

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **Perfection of the Mechanism of Providing of Regional Security and Stability in APR**

#### **3.1. The perspective architecture of system of the regional safety**

The Russian approaches to safety issues in APR have been officially stated in the project of the declaration about principles of the safety and stability in APR. The project has been offered for the discussion at the second meeting ARF in Brunei in August 1995. The necessity of the creation of the regional community on a safety, which would include all the Asian-Pacific countries, was emphasized in this project. The equal right of all states of the region to participation during the creation of the mechanism of regional safety, and the unacceptability of the economic pressure as means of the decision of the political disputes were marked in this project. Subsequently these approaches have developed in the concept of the national safety and in the military doctrine of Russia.

In the first chapter of our research we have concluded that the idea of the creation in APR this or that variant of the collective safety – of the analogue of European OSCE can be hardly realized. It is interfered by two main factors.

First, - there are the basic and principal economic, political, social distinctions between European and APR. Unlike the Europe of the period of the creation of OSCE, in today's APR the territorial and aquatory disputes are still very far from the decision. Unlike the Europe APR geographically is too stretched, that does not allow people to feel the accessory to united community. In comparison with the Europe, in Asia there are more distinctions between the countries in historical traditions and cultural values, the negative attitude to the participation in the Asian affairs so-called external forces is more sharply appeared.

Secondly, - our world has changed as a whole, and the content of concept of "safety" has changed. During the postwar period of cold war when on a change to the opposition of socialism and capitalism as the main tendency of the present the new historical tendency has come - the tendency of globalization, the concept of the national and collective safety, alongside with a traditional military component, includes also other components. These components are the economic and ecological safety, and the safety of the person. In addition, in the long term their importance tends to increase.

Hence, the transformation of the formula of the international safety finds the increasing support of the countries of the region including in the official and scientific circles of Russia and abroad. Earlier it was the safety based on balance of forces of two military-political

blocks which after the leaving from the European stage of the socialism was transformed to the new formula: the safety through the cooperation based on balance of the interests of the blocks former opponents. Now the speech is reasonable for the conducting about a new kind of safety – the safety through the development. Moreover, the last Asian financial crisis, its national, regional and global social and economic, political consequences have raised the question not simply about the necessity of such cooperation. The calls of the globalized economy and policy induce to think today of a following stage of the development of the concept of the Asian collective safety – the safety through the cooperation (partnership) in the development. The base of this conceptual approach is the state about the rapid growth of economy of the countries of region. The multiplane economic cooperation with into-and inter-regional character create the motive basis to rapprochement of the countries of region; strengthen the mutual trust and transparency, salutary influence on the political and military aspects of attitudes in the region.

The formula the safety through the partnership in the development and the requirements of the globalization bring up to the authorities of the countries APR a question. This question is about the necessity to share a part of the national sovereignty in favor of the common regional interests, to delegate a share of the national powers to the future regional institutes that provide the observance of the common regional law and order. Today there are a few countries in APR that are ready to accept this requirement. In many states, we see the sharply negative or the univocal negative attitude to a problem of delegation of a part of the national sovereignty. Such state of affairs is clearly and explainable. In addition, there is no necessity to force in this or that, direct or indirect form of the country to the acceptance of this requirement; there is no need to force a new understanding of a parity of the national sovereignty. It is desirable to admit the fact of existence of such dilemma now. It means that it necessary to acknowledge the legitimacy of the statement of a question about the economic globalization and the new formula the safety through the partnership in development demand from the sovereign states of delegation of a part of the powers to the regional bodies.

Making a start from the recognition of this fact, it is possible to talk about what kind of structure will be the structure of Asian-Pacific safety in the future. Naturally, thus it is necessary to mean the action of the following regularity: the practical results in the creation of new system of APR safety directly will be connected with distribution to the Asian countries of the new approach to the treatment of an optimum parity of the national sovereignty and interests of regional integration.

From the positions of today, the structure of the collective safety in Asian-Pacific region is represented multilevel. On the top level, which units APR with other regions, there is a United Nations Organization. Its charter defines most the general principles of the interstate attitudes. And though today, after the termination of the military opposition of two super states of cold war period, the structure and a legal basis of the United Nations demand the

serious reforming, the United Nations remain the main multilateral organization of a global level, which promote the maintenance of the international safety and development.

At the second level, at APR level, are formed or could be generated the own regional structures the safety through the cooperation in development.

The institutionalizing of APEC could become a mainstream of the development of Asian regionalism in economic, ecological and social sphere. In essence, the basic centers of APEC force are China and Japan that are acting as original leaders: the first one - developing, and the second one – the center of the union of the developed countries-members. Such definition of the centers of force, from our point of view, is legally, proceeding from that the principle of a Pacific ring, which is proclaimed with a view of a forum, in essence pursues the less global, but actual problem - to support the region of East Asia, which originally and effectively develops and potentially applies for the leadership. For this reason in the structure of the countries-participants, we see two world powers - the USA and Russia, that represent the centers of force in other regional groupings, but have the strategic interests in East Asia.

The other APEC feature is that fact, that many countries that enter into a community, are also simultaneously presented in other groupings - (NAFTA, ASEAN, the CIS, etc.). This entails the ambiguous consequences that affect on the multilevel system and special friability of the structure of the organization, and also on a spectrum of interests and the mechanism of their coordination.

