

CHAPTER 2

Analysis of Factors and Conditions, which Determine Regional Security and Stability in APR

2.1. Trends of development of politico-military situation of the middle of 21 century

After the destruction of bipolar world order new processes of globalization and the world modification in an integrated space changed the “cold war.” Experts, supporting the position of International Monetary Fund, consider that these processes gained the speed due to the growing of interdependency of states “as a result of increasing volume and variety of transfrontier exchange of goods and services, international capital flows and also due to the faster and wider diffusion of technologies.” Thereby, they see the globalization as a world movement towards the collective integrity in the economic sphere.

In the XXI century globalization processes got new impulses almost in all spheres of live were emerged into the most important factor of world’s development. That’s why we can say that one of the leading tendencies of community development is the globalization.

East European states, headed by the USA (the most powerful states in economic, financial and military spheres) undertook the definition of rules and order of development processes of globalization. The main driving powers here are the transnational corporations and theirs’ information and financial organizations which drive great profits of traditional economy from these processes.

The experts lay stress on some effects of globalization. First, the growth of manufacture of the goods is promoted by a competition, expansion of the markets, deepening of specialization and international division of labor at international and national levels. Secondly, increasing of the scales of production promotes sources economy, possibilities for reduction of costs and prices and, hence, for steady economic growth. Thirdly, the productivity of work is raising as a result of rationalization of manufacture at a global level, distribution of advanced technologies and competitive pressure for the benefit of continuous introduction of innovations. All partners receive an opportunity, having increased manufacture of the goods, to raise a level of wages and vital standards of the population.

At last, the economic globalization renders positive influence on the international safety. In conditions of globalization the relations of economic interests of the various countries and requirement of international stability of relations grows. Some supporters of globalization consider that the interdependence of the states with the most advanced economy became so

difficult "... that the military conflict of great powers is really excluded." From these positions we can say that globalization is objectively useful for the human community and it is perceived positively and stimulated actively.

However, the influence of globalization on the basic public spheres of life and activity has rather dissonant character. In the sphere of the economic relations it is shown as growing interrelation of various sectors of world economy up to such degree that development and stability of one of them in this or that state become problematic without stable development in other sectors and countries (the prime example is electric-power industry). The interdependence of the states is growing: the destabilization of conditions in one of them negatively has an effect for a situation at its neighbours. At the same time, the structure of economic systems becomes more complex, less controlled and predicted. The processes of globalization cause weakening of the state control of some spheres of industry. Influence of the economic factors and the essential differences in a standard of living between some countries and inside them strengthen the world intension.

Globalization is not limited only by the sphere of economy. The practice testifies that economic globalization renders more and more essential influence on politics of the states. The strongest economic countries receive more favorable opportunity to use processes of globalization for progress of own national interests. The policy is determined mostly by economic factors, providing inclusion of national economic systems in world processes "with the purpose of formation and use of the world income." Thus the main aim of world powers becomes creation of conditions necessary for acceleration of own economic development through warranting of viability and stability of the basic global systems (of trade, financial markets, deliveries of raw material and power resources), quite often to the detriment to other states. The geopolitical confrontation, aimed first of all at expansion of spheres of influence, begins to be guided by economic interests and to live on geoeconomic laws.

The economic compounds of globalization, in which the leading role belongs to the USA, Japan and the European Union, is essentially supplemented by active measures of influence on internal processes of other states in interests of fastening in the world liberal ideological and social-political standards. Such line, on which practical realization of the concepts of unipolar policy, humanitarian interventions and limited sovereignty is directed, will enter inevitably into the confrontations with interests of a lot of the large states, first of all in Asia (Russia, China, India etc.). Interested in wide economic cooperation with industry advanced countries, these states will save suspicion concerning the approaches to the problem of sovereignty, if the countries of Western coalition will not expand the conceptual vision of new world order. At this rate many average and small countries of Asia will interpret the international relations. Many famous Russian experts consider that the contradictions between globalization and national interests of some states or groups of states can become, already in the nearest future, one of the most serious transnational challenges to the regional,

especially in Asia, and, at the end, international stability. The reduction of contradictions will require rather serious strategic compromises between West and East, long-term efforts of world community, in particular in the sphere of increase of the effectiveness of international organizations (first of all the UN) and possibly it can require creations of new international organizations, which could adequately and operatively prevent appearance of new transnational threats and challenges.

Today many countries understand that put forward by Washington concept of political globalization in the form of construction of unipolar world is directed to the achievement of purpose of global domination. Diplomacy, computer science and the most radical means of politics - military strategy - are subordinated to this purpose. The USA aggression against Iraq with the purpose of president and government deposition is a convincing argument confirming this conclusion. There are other clouded actions which show the strengthening of conditionality of policy and military strategy caused it by economic interests of the states, instead of ideological or only geopolitical preferences.

In conditions of growing interrelation and interdependence some political events in this or that country often render negative influence on a situation in other countries. Therefore, the political globalization is accompanied by the introduction in world practice of such mechanisms of observance of the international laws and rules as various sanctions against breaking them regimes in this or that country. Their military components follow also from these sanctions: massive and purposeful information influences on public; demonstration of military force and determination to apply it against an not sufficient regime; blockade with the purpose of isolation of such regime from world community; and, at last, peacekeeping activity with expansion of its spectrum at the expense of operations on "compulsion of stability infringers to peace," till the force change of regime.

The main attendants of processes globalization and the constructions of unipolar world begin to be perceived by the countries and peoples which could not receive of the boons from globalization, as the basic subject carrying to them poverty and backwardness. Historically almost all these countries and peoples, first of all in APR, are Islamic. As a result of this we can see a split on a line of Christian and Islamic civilizations. The forecast, made by S.Huntington at the end of the last century, proves the possibility of these events.

In the ethno-religious and internal conflicts which slow down globalization process because they happen usually in the important for the international economy regions separatists and religious extremists resist to the central authority and widely apply terrorist methods of struggle. These methods of struggle "a weak against a strong" are distributed also to the third side interfering in the conflict. Therefore, during last years we could notice "removal" of terrorism from national to international level. As a result a good working system of communications and its development and also guaranteed exchange of the goods and resources can be destroyed. It isn't casual that in the list of the extremely important interests of the USA there are provisions about "prevention, settlement and resolution of the

serious conflicts with conditions of minimal casualties and economic expenses in the geographical important regions” and also “suppression of terrorism, transnational criminality” and etc.

As a result of all it the principles “of the state sovereignty” and “the non-interference into internal affairs” of the sovereign states eroded. Thus, globalization of the economic and political relations influences essentially directly on military activity, military policy and sphere of safety.

Under the influence of globalization there are some changes of priorities of military activity in many states: the geopolitical preferences are superseded by geoeconomic. This evolution is extremely difficult process and it depends on interlace and dissonant factors.

There are some predictions now that the important reason of potential conflicts in XXI century can be a problem of shortage of natural resources. This problem is very urgent in Asian Pacific Region. Where the struggle for the control of resources is not caused only by requirements of roughly developing industry, but also inability to solve the problem of fast growth of population connected with aspiration of qualitative improvement of standards of living.

For the sake of justice it is necessary to notice that today problem of demographic pressure and the lack “of vital space” is not compensated, as a rule, by capture of new territories but migration of overflow population in the countries with demographic recession and lack of manpower. But the mass and poorly controllable migration launches new challenges to security (The mass uproars in suburbs of large French cities, in Belgium, Germany and other countries in the autumn of 2005). The certain intension of relations is in the mutual relations between Russia and China. This fact can be explained insufficient migration legislation in both countries. On the other hand, as it was mentioned before, in conditions globalization the territory doesn't have a value. The value is its resources, the infrastructure and communications, from which well-being of many countries depends on.

As we know, the historic national borders of states doesn't always coincide with zones and borders of their economic interests, which are more mobile, than borders of state in conditions of globalization. Therefore, the objective of protection of resources and communications, on which the exchange of resources is conducted, requires participation of many interested states. From here for military strategy, alongside with a traditional objective of protection of the national sovereignty, territory and population, there is a new concept and new objective - maintenance of economic interests of the states, including on outborders spaces of their national territories. Thus, the processes of globalization aren't only narrowing but expanding the sphere of military violence. The alternative to the force solution of problem can become the internationalization of objective of maintenance of stability in the resources providing regions or the solution of disputes on the basis of balance of interests with the result suiting to all interested sides. This result can be reached effectively within the frameworks of regional organizations on security and cooperation.

However, in spite of these objective needs, it is getting easy to notice that the USA and their nearest allies more clearly demonstrate their aspiration to connect processes of economic globalization with the policy of construction unipolar world and to use methods of military strategy for providing control under regions with ample resources and communications. Thus, the policy of the states needed for external resources is aimed at search the partners in the geoeconomic and geopolitic important regions. Theirs' military strategy is based on principles of "power projection." On the other hand, the policy of all-sufficient states, aspiring to use the advantages of globalization, rejects "paternalism" of the adherents of the concept of unipolar world. Such states aim at search of the supporters of multipolar model of the world and direct the military strategy to protection of state borders, maintenance of territorial integrity and their sovereign right of resources control, according to the national interests. As a result of this in parallel with processes of global integration there is a division of countries and peoples on so-called "clubs of interests," uniting states under the principles "of strategic partnership."

The content of strategic partnership, as against the content of military-block cooperation, expressing in search of the potential enemy and planning of cooperative military actions against it, consists in search of the partners for solving common objectives of security and development. The partnership does not mean any military threat against other countries. It's mission is to find the alternatives to war methods of problem solution of relations between the states. Therefore strategic partnership is built on the following principles:

- neighbourliness and cooperation;
- equality of partners;
- positive, preventive approach to the solution of bilateral, sub-regional, regional and global problems based on the international law and observance of lawful interests of states and peoples;
- coordination, interaction, cooperation at realization of foreign policy, security policy, undiminished security of each other and other partners;
- priority of political and other peace means in settlement of emerging problems and disputes;
- integration with international security organizations;
- mutual economic favor and advantage;
- policy transparency;
- transparency in military sphere;
- tolerance to displays of national and ethnic features, favor to the contacts between civilizations.

Now in APR the international cooperation is carried out, basically, at three levels:

at a level of the Forum of APEC; at a level of sub-regional integration international groups (ASEAN, ASEAN+1, ASEAN+3 etc.); at a level of bilateral international connections. We can also add the projects of creation of free-trade zones of China and Japan with ASEAN.

The activity of Japan, China and Korean Republics (total GDP which exceeds 6 billion dollars and can be compared with 9 billion GDP of the USA and the EU) are the most remarkable in the sphere of regional economic integration.

According to our analysis, we can deduce that the named before inconsistent tendencies and factors seriously influence on the architecture of future world and the placement of forces in it. There are questions: whether it means a new division of the world not on ideological, but on economic and civilization attributes? And how will it influence on the situation in APR?

