and others as actors with power to influence the system.

Since the terms and the nature of the system are changing, many other scholars are also trying to analyze “the new system” through different theories. As I will focus on Regional Security Complex Theory of Buzan and Weaver while trying to understand the “energy security” concept in a certain region, my paper will reflect new power balances and how the global actors reacted to this balance.

There are different “energy security” definitions but all of them cover the same key points: “Affordability, environmental acceptability, durability of supply, diversification of source,

sufficiency relative to demand, relationship with water, relationships among nations, the morality of consumption”.³

So the energy resources should be diverse, accessible with a reasonable and affordable price, energy flow between the countries that produce - to the countries that consume should pursue, and the regions where the resources are located should remain stable, secure, balanced environment to avoid any possibility of interruption. Infrastructure and the demand-supply system should be sustainable and remain secure.

What is Regional Security Complex Theory?

Regional Security Complex Theory is trying to analyze “security” issues on a regional level. Buzan is trying to fill the gap between the “international level” and “state level”. It is important to understand the regional dimensions, since they have direct effects on the behaviors of the concerned countries, therefore, the security trends as well in the region. Regional dimensions differ from region to region, so to understand how the countries (might) react to the security challenges they face within the region, we should understand domestic politics – including public opinion trends, historical background and lobby groups etc. - , the role and positions of the “external actors”⁴. Buzan, Weaver & De Wilde describes Regional Complex 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”⁵

Coming from this description we should include historical background, culture, domestic politics and relations among regional actors to our studies to analyze the “security” perceptions. By extension, we should not exclude securitizing actors, that/who have power to make certain issues as a matter of “security”. This gives an idea on the basis of the formation of the power and

[1] “Article 5”, NATO Official web page, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_16937.htm?selectedLocale=en

[2] Established as European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952, evolved and deepened as European Economic Community in 1957 and European Union in 1992

[3] Tippee, B., “Defining energy security”, Oil&Gas Journal, 23 Jan. 2012, <http://www.ogj.com/articles/print/vol-110/issue-1c/regular-features/journally-speaking/defining-energy-security.html>

[4] International Organizations, countries that have power/influence in the region, multi-national companies at a certain point

[5] Buzan, Weaver & De Wilde, 1998, p. 12

security relations among actors. There are two types of formation: security community – based on mutual trust and interests – and conflict formation – a negative dependency based on fear and suspicion.⁶ The security-relations among countries in a certain formation can be based on either “amity or enmity”⁷ understanding. “Amity” describes a positive formation based on dependency among countries, that share common values and interests therefore see cooperation as a way to solve the problems which goes along with the term “security community” and it is more about “togetherness”, whereas, “enmity” is being suggested as a post-conflict structuring⁸. Formation of the relations and structures requires a certain understanding of mutual interests, perception of the “other” and the formation of the relations among concerned countries in a certain region.

Regional Security Complex and Caucasus

After the collapse of Soviet Union, as the system changed on both international and regional levels, new complex regional challenges have emerged. Caucasus, as being one of them, has been one of the examples of these regions. With the rich natural resources, geo-political developments and different trends and aims of the countries in the region, Caucasus is an important case. In the South Caucasus political trends of the countries evolved differently in terms of their relations with the 3rd actors in the region and their understandings of regional dimensions, as a consequence, security perceptions and preferences. Armenia, a recent member of the Russia’s Customs Union is heavily depended on Russia, therefore pursuing close and good relations. Azerbaijan, with rich natural resources, was able to develop independent and centered both domestic and foreign policies. On the other hand while trying to engage with external actors, Azerbaijan is dealing with an economic question; Caspian Sea and a political discussion; Nagorno-

Karabakh and its effect on the relations among the actors in the region.⁹ Georgia, with an unstable political history, and as a country that experienced “Rose Revolution” in 2003 and wants to be a NATO member, adopts more pro-Western policies.¹⁰

South Caucasus and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

In order to have an idea about the current and frozen conflicts in the region, and the possible future differentiation on the interests of the external actors and countries in South Caucasus, we should start from NATO’s relations with these countries individually. Additionally, to understand the relations between NATO and South Caucasus, we should include Russia within the framework of the study. NATO’s policies are being developed independently from the relations between the partner countries and other actors (countries, organizations etc.). But the tendencies of the countries in the South Caucasus give us an idea about their security perceptions and help us to see that on the regional level these perceptions affect their relations with each other.