For the transformation, in due course, of this forum in the real coordinator of the economic policy of the APR countries, in opinion of scientists of Institute of the Far East of the Russian Academy of Science, the creation of the Asian currency fund and other regional financial institutions that provide the stability of flow of funds and promote the alignment of national conditions and rules of work of the financial capital is represented feasible.

As a whole, the previous activity of APEC was corresponded to the world process of internationalization of economic activities of the states, to the becoming of the regional tendencies in East Asia, met real needs of economic development of its participants.

At the same time, the rapid development of new economy in conditions of globalization not in all has justified the expectations that aligned with it. The new process of strengthening of interdependence between the states, national economies, corporations and people in their productive activity, strengthening of an inequality between the states in favor of the industrially developed countries, a deepening of public stratification in favor of its exclusive layers have caused the explosion of separatism, interethnic and interdenominational conflicts. Therefore, the new requirement to APEC is necessity of the strengthening of attention for its activity to the political questions and problems of a safety.

According to realities of XXI century Russia supports in APEC agenda the further fixation of objects that are facing to the organization in sphere of safety. These objects are the

counteraction to the international terrorism and protection against a piracy of trade, and the formation of new directions of interaction in sphere of safety – the political housecleaning, reaction to natural and technogenic accidents, etc. For example, in 2005 Russia has acted among the main initiators of development in APEC the wide cooperation on reaction to acts of nature and the emergency conditions. Thanks to its efforts the idea of the creation of the coordination mechanism, which acts to a regular basis – the groups of APEC concerning the readiness for emergency conditions is realized.

As the practice confirms, the complex interaction of the countries of region, their cooperation in the field of economy, in the decision of humanitarian questions, etc. serve for increasing of the opportunities of multilateral cooperation for the decision of problems in the field of safety, including the fight against terrorism.

At the third level of the Asian safety there could be a place for the existing sub regional groupings (ASEAN, the mechanism of six-party negotiations on the Korean nuclear problem) and the future (the Japanese-South-Korean general market, the organization of economic cooperation of the countries South-East Asia, etc.).

For the conducting of the political dialogue of common regional scale, it is necessary to continue to use the mechanism of post ministerial ASEAN conferences, expanding the subjects of discussed themes and being aimed on the acceptance in the future more obligatory political decisions. The concrete measures on promotion of the contacts of Russia with ASEAN in sphere of safety (the fight against the international terrorism and transnational criminality) are stipulated in the complex program of its cooperation with ASEAN for the period until 2015.

As we said in the second chapter, the special role in the political integration in APR belongs to such interstate institute, as ARF. The common regional political dialogue in its frameworks covers today all spectrums of the pressing questions of maintenance of the world, safety and stability in Asia. For over ten years of the existence, it has turned to an authoritative international forum. Today it renders the important stabilizing influence on political processes in region. The 12-th session of ARF has supported the aiming of a forum at consolidation of efforts in fight against such new calls, as the international terrorism, distribution of the weapon of mass destruction and others. The acknowledgement to that – accepted at session “the application of ARF concerning an exchange of the operatively-prospecting information and protection of the documents that prove the identity.” It became the next contribution to efforts of the ARF states on an antiterrorist track.

As you know, in the end 2005 in Kuala Lumpur at 9-th summit “ASEAN +3,” on the basis of this operating mechanism, and also at participation of India, Australia and New Zealand the creation of the new perspective interstate association - the EAC has been proclaimed. The Russian president V. Putin has appeared at the summit and declared the readiness of Russia closely to cooperate with the East-Asian countries in electric-power industry and in fight against terrorism. He also has declared the readiness of our country to bring the

essential financial resources in fund of partnership with the countries of the East-Asian region. “Russia is ready to bring the contribution to business-community in all key directions. Our country is opened for cooperation, including within the limits of East-Asian community and in such important sphere, as the disaster clean-up operations and emergencies,” – Putin has told. Thus the Russian president has given to understand, that Russia did the application form for participation in activity of community with a prospect of the further participation in work EAC and ASEAN as the full partner.

Unfortunately, today not all the states of Southeast Asia are ready to expansion of EAC. Malaysia has insisted that the representatives of USA could not participate in EAC even as the visitor. The plans of the accelerated integration of Russia in association of the countries of SEA today do not suit Australia and Indonesia. It is possible to explain it, on the one hand, by the become strained competition for influence in Asian-Pacific region. On the other hand, it is possible to explain it by the unwillingness to have the competitor in energy sector in the community. It is known, that the recognized leader of region on the production of hydrocarbons is Indonesia.

In our opinion, the clear split of borders between the states and regional associations of northeast and southeast part of APR will lead to the creation of new dividing lines on social - economic and civilized characteristics, in the same way having replaced the ideological antagonism, which is typical for the gone century.

It is represented, that the economic, political benefits and reasons of safety in due course can eclipse the egoistical reasons of the separate leaders. In the long term, with connection of Russia to this again formed community, the formation of uniform integration association – some kind of the East-Asian union, which unites the countries of Northeast, Southeast and Partially southern Asia, is possible. On its functionalities and structure of the states, which enter into it, the future East-Asian union is capable to change many of current regional associations and to form an independent level (the second after the United Nations) of the common regional architecture of safety in East Asia. The becoming of such association will be promoted by that the same countries today are the participants of various integration associations or they cooperate with them. It proves by the experience of integration processes in the Central Asia. For example, the central-Asian union has stopped here its existence and the countries that have entered into it joined in EAEU. The staff on coordination of military cooperation of the CIS has in turn stopped its existence, and its some functions and structures pass to the organization of the contract about the collective safety, which also tends to expansion.