Under the influence of processes of economic globalization and regional integration military-political atmosphere in APR undergoes essential changes. On one hand, the activation of processes promoting reduction of intension and strengthening of stability is planned against the background of development integrational tendencies of international relations. At the same time in region the reasons of interfering with complete liquidation of the intension centers haven't been eliminated and we can see the confrontation between countries for theirs' leading positions. In this regard the threat of international terrorism is becoming the consolidating factor of wide cooperation in interests of achievement of mutual security in the short term.

More and more statesmen consider the treat of international terrorism in South-East Asia as a reaction at negative consequences of globalization processes. So, at the international conference in Norfolk (the USA) in April 2004 Russian Defense Minister S.Ivanov said that "in recent years the international terrorism, as one of consequences of globalization, became a reality of the world. Of course, counterterrorism protection is an integral part of globalization processes."

The terrorist actions in New York and Washington have resulted in concentration of attention both strategic resources of the USA and number of other countries of world community on the counterterrorism protection, on struggle with one who began war without borders against the USA and, in effect, war against modern international system, headed by the USA. Such threat is perceived by the world community as very difficult and rather dangerous. And it caused the formation of coalition of the states directed on struggle with this evil. Representations and actions of the USA authorities after the events of 11th September 2001 said that in case of retaliatory steps in the counterterrorism protection or in case of actions coordination of the international coalition on eradication of terrorists and theirs allies it is necessary to keep in mind strategic aims and opportunities of the states located in different regions of the world.

Meanwhile, Asian-Pacific Region is getting more essential as a result of its nearness to one of the centers of this struggle (Afghanistan) and as a result of a presence of the major part of forces correspondent to the terrorists. According to the analysis of the situation in APR we shouldn't acknowledge that some main factors which have influence on its progress staid without any changes, even it changed a little after the beginning of counterterrorist

campaign.

The main important change consists in that GDP and military support are concentrating mostly in APR, where the great powers of the XXI are growing. But this is the factor which demands on great attention of the world community to this region within a wide spectrum of questions.

The second factor consists in that, in spite of generally stable atmosphere in the region, there are deep collisions and disputes here which are waiting for decades and hundreds of years and which can burst the world again. Two more obvious examples connect with situations at Korean peninsula and Taiwan. This situation didn't change even after the events of 11th September 2001.

The third factor consists in the economic, political, geographical and cultural strategic relations in region where the great powers as China, Japan, India and Russia interest in maintenance of stability and strengthening of influence on the affairs in the region. The neighborhood with the states of Middle East must be taken into account too. Because Islamic peoples inhabit wide regions, from the Middle East to Indonesia and Philippines, creating so-called axis of non-stability.

Many experts consider that presence of internal political, territorial and religious collisions in region is the essential destabilizing factor also in the nearest future, too. Korean and Taiwan problems can become so-called detonator for the "explosion" in the international scale. Unsettlement of these two problems is the main instigating factor of the nuclear proliferation in APR.

Meanwhile, the settlement of most explosive regional disputes connects with difficulties because they affect the interests of the leading states in the world. That's why we will study all named threats in process of theirs' development to draw a lesson for the future.

2.2. Potential and real military threats for security, its main sources in the region

There are some war threats in Asian-Pacific region and East Asia. It is caused by the following events and unsettled conflicts:

- unsettled territorial problems as a historic heritage of states and peoples. Under the conditions of increasing demographic pressure and overextension of natural resources these problems will have a tendency to aggravating;

- the intention of Asia, in particular Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to get nuclear weapon and development missile technologies which can affect, first of all, security interests of its neighbors – China, Russia, the USA, Japan and other states of ASEAN, and then, if military missile-nuclear programs of Democratic People's Republic of Korea, India and Pakistan won't be scaled down, it can affect interests of Asian republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States;

continuing conflicts between ethnic groups and confessions or changing over, from time to time, to the military operations (Kashmir problem on Indian-Pakistan relations, East Timor) or to the closer problems of escalation to the armed conflict;

trade of forbidden weapons and technologies of its production;

deployment of anti-missile forces of satellite basing under the USA efforts and defense anti-missile systems of theatre of operations with participation of Japan and South Korea. These arguments are aimed to lull the vigilance of China and Russia. The renewed cooperation between the USA and Japan, spreading the territory of Japan Self-Defense Forces and causing concern of China and ASEAN states, is another group of sources of potential military threat;

mutual suspiciousness of the USA and China in relation to military strategy and strategy of foreign policy to each other and their concealed cooperation based on mutual nonconfidence. This competition can cause the confrontation with all consequences. This cooperation can be considered only as a system of self-creation. Because the development of situation not only in MEA but in Asian-Pacific Region demands on this cooperation in the future.

To new group of threats it is possible to attribute the international terrorism closing it with piracy, trade in drugs and people, uncontrollable migration, illegal trade in the weapon etc.

Analyzing all these threats, it is possible to allocate most urgent of them which destabilize the situation in East Asia region. Let's consider them more attentively.

The situation at the Korean peninsula

The intension at the Korean peninsula is one of the objects of Russian interests. Guarantee of Korean non-nuclear status with legal security interests of all interested

The present and the 1993-1994 crisis in Korea arose as the United States of America were constantly acting as a brake on the stabilization of the peninsula situation. It appears that now and in the early 90th the U.S.A were in need to diabolize the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The lessening of tension, started during the consolidated summit in Korea, is sure to raise a question concerning the motives of the U.S. military persistence there. On the other hand the withdrawing forces from the South Korea will destroy the whole American strategy in Asian and Pacific Region which is based on the bilateral military alliance with Japan and the South Korea. In addition to it, vanishing of the North Korean missile threat will unveil the part of the American plan to neutralize both Russian and the South Korean nuclear missiles deterrence.

It helps to explain why it is profitably to the U.S.A either to keep the peninsula in tension or disarm the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as it happened in Iraq. The latter would allow them to have control over the unique Asian area at the junction of the Chinese, Russian and Japanese borders. These three powerful states can implicitly launch a challenge to the American hegemony. And the U.S. Armed Forces presence at the South Korean and

Russian land borders would lead to the profound changes of the fictional scenario in Eastern Asia and Asian and Pacific Region as well.

Beijing authorities understand what negative strategic and foreign policy consequences military elimination of the Democratic Republic of Korea would bring to the People's Republic of China. Therefore the Chinese, dissatisfied with some actions of Pyongyang, can't leave the DPRK. The Americans in return to it are well aware that an attempt to possess the Chinese influence area will cause the quarrel with the most powerful state in the world. Pyongyang uses this stalemate situation and filling well known impunity has begun to produce rocket and presumably nuclear weapons to deter the U.S.A.

The main reason of some delays during the hexalateral summit concerning this problem, August, 2003, was due to the U.S. and DPRK tough stance. Washington D.C. demanded that Pyongyang should build down all nuclear programs including peaceful ones and after that only America will consider possible steps towards the DPRK. North Korea suggested that the problem should be solved in a staged manner: first to tie up their plutonium program in exchange to the normalization of relations with the U.S.A. and then to discuss possible aid and the abolition of the economic penalties.

At the summit the key objection was the matter concerning Pyongyang's second parallel program of getting basic materials for nuclear weapons by means of uranium enrichment. America insists on its presence however the DPRK denied it for the time being, afterwards saying that de facto is a nuclear-weapon state. Therefore particular difficulties during the talks causes scale determination and modes of inspections.

The other participants in the talks hold different positions concerning military part in the DPRK nuclear actions. Thereupon the New-York Times said that America at the talks is willing to persuade the other four participants that North Korea is not interested in taking a diplomatic decision upon this problem. It is also noted that there won't be any good results during the talks until Washington declares about certain diplomatic and economic steps towards DPRK if the latter agrees by means of inspections eliminate all nuclear programs.

This permanent U.S. position has led Washington to the threat of being isolated instead of DPRK. Even the U.S. allies reckon that the only way to solve the problem is to thoroughly take all necessary steps to reduce the level of their mutual concernment in a staged manner. Japan and South Korea said that they are ready to lend support to the DPRK even at the stage of freezing their nuclear programs if it step leads to its total eliminating. During the third round of talks held in Beijing, 2004, America had to support this decision.

The fourth round of talks concerning the North Korea nuclear program appeared to be the most significant to the areal security. In the joint declaration, signed in Beijing by its participants noted that the DPRK enters into an obligation to throw down all nuclear weapons and within the tight schedule abide by the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and IAEA reserving the right to the usage of nuclear power in a peaceful way. In its turn Russia, China, America, South Korea and Japan offered to render energy supply. The

U.S.A corroborated the fact that they don't have any nuclear weapons at the Korea peninsula and don't have any intentions to invade the DPRK by means of nuclear or standard weapons. It's the first time since America and the DPRK have said to hold in respect both countries' independence, live in a peaceful way and work for the relation normalization.

What is the importance of the final agreements? The nuclearization of the DPRK may result in some chain reactions in the Far East. In particular, such a threat was planned towards Japan where it has become a la mode among the aristocracy to speak about the real necessity for Japan to become an independent nuclear power.

But in our opinion it won't be an easy task for us to translate the declaration into life. As far back as in 1994 Pyongyang signed an agreement with Washington committed itself to cut back all nuclear programs and after reversing was successfully speculating with the North Korean nuclear threat for more than ten years. The observers pay attention that the declaration adopted in Beijing is of politico-declarative nature doesn't contain any certain implementation arrangements. To work out such an arrangement won't be easy. And who is the first to show goodwill that is the question. Should North Korea be the first to cut back all nuclear programs where after it will be rendered free-handed energy or humanitarian aid or the U.S.A, China, Japan and Russia should provide energy security in the DPRK where after the latter will honor obligation under the declaration signed in Beijing.

Many practical items such as rights of the IAEA inspectors, forms of supplies to North Korea and also the possibility of placing light-water reactor at Pyongyang disposal will come up for some other discussions and talks. The experts say that they are supposed to be very difficult. In addition to it every participated state has its own political and strategic aims. China feels nervous over all nuclear weapons in Korea and deployment of all assets available in case of North and South Korea junction. Japan feels nervous over being a non-nuclear state among nuclear active ones. South Korea worries over the hopes of North and South Korea reunion and the power balance between China and the U.S.A. The Russian Federation has concerns over its Far East areas.

The geopolitical features of Russia traditionally explain special attention being given to this subregion. Continuing of international discussions and talks influenced by Russia and strategic co-operation between Russia and China inspires that in the peninsula there won't be any unexpected and dangerous events. The Russian Federation is aimed at maintaining balanced friendly relations with North and South Korea for the convenience of having bilateral relations and much more predictability and stability in Korea and round it. The agreement signed in February, 2000 between the Russian Federation and the DPRK was aimed at balancing the situation. It will help Moscow expand its possibilities of making a contribution to normalize the situation at the peninsula and to expand the co-operation for the convenience of settling Korea conflicts with other parties concerned (the U.S.A, the DPRK and Japan).

In addition to it many Russian experts believe that the main step forward at this stage is to

activate interregional Korea process itself and now when it has been started the key task for every external force is to maximum work towards its continuing and moving forward. And this acquires special relevance after the fall of 2006 the DPRK conducted nuclear tests.