NATO is cooperating with Russia since 2002 via NATO – Russia Council (NRC) on many areas such as: *fight against terrorism, crisis management, non-proliferation, arms control and confidence-building measures, theatre missile defence, logistics, military-to-military cooperation, defence reform and civil emergencies*.¹¹ But lately, with a very general point of view, Russia is concerned over deployments of NATO anti-missile systems around Euro-Atlantic region with the thought that it might damage its own long-range missile systems, therefore increasing its own capabilities, cooperation with other countries-actors and options. According to many scholars NATO is building systems against a possible threat coming from Iran and North Korea¹². But because of the

[6] Buzan & Weaver, 2003, pp. 489-491

[7] Ibid, p. 49

[8] Ibid[9] Ryabtsev., V., “Why Is There No “Security Complex” in the Black Sea-Caucasus Region?”, <http://core-hamburg.de/documents/yearbook/english/06/Ryabtsev-en.pdf>

[9] Ibid

[10] Ibid

[11] NATO-Russia Council info web page, <http://www.nato-russia-council.info/en/about/>

[12] C., Adrian, “NATO raps Russia for expanding border into Georgia”, Reuters, 5 Feb. 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/02/05/us-georgia-russia-idUSBREA1411G20140205>

regional balances and different perceptions, it affects the relations between NATO-Russia. Moreover considering the current crisis in the Eastern Europe, these areas are standing on a very thin ice with the frozen and ongoing conflicts.

Another challenging area for regional security and international actors is Armenia-Azerbaijan and at some point Russia triangle mostly in the framework of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and frozen relations. Armenia is already contributing to KFOR (NATO Kosovo Force) since 2004 and to ISAF since 2009.¹³ Armenia is further deepening relations with Russia especially after the Customs Union membership and decreasing a possible deeper cooperation with other institutions like European Union and NATO since the contents and the regulations are not compatible. To have an overlook to country's security policies; Russia enlarged its military base in Armenia in 2005¹⁴, moreover Putin stated that "As to the South Caucasus, Russia has never planned to leave it. On the contrary, we are going to strengthen our position in the South Caucasus,"¹⁵ which is also an important and strong message on Russia's perspective policies towards NATO's partners in the Caucasia. Armenia is also a member of Collective Security Treaty Organization since 2002 (CSTO), (Collective Security Treaty was signed in 1992 by Russia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan aftermath the collapse of Soviet Union and since 2004 CSTO has an observer status at United Nations General Assembly**. The organization is established following this treaty in 2002. Currently it has six members: Russia, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan). Besides, Armenia recently decided to join Customs Union which completes deeper cooperation with Russia in

terms of further developing the economic relations.¹⁶ Furthermore, according to the Armenian Military Doctrine (2007) Russia is an important strategic partner for Armenia. In the Armenia's National Strategic Plan published on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' web page, the idea of a collective security understanding particularly in the regional terms has been implied; "The Russian military presence in Caucasus is an important factor for Armenia's security and for the preservation of the political and military balance in the region. The Republic of Armenia and the Russian Federation jointly guard the Armenian borders and cooperate in air defense. (...) Armenia attributes a great importance to its cooperation with Russia in the areas of defense, military-technical relations, energy, transportation, regional stability and security, and in the improvement of the legal status of the large number of Armenians residing in Russia."¹⁷ Military cooperation between Russia and Armenia pursues on the inter-governmental level as well. The 8th intergovernmental commission on the Armenian-Russian military-technical cooperation was held between the dates 25-29 November, 2013 where both countries discuss important issues on military capabilities.¹⁸ What we understand from Armenia's policy on security issue, and Custom Union agreement lately, is the fact that even though Armenia cooperates with EU, NATO and OSCE, Russia still remains as a strong ally. Also "The 102nd base has been deployed in Gyumri since 1995 under a bilateral treaty that was extended in 2010 from 25 to 49 years, ensuring a Russian military presence in Armenia through 2044."¹⁹ This is a very strong sign of Russia's decision on its "existence" in the Caucasus which affects the "security" policies of all the actors in the South Caucasus. NATO contributes to

[13] ATA Bilateral Brief on Relations Between NATO and Armenia, May 2013, http://www.ata-sec.org/publications/cat_view/36-bilateral-briefs?limit=5&order=hits&dir=DESC