In our opinion, separately it is necessary to stop on destiny of the mechanism of six-sided negotiations on the Korean nuclear problem. In research, it was already spoken about that positive role which plays the mechanism in the decision of this deep problem. There are some questions: what will be with it when the problem will lose the urgency? Is it necessary to dismiss the mechanism of six-sided negotiations after its decision?

F. Fukuyama is the professor of the international political economy of school of the perspective international researches in the name of Nietzsche at J. Hopkins University, the USA. In his opinion, when the crisis passes around of the North-Korean nuclear program, the constant organization of six powers can serve as a direct information channel between China, Japan, South Korea, Russia and the USA in business of the decision of other problems of safety at a level of sub region of Northeast Asia. Many experts in Russia also agree with such approach.

Today we observe how on a background of the termination of cold war and a proceeding economic development of Northeast Asia the nationalist passions and rivalry are shown more clear. The contradictions between Republic Korea, Japan and China are rather probable in days to come. The growing anxiety in occasion of the uncertainty of sphere of safety after possible association of two Korean states threatens to Japanese-South-Korean attitudes and is capable to provoke the armament race in sub region.

It is impossible to approve, considers F. Fukuyama, that Asia is ready to slide off in a precipice of a nationalist hysteria, but the potential of the dangerous misunderstanding obviously is available. If the governments of China and both Koreas feel the anxiety in view of the rearmament of Japan or if the Japanese and Chinese heads are anxious by intentions of Korea in case of its association, the multilateral forum will enable them to dispel fears and precisely formulate the expectations. The creation of multilateral structure on a permanent basis would play the important role, having given to leading powers of Northeast Asia "the area" for direct dialogue with each other.

The forum of six powers can appear useful for the decision of many predicted problems. First of them is the unexpected crash of a North-Korean mode. However, the importance of new group will not be limited to it. The Northern Korea, which possesses the full nuclear weapon, threat of the armament race in Asia, the consequences of military modernization of China, Japan and other countries of sub region are only some of potential problems that the organization of six powers could solve.

Therefore, the six-party structure of safety, which appeared in Asia, is a fine opportunity for innovations in institutional sphere. When (and if) the present crisis around of the North-Korean nuclear program passes, the constant organization of six powers can serve as a direct information channel between China, Japan, South Korea, Russia and the USA. This new group would represent itself not a military alliance like NATO, and something similar to OSCE – the regional organization in sphere of the general safety.

We are not indulging in illusions, that the similar constant forum becomes a universal measure for the decision of all the important problems. It will not help with restraint of the Chinese threat concerning Taiwan though, possibly, it will be an area for discussion of ways of the solution of crisis in Taiwan Strait. In the same way, the organization of six powers will not be able to directly influence on the problems of safety in Southeast Asia. Such missions should not be set. Their decision could be in trusted to such common regional organization as

the East-Asian union. The six-party mechanism could become the component of it in the future. However, it is a question of the future.

The fourth level in our scheme is allocated to mutual relations, first of all between the countries that have declared the desire to build close and deep attitudes, as, for example, the Russian-Chinese communications that directed on the formation of attitudes of the strategic partnership in XXI century.

### **3.2. Directions of perfection of forms and methods of preventive diplomacy**

Last years many regional and other international organizations offer to use concepts and definitions, developed by them, that bring in the certain mess a discussion of conceptual peace building questions. Thus practically all known classifications allocate activity with the use of non military power measures such as supervision, various forms of control, political, economic and diplomatic support to efforts on prevention and settlement of the conflict, good services and intermediary, various humanitarian actions and others down to preventive expansion frequently generalized by such concept as “preventive diplomacy.”

In due time UN General Secretary in the report “Towards new calls has defined that preventive diplomacy is one of forms of actions, which can be undertaken for denial that the disputes developed into the military conflicts.” Differently “the inflaming fire can be extinguished either by a glass of water (which figuratively represents preventive diplomacy) or by a fire command.” It is obvious, that the first way is more convenient.

Thus, preventive diplomacy can cover a complex of measures directed to finding out the reasons and prevention of the disputes between the parties and denial of development them to the conflicts, including: good services and intermediary in organization of advice and negotiation between the parties concerned; rendering them assistance in searches of mutual understanding and achievement of the arrangement on settlement of disagreements; use of elements of the early prevention; acceptance of the economic sanctions and creation demilitarized zones.

Thus, the set of the forms of activity inherent preventive diplomacy is rather wide and various, but the basic are: good services, intermediary and preventive expansion.

The good services can consist of actions of the international organizations separate states or outstanding political figures directed to rendering assistance to the parties in an establishment of direct contacts for the beginning of universal negotiation. Rendering good services does not provide negotiating and participation in them “the third party.”

The intermediary consists of negotiating by the representatives of the states, international organizations, and outstanding public or political figures with the participants of the dispute with the purpose of his sanction. Thus the activity of the intermediary should not be limited to transfer of the suggestions of one party or another. The intermediary has the right to bring in on their consideration any offers. Thus, the intermediary is a logic continuation of good

services.