All parties concerned are interested in settling the crisis in a peaceful way. No one needs instability and stress situation. On the one hand, solution of this problem lies in the convincing of the DPRK leadership to abandon the nuclear problem from the other hand, to provide security insurance of all the states located in this area. By this means, technical parts of nuclear nonproliferation are not as serious as the tasks of North East Asia security implementation.

The solving of Taiwan problem is no less important for the region stability.

The Taiwan problem

The semicentenary confrontation between Taipei following the policy of Taiwan independence and Beijing authorities who consider the island one of their province threats to stability in East Asia. This conflict has an effect on America-China co-operation.

The situation round Taiwan is getting worse by tension, followed after the local administration public speaking with an intention of acknowledging their sovereignty. In return to this follows Beijing's promises to keep it down even throwing a sword into the scale. During the China national meeting being held in March, 2005, popular representatives adopted a document concerning preventing state splitting unanimously. Under this paper, if secession movements somehow separate Taiwan from China, Chinese People's Republic will have the right to use force. By doing this during the press-conference for foreign journalists Wen Jiabao said that the document should not be considered as the War Act but it is aimed at strengthening and development relations between the Formosa Strait watersides.

Meanwhile in 2003 the bilateral trade volume totaled \$58,4 bln, though export reached \$9 bln. Taiwan invested in the Chinese People's Republic \$8,6 bln and the latter built up more than 4,5 enterprises and companies. All these activities are doing well for both island and continent, providing good basis for their merger in the near future. In addition to it the Chinese People's Republic insists that bilateral trade operations should be done in yuans.

On the other hand, many military experts including the Ex-Secretary of Defense of Taiwan believe that up to 2012 people's liberation army of China won't be having advantages over Taiwan Armed Forces, being modernized with the help of the U.S.A, to invade the island. Besides at this period of time (2008) Beijing will play the host to the Olympic Games. However in 2008 Taiwan is to adopt a new constitution. Beijing considers this step as an official attempt to proclaim independence by Taipei. It helps to explain why 2008 is planned as one of the crisis dates towards Taiwan.

As for military part, Taiwan Air Force and Air Defense Forces won't allow the enemy to provide air control in landing operations. As far as Naval Forces are concerned, the number of capital ships, People's Republic of China based, doesn't two-times exceed the same in

Taiwan, which is deficiently to provide landing operations. Therefore a lot of experts believe that now the power of people's liberation army of China of isn't well enough to guarantee the success of large-scale operations.

As matters stand, the Russian Federation has only economic and cultural relations with Taiwan, excluding interstate ones, as it is mentioned in the presidential edict dated September 15, 1992, that only China and its authority does exist and as for Taiwan it's only plays the part of it. Russia considers the Taiwan problem as the internal matter of China.

Onshore and maritime zone conflicts

In East Asia maritime zones there are a lot of such like problems with over ten states including. There are some contradictions between them: South Kurils (Russia-Japan), Tokdo (Japan-Korea), Senkaku (Japan-China), Paracels (China-Vietnam), Spratly (China-Vietnam-Philippines-Malaysia-Brunei). There are also some problems concerning the Pescadores, Bungurans and some others. The agreement on separation maritime zones in the Bering Strait and the Chukchi Sea has not been ratified yet.

Fig. 1 displays the main contradictions.

Some of the displayed problems are not concerned with Russia directly but some others do implicitly affect our interests. But altogether they have only negative effect on the area stability. There are constantly a lot of debates over the agreement that Russia can not ratify for more than fourteen years time.

In competent authorities opinion, Russia should ratify it and it will be a well-taken step as this agreement plays a small part in the U.S.-Russian relationship.

To solve the problem concerning the delimitation and demarcation of the Russian-Japanese border is much more difficult. There has been a lot debates over this border for more than sixty years now as Japan lays its claim to the South Kurils that have been under the Russian Federation sovereignty since 1946. Japan says that Russia is always breaking a San Francisco peaceful treaty dated 1951 and the Russian-Japan joint declaration, 1956.

The territorial dispute in Russian-Japanese relations is not isolated but closely related to the matter of Japanese-South Korean and Japanese-Chinese relations of the same kind. Nevertheless in 1956 the USSR offered Japan to solve their problem by means of ratification the joint declaration, but developing of the U.S.-Japanese relations, endangering the security of the USSR precluded from it.

The overwhelming majority of experts believe that Japan lays too many claims to the South Kurils and it is a dead-end situation as the Kurils are of paramount importance for the security of the Russian Federation.

It will also bring to the commercial and industrial field a great loss of underground resources which is necessary altogether to the Far East and the Russian Federation as well.

In the military field it will make a gap in the strategic defense of this country. Meanwhile the other side will get a possibility to deeply influence the Russian Federation. Put it otherwise they will fulfill the U.S. plan which America was going to bring into action during the after war settlement in the Far East but failed to do in the view of then realities.

The satisfaction of the Japanese claims will raise the rate of people's out migration from the Far East and is sure to strengthen secession movements.

And still when Japan firmly stands on the side the escalation of problem is unlikely to occur.

The war-making capacity of Japan is not enough to capture these islands and the mechanism of the U.S. involvement has not been arranged yet.

It appears that both countries should carry out a purposeful policy of searching mutually acceptable decisions, both on bilateral and regional levels. In many experts' opinion on regional arena of Russia it is expedient to maintain a comprehensible level of becoming Japan as the regional center, and also to initiate creation of a tripartite forum "Russia-Japan-Peoples Republic of China" as logic addition to existing forums "Russia-USA-Japan" and the "USA-Japan-People's Republics of China," being tools of regional stability. Russia can also play bigger role in formation of collective system of safety

in region, smoothing friction of Japan from the People's Republic of China, both Koreas and ASEAN, based on « the historical past ».

The problem of island shelves in the East-Chinese and Southern-Chinese seas is still difficult to solve during interstate disputes.

The Japan-Korea contradiction concerning islands Tokdo does not carry antagonistic character. As means and methods of its sanction both parties use diplomatic, political and public mechanisms. Armed forces, ways of foreign policy and external economic compulsion are not used. However the problem keeps in itself considerable disputed potential as both parties for all post-war period have never created the base to its civilized settlement. Besides water area Tokdo and the adjoining sea zone are rich with fish resources that play an important role in maintenance of food safety of both countries, and in the long term it is not excluded, that it will be added and by a power component as in the given area the search for shelf oil is being conducted.

It is also necessary to consider, that the territorial question is intertwined by the Korean party in the general outline of colonial history of mutual relations that is perceived with understanding at a national level and provides full national support to the country leaders in upholding the national sovereignty. In this sense the position of the Japanese party is much weaker.

The developed situation round Tokdo islands on key parameters is identical to a problem of northern territories in the Japanese-Russian relations. In this connection attracts attention the fact that in ROK and Russia position there are two similar and important moments in relation to the Japanese territorial claims: both countries actually own territories being challenged by Japan; their belonging is fixed in the international San Francisco contract, 1951, which determined the post-war situation.

The Japanese-Chinese territorial dispute has arisen for the reason that China and Taiwan began to challenge the sovereignty of Japan concerning Senkaku islands. Unlike similar contradictions between Japan and the Russian Federation, and also Japan and ROK, in the Japanese-Chinese dispute, alongside with diplomatic and political means, in 70 - 90th years were used also power methods, including attempts of the armed capture of islands and demonstrative maneuvers of armed forces of the Peoples Republic of China. This circumstance gives the basis to qualify given Chinese-Japanese territorial contradictions as languidly current conflict.

The analysis of evolution of the Chinese-Japanese dispute around of Senkaku islands testifies that a periodic aggravation of this problem, as a rule, was initiated by the Chinese party which used it as the tool of pressure upon Tokyo. The Chinese management during all period from the moment of the announcement of the Senkaku claims constantly and rigidly protests against any sovereign actions of the Japanese party concerning Senkaku. In return Tokyo with the same constancy tries to level contradictions and shows a priority of mutual relations before the postponed problems to similarly how it is done by the Russian party

concerning the Japanese claims.

With the big share of confidence it is possible to assume also, that the basic loading in demonstration of the rights of China to these islands will lay on the nationalist organizations similar to the Organization of the democratically adjusted Chinese in the USA. However, as it is represented, Beijing will periodically use problem of Senkaku in the interests for reception of political and economic advantages in attitudes with Japan, in particular, in a question on reception of Japan in constant members of Security Council of the United Nations, one of which conditions is absence of territorial disputes between its members.

It is important to emphasize the following. The territorial North-East Asia problems depending on their condition, can bring to nothing all efforts on creation of regional system of safety, therefore their sanction should become one of priorities in foreign policy of the corresponding states. Problems of differentiation between Japan on the one hand and Russia, ROK and China – with another, have among themselves strong internal interrelation that causes development of uniform principles and approaches in the sanction of available problems.

In South China Sea disputes have especially become aggravated after acceptance of the People's Republic of China of the Law on the territorial sea and contiguous zones. It says the People's Republic of China has proclaimed the sovereignty almost above all water area of the South China Sea, proving it by the principle of the natural continuation of continent under sea waters. Claims of the People's Republic of China have extended on extensive areas of a continental shelf of South China Sea. Thus removal of border of these possession from the coast of China in some cases reaches 800 sea miles (almost 1,5 thousand km), and the total area of the water areas falling under positions of the given law, makes 3 million square km from which, in opinion of Beijing, nearby 1 million are illegally maintained by other countries. We shall consider the cores from these claims.

The Pescadores and Pratas islands and water areas belonging to them practically always were under the control of Taiwan, irrespective of who operated it. Therefore the problem of their accessory to continental China what Beijing constantly declares, most likely, will be solved within the limits of development of the general situation around Taiwan.

The Paracels islands in XIX century were included into a zone of the French Indochina. After finding of independence by Vietnam and divisions of the country into two states management of them was reserved by Southern Vietnam. However before the crash of the Saigon mode, 1974, using that to Southern Vietnam was not these removed islands, military divisions of the People's Republic of China have borrowed practically all the Paracels. The authority of Northern Vietnam in conditions of a concentration of forces on end of military actions in the south of the country and association of both parts of the state, didn't dare to the direct military conflict with China because of these islands. Hanoi then was limited that also landed divisions of the armies on one of them and has taken under the control some nearby islands on which there were Chinese people. In the further Vietnam qualified the given

action of China as their states illegal and encroaching on legitimate rights to own the Paracels. Opposition in this question has poured out in 1988 in a short-term armed conflict of China with Vietnam in area of the given islands as a result of which Chinese people established the full control over all Paracels.

Possibly, on foreseeable prospect it is possible to consider a question on an accessory of the Paracel islands solved in favour of the People's Republic of China. Prospects for their returning to Vietnam without improbable intervention of the international community in a context of attempt to put an end to disputes for islands in The South China Sea are not practically looked through, that is why serious aggravation of a situation around these islands and furthermore occurrence of the conflict because of the dispute on their accessory shouldn't be expected.

The Spratly islands on number of the countries involved in dispute around them remain the largest territorial contradiction in East Asia. It was consequence of that the legal status of area of their location, representing a congestion of several hundreds fine islands, uninhabited rocks, atolls and the reeves quite often leaving under water at inflow, and even shallows, was not determined at once. Therefore the nearby states which are traditionally carried out there a sea craft, formally did not break any laws and did not restrain anybody's rights either, at least, in its central and eastern part.