[14] "Moscow to strengthen its position in South Caucasus - Putin", Voice of Russia, 2 De. 2014, http://voiceofrussia.com/news/2013_12_02/Moscow-to-strengthen-its-position-in-South-Caucasus-Putin-8832/

[15] Ibid

** According to the official web page of the Foreign Ministry of Belarus, the main working areas of CSTO are as follows: *revision of national and collective security, intensive military-political cooperation and integration, foreign policy coordination on international and regional security issues, the establishment of multilateral cooperation mechanisms, including a military component, the development of cooperation in the counteraction to modern challenges and security threats, such as international terrorism, drug trafficking, illegal migration, transnational organized crime, information and cyber security, military-technical cooperation.* (<http://mfa.gov.by/en/organizations/membership/list/cddd96a3f70190b1.html>)

[16] Customs Union established in 2010 by Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia. Now, Armenia also decided to join this initiative in September 2013

[17] Republic of Armenia, National Security Strategy 2007, "approved at the session of National Security Council at the RA President office on January 26, 2007", http://www.mfa.am/u_files/file/doctrine/Doctrineeng.pdf

[18] "The 8th intergovernmental commission on the Armenian-Russian military-technical cooperation was held" - <http://www.mil.am/1385721246>

[19] Armenia Says It's Ready to Host Russian Combat Helicopters, 21 Nov. 2013, http://en.ria.ru/military_news/20131121/184853115/Armenia-Says-Its-Ready-to-Host-Russian-Combat-Helicopters.html

modernization of the Armenian military and civilian capabilities, Armenia contributes to NATO's operation (KFOR and ISAF) and they are working together on science related matters as well,²⁰ so other partners and allies consist an environment for a balanced system in the region. But, on the other hand, some of these developments and statements in the country's strategic plan show the influence of Russia in the region. Hence, security perceptions, policies and trends differ from other countries in the region.

Azerbaijan is an important partner for NATO, with its contributions to KFOR and ISAF as its determination to deepen the cooperation. During a joint-press conference on 15 January 2014 with the President of Azerbaijan, Ilham Heydar oglu Aliyev, SG Rasmussen stated that "(...) we are determined to reinvigorate our political dialogue including on strategic issues, such as energy security and counter terrorism."²¹ Azerbaijan is in a strong cooperation with NATO on counter-terrorism activities, as well as post-2014 ISAF mission and participating in many of the CBMs (Confidence Building Measures) to support the peace and stability in the region (Caucasus and Central Asia) together with the other regional actors, including Russia. On the Nagorno-Karabakh issue, which is one of the priorities of Azerbaijan's security policies, NATO stated that it will not directly get involved to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict; it encourages both parts to find a joint solution on this issue. Azerbaijan's centered position helps to provide a balanced policy in the region.

Georgia is in close relations with NATO, especially after 2008 crisis Georgia's security perceptions are more in favor of being part of a "western" ally. Also as a country who is very keen to be a NATO member and the biggest contributor to ISAF Mission among PfP (Partnership for Peace) countries, its stands, in terms of security tendencies, is very clear.

An important area for South Caucasus is energy because of the Caspian Sea basin and the existence of many multinational companies in the

region. Energy security can contribute to domestic security, modernizations of capabilities and infrastructure, regional developments, political and democratic developments (since the investors and other external actors need to make sure that the energy flow will continue based on a transparent and open system) NATO decided to work on, or contribute to, the energy security issue and noted a report on "NATO's Role in Energy Security" at the Bucharest in 2008. These notes have been developed and included further suggestions at the Strasbourg-Kehl Summit in April 2009 and the Lisbon Summit in November 2010.²² According to this report NATO "identified" five key areas to support; "information and intelligence fusion and sharing, projecting stability, advancing international and regional cooperation, supporting consequence management and supporting the protection of critical infrastructure".²³ So eventhough NATO is not directly involved with any activities or works on energy still is one of the concerned areas of the organization. It is important to understand the relations among NATO and Azerbaijan – Armenia – Georgia to be able to see the big picture of the region when it comes to the energy security issue.