Preventive expansion consists of preliminary accommodation of military quota in a zone or on borders of a zone of the possible conflict or real increase of intensity. In this case first of all, military force plays the role of the political-psychological factor, during peace settlement.

As a rule, preventive diplomacy will be involved prior in the beginning of the conflict, an opportunity them involved at its any stage however is not excluded.

The analysis of methods of preventive diplomacy allows characterizing them as follows.

#### Traditional diplomatic measures

On the influence at a stage of origin of a crisis they are rather effective and include a wide spectrum of influence, beginning from negotiation and strengthening measures of trust, finishing in the break of diplomatic relations. It is important to combine methods of open and latent preventive diplomacy (i.e. display of the certain confidentiality).

#### Economic measures

These methods have the greatest effect on neutralization of a disputed situation. They are especially effective in relation to the countries - participants of the potential conflict with the strongly advanced economy, but dependent from external sources of raw material, power resources etc. The Efficiency of the economic sanctions concerning the countries with the underdeveloped industry and countries with self-sufficient economy causes doubt. The leaders and governments of the countries, that are put to economic sanctions, as a rule, do not suffer. The simple people suffer.

But armed by the appropriate ideology the people are ready to suffer. Other business is economic (humanitarian) assistance for restoration of measures of trust and stabilization of conditions. The people feel on itself simplification of life and against these measures the ideology, as a rule, is powerless.

The legal measures are based on the requirements of observance of norms of international law, rules of the contracts and agreements determining the activity of the international institutes. On all spectrum of development of a crisis situations are effective enough and are positively perceived by the population.

#### Political measures

The spectrum of these methods of influence on a situation is wide enough and includes measures with the use of political institutes of, both its own, and other countries. The basis of efficiency of these methods lays in synchronization of efforts of the countries in prevention of crisis situations. It is necessary to develop effectual measures of trust between the countries as one of the forms of political diplomacy.

### Informational-psychological measures

In the end of XX – and the beginning of the XXI century potential of efficiency of these measures is high. In each house, from a hut up to a palace, there is a TV and a radio receiver. Let's recollect American "shuttle" diplomacy before the beginning of the operation "Desert storm," formation of the negative public opinion in a course of the first Chechen campaign in Russia, "effect CNN" in a course of operation "Allied force." On one of the international conferences in the UK the French and English colleagues recognized, that the military-political decisions were frequently accepted the under influence of the information acting from screens of TVs. Not without reason in course of air impacts on Yugoslavia the first objects of a defeat were passing stations and relay.

### Military methods

Military powers, demonstration of determination of application of military force, demonstration to the conflicting parties the consequences of its application are rather effective means on stabilization of conditions. It is possible to recollect the military conflict between China and Vietnam. It was like a fight between Goliath, having nuclear weapon, and David, convinced in the correctness. Only unambiguous demonstration of military force and determination to apply it from the USSR extinguished an inflaming fire of war in Indochina at that time. The said methods can conditionally be related to "to a glass of water, sufficient to extinguish a fire."

Now about "a fire command" or peace building. There are a lot of problems there. They are inopportuneness of reaction on events, and covering peace building for the decision of own national tasks, and "the double standards" in relation to the conflicting parties, inconsistency of military and civil aspects peace building of operation, tightening of terms of performance etc by an example a peace building operation in former Yugoslavia under the UN and NATO.

In the first case situations concerning rules of application of the weapon, for example, in a course of operation UNPROFOR, the words of Churchill were recollected: peace building man feeds the crocodile hoping that he will be ate last. The weakness of the mandate UN on application of military force was shown in it.

In the second case, in a course of operation IFOR and SFOR, inconsistency of a military part of operation with civil aspects Dayton of the Agreements have resulted in eyes of the local population multinational peace keeping force, which, certainly, have executed military aspect of operation, piece-building personnel gradually turned into occupants. In Sarajevo 34 organizations engaged in civil aspect were totaled. Their activity was carried out vigorously, with the use of significant means, but is unsystematic and not in a uniform trunk of management. It, certainly, has tightened the terms of performance Dayton agreements. But, despite of all lacks, peace building is the major tool of preventive diplomacy.

Not only methods of preventive diplomacy are important, but also mechanisms of their realization at global, regional and national levels. The application of water is a method, the glass and fire crane is system setting an environment or mechanism intended for prevention of calls. It is important to know when and in what sequence and that it is necessary to apply to prevention of crisis situations.

At a global level it, certainly, the UN. The tendency of development of military-political conditions shows that in light of occurrence of new dangers and threats, the structure and the functions of the UN require transformation. But firm there should be conventional principles of the international law, system holds and balances as the right “veto” of the constant UN SC members. Attempts to use the right of application of military force for prevention, so called

Humanitarian accident, reference that the border should not be considered as a means of protection in the field of the rights of the man, (so-called “the doctrine of Annan”) conduct that the fragile shell of safety at a global level can be broken. The right on application of military force and realization peace building of operation should remain in the hands of UN. For all members of this organization the law should be one - “force of the right, instead of the right of force.”

