

CONCLUSION

The development of a present situation in the East Asia and, as a whole, in APR at all complexity and discrepancy, saves the general tendency to positive changes. In the region, there is an active search of bilateral and multilateral mechanisms of safety, the mutual restraint in the decision of questions at issue and aspiration to strengthening interaction is shown on the basis of balance of interests. Thus geographical, political, economic and cultural - historical difference of the region objectively creates opportunities of transformation of the international relations here in the direction of multipolarity and development of balance of interests between the basic centers of force, by which it is possible to attribute the USA, Japan, China, Russia, ASEAN and India.

The simultaneously same phenomenon predetermines serious enough internal vulnerability APR. The growing influence on region of inconsistent aspects of globalization takes place on a background preservation of many disputable problems, inherited from the past, of local character, which in themselves pawn in APR considerable disputed potential.

Alongside with reduction of the armed forces of one states of region there is escalating military potential by others. For last some years have extended "a zone of responsibility" of the American-Japanese military cooperation, there was a displacement of its centre of gravity in a direction of wider regional space. The situation in the field of safety becomes complicated and in connection with deployment in East Asia of a narrow in terms of national composition system tactical anti missile defense of a theatre of war. The realization of these plans only can result the USA and Japan in a new coil of regional race of arms and gross infringement of a basis all disarmament of the arrangements at a global level.

The ambiguous picture is saved in the field of non-distribution in a region of the weapon of mass destruction and means of its delivery. The creation in 1995 in Southeast Asia a zone free from the nuclear weapon has brought in the positive contribution to strengthening a mode of non-distribution, in consolidation of regional and global safety. On the other hand, the urgency of a task of giving to a mode of non-distribution of universal character, prompt prohibition of nuclear tests by all states APR is not reduced.

In conditions of the increased interdependence of the modern world need for collective actions of the countries in struggle with calls and threats to safety of new generation sharply amplifies. To number of most urgent of them concern separatism, religious extremism, terrorism, piracy and other kinds, accompanying them, trans national criminality: an illegal revolution of drugs and weapon, trade in the people etc. the events of last time in a number of the states of Southeast Asia testify that separatism on religious basis, that has elected as a means for achievement of political ends such extremist form of struggle as terrorism, can already in a near future make a basis trans national of threats to regional stability.

All listed phenomena force in a new fashion to look at problems of safety in APR. Globalization of the world economy both politics requires coordination and association of

efforts of the countries of region that maximize benefit and to minimize negative consequences of growing interdependence of the countries of the world. Whereas the opposite tendency the international relations and aggravation of the regional and ethnic conflicts specifies necessity of the account of specificity of the states of region at designing models of the Asian safety.

The reasons positivity of idea of the multilateral approach in questions of safety in APR consist that this approach as much as possible answers interests of the numerous small and average states of region, limiting influence large having held. In the certain sense the multilateral modes of safety can be considered as attempt of creation by the small and average states of coalitions for an equilibration of influence large having held by collective actions.

Now in East Asia there were a number of the factors objectively promoting creation of such system:

- Almost all basic centers of force of region act for maintenance here of world and stability;
- Overwhelming number of the countries of region at definition of the external politics proceed from pragmatically rational positions;
- Practically all countries of region in any form support with each other contacts on a safety;
- Between the states of region the high degree of economic interdependence is achieved, that is the serious constraining factor on ways making aggression in a region.

The concrete offers on creation of multilateral system of safety in APR, stated by Russia and line of other countries at numerous distinctions support the approach, according to which the formation of similar system similar OSCE, could begin at a sub regional level from development of two independent structures of safety in Northeast and Southeast Asia.

The sub regional approach is considered most suitable to conditions APR recognizing that paramount questions of safety of Northeast Asia the probabilities of the conflict on the Korean peninsula and potential race of arms concentrate, first of all, around of problems of nuclear distribution. They considerably differ from questions of safety of Southeast Asia consisting, basically, available of territorial disputes, terrorism, necessity of a safety of sea ways and problem of drugs.

In case of their creation these groupings could effectively prevent occurrence of threats to regional safety, confirming the peace intentions by maintenance of the greater transparency of purchases of arms, doctrines of armies, and also at the expense of an exchange of the military men and realization of open discussions on the military doctrines.

The general principles of creation of system of safety realized in Europe can be used in Northeast Asia only in view of its specific features. First of all it concerns a level of a military opposition, creation of the preconditions for formation of a steady infrastructure of safety and constructive interstate interaction. The process of militarizing of the countries for

the present has no any restrictions and is outside of system international negotiation mechanism. The specificity of region is connected to its political and social heterogeneity. In military sphere the accent is made on a priority of sea arms. The safety on Far East requires activation of negotiation, discussion of the various offers in a context of those changes, which occur with both in most northeast Asia, and in the Russian-American relations. In result there can be preconditions for the regional agreement on restriction of military intensity, strengthening of safety and stability. Attempts to impose from the outside, against will of the states of region, trans Atlantic and the European ways of the decision of problems can result in undesirable results. The regional and sub regional systems should be formed according to regional needs and traditions to answer specific problems and threats of region.