As a conclusion on NATO relations we can see the security prospects, trends and perceptions which also cause the change of the nature of relations among actors in the region. While Azerbaijan is trying to establish a centered position, Armenia is getting closer with Russia and Georgia adopts pro-Western policies. Coming from the RSC theory, it might be difficult to construct a structure based on "positive dependency" considering the ongoing conflicts and foreign policies of the actors. NATO is engaging with the actors in the region individually, on bilateral level, but when we look at the bigger picture and take other developments into consideration to have a wider perspective on the whole region, we cannot ignore the existence of influence of Russia. Moreover when we take the conflicts among countries into account, and the fact that policies differ from one country to another, interests change and the idea of being a "community" is getting weaker. There is a

[20] NATO's Relations with Armenia, Key Areas of Cooperation, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-7810FBA608212942/natolive/topics_48893.htm?bInSublanguage=true&selectedLocale=uk&submit=select#key

[21] "Joint press point with NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and the President of Azerbaijan, Ilham Heydar oglu Aliyev", 15 jan. 2014, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/opinions_106145.htm[22] "NATO's role in energy security", NATO, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49208.htm

[23] Ibid

“negative” dependency in this region, based on the issues effecting external actors as well, such as energy security. It is an important topic on the global agenda so international community is following the developments closely.

European Union and South Caucasus

European Union (EU) is engaging with the countries in the South Caucasus within the framework of European Neighborhood Policy – Eastern Partnership program which has been launched in 2009²⁴. Developments in this region concerns EU as well especially after the enlargement. As the South Caucasus remains as non-aligned to the any of the international organizations yet, it was an utmost requirement to establish close relations with these countries. EU included many topics into its program; trade relations, energy security, democracy and politics, visa dialogues and so on. These countries are still in close relations with Russia as well, which does not concern EU directly, but in other terms, have an indirect impact on the nature of the relations especially when it comes to agenda topics.

Of course relations with the countries in the South Caucasus started as soon as they gained their independence. European Parliament established Parliamentary Cooperation Committee in 1994, created a post called “Special Representation for the South Caucasus” in 2003 and signed Partnership and Cooperation Agreement that came into force in 2009. After the Collapse of Soviet Union and within the EU’s enlargement since EU’s borders expanded, South Caucasus together with Eastern Europe, became even more important. Also because of the crisis between Georgia and Russia in 2008, and Ukraine nowadays, EU decided to take concrete actions to integrate Eastern Europe and South Caucasus into EU’s system. EU, through establishing many platforms within the Eastern Partnership Program, focuses on: “Democracy, good governance and stability (platform 1); Economic integration and convergence with EU policies (platform 2);

Energy security (platform 3) and Contacts between people (platform 4).” (http://eeas.europa.eu/eastern/platforms/index_en.htm)

Actually all of these platforms are inter-connected with each other. For instance to create an open, liberal and accessible energy market, political stability and democratic governance are musts. These “musts” can be provided within the framework of EU integration according to Eastern Partnership Platform 3 document – Approved Work Programme in 2012-2013. “Energy Security” has always been an important issue but particularly after the crisis in Ukraine, the need to enrich the energy resources, international community started to seek for alternative options. But for now, with the current technology level and the structure of the energy markets, fossil energy resources remain as the most eligible option. Renewable energy can support countries to decrease the dependency on Russian natural gas at a certain point, but not completely, under the current circumstances.

EU is highly dependent on energy exports, both oil and natural gas. Hence, energy has been on the agenda since the establishment of Eastern Partnership structures and still remains as maybe the most important topic on the agenda. In the latest document prepared and published by EU diversification of energy resources, opening the markets on the global level, having sufficient stock (or resources) to be able to meet the demands at a certain point, cooperation and the dialogue of the parties have been highlighted as the key areas.²⁵ Supply and demand balance is a very important issue currently not only on EU agenda but on the global level because the energy demand has been increasing very rapidly with the new emerging markets and participation of the developing countries in the global markets. Aftermath the third Eastern Partnership Summit that took place in Vilnius on 28-29 November 2013, in the joint declaration reports energy security has been mentioned several times, in parallel with previous declarations and policies.²⁶

[24] Within this program EU is engaging with the countries in the Eastern Europe and South Caucasus on bilateral level and at many platforms; Moldova, Belarus, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia

[25] “Eastern Partnership, Platform 3 Energy Security, CORE OBJECTIVES AND WORK PROGRAMME 2014-2017”, http://ec.europa.eu/energy/international/eastern_partnership/doc/approved_work_programme_2014-2017.pdf

[26] “Joint Declaration of the Eastern Partnership Summit, Vilnius, 28-29 November 2013, Eastern Partnership: the way ahead”, 29 Nov. 2013, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/139765.pdf

But the implementation of these policies requires political stability, balance of powers/actors, providing infrastructure and solving the ongoing conflicts in the region. EU is trying to moderate the conflicts in South Caucasus, through offering solutions and establishing platforms where parties can come together to discuss their positions and possible policies. But again since the current nature of the relations in the region go along with the “negative dependency” structure, since the lacking of a common interest or the spirit of being a community, South Caucasus is a challenging area for international community.