As it was specified above, at a regional level there is a line of organizations engaged in the decision of problems of safety. In APR the certain job in formation of measures of trust and introduction of methods of preventive diplomacy is spent ARF ASEAN. However experts mark rather low rates of this job. For example, in 1997 at a Regional forum a line of threats to safety of the region was discussed, but the progress from strengthening measures of trust to preventive diplomacy went very slowly. The similar purpose was meant and within the frame of so-called “second basket” of Council on cooperation in the field of safety of APR (SSB APR), who’s working groups continued regular discussions of problems of cooperation in the field of safety. Before the March of 1997 by meeting ARF in Bangkok the SSB working group in process of strengthening trust and safety led to a symposium on preventive diplomacy only in four years on the 8-th session of ARF in Hanoi (2001.) The large political documents were accepted, where Russia also participated: the concept and principles preventive diplomacy, about strengthening of a role of the chairman ARF, about the register of the experts and outstanding figures of ARF are arranged to expansion of participation of the military representatives in a forum etc. Taking into account the European experience peace building, it is important, that the regional security organizations and cooperation in questions of acceptance of the decisions on the problems, connected to safety, at first, missing their mistakes, secondly, were late with acceptance of these decisions, and were guided “by a principle preventive” and, thirdly, were not substituted by regional military-political unions (as it takes place in practice of the relations between OSCE and NATO), and worked under their mandate and under their control.

In the sphere of military safety there are many unsolved problems of a regional level. It and certain complexities with realization of the Concept “preventive diplomacy,” and

absence of the regional concepts “peace building activity of Rules of application of military force of the Code of behavior at the termination of the military conflicts” etc. the Decision of these problems is possible by joint efforts of Russia and other states, interested in it. Here is pertinently to quote the words of Annan: “... The new calls in the world obviously require more systematical cooperation between UN and all other subjects engaged in maintenance of political, economic and military safety at all levels...”

Russia, actively participates in piece building process. The world and stability have brought Russian peace building in Pridnestrovie, Southern Osetia, Nagorniy Karabah, Tajikistan and Abkhazia. In peace building operations on post soviet space the basic weight lays on Russia and its Armed Forces. Many countries on words stand up for stabilization of conditions, not participating in these operations, not supporting them in the economic and financial attitude

In Russia in 1999 by a plan of one of the strategic doctrines “West - 99” was stipulated to use the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation for preventive diplomacy. This task is new enough to the Armed Forces. At the same time, military power, demonstration of determination to application of military force, finishing to the conflicting parties of consequences of its application are rather effective means of stabilization of conditions. As a result of the doctrines “West - 99” the forms and ways of application of military force for stabilization of conditions, the involved forces both means and algorithm of their use were determined. The Armed Forces of Russia today successfully master the sphere of preventive diplomacy.

In summary it is necessary to emphasize, that in the new Concept of national safety and the priority in the sanction of crisis situations is given up to the Military doctrine of the Russian Federation to non-military means, or else, preventive diplomacy.

It is represented, that the development of the forms and methods of preventive diplomacy by regional structures on safety of East Asia, naturally, in view of local conditions and features, would promote the decision of one of major tasks in business of maintenance of regional stability. As it is pleased with the advanced schools peace building such Asian countries as India, Russia and some other today have. Readiness to render the appropriate assistance to other countries in this sphere of activity have expressed in a course of bilateral scientific contacts of the Centre of Military-Strategic Researches of the General Staff of Russia and the Institute of the Incorporated Forces of India.

### **3.3. The monitoring of situation for prevention of unleashing of military conflicts**

In connection with mentioned above multy side of the problem of prevention of the conflicts escalating of preventive diplomacy potential is a hard task. However the experience of the past shows, that it is quite possible. Even now many governments are ready to undertake for

the realization of preventive measures, intergovernmental and not governmental organizations, and private persons. The large concentration and coordination of their activity, its strengthening and intensification is necessary. It, in turn, requires presence system, fulfilled strategy and resources.

As was already said, preventive diplomacy means the intervention previous to crisis and violence. Differently, it deals with the latent or potential conflicts on interstate and internal levels. Observing for processes, occurring in the world, it is uneasy to notice, that such number of conflicts (disputable borders decomposed modes, civil wars, infringements of the rights of the man, mass flows of the refugees) constantly grows.

As preventive steps should be based on duly and exact knowledge of the facts, so its important to know the deep analysis of the events and tendencies of the development of conditions in an area, country or a region. And it means the necessity of realization of a conflict of monitoring of socio economic, military-political conditions previous to occurrence of the conflict. The monitoring is necessary not only for the tax of the information, but also for the acceptance by the world community or regional organizations of measures of adequate character directed to duly localization of the conflict. Such approach is caused by the majority of the potential conflicts have the political, economic and social roots. Therefore it is necessary to trace events and tendencies, which can result in dangerous intensity in area, to the country or region and to estimate them from the point of view of preservation of stability of a situation both the presence of threat to the world and safety.

The estimation of a situation is carried out, as a rule, by means of missions on an establishment of the facts, or in a course of contacts and advices from governments, and also direction of the special envoys in area of intensity. Such missions and envoys work in many regions of the world and on post soviet space. Now UN and OSCE have the whole network of the Centers of the early warning about various threats to the world both stability at global and regional levels. In Europe missions and the representations are on Balkan - in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Kosovo and Metohia, in post soviet space - in Pridnestrovie, Southern Osetia, Nagorniy Karabah, Tajikistan and Abkhazia... Having generalized the information from these and other sources containing symptoms of potential conflict ability, it is possible, having estimated a situation, to ensure the acceptance of the decisions and realization of the appropriate actions on prevention of the conflicts and stabilization of conditions.