On navigation charts this area borrowing 300 thousand square km water area, is designated only as dangerous to navigation. However with the introduction of 200-mile exclusive economic zones the part of islands, atolls and reeves of this area has appeared within the limits of corresponding zones of the Philippines and Malaysia (in Brunei zone of such like objects are absent). And as the substantiation of the rights to expand the limits of a continental shelf over 200 miles of the country of pool of South China Sea were not submitted to the special Commission of the United Nations for consideration, the water area outside the specified limits is the high sea.

The status of the high sea means the equal rights of all countries to its usage and does not allow to distribute the sovereignty to any states and its parts. Therefore the location of military garrisons can be qualified as rough infringement of international law.

According to the recent data the greatest quantity of geographical items in all specified zone borrows Vietnam - 24; China masters - 9 (on other sources - 21); Philippines - 8, and Malaysia - 6 (on other data, both countries on 9); Taiwan owns one island. From this quantity, in an exclusive economic zone of Philippines were included about 10 Vietnamese and Chinese objects. In Malaysia zone there are no any foreign objects. In the open part of the sea there are some objects of Vietnam, China and Philippines, and also the island belonged to Taiwan.

The development of the situation around the Spratly islands sharply aggravated adopting a new Law by China, 1992, on the territorial sea and a contiguous zone.

In return the states ASEAN have not recognized acts of the Peoples Republic of China

concerning legally proved South China Sea. They insist that the Spratly islands should get an international a-legal status, by the way, as well as Paracel islands. The sovereignty of China above these islands is not recognized by them. However Chinese people continued landing the civil and military personnel in a number of items of the Spratly islands, began there various purpose constructions and the realization of economic activities, including in cooperation with the American oil corporations, and also began to interfere with navigation of courts and flights of aircraft of other countries near such items. All this has caused strong protests of some countries of the region and growth in them suspicions concerning the further intentions of the Peoples Republic of China.

Indoubtedly, in a basis of collision of interests of the countries involved in the dispute for the Spratly islands, first of all there are economic interests. First, in this area greater deposits of oil and natural gas are assumed, the reality of that proves to be true by their extraction on a shelf. Secondly, this area is rather rich with fish and seafood. Thirdly, the sea ways pass here on which up to 30-40 % of freight traffic of World Sea transportations turn around.

Besides in a number of the works, devoted to disputes around the Spratly islands, their important geostrategic position is marked. It is emphasized, that the arrangement of the given islands in an average part of South China Sea does their convenient for control of navigation in this sea and air ways above it. Therefore the country which has created on them naval bases and air stations can effectively break the communications passing on this sea. Theoretically it is really so, however, by more detailed consideration of the specified thesis, especially in a binding to the certain countries, the similar prospect can be considered only concerning the unique country - China.

China by its actions in it and other areas, and especially by officially declared claims on various island and other boundary territories, promotes strengthening of the countries region opinion on the aspiration to use this potential of the islands.

By existing estimations, considerable forces on the borrowed islands Vietnam also contains. It explains it necessity of protection of the big number of mastered geographical items for this zone, and also finding Chinese people on the nearby islands. By China and Vietnam example in aspiration to protect the possession in this conflict area Philippines and Malaysia also placed there the military contingents. There are armed security forces and on the Itu-Abu island, Taiwan.

All the specified states explain these steps by the interests of protection of the possession, protection of the constructions erected on them and safety of citizens being there. However growing militarization of this zone in conditions of continuation of disputes for the right of possession those or other islands, atolls and reeves is potential threat of armed clashes, their developments into the conflicts, capable to extend as on structure of participants and their number, and on size of space covered by them.

Indoubtedly, the attention of the region countries to the given area is dictated, first of all, by the increase of needs for the power resources providing rise of their national economy.

Therefore the control over its water area would promote greater efficiency of protection of its sea communications, and also would raise the reliability of protection of the sea boundaries about which Chinese soldiers are constantly speaking.

In such conditions the expansion of the People's Republic of China on the southern sea direction for the country leaders has got the status of one of the priority and long-term strategic problems.

Certainly, the role of China in aggravation of this situation on an accessory of islands in the South China Sea problem is really vital.

Nevertheless, the ASEAN countries show aspiration to find the way of solving the problem by multilateral consultations on the specified problem in conjunction China. However Beijing does everything to avoid internationalization of such negotiations and not to admit to participate in them the countries which have not been directly involved in this conflict, first of all Japan and the USA, to minimize the coordinated pressure from their side.

And still, despite the resistance of Beijing, the ASEAN states managed to place the given problem for consideration at a common regional level. The situation around of islands of the South China Sea became a subject of regular discussion at sessions of ARF. As a result of a series of such discussions of the country ASEAN have agreed with expediency of acceptance of a certain code, as it has been realized in November, 2002, Phnom-Penh, by signing the Declaration on activity principles in the South China Sea in which China managed to substantially impose its own position to the ASEAN countries.

The international tension in South China Sea renders destabilizing influence on all the conditions in South Asia. And it is sure to cause steadfast attention to the situation development there from other influential states of a region, first of all Japan and the USA. If to speak about Japan it speaks for the affirmative settlement of territorial dispute and for the status quo in the South China Sea. The United States America in this question have taken a neutral position and do not support territorial claims in any of the parties, using it for strengthening their own positions in South Asia.

Besides practically all ASEAN countries aspire to keep military presence of the USA at a zone of the South China Sea, because of the fear connected with growth of military power of the Peoples Republic of China and bellicose statements of its authorities. The majority of the countries of this region which can provide repairing, material and rear maintenance of the American ships and planes in some ports and air stations without transformation their military bases into the USA ones can serve as a good illustration to it.

Russia is not directly involved in these disputes, but the problem concerns it in connection with the activity of the joint enterprises there with the participation of the Russian capital and general threat to the stability in this region.

For the last years the islands situation has not become aggravated. It was promoted by the work of ARF led to the adapting of the documents, being some kind of the code of behaviour on the disputable islands signed at bilateral and multilateral levels. As a whole, the desire to

keep “status quo” in this question, at least, at a current stage is observed. It is necessary to stress, that now this problem loses attention to itself, giving up the place to exist to some problems of struggle against terrorism in this region.

Terrorism and antiterrorist struggle in the region

We have already mentioned above that terrorism became a long-term factor of a modern life almost in all regions of the world. In East Asia its activity and the international character are marked in a south-eastern part. In opinion of the western analysts and experts, South-East Asia is becoming the second front of struggle against this threat after the Middle East.

It is possible to consider the South-Eastern region as one of most charismatic regions of world economic globalization in which its positive and negative features were brightly showed. Fast development of the states of the region volumetric investments into their economy from the western states, basically have provided by the USA, Japan and South Korea. However its purpose was not rise the economy of the South-Eastern countries, liquidation of their backwardness and poverty, but solving their own problems – new markets development and getting maximal profit.

However such policy of investors in the countries with a greater level of poverty and with unstable state structures has sharply strengthened differentiation of their civil society, has led to splash in corruption and to a deepening of poverty of greater layers of the population. A negative role in this plan has also played great Asian crisis, 1997, which has been substantially initiated by the self-interested economic policy of the western corporations.

Owing to it the South-Eastern countries hardly experience the dynamism lost by them. It complicates the political situation in the given states that, naturally, not only weakens operating institutes of authority, but also creates preconditions for operation by political extremists of inability for supervising national political and economic elites to be entered in frameworks of the modern world. Therefore the economic situation which has developed in a number of the South-Eastern states has affected expansion of a social base of terrorism which basis is made, as is known, by the poorest layers of the population. In other words, such position was one of the negative consequences of the globalization in the South-Eastern region.

Other important reason led to the activization of terrorism in the South-Eastern region, is the USA incorrect policy in the region. Displaying by the Americans of great-power snobbery and the national-state egoism with elements of neglect interests of other countries has entailed a number of basic mistakes to which it is possible to devote the following.

1. following a policy on globalization of economy of the states of Southeast Asia, pouring in investments and giving credits, and, also, creating political and economic preconditions of penetration on markets of the South-Eastern corporations, the USA have caused toughening of a competition which local firms can not sustain, why they began going bankrupt.

2. Using double standards by a principle of terrorists division into “good” and “bad,” the

USA not only promoted “education” of the whole generations of terrorists in some South-Eastern countries, but also promoted the statement in the certain circles of a society, that the terrorism was one of attributes of modern political strike.

3. The processes of globalization in the South-Eastern region were accompanied by the intensive propagation of the western way of life and attempts to modernize the public way of the Muslim states of the region using Turkish sample. And it should cause the negative reaction, especially from less enlightened layers of the population that is its poorest part.

4. Globalization is accompanied by an aggravation of struggle for the raw material markets and the ways of its transportation which basically belong to the Islamic countries. The basic initiator of this struggle is the USA which try to cover it with a struggle against international terrorism. Considering, that in the South-Eastern region there is the largest Islamic power – Indonesia, and also the economic leader of the modern Islamic world – Malaysia, the occurring events in the Islamic world, find the reflection in the South-Eastern region and, in particular, in growth of discontent by position of Moslems in the world community. Besides the recently occurred processes of democratization in the Islamic states of the South-Eastern region, have put forward new leaders who openly declare the aversion to terrorism, persistently say about a plot against Muslim belief of the western Christian world. The plot is headed by the USA.

5. Splash of terrorism in the South-Eastern region is also promoted by loss of belief in the guarantor of stability which role the USA aspire to play because of what they are not succeeded in becoming the moral leader in the eye of South-Eastern region countries in struggle against terrorism.

The basic purpose of the South-Eastern region international terrorist organizations is to create a Pan-Muslim state in territories of modern Indonesia, Malaysia and Philippines. To the basic terrorist organizations pursuing these purposes and having close communications with the terrorist organizations, operating in other parts of the world, first of all, it is necessary to say about Jamaa al Islamia (Indonesia) and Abu Sayaf (Philippines). In spring, 2004, the Philippines have declared existence of a new terrorist grouping the yellow-red overseas organization, menacing by attacks of representations and objects of the countries which government support the USA actions in Iraq. Except for specified groups in the Southeast Asia region there are also another separative terrorist groups setting the purpose to capture the authority in separate regions of Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand.

The characteristic feature of terrorism in the South-East Asia region becomes the usage of the piracy name sea terrorism. There is a strengthening communications of the terrorist organizations with pirates because of the big profitableness of a piracy that gives means for expansion of activity of the terrorist organizations. The pirates are also used to deliver weapons to terrorists. Besides in opinion of some experts, at similar interaction it is possible to capture a vessel transporting a dangerous cargo, and to transport it to one of the ports with the purpose to get the repayment or performance of political requirements by threat of

creation of ecological accident, for example, at explosion of such a vessel.