Yet EU is facing challenges to implement the policies of the program. For instance, Armenia recently decided to be part of Eurasian Customs Union offered by Russia, which is technically not compatible with The Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) of EU. Georgia, despite its good and close relations with EU, and NATO, is suffering from instable domestic politics and problems in the North Caucasus. Moreover, having war with Russia in 2008 affected the balances in the region in a negative way. Azerbaijan, with centered relations between Russia and EU, is in a strong conflict with Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh. OSCE got involved in the region through establishing a body named “Minsk Group” that brings the concerned parties together and draw a framework on the conflicts.²⁷ But still, unfortunately there are concrete actions. Caspian Sea is being considered as an important alternative to the current energy resources. Azerbaijan, one of the countries border the Caspian’s shores,²⁸ consist a very important position in this context. Yet, Gazporm remains as a powerful actor in the region. Some Western companies, such as BP, have strong positions as well but without Russia’s consent, any projects regarding to Caspian Sea seems a challenging. Turkey plays an important role in this case; TANAP and TAP as energy transportation pipelines strengthen Turkey’s position and this has been recognized by “Brussels” too. Trade relations between Georgia and Turkey are ongoing in a good way, Azerbaijan is a very close partner and “brothers and sisters” on the “people” level (one nation two countries discourse) but

Armenia issue still remains as unsolved. According to Regional Security Complex, although Azerbaijan and Turkey have the feeling of being a “community” which is one of the requirements of having a positive dependency according to Buzan’s theory, Armenia and Georgia are different cases.

Conclusion

Ken Booth in his book named “Theory of Security” states that the nature of security is changing as international community is facing new emerging threats that none of the countries can handle alone. Also actors are changing; we are shifting from “international relations” to the “Global Relations”. We are no longer able to talk about only nation states when we are studying the relations or decision making system on the global level. Even though nation states still remain the as main actors, we should take the role of international organizations, individuals, multi-national companies, non-Governmental Organizations etc. into account since they have impacts on the decision takers. Energy security, cyber security, human security, climate change, emergence of extremist religious groups consist threat on the global level, not only on the national level. Also in order the tackle these problems, cooperation and coordination are required among actors.

Also within the emergence of new systems, regions and structures, when we are analyzing policies of the countries we should include new theories to explain new situations. Regional Security Complex theory is an important one to understand particularly the regions emerged after the collapse of Soviet Union. This theory can be implemented into other areas as well, but relations among countries in the former-Soviet Union are complex ones with many different ethnical groups, conflicts, border issues and disputes. Sometimes these differences cause problems and therefore affect the nature of the relations.

Countries in the South Caucasus are dependent on each other especially when it is about energ resources, trade relations and the role of the

[27] OSCE Minsk Group, <http://www.osce.org/mg>

[28] 5 border countries: Azerbaijan, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Russian Federation

external actors. Even though the security perceptions are different, therefore trends and policies are different too, the idea of opening the natural resources to the global markets, balancing the powers in the region, trying to not to trigger the frozen conflicts these countries under the same umbrella. There is “amnesty” among these countries since the relations based on mutual suspicion and fear (both from each other and from external actors).

In the future if the conflicts cannot be managed well, it might be possible to have more problems to solve in this region. OSCE, NATO and EU are trying to develop close relations with their partner countries, including the ones in the South Caucasus, since it is no longer to tackle with global problems alone. In order to deal with the new emerging problems, cooperation is essential. The countries in the South Caucasus are engaging with the external actors on different levels. Both NATO and EU are developing independent relations with these countries on bilateral level. However to see the big picture and security perceptions in the region it is important to understand the framework of the relations to see the big picture. Because on the regional level, since they are former-Soviet Union countries, the role of external actors matter. These roles help/effect the balances as well as the possible future prospects of the region.

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