So, for example, at support of governments of Italy and Jordan the Centre of the early prevention and prevention of the conflicts (created according to Euro Mediterranean by a peace charter), in the focus of its attention is, primarily the prevention of new conflicts. The organizers proceed from necessity of creation frameworks, which would allow governmental bodies to undertake not political and not military actions for prevention of the conflicts.

It is obvious, that the formation of the non governmental regional and sub regional centers of the early warning and prevention of the conflicts as nucleus preventive mechanisms in concrete areas could become a real step on strengthening stability in APR. It is required by

the intense situation around of island and shelf zones in the Eastern-Chinese and Southern-Chinese seas and around of other disputed zones of region.

The decision of the following tasks is assigned to the Centers of the early prevention:

- The establishment, where and when in the given area is most probable occurrence of the dangerous conflicts and crises;
- Study of the historical, cultural, economic and geographical reasons of the potential conflicts;
- Analysis of interests and requirements of each of the parties through search of the answers on questions of a type: "Why this group asserts the given position? What fears and alarms stand behind its applications and requirements? What base human requirements of this group do not find satisfaction, are broken or are exposed to threat?";
- Expansion of opportunities for cooperation in struggle against the latent or potential conflicts in region by means of seminars, job of scientific collectives, researches and strengthened information interchange;
- Creation at the regional centre of computer databases fixing result of researches and activity of the sub regional centers for use them as the tool of the early prevention by governments and organizations, responsible for acceptance of the decisions in region.

The centers of prevention of the conflicts

For the whole, such centers are called to be engaged not so much in tax of the information, but into the improvement of the procedures directed to prevention of the latent or potential conflicts. The purpose of the job of the similar centre is to define what actions methods and the tools are effective for prevention of the escalation of a dispute in unguided violence. At the same time it is clear, that the decision of these questions in many respects depends on a position, resources and preferred modus operandi of that party, which will be engaged in prevention of the conflict. If to speak about the centers already created, and also about what is planned to open according to the arrangements achieved in a course of negotiation on the control of arms and regional safety within the framework of the European peace process,, as the application yet is not stipulated by them of the armed forces, in the activity they will be, presumably to use the following methods and tools:

- Estimation of requirements; revealing of the factors interfering in reduction of an acuteness of the conflict (absence of peace process, lack of resources, decisions, stimulus or trust);
- Finding out what potential resources and "will" allowing constraining escalation of a dispute, having the parties of the conflict. What institutes and processes did already take place? As far as they are effective, such information can be received from databases. In the case they will appear insufficiently, the additional toolkit is necessary;
- Creation of missions on an establishment of the facts;
- Realization of round tables, peace conferences, seminars, brain storms, granting at the

discretion of the parties of the recommendations on peace settlement of disagreements, existing between them;

- Multitask;
- Intermediary services;
- Mediation;
- Pacification.

In the summary, it is necessary to say, that the problem of monitoring of a situation with the purpose of prevention of the conflicts remains one of the most difficult and demanding serious efforts, large expenses of material means and prepared personnel.

At the same time, the prevalence of the internal conflicts supports opinion that the roots of the organized violence - poverty, socio economic inequality and inefficiency of management - can be beforehand identified and to become a subject of efforts of internal administrative structures and external organizations on safety. The conflicts in Myanmar, Sri-Lanka, and East Timor actually have shown that for their prevention to the international community are necessary not so much early prevention, how much sufficient political will and appropriate tools.

The positive fact is that it began to be discussed, to be analyzed and to be estimated the reasons of failures and costs in prevention of the conflicts (acknowledgement to that is including joint job NIDS of Japan and CMSS GS of Russia), and also means, with which help the international community can actively engage in their prevention in brief, and long-term prospect.

The main task now consists in development by the international and regional organizations of concrete measures of preventive politics clearly formulated and used in practice. Understanding of need in more critical estimation of influence of deliveries of the weapon and help to development “conflict able” of the countries and modes on disputed potential in region and large coordination of national and regional safety with politics of development are two important factors and subjects to think over.

### **3.4. Use of war power for stabilization of situation**

The question of application of force with the purposes of settlement of the armed conflicts last years becomes more and more urgent. It is caused by a lot of factors. To basic of them it is possible to attribute the substantial growth of quantity of the armed conflicts, which requires urgent and effectual measures. With the termination of cold war probability substantially has decreased that the application of force at settlement of the “peripheral” armed conflict can result in a military opposition global superpowers or military-political unions;

The long period of the conflicts in every respect expensively manages to world community, by virtue of what a number of the political figures has temptation to stop them in

the shortest terms and with small expenses, that in itself assumes wide application of military force;

Use by the contradictory parties in a course of the armed conflicts of the automatic weapon, artillery, armed vehicles, MLRS, various engineering ammunition and devices. Even more often in a zone of the conflict there is an aircraft – battle planes and helicopters the armed struggle is conducted not only irregular formations, but also well organized, well equipped technically, trained armies, which in a condition competently to apply modern tactics of fight;

The washing out of such criteria peculiar to “traditional” operations on maintenance of the world, as neutrality, absence of general borders at the sending states with the state, in which territory is spent peace building operation and abstaining from military quota large world having held and military-political unions in settlement of the armed conflicts. Last was called, in due time, their unwillingness to have at the borders or in a zone of the “vital” interests the centers of constant intensity, and today - aspiration large world having held and military-political unions to designate the role in an establishment of the new world order and to impose the vision of system of safety of new century; downturn of a role of the consent of all contradictory parties on intervention in the conflict from the outside, including UN (Namibia, Somalia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Tajikistan) and others.