As a whole, the South-East Asia and Asian-Pacific region countries give a close attention to struggle against terrorism and a piracy. They have declared struggle against the international terrorism adherence right after the September, 11th, 2001, events. In Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Philippines many terrorists were arrested, in Malaysia they created a Regional antiterrorist center where we can see a lot of countries of the region, at ARF sessions they adapted the Declaration on financial measures of terrorism counteraction (2002) and the ARF Application on counterterrorist cooperation in the field of borders safety (2003). They signed the Declarations with the USA, Russia and China on cooperation in the field of safety and struggle against terrorism.

As for piracy in October, 1992 was created the Regional center on piracy problems (subsequently the Analytical center on piracy problem) with the help of the International sea bureau of the International chamber of commerce at support of the International sea organization of the United Nations in Malaysia. It carries out gathering and the analysis of the information on a global scale, it is also engaged in searching lost courts, achieving punishment of criminals and returning cargoes to its owners; carries out the day and night notification of courts about attacks of pirates and is engaged in the rendering any sort of aid to the suffered courts.

As one of the regional leaders Japan renders to the South-East countries the greatest aid in a struggle against piracy, being the largest navigable power of the world, besides rather dependent on maritime traffic. In October, 1987 the Japanese Institute of defensive researches the concept of peacekeeping in the ocean sphere had been offered. It covered the questions of struggle against a piracy. Japan many times offered and sent the ships of forces of a coast guard for joint patrolling of the international passages zones.

Undoubtedly America reserves the traditional influence on all processes in the sphere of safety in the region. Their efforts also affect the struggle against piracy that promoted the advanced presence of the Navies of the USA. So, recently American 7-th fleets together with the Indian ships have begun joint patrolling a northwest part of Malacca strait. Delhi subsequently intends to have a constant group of the ships in the Andaman Sea.

All this speaks that the problem of a piracy remains to one of the actual aspects influencing trading navigation in the South-East Asia and conditions of the regional safety. Successful counteraction and struggle against a piracy today are simply impossible without development of regional cooperation and coordination of efforts of the international community. The even greater urgency to a problem of struggle against a piracy is given with its potentially possible interrelation with the international terrorism.

Summing up the analysis of the regional problems, it is necessary to stress, that externally stable conditions in the South-East region has preconditions for occurrence of regional and international conflicts which can result not only in an aggravation of all international situation, but also to the loss of independence by some states of the region.

In these conditions Russia at realization of the policy directed on formation of the multipolar world should follow all means to promote strengthening of a role and value in the international affairs of regional organizations of the Asian-Pacific region, first of all ASEAN, promoting elimination of internal contradictions and its unity strengthening of.

In interests of counteraction to the international terrorist organizations operating in the territory of Russia, it is necessary to establish active interaction and information interchange of special services of the Russian Federation with Regional antiterrorist center ASEAN, and also between the latter and the Regional antiterrorist structure of the Shanghai organization of cooperation. Besides there are some opportunities to sign between a corresponding cooperation contract between ASEAN and Russia.

The successful solving the problems of neutralization of the international terrorism, proliferation of the nuclear weapons and rocket technologies, illegal traffic in arms and military technologies, drugs, illegal migration is possible only on a multilateral basis. These and other problems are feasible to only common regional system of the safety including the basic regional actors.

2.3. Correlation of national interests of states of APR and means of its providing

National interests of Russia in the Far East

Strategic interests of Russia in APR - maintenance of stability and dynamical economic growth, maintenance of favorable conditions for carrying out the internal transformations, development of integration processes on principles of equality and openness. To realize these objects Russia is measured to bilaterally and multilaterally cooperate with all the Asian-Pacific region states such as Japan, the USA and China. Due to constructive participation in the developed regional integration processes Russia has got an opportunity to realize one of the key interests - creation of favorable external conditions for social and economic development of the country, first of all areas of Siberia and the Far East.

Many Russian experts consider that the occurrence system of collective safety in APR with rigid hierarchical structure is improbable. Therefore there are the following directions in the focus of the Russian strategy on creation regional modes of safety:

- adjustment multilateral advisory-negotiating process with the usage of trunk-call structures available and the developed military-political infrastructure;

- development of mutual relations with the APR countries in the field of strengthening regional safety and stability, including military-technical cooperation with the countries of the region.

- development of structures of safety within the limits of existing regional associations - ARF, APEC, East Asia Union and others;

- maintenance of interests of Russia on the Korean peninsula: active adjustment of attitudes

with the North and the South;

participation in solving North-Korean nuclear problem;

development of military-political measures of trust in the APR;

promotion of the Russian initiatives about the codification of norms and rules of arms traffic in the region, about the creation of the preventive centers of diplomacy and conflicts;

activization of a role of Russia in settlement of regional conflicts and territorial disputes.

The most perspective forms of the Russian participation in the regional modes of safety construction are strengthening a mode of nuclear non-proliferation and multilateral consulting mechanisms; maintenance of military presence in APR, first of all naval; development of mutual relations in the field of safety, and also military-technical cooperation.

The maintenance of the state sovereignty, integrity of the country, overcoming collapsing tendencies are now vital for Russia. Threats to Russia safety can arise in case of infringement of its territorial integrity or serious easing of communications of east part of the country with the Center. Gradually under the reduce population of east regions without essential support from the state, Russian can lose positions of the main productive force of the Russian Far East and be dissolved in representatives of the countries actively adjoining here. It threatens not only cultural-national originality of people living here, but also transformation of the given region into a raw appendage of the next states.

Besides when solving Russia it is necessary to carry out an extreme care to problems of differentiation with Japan. Essential change of policy of Russia in this area as a result of a withdrawal from the present basic and objectively caused position can not only cause serious damage of its own safety, but as a whole provoke an aggravation of territorial questions in the region.

For good safety and stability to the adjoining to the Far East borders Russia gives special attention:

- to maintenance stable, balanced attitudes with each of the states of East Asia on principles of freedom of a choice and good neighbourhood, and to preserve in the near future prospects of the status quo with gradual expansion of its own influence on the region business;

- to operative reaction to the partners-contenders behaviour, searching and getting new strategic partners to long-term prospect, to the solving of current and long-term problems by joint realization of the conterminous interests;

- to maintenance of understanding and respect of national interests of Russia, propagation of its constructive role at the solving of East Asia problems, to washing out an image of Russia as the country bearing threat to people of the next states.

As one of the effective and perspective methods of problems solving facing the state on East direction and strengthening the role of Russia in APR affairs can serve the participation of our state in activity of the large multilateral associations capable in a complex to solve

regional problems.

Basis for development of criteria of conformity or discrepancy to the Russian interests of system of safety which can be created in APR is the Concept of national safety of the Russian Federation. The greatest importance is represented with a conclusion containing that threat of large-scale aggression against Russia in the foreseeable future practically is absent owing to what the main threats of its safety lay in internal political, economic, social and spiritual spheres. From here follows, that the basic interest of Russia in the regional system of safety is neutralization of threats not only in defensive sphere, but also in other areas.

It is also fixed in the concept of national safety that the most comprehensible to Russia is the multilateral model of system of safety in APR, and even is spoken about necessity of efforts escalating on creation of the multilateral structures providing cooperation in the sphere of international safety in APR. It is obvious, that at present position of Russia, especially in the Far East, the presence of system of regional safety, based on a principle of equality, would be in the maximal degree equitable to the interests of the Russian Federation, promoting formation of the multipolar world and the statement of Russia as one of its influential centers, and also to the development of equal right partnership with other great powers.

In this year, graphically demonstrating the goodwill in respect of subregion Russia joined Treaty of friendship and cooperation in South-East Asia, one of the background regional legal acts, in which on a par with ASEAN countries also China, India, Japan, South Korea, Pakistan, New Zealand and Mongolia participate.

The first-ever meeting of the Russian president Vladimir Putin with leaders of the South-East Asia member countries took place in capital of Malaysia Kuala-Lumpure in 2005. All more obviously, that ASEAN is not the only main integration centre in APR, but also pivotal element of the broader interaction in the region. The association serves as the kernel of such influential associations as regional safety forum ASEAN, cooperation dialogue in Asia, forum "Asia-Europe." Namely, this association gives tone in East-Asian community, its shaping was declared in Kuala-Lumpure.

The joint political declaration of the summit reflects readiness of Russia and ASEAN to the further deepening of partnership, commonality of the interests and similarity of attitudes of solving global and regional problems. The concrete measures on moving the relationships to Russia with association in fight with international terrorism and transnational crimes, as well as in trade-economic area are provided in comprehensive program its cooperation with ASEAN for a period up to 2015. All this is indicative that the partnership between Russia and ASEAN becomes the influential factor of ensuring the peace and stability in APR.

The special role in political integration in APR belongs to such inter-state institution as ARF, which remains today the single universal instrument all-regional political dialogue. It covers the whole spectrum of the actual questions of the peacekeeping, safety and stability in Asia. Over ten years of its existence, it changed in authoritative international forum, which

has an important stabilizing effect on political processes in region. The 12-th ARF session, which took place in July 2005 in Vientiane (Laos), has supported all more raised orientation of the forum on consolidation of force in fight with such new challenges as international terrorism, as spreading the weapon of the mass destruction and others. The acknowledgement of that - accepted during the sessions "Statement of ARF on questions of the exchange operative-reconnaissance information and protection documents that certify the personality." It became the next contribution of APR on anti-terrorist war. The important result of the meeting of foreign ARF secretaries was the decision in support of the offer of Russia, the aim of this offer is a shaping in Asia the system of the integrated forecasting, warning and disaster control.

The APEC, in which Russia takes part, is the second perspective direction of its activity. APEC also gives Russia a possibility to act in many-sided format, to increase the cooperation in shaping of stable equal trade-economic system in region and in decision of the most vexed regional and worldwide problems, as well as to assist the own social-economic development. The proof of the efficiency of such line can serve the results, that were made in intermediate review result of APEC activity for the last ten years, as well as following the results of consideration of the individual plan action of Russia in APEC: there is a high estimation of the dynamics of the Russian economic development, scales and efficiency of conducted beside us economic transformations.

The participation of Russia in the forum is supported more and more actively by concrete actions that promote the growing of its authority in APEC. The main spheres of cooperative force exertion, where Russia can play the important role is the transport constituent of export relations, which is a base of the development of trade and economy. In September 2005 thanks to Russian Ministry of Transport with co-ordination of Russian MFA in Vladivostok was organized the meeting of the APEC working group on the question of transport, which accented during the forum such questions as safety transportation of the people and cargo, reduction of the bad influence of the transport over the environment, introduction of the high technology. This meeting is effectively used by Russian participants and for demonstrative showing of the Russian possibilities in provision of the transit transport corridor in region.

First of all Russia pays attention to the energy segment of the APEC activity. In 2005, Russia successfully realized one of the APEC projects, which involved the improvement of the economy energy efficiency. The digital economy is being developed; this area of the regional interaction previously did not associate with the Russian possibilities. There are some results: the forum has approved the financing of the Russian project of the using the best practice in 2006, which was collected by the economists in the several areas of the electronic trade. The Russian initiative of the all-region level works - "The APEC dialogue about the shaping of the providential conditions for development of the market nonferrous metals," where Russia is the founder and co-chairman. The positive assessment of the Dialogue working was given in total documents of the APEC ministers of trade meeting in

June.