The basic features of the future mode of safety in Northeast Asia owe, on our sight, provide:

- Restriction and separation of the armed forces in areas, where they directly resist to each other and in which the danger of sudden occurrence of the conflict (for example, Korean peninsula) and, probably, creation of zones of restriction of arms, first of all of nuclear weapon is high;
- Significant decrease on the certain time of military activity, and first of all reduction of scales and zones of the military maneuvers Taiwan Strait etc;
- Quantitative reduction of the armed forces, restriction of qualitative race of arms;
- Acceptance of measures providing, with obligatory realization of the control and check of performance of the agreements;
- Development of a bilateral or multilateral basis of measures of trust and maintenance of their realization;
- Discussion of the military doctrines etc.

As a first step at implementation of the plan of regional safety there could be a study of this problem at an informal level in a course of scientific conferences. It will allow to reveal positions and to prepare ground for official negotiation.

It is desirable to use experience of bilateral Soviet-American negotiation saved by preparation of the Agreement on prevention of incidents in the high sea and in air space above it (1972), agreement on prevention of dangerous military activity (1989). These documents open (as an example of cooperation in military sphere) good prospects for continuation of dialogue on a wide circle of questions, first of all on problems of naval arms. The beginning is necessary to this process during visit of the President of Russian Federation to Japan in October, 1993, when signing the Russian-Japanese agreement about prevention of incidents outside territorial waters was held.

The practice, entered in region, of the joint military doctrines would be especially useful to preparation of forces on maintenance of the world (intended for actions under UN or regional structure on safety). The realization of peace keeping operations becomes one of key questions of safety not only on Balkan, in republics of former Soviet Union, in Near East,

but also in Asia, where the problems of regional safety are very closely bound with global. The coordination of regional and global searches of more acceptable and legally proved concept of maintenance of the world will allow, on our sight, to develop politically the viable approach to such operations.

The new mechanism of safety could be by the important part of new structure of the international relations in Northeast Asia. She should be under construction on the basis of cooperation of the states of region by evolution of their relations from confrontation to interaction. In process of its development it would be possible to examine both military aspects of safety, and wider questions determining prospects of the world and stability in region.

Already on the initial stages of creation of the mechanism it is necessary to develop system of political advices. The basic loading would continue to carry a network of the bilateral relations, as many from them are not extremely bilateral. An ultimate goal could be an establishment of the international mode, which would be based on general understanding by the participants of norms, of principles and tasks and included the following basic elements:

- Elimination of political disagreements by negotiation;
- Use of force only for self-defense;
- Regular contacts on regional safety;
- Restraint in case of collision of interests of the states.

Even more urgent tasks are development of bases and search of the possible forms of partnership between conducting powers of region (Russia, the USA, China and Japan). The new international order in Northeast Asia, including cooperation in interests of safety, could become a nucleus of wide structure of mutual relation in APR.

The regional mode of safety should be based on respect, restraint and multilateral cooperation. In changed conditions of international conditions it is quite possible to achieve the stable relations in Northeast Asia, including Canada, China, Northern and Southern Korea, Russia, the USA and Japan. The multilateral cooperation on safety, not weakening and not substituting existing bilateral connections, can become the additional channel of the decision of the important problems, if is exact and clearly to define its purposes and scale, limits and opportunities.

Thus, the political pulse for the beginning movements to system of safety is necessary. In scale of all East Asia, and furthermore all APR, taking into account features of this region, and also distinction in positions of the states to achieve it is rather difficult. In Northeast Asia it can appear more real, as there an amount of the involved countries small, and at the same time rather effective if to mean huge territory of Far East and northwest part of Pacific Ocean.

In due time Russia has offered to accept a number of measures, which will give new pulses to the regional cooperation and political climate in all region.

First. Formation of the mechanism of multilateral negotiation, first of all, on problems of safety and nuclear non-distribution. Basically, in Northeast Asia the good basis for this purpose is incorporated by the mechanism of multilateral advices on North Korean to a nuclear problem. This mechanism should be developed and further, putting on the agenda of new problems of safety and, if necessary, distributing this experience on the next sub regions.

Second. Working out a system of crisis reaction. Its purpose - not to allow the growth of military intensity in APR. For this purpose it is required to create here together with the interested countries of the centre of the early prevention and centre of sanction of disputed situations. As a first step there can be their formation within the framework of sub region of Northeast Asia.

Third. The creation of a regional centre of strategic researches, which would analyze the data on the military budgets, doctrines of the armed forces of the countries of APR etc. Basis of such centre could make: from Russia - experts from Institute of Far East and CMSS GS of Russian Federation; from China - experts of Chinese institute of strategic researches; from Japan - experts of National institute of defensive researches. If to speak about wider format - interest to such cooperation shows a management of the Indian institute of the incorporated forces on behalf of its president.

Major directions of strengthening of military safety in Northeast Asia are reduction and restriction of the nuclear weapon armed forces and usual arms. As the role of the nuclear weapon as grenade of restraint, global and regional safety and stability will in the foreseeable future be saved; it is expedient to put by the major purpose of reduction - achievement of the minimal restraint by downturn of