In due time the chairman of the 48 session of General Assembly UN Mr. Insanely has noted, that the borders between maintenance of the world and force methods today are dim. Reflecting this tendency, in practice UN the term of “compulsion to the world” has appeared.

The increased aspirations to application of force in support of operations UN was showed in some formulations the Programs of the world, in which former General Secretary UN Galley has put forward idea of formation of Special Forces of Organization and use them for compulsory actions.

Being the assistant of the UN General Secretary on peace keeping operations again the elected chief of Organization, Annan in one of clauses (December, 1993) wrote: “the Present conflicts in Somalia and Bosnia by a radical image have changed parameters. Already it is not enough to watch performance of the arrangements or to divide enemy of the party, the international community wishes now, that the Incorporated Nations were engaged demarcation of borders, control and destruction of heavy arms, suppression of anarchy and maintenance of delivery of the humanitarian help in zones of military actions. It is accomplished clearly, that the teeth muscles “is necessary” for such tasks, and not just less tangible qualities, which we searched in the past need or else, for grows for, that UN now accepted compulsory measures of an establishment of the world, as well as it was provided initially within its Charter.” He has offered that the conducting role in the similar force actions was removed by NATO. In its opinion, it would help to overcome the main obstacle to success - fluctuation at transition from the obligations to concrete actions. Annan has predicted development of the script in Bosnia - Herzegovina: from selective application BBC

NATO (according to the Resolution of council of Safety UN N 836 from June 4, 1993 the states - members UN have received powers to apply BBC to support UNPROFOR (Bosnia) in zones of safety and near to them), before absolute domination of forces of an alliance in structure IFOR. The practice piece keeping of activity of last years has shown, that practically in all piece keeping operations the limit of application of force certain by the Mandate, was considerably exceeded.

All this testifies that, despite of aspiration of world community to restriction of application of force at settlement of the armed conflicts, the requirement for her steadily grows. At the same time the majority of opinions are reduced to one: any application of force should be justified and selectively both from the point of view of the usual situation, and from the point of view of character and scales of its application.

### **3.5. Post conflict model of maintenance of the world and stability in a region**

After end of the old war Russia consistently acts for creation open and effective system of safety in various regions of the world. Initial such point of system should be at all expansion of existing military blocks, and development by countries some kind “of the code of behavior,” formation of peace periphery promoting strengthening of safety and development of cooperation. Than it is called?

In opinion of the academician M.L. Titarenko “today creation of new structures of safety in APR, as well as trans regional of structures of safety and cooperation, can not give the expected result, and only red tape the international relations, if will conduct on the basis of old, period “of cold war” and conflicting of superpowers, principles. In epoch globalization, at realization of the new formula “the safety through cooperation in development” needs to be created new regional and global designs only on the basis of the interstate agreements and contracts. Today it is necessary to talk about formation uniform economic order and acceptance of the Uniform code of regional and world safety.”

The initially uniform code of safety would adjust the sharpest questions of safety, such as nuclear tests, non-distribution of the nuclear weapon and other kinds of means of a mass defeat, terrorism, ethnic cleanings, application of army against the peace population etc. the Code precisely would register, what crimes, how and whom exactly punished. The subjects such Trans national of the right were not the states, and people, organization, governments and concrete politics. The procedure of application of norms of the code would include court of the jurymen, chosen by regional community, with the presence of a public prosecutor and defense counsel. The performance of the decisions of court would be assigned to special regional bodies, including on multilateral regional piece keeping of force.

Today the offer looks more as the information to reflection and very much not the soon achievable purpose. However of criticism of this idea will hurry, if will say, that she is favorable only great power. Business that the norms of the Uniform code of safety will be

distributed to them. And today in the USA, Russia and China will be much more opponents to such idea, than supporters. However it is represented indisputable, that the given offer corresponds to logic of the concept globalization both politics of maintenance regional and global “safety through cooperation in development.”

The idea about uniform, with reference to Asia, regional order on the basis of the Uniform code of safety, is thought, serves variant of the further development of idea of the multipole world as counterbalance formed monopole system. The positive grain of idea of multipolarity of the international relations consists in attempt to protect the countries of the world from dictatorship of the country - leader and, on the other hand, to save country - leader from temptation to use force in the international businesses.

At the same time at idea of multipolarity a number of disputable places are looked through. First, hardly who today begins to approve, that USA, main “pole” of the modern world, has equal opponent adequate to former Soviet Union of times of the cold war. The formation of “poles” of economic force in Western Europe and East Asia occurs; despite of characteristic for market system the economic contradictions and trade disputes, at interaction to USA, instead of at counteraction by last. It is difficult, at last, to imagine, that any of less developed countries or their union can be put forward in the world leaders, playing on market rules, but opposing itself by the one who creates these rules and with the greatest success uses. Secondly, from the point of view of historical prospect the concept of the multipolar world risks to remove the international attitudes on new model of an opposition of “poles” and to fix an actual unequal situation of the countries in the world - when one of the states act by “poles,” leaders, and others, weaker, appear as “satellites” conducted.