In accordance with the reality of 21st century Russia agrees the further consideration of the problems in sphere of safety in APEC agenda: the reluctances to the international terrorism and strengthening of the safety in sphere of the trade, as well as the creation of the new spheres of the interaction - the fight with corruption, the natural and technogenic catastrophes reactions, cultural cooperation and others.

On the other hand, it serves for the strengthening of Russian positions in Asia and for the use of the multilateral cooperation possibilities for problems solving in the region of the social-economic policy and safety problems, including the fight against the terrorism.

Of course, the Russian participation in Asiatic-pacific integration processes is not limited by the work in the mentioned forums. The development of the manysided diplomacy in APR does not lag behind, but in restrained terms it overtakes the similar processes in the other region of the world. There are some such forums with Russian participation as "Dialogue on cooperation in Asia" (DCA), the conference on the measures of the confidence and cooperation in Asia (CMCCA) and many others. The bilateral constraint of Russia with Asia and Pacific region countries - China, India, Japan and others play the great role in the supporting of the all-region and national interests.

The great importance for the success of the Russian policy in APR has the support on the part of the different Russian nongovernmental organizations, that acting in the direction of the development of the bilateral and manysided cooperation in region. The public diplomacy remains the most important policy resource in national interests. For example – the activity of the Russian national committee on pacific economical cooperation. This committee presents Russia in such important regional as the pacific economic council and council on pacific economic cooperation. This committee realizes the active exchanges in the area of the Association of the regional administrations in the North-East Asia countries.

The business circles play the greater role in the activity of these nongovernmental organizations. The involvement of the "public diplomacy" and representatives of the business-community in integration force in APR opens the new possibilities for organic Russian joining in dynamic process of the creation of the all-region relationships.

In such a way the safety, stability and development – these are three aims of the Russian policy in one of the most perspective region in the 21st century. However, in any situation the interests of Russia in APR are understood only in close coordination with its trans-Eurasian interests, with the interests of the Eurasian system of safety and development creation, which was built on the principle of the strategic partnership.

Russia is against the creation of the secluded military-political alliances in the region, preferring the improvement of the instruments of the talk's diplomacy in the arrangement of regional conflicts as a counter to the joint forced intrusion methods that are typical for the multilateral structures such as NATO.

The creation of the efficient multilateral safety system in APR is very important for Russia.

The principle of the variety during the creation of the new safety structure allows avoiding the appearance of a monopolist in the region of the decision making and determination of the course of the development, equalizing the rights and duties of all its members.

The USA positions and interests in East Asia

The USA positions in East Asia are traditionally stable, but the interests are with many plans. With that Washington realize the increasing of the role of other leading countries in this region (primarily China and Japan), as well as the role of the regional organizations (first of all ASEAN, regional forums (APEC, ARF) and the new regional institute of the cooperation (ASEAN + China) in the creation of the processes, that take place both in region, and in world community in whole. That is why the preservation of the leading role and supporting of the American interests in East Asia is the important comprise of the strengthening of their global leadership. It is explained the USA ambition for the broad involvement in the main deals of the region.

Yet the main attention Washington concentrates on the relations with such country as Japan, China and Russia, as well as on the checking of the situations in Korean peninsula and around Taiwan. Besides, USA takes interest in the development of the cooperation with ASEAN countries. The USA leadership understands that these countries have the property to influence on the accomplishment amount of the American interests in East Asia. Except that these possibilities will increase and therefore in case of disadvantage for USA, the serious threat for their interests can appear in region.

USA acknowledges that the fight for leadership grows in East Asia, and Washington suggests that the pretenders are China and less Japan. Such fight sharpens international contradictions in the region, first of economic and political, as well as the territorial disputes. Such trends intensify the ice jam in several countries, which is aligned with activation of the separatism and terrorism. It constitutes a menace for their national wholeness. All this is capable to destabilize the situation in the region and negatively influence on the international situation in whole.

That is why the foreign-policy strategy of Washington in East Asia will pursue the aim of the preservation there unconditional USA leadership. According to the opinion of the American administration and its analysts, the main problem will be in account with the paces of the economic development and perspectives of the countries as China and Japan. Hence, namely the Chinese and Japanese directions of the USA foreign policy efforts will remain as the main directions in the near future.

Washington obtains the preservation of the leadership, using the historical disunity of the East Asia countries. They will continue the support of the conditions, when for the countries of this region the firm pillars with USA are preferential than with each other. This will create the permanent demand for the American presence in the region for “maintenances of the stability,” providing in the same way the control of the development of the regional situation

and preservation of the possibilities to work upon it.

The military presence will remain the cornerstone of the Asiatic USA policy. At the same time, the American leadership declares that in present-day conditions, the presence of their Army does not provide the neutralization of all the calls in East Asia and APR in political and economic spheres and it is unable to remain the exclusive guarantor of the safety. That is why USA wants to replace the part of the military functions on the allies in the region, keeping the control over the expansion of their military power. The call of the USA for a regional military-political alliance similar to NATO is designed to achieve this goal, as was mentioned earlier. In whole, the structure of the power of the USA Army group in the region is defined today by the need of the preservation of the ground-based contingent, which is oriented on the combat actions in Korean peninsula. It is also defined by the creation on the base of available Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps, joined operative units that are capable to control the situation in Taiwanese strait and in the other sea zones of the region.

After September 11, 2001 the main emphasis in American military strategy is placed on the reconnaissance work with the corresponding services of Asiatic countries and on decision of the transnational safety problems (such as the drug and human traffic, as well as the money laundering), which are considered to be connected with the activity of the terrorist groups. Though a lot of the regional USA allies approve their activity, its tight directivity on the anti-terrorist actions and on the stabilization of the flash points can pass off the broad problems of safety sector reformation.

USA suggests that it is also necessary to have the property of the advance recreation of the military potential in Pacific Ocean in case of second birth of the threat on the part of China or Russia. The groups of the forward presence and the possibilities of the strategic transfers of force allow them to provide the potential of the crisis reaction and preemptive operative deployment in any crisis region. The preservation of the American Japanese and American Korean alliances also promotes that and ambition for involving of other East Asia countries in the military cooperation with USA, orientating them on regional order under the aegis of America. In principle, it solves the problem of the permanent preservation of the American military dominating in the region.

In spite of several significant divergences between Moscow and Washington on some foundational international problems Russia takes into account that objective USA is one of the key persons in APR. That is why the interaction with USA at decision of the regional safety problems both traditional and unconventional, both on double-sided level and within the frame of many-sided organizations is one of the important directions of the foreign-policy activity of Russia.

The interests of China and its role in East Asia

China is a large continental and sea country, which holds a comfortable geographical position in the region. It defines the influence of Chinese military-strategic factor in East Asia.

According to authoritative Russian experts the nature of the economic transformations, that are realized in China, and teleological under development and carried out foreign-policy strategy are targeted on the correcting of the rules of the world system activity and on the creation of the huge zone of “close interaction with China” on perimeter of the country. It wholly can greatly correct or completely transform the system of the international and regional relations. It is clear that it will take much time for this transformation and it will be subject to many conditions. However today such trend is not seemed incredible, as it was ten years ago.

According to several analysts, China pursues the following strategic objectives, realizing the transformation of the regional system of the relations:

- The absolute acknowledgment by the world community of the territorial integrity of China (Taiwan, Tibet, Siniczyan);

- The international acknowledgment of the exclusive rights PRC in water area of South-Chinese Sea;

- The accomplishment of the dominating influences in SOUTH-EAST Asia;

- The acceptable for China decisions of the territorial questions with nearby countries;

- The support of the nearby countries on the subject of Chinese positions in dispute with USA and West in whole;

- The actual acknowledgment of the “exclusive relations” between PRC and Mongolia;

- The actual “exclusive position” in Central Asia; the refusal of the other countries from participation in anti- Chinese coalitions and from military opposition to China;

- The realization by other countries trade-investment policy, which is friendly for China;

- the acknowledgment of the Chinese leading role in the region, which is expressed in the form of the not-formal, but factual obligatory, consultations with Peking before making the important foreign-policy decisions;

- The readiness of the other countries to accept the Chinese immigrants;

- The supporting of the exclusive rights of Chinese minorities abroad and acknowledgment of the Peking right on their protection;

The question about ,in what degree these strategic priorities of China will have influence not only on regional, but also on global level of the international relations, is for the moment opened. It is the meaning of the debates about the new role of China, about its “possible leadership” in international community. It is clear that the Chinese purposes are more

ambitious, than the purposes of “the simple” regional leader.

The China created now such reserve, which cannot be reached by any regional country. However, it acted correctly and has not caused the open opposition of the other countries - a creation of anti- Chinese coalition. In spite of the fact that many west analysts still call in question the capability of China to be a regional leader, but today it is clear that there is no a strategic decision, which can be effectively realized in the region without the informal approbation of China.

The long-term PRC strategy results from the interests of the economic recovery of the country, and the military construction is subordinated to its decision. However, the Chinese political analysts express the doubt in the priority of these interests over the safety support interests of the country. They raise a question about the redistribution of the priorities in the military construction and about the appearance of the new aims in the area of military-strategic planning.

They formulate this problem enlarged: to put the military strategy on the service of the economic and political interests of the country, the interests of the improvement of the state power, of the role and PRC importance not only in region (on present stage of the country development), but also in global plan (on the following stage). According to their opinion, it requires the strengthening of the PRC military-political influence and military-strategic position in East Asia, including its sea areas of water, because the economic development is accompanied by the growth of the need in raw materials resources and by the dependence from their import.

The origin of the threat for its interests is geared in PRC, first, to the countries, that are capable to disturb the accomplishment of their aims. They are Taiwan and countries (first of all USA), that support the Taiwan ambition for the independence, also the countries that are pretending on the islands and sea areas of water in East Asia, which China considers as their own. The threats for its interests, according to Peking, are also the possible aggravation of the situation on Korean peninsula, the separative movements in Xinjiang Uygur and Tibet autonomous regions and other movements of the national minorities; especially in the event of support them from outside.

Today the former Peking confrontation with the other countries on ideological motives was converted to the pragmatic orientations on the economical support of the country. In practice, it means the change of the military-strategic vector from northwest direction to southeast. That is why the earlier “land” China became the sea power.

The Factor of such vector change of the PRC military strategy is important for Russia, because it requires the strong rear area and friend neighbor, with which China needs to co-operate in that condition. It is explained the ambition of Peking to settle a disputable query with Moscow, the signing in 2001 “the agreement on neighborliness, friendship and cooperation between RF and PRC.” This agreement involved the strategic partnership between countries, as well as its active work in Shanghai organization on cooperation. This

work directed on support of the stability in Central Asia.

According to the academician M. L. Titarenko, it is not deniable that “it is naive to predict the absolute serenity for the process of the Russian Chinese strategic partnership activity. The national interests, as well as all positions of two countries cannot coincide always and in all things. The mutual relations between Russia and China must be defined on the necessities of life on double-sided level in regional and world policy but not on local divergences.”

Only “if the absolute or partial rationalization of the policy happens in the area of the country safety in the region, Russia will have to consider the region as the potential source of the ethnic conflicts, the border disputes and the general military-political instability.” That is why the strategic partnership between Russia and China in the context of the common cooperation structure is a guarantor to their safety. The breakdown of the cooperation between them can change Russian policy in the east.

The national interests and policy of Japan. The foreign policy motives of the Japanese policy transformation in safety sphere

The support of the safety is considered in Japan taking into account the influence of three main factors: the continuation of the activity of the double-sided American Japanese safety agreement; of many-sided interstate game, in which anyway participate all countries of the East Asia region; of the own national policy in the area of the military construction.

The Japanese experts separate the formulated in “Four-year review of defense policy 2001.” (QDR-2001) standpoint of USA DoD in reference to “arc of instability,” which is spreading from Near to FAR EAST; as well as about the possible large-scale military-political opposition in APR, about the appearance of “the military rival with gigantic resource base” here. They pay attention on two aspects that define the dynamics of the situation development in the region and touch upon subject on the safety support of Japan.

First, it is noted the presence of the several conflict zones of the regional scale, where is not excluded the arising of the armed conflict, in which all main participants in the game in APR can be involved. The question is, first of all, about situations on Korean peninsula, in Taiwanese strait, in East Timor, in zone of the SOUTH-EAST Asia (SEA). Secondly, the Japanese experts gear the safety calls in APR to the threats of the local character. They are conditioned by the mutual suspicions in reference to the aims of the military construction, by activation of the local nationalism, by the interethnic conflicts, by use of the terrorist methods of the fight, by the drug industry enlargement in purpose of getting the financial resource, by the growing of the acts of piracy.

Many analysts in Japan note the retardation of the international safety systems in APR. The pessimistic assessment of the potential existing in the region “institutes on mitigation and regulation of the appearing conflicts” is widely used. As a rule, it is conditioned by comparison of the situations in APR and Europe.

In Asia, there is a watchful attitude to the strengthening of the PRC military-political

power and, as effect, “the attempts to balance” this power. Among the countries, which military construction aims to this balance are mentioned India, ASEAN countries and Japan. The APR leading countries pay the special attention to the modernizations of their Air Force and Navy. It is geared to be outside of the fight for the control over South-Chinese sea, as well as over the extremely important Malaysian and Taiwanese straits, where is situated the main oil and condensed gas traffic from zone of the Persian bay.

As concerns the facts, that influence positive on the development of the situation in region, the Japanese experts point the “critical importance” of the American involvement in deals of APR. They point at the special activation of the regional interstate institutes (in pessimistic estimating of their possibilities). In particular, the essential progress was noted on the 7-th annual conference of the ARF in the interstate dialogue on the subject of the regional safety and in the realization of the concept, which was offered by the ARF, of the three-stage reaction process on potential conflict. This process involves the creation of the general atmosphere of the mutual trust, the preventive diplomacy and, finally, the immediate conflict resolution (taking into account the specific of the “Asiatic mentality.”) At the same time the significant obstruction for the efficient activity of the regional organizations are “the nationalistic strategy of some participants,” as believed to have in Japan, as well as the consequences of the economic depression, which took place in region at the turn of the decade.

For the moment, the Japanese politicians see the enlargement of the format of the country positioning on the world political scene in the modernizations of the military-political alliance with USA. Such modernization supposes, first of all, the revising of the question about the participation of Japan in American (and international) military actions on permission of a conflict. The scope of Japanese Self-Defense Force functions must not be limited in future only to inhibition of the potential enemy and to the defense of the territory of its country. This Force needs also to dispose the legal right and potential to use the Japanese military contingents in the operations outside the national borders. The events on September 11 2001 occasioned for Japan to declare about the readiness to take part in fight with international terrorism, that throw down a gage to its nearest ally, solving herewith the support problem of the own safety.

The motive of the “power” support of the economical needs in the necessary raw materials resource, most of them are absent in Japan, reveals all more definitely in the general rhetoric about the need of the participation in the construction of the new world order. Moreover, this the most important for Japanese national safety problem have two forming: the getting of the access to resources of the other countries and the guaranteed delivery of the last-mentioned on its territory solely by seaway. Because the mentioned resources and traffics of their transportation are situated not only in APR, Japan practically begins to pretend on the ensuring of the access to them in any point of the globe.

As the Japanese experts suppose, it is more efficient to conduct the necessary actions

(including the military actions) with USA being on “second role.” Because, first, there is in APR a negative historical memory about Japan of the period of the Second world war and, secondly, the Japanese Self-Defense Force, evidently, will not have in nearest future the potential, which can be comparable to the American. The “reputation” problem of the country, which is conditioned by the historical memory of the Asian nations, is one of the main problems. The Japanese government intends to solve this problem painless, locating it as the state, which has the “normal, but not dangerous military power.”

These and other new trends appeared in Japanese safety policy were in the picture of the total report of the commission formed in 2004 at Cabinet of Ministers from 10 outstanding public figures, headed by leader of the company Tokyo Electric Power X.Araki. His main conclusions and recommendations were the base for the published at December 2004 “review of the national defense program (NDPO).”

In the report, there are the main particularities of the modern geopolitical situation that define the need of the revising of the Japanese policy in the context of the safety and defense. It is stated that the world has entered “the period of the great changes” after the ending of “the cold war,” and nowadays the scenario of the invasion in Japan by one of the superpowers became the non-topical. Paying attention on the typical for today “unending ethnic and religious conflicts, large-scale terrorism...the lightness of the national borders crossing and the appearance in the conditions of the not-expected threats globalization,” the authors of the report make a conclusion about the relative stability of the “cold war” period.

As it is pointed out in the report, “the space of the international safety presently looks greatly more complex, than previously.” It is in account with the situation when, besides the persistence probability of the traditional international conflicts, the mentioned by X. Araki and not so “traditional” calls for the national and international safety appear. These calls can play the role of the detonator of the first one (for instance, the intrastate conflicts and conflicts between the religions). Moreover, some multifunction forms are not excluded, in particular as the support of the guerilla (“terroristic”) war by one country in the other.

The affirmation of the possible use in interstate conflicts of the nucleus weapon pays attention to itself. Though the probability of the armed aggression on the part of the largest neighbors of the Japan (i.e. The Russia and PRC) is low, after all it is noticed that these are nuclear powers. The North Korea can become the nuclear power too. As the result we can conclude, “the problem of the spreading of mass destruction weapon, including the possible having of the nucleus weapon in DPRK, as well as the development and spreading of the ballistic rockets can pose an immediate threat for Japan.” The same immediate threat is in account with the potential “armed conflict in Taiwanese strait;” moreover, it is considered generally through the prism of the possible “destabilization of the world economy.”

The authors of the report note that Japan has already been involved in the world political processes at least because of its status of the “second economic power, which prosperity depends on the access to overseas source of energy supply and raw material, as well as on

the form of the world trade.” All these facts alongside with the annual departure in other countries by over 10 Mio Japanese are indicative of that, that the international safety problem, as never before, get the interconnected nature, outgoing outside the region.

Taking into account of all that the authors assign two main purposes of the “integrated safety strategy - ISS”: 1 - minimization of the immediate threats for the territory of the country from surrounding its region; 2 - a reduction of the supposition for the threats appearance in the different parts of the world. At the same time, the category “threat” is understood in the second case rather broadly and can include, for instance, the “negative influence on the interests of the Japanese émigrés or on the corporative overseas interests.” In such a way, the first purpose touches the safety questions of the country, but the second - the situation in sphere of international safety.

Constating the impossibility for many countries to reach in present conditions the first purpose only with “own powers,” the authors formulate the trilateral problem-solving approach of the defense of the country, which includes: “a) - personal Japanese efforts, b) - cooperation with allies and with international community both for the defense of the country, and in fight for the support of the international safety.”

Making the results it is necessary to note that the interests of the legislative support of the role increasing and responsibility of the cooperative threat reduction define the current process of the military policy revising, by the national safety guaranteeing, the neutralizations of the “new threats” and, finally, the support of the “international world and stability.” This direction of activity by the country leadership becomes priority. So, with the adoption of the new statutes from 1992 till 2004 Japan reached in sphere of the safely support the new level not only in terms of the expansion of the cooperative threat reduction role on the safety support of the Japanese territory and “adjacent area,” but also in terms of the CTR actions on the international area. These steps represent the turning in Japanese policy of the safety support and simultaneously the gradual fallback from the “absolute pacifism.” However, the specific and careful steps on the revising of the Japanese constitution are taken simultaneously with the creation of the legislative base for revising of the military policy.

The leadership of the country at the support of the military and business circles activated the activity on the revising of the CTR role and place in the political life of the country, on the introduction of the alterations to defense policy. In particular, it is concerned the questions of the status of Japanese Defense Agency (JDA), the revising of the parameters of civil control over the military men, the reorganization of the Joint committee of CTR staff and structure, as well as the softening of the hard restrictions on the military-technical cooperation and ex-port of the weapons, that are existing today.

These actions take place against the background of the change of the public slants on the questions of the safety guaranteeing in the direction of the independence increasing on the questions of the national safety support and “international world,” the increasing of the CTR

Japanese role in the accomplishment of the stability in the region. There is a concernment in Japan concerning “the conduction, also in the future, of the American diplomacy with the help of the military means, rather than with the help of the peaceful means. USA courses its own interests without the constraint, but Japanese -American alliance strengthens as the reinforcement of this policy.” However, if it is the truth so that the estimation “the relations with USA are more important for the Japanese safety” comes into question. That is why, according to the professor of the national defense Academy of the defense Agency of Japan U. Magosaki, Japan should clear up and find out what mean its national interests, and reflect on this base, how they conform to interests of USA.

Objective factors testify, that the aspiration of Japan to peace forms of settlement of conflicts, to decrease of the intensity in areas of potential crises will in prospect be kept.

In view of all this it can be expected, that qualitative changes in the formation of the military policy of Japan in close prospect will not represent the direct threat of safety of Russia. At the same time, a subject of concern of the Russian party is a problem of territorial claims of Japan to Russia. As it is represented, the tangles of a problem can be untied by a method of the gradual rapprochement of two countries at their active joint activity in the regional integration processes.

The Korean People's democratic Republic

It is necessary to notice, that during the first decades of division Northern Korea considerably advanced Southern on the majority of parameters of development. During this period, Pyongyang actively acted with offers, which contained various variants of negotiations in interests of a discharge of intensity in mutual relations. However, they were invariable rejected by Seoul from fear to lose the control over internal political conditions in the country. By the end of 60th years, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea began to lose more and more in the lead positions in economy, and in 80th years and in the military area. What is more, with disintegration of the USSR, Pyongyang has lost also the main guarantor of the safety that has forced the heads of DPRK to be guided in business of a safety of the state, basically, on own forces. Alongside with a USA policy of power democratization of the sovereign states, it has pushed them on a way of creation of the weapon of mass destruction, including nuclear.