The concept uniform world order allows in a new fashion to look at idea of multipolarity. The interest of the APR countries is to make their vote heard at development new world order, and interests and traditions - in the maximal measure taken into account. Thus it is important not to miss from a kind, that the given concept - not a reality of the nearest future, and philosophical basis of external politics and economic diplomacy, which would be useful to take on arms.

In formation of new architecture of the Asian safety the large meaning has a question on the one who will undertake the intellectual, political and financial initiative in construction regional system of safety, on whom the basic responsibility for destiny of collective safety in Asia will lay hence.

As the academician considers Titarenko a conducting role in a presence of optimum model of the Asian safety and its progress in practical life should undertake “super powers,” including regional. Having rather large military, economic, intellectual potential and having concerning the large weights in regional businesses, “super powers” first of all bear responsibility for, that the system of collective safety in Asia was created. Moreover, without the consent even one of them is difficult for expecting real successes on ways of reforming Asian – Pacific Ocean order.

Therefore, as consider authoritative in Russia scientists in oriental civilizations, in a new global context XXI in. The relation between the United States of America, Japan, Russia and China, from which position on questions at issue of the international relations, at the end, depends as structure new order and global safety, and regional safety in East Asia and APR, should not be the relations of an opposition. These powers can find general spheres for cooperation not only in economy, but also in the field of safety. West (the United States and European Union) and East (Japan, Russia and China), advancing together in this direction, can generate the new world order, which will be favorable by all to its participants, providing a peace and rather fair way of development of mankind.

In this view it is obviously important for Russia to not lose partnership of the relation from the USA. Russia and the USA, the former contenders within cold war, have recognized the general interest in assistance of stability, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states APR. Now Russia and the USA reject the shown inconsistency model of rivalry great having held, which can only strengthen disputed potential in region.

The turn from rivalry to the logic of partnership has resulted in Russia and the USA active cooperation in a course of realization the antiterrorist operation in Afghanistan. The states of Central Asia, allies and the partners of Russia in CSTO and SCO, as agreed with Russia have accepted the decision on rendering of technical and rear support to military quota of the USA and other countries - participants in an antiterrorist coalition in a course of realization of operation. This coordinated decision was accepted in a course of advices within the frame of Collective Security Council.

Russia, as agreed with the partners and allies on SCO and CSTO, can discuss and solve within the frame of Russia – NATO Council questions concerning strengthening of safety not only in the Euro-Atlantic region, but also in all space of Central Eurasia, including territory of the states - members of CIS. Thus, the space of safety Euro-Atlantic and APR is structured and is integrated. The mechanisms, arising on our eyes, of political-diplomatic interaction create a basis for trans regional cooperation on strengthening safety in these two regions. They provide international-legal legitimizm of cooperation and interaction of the basic subjects of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and settlement of the conflicts (Russia, USA, UN, OSCE, EU, NATO, CSTO, SCO and SVMDA).

Summing up, it is necessary to notice, that the Russian politics traditionally adhere to a creation line on the collective circuits of a safety recognizing that only mutual account of interests of the states can ensure the strong world and stability. Elements of mistrust, mutual suspiciousness between the countries otherwise are inevitable which were included in the collective circuits, and the one who has remained outside of their frameworks.

The essence of collective system of regional safety consists in creation steady, supported by the appropriate international-legal arrangements and mechanisms reliably functioning circuit of military, political and other mutual guarantees of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states of a region.

It is obvious, that occurrence of such system in the region of East Asia – a question the remote time suffices. While, apparently, it is possible to speak only about gradual formation of such elements of regional conditions, which would promote strengthening of feeling the safety in each of the located states.

The system of collective safety should base on the developed enough periphery of conventional-legal character. Naturally, the basic meaning will be evaluated by military-political parameters of a situation. However the presence of the strong and balanced system of moderations and guarantees suffices, can have serious stabilizing influence on a situation as by the way of maintenance of the peace relations between the states of a region, and within the frame of development of mechanisms of an output from crisis and before war situations and their translation in a channel of political-diplomatic efforts. Not less important would be and “disarmament” an element of activity of institutes of collective safety.

As it is represented, the basic elements of the regional order based on safety, should include politically, and in subsequent legally obliging documents with a statement of the coordinated approach of the parties to concept the regional safety and basic principles, with which the states will be guided in this area. The mechanism of interaction of the state-participants in the sphere of regional safety should also be developed, including with the purpose of preventive maintenance both overcoming crisis and disputed situations. Besides it is necessary to define the order of association of UN efforts and regional organizations.

Creation of a system of collective security in a region, considered by us, - is a difficult problem. Without serious development of the concept of its construction, and also without belief of political elites and public opinion of the countries of this region in expediency of the offered circuits it is difficult to count on progress in the given direction. Here is required, in particular, development of measures of trust, oriented to struggle with terrorist organizations, including agreement about

Mutual information interchange on an antiterrorist simplified system of mutual distribution of criminals accused in connection with the terrorists etc.

In a region the UN participation in the new regional institutes with the use of available operating time and experience of other regions could be created. Thus the role of Russia can be rather essential - as member of Security Council and as political partner of the located here countries having wide experience in the field of reduction of arms.