It is necessary to tell, that the present leader of DPRK Kim Jong Il successfully maintains the image of the “impulsive” and “unpredictable” leader, who is capable of extreme acts and ready to untie the military conflict on peninsula. Owing to it the foreign researchers began to speak that it does not need to “corner” North Korea and more reasonably to involve it in negotiating process and the international cooperation. It is seemed still, that Kim Jong Il intentionally keeps the intensity on peninsula, showing the preservation of potential threat of safety of South Korea.

Possibly, in Pyongyang they count, that it will compel Seoul to increase the expenses for

the strengthening of defense, the consequence of that becomes the delay of rates of economic development of their country. If besides that there will be something similar to global financial crisis 1997, South Korea can appear on the verge of the economic crash or political chaos. At that time, in opinion of Pyongyang, it will have a chance to appropriate the whole peninsula. However, it is important to have time to neutralize South-Korean army that Americans had nobody to render the armed support. On the independent conducting war in Korea as they believe, the USA hardly will be solvable.

Certainly, such script of the succession of events has small probability of realization, but it is not too fantastic. In fact, it was possible for Northern Vietnam to make the similar one. However, it was helped actively by Soviet Union, but also DPRK has the contract with the Peoples Republic of China in military area. Its soldiers have a great persistence. They are ready to battle up to the end at a parity of forces 1:100 as North-Korean propagation approves.

The problem is a reaction of the USA to such succession of events. However it is expected, that the risk of greater losses, and insufficient efficiency of their precision weapon in conditions of a hilly terrain will keep from escalation of operations of Americans that has become known in Yugoslavia. Besides, in DPRK many refuges, in which all population and the majority of means of production and life-support can practically take cover, are constructed. Thus of the American rockets as a result of which they can engage the not planned targets, including in the territories of the adjacent countries as it was both in Yugoslavia, and in Iraq. These misses will entail more rigid reaction from other countries, than that which took place at similar incidents in the past. It is easy to predict the degree of reaction of China, Russia and even Japan, as well as the all world community, on application by Americans even the low-power tactical nuclear weapon on DPRK objects.

These seasonings, apparently, also define the logic of behavior of Pyongyang in business of the settlement of present nuclear crisis. Their program of manufacture of the nuclear weapon – mythical or operating is a real chance to escape from a condition of crisis and to receive desideratum. Hence, there are the rigid and uncompromising character of North-Korean conditions of the transaction and the appointed price for “delivery” of this program to Americans.

Really, for Pyongyang the establishment of relations with Washington – treasured and long not carried out dream. Now for DPRK the USA is not so much the main opponent or a potential aggressor, as the main donor. In fact, the United States together with South Korea and Japan repeatedly during last years rescued Northern Korea from famine and an economic collapse. Therefore, in a critical situation, Pyongyang prefers to deal, first of all, with Washington as the DPRK safety and its well-being depends on it. That is why in this game with Washington it does need neither assistants, nor intermediaries. Only personal negative attitude of Bush to Northern Korea and to its leader forces the Koreans to change tactics concerning the USA.

Pyongyang is ready to stop the works on manufacturing of the nuclear weapon if Americans will help DPRK to leave the tightened economic crisis, to get on to feet and thus still to guarantee the safety of a mode. Perhaps, it is not big price for preservation of stability in Northeast Asia, but Americans, apparently, are not ready yet to go on such transaction.

Meanwhile, the alternative decisions planned on the power politics, in conditions of Korea until now were inefficient. Therefore, during the previous similar crisis in 1993 when DPRK has appeared in private before threat of attack from the USA, its leadership has selected the tactics of rigid opposition. The same repeats and in 2003 with only a difference, that since then DPRK has created the rocket weapon of the big range and as official propagation of Pyongyang approves, nuclear weapon, and also the other kinds of the weapon of mass defeat. Anyway, the majority of observers do not exclude the probability of work on the nuclear weapon in DPRK.

It is important to notice, that during the first crisis in 1993, the special service of Russia and of some other countries have come to conclusion, that DPRK is capable to create the elementary nuclear devices but while they are not tested, there are no bases to consider these devices as the effective nuclear weapon. Ten years intervened. It is possible to assume, that the Northern Koreans have done the most part of a way to possession of this weapon with a view of self-defense to show, that their country – not defenseless Yugoslavia or the disarmed Iraq, and the state, which is capable to give worthy repulse in case of an attack

Now the American experts believe, that in DPRK there are some primitive nuclear devices. A number of the Russian experts consider, that the Northern Koreans could created in the beginning of 90th years some copies of the primitive and bulky nuclear charges that are operable even without the carrying out of their tests. Probably, that now they are close to creation of more perfect nuclear warheads.

However, anyway, it is possible to approve, that if DPRK has not had time to get the nuclear weapon after a lapse of 50 years after the start-up of 5- megawatt graphite reactor then at the preservation of threat of an attack on it from the outside the occurrence and test of such devices in the near future are quite probable. Pyongyang can use it in case when American-North-Korean consultations will finally deadlock, and if the USA will put upon it the excessive pressure – military or economic. Possibly, in this plane it is necessary to consider the withdrawal of DPRK from the Nonproliferation treaty of the nuclear weapon twice - in 1993 and in 2003, and in both cases in reply to decision of IAEA to conduct the expanded inspections of “suspicious” objects in its territory.

Everything said earlier was confirmed by the fact of test of nuclear device by Pyongyang in the fall of 2006. Now the leaders of Northern Korea have two variants of get-outs from the developed situation: or to capitulate honorable, or to continue the game until the USA will not make a choice between the military conflict and negotiations. It is obvious, that they will not agree to a total surrender. After the events in Yugoslavia and war in Iraq, Pyongyang was convinced that it could not count on the international law, and it is necessary to rely only on

the own opportunities. Therefore, the aspiration of DPRK to possess the nuclear weapon as means of restraint gets absolutely a certain sense.

It is necessary to add, that, Northern Korea, following a way of confrontation with the USA, does not resort to threats to address of Southern, and shows the interest for cooperation with it, that is a new element in the policy of Pyongyang.

The geographical closeness of Russia traditionally causes its special attention to conditions on the Korean peninsula. The prospects of the interKorean settlement appreciably deprive with arguments the supporters of creation both the national BMD and BMD of the theater of operation in Northeast Asia. Therefore the Russian policy is aimed at maintenance of the balanced attitudes with both Korean states in interests of the mutual relations with them, and the greater predictability and stability of a situation on the Korean peninsula and around of it. The new interstate contract signed in February 2000 between Russia and DPRK has been called to liquidate formed on this direction in last years disbalance. The activization of the interaction of Moscow with both Korean countries expands also the opportunities of Russia to contribute to the normalization of the conditions on peninsula and to expand cooperation in interests of the Korean settlement with other interested states, first of all the USA, the Peoples Republic of China and Japan.

This contract as much as possible has to promote continuation and promotion of the normalization of conditions on peninsula also from the sides of these and other states - irrespective of a degree of their involvement into sub regional business and intensity of their influence on Pyongyang and Seoul.

The joining of DPRK to ARF at its seventh ministerial meeting in Bangkok in the end of July, 2000 also can be regarded as the important additional factor, which confirms as a line of Pyongyang on a gradual get-out from self-isolation, and the interest of the countries APR in the involving of DPRK in regional business.

Republic of Korea (RK)

Its foreign policy interests still lay in the field of maintenance of own safety and preservation of allied attitudes with the USA. America is perceived in South Korea as the guarantor of safety of their country and stability on peninsula. According to the Contract about mutual defense between RK and the USA (1954), the parties carry out military activity on peninsula under direction of the incorporated command and coordinate the actions concerning DPRK. Thus, Seoul declares the interest in the preservation of the American military presence in territory of the country and after Korea becomes the uniform state. The popular subject during last presidential elections about the expediency of the revision of allied attitudes from the USA and removal of the American armies has gradually come to naught. The new president of RK Roh Moo-hyun has assured J. Bush in fidelity of the country to the union with the USA.

At the same time, the strategy of president Roh Moo-hyun concerning North-Korean

nuclear activity noticeably differs from American. He rejects the power methods and insists on continuation of the negotiations. Moreover, the influential circles in Seoul consider that it is better if the neighbor is a nuclear DPRK, than to become the witnesses of disorder of its mode. It is obvious, that they wish to preserve that it was possible to make in the interKorean relations for last years. They are afraid also, that the conflict on peninsula will seriously be reflected in rates of the development of South-Korean economy and on a political situation in the country and region.

All this testifies that both parties do not wish to be at war with each other. However, in case of the dangerous development of present nuclear crisis they will probable be involved in the military conflict unwillingly. In particular, a problem, for example, of the definitions of the moment of the war beginning between RK and DPRK is for Seoul not simple: when the USA will strike the preventive blow on nuclear objects of northerners or when those will reply with start of the rockets on the American military bases in the south of peninsula.

From all it the pessimistic conclusions arise:

- a) The military action against DPRK will detonate a war between the North and the South;
- b) The second war in Korea will turn back tragedy for all Koreans and for a long time will exclude an opportunity of renewal of the inter-Korean dialogue;
- c) Seoul should leave for a long time the arrogant plans to enter in ten the most developed states of the world.

Thus, RK has appeared in a role of the doomed hostage of the present American policy. It keeps the USA from military sanctions against DPRK. Therefore, many observers consider the interKorean relations as the factor, which is capable to constrain the threat of war on peninsula in conditions when other methods do not work. At the same time in this area, interests of four next states are crossed, and it is quite natural, that they have their own conceptions concerning both decisions of this problem, and means of the achievement of regional safety.

As a whole, the South-Korean government over a period of last years aspires to reach the purpose gradual – to create the system of cooperation concerning the joint safety of East Asia. The first stage is the peace sanction of a question of North-Korean nuclear arms. At the second stage, the peace mode on the Korean peninsula by preparation of the extensive peace program on the Korean peninsula and the conclusions of the peace treaty will be established. At last, stage – the creation of cooperation system of the countries of East Asia by institutionalizing of the dialogue concerning the multilateral safety and defense and the achievement of joint prosperity based on economic cooperation. It is possible to reach the purpose and upside-down: first the regional world and prosperity by economic cooperation, and then the world and joint prosperity on the Korean peninsula.

Summing up to the analysis of a parity of the national interests of the states NEA and means of their maintenance in a context of the influence on the regional safety and stability,

it is necessary to note, that the factors, that promote the multilateral cooperation in sphere of safety, are:

- The growth of number of the countries, that emphasize the principle of multipolarity, for example Russia, China, South Korea, Japan;
- The practical assistance of the USA to multilateral cooperation in the field of safety of the countries of the region;
- The participation of all countries of Northeast Asia in ARF and their acquaintance to pluses and minuses of the regional cooperation in the field of safety
- The expansion of a circle of problems of the safety, that need the general measures of the prevention, for example the international terrorism, the distribution of the weapon of mass destruction, the maintenance of safety sea way, a question of refugees, the illegal traffic in arms;
- In distinction from the Europe, the economic forces in Northeast Asia in view of the activization of multilateral cooperation rank above on importance, than defensive. However, they in conditions of global and regional integration can become a reliable basis for the creation of the regional system of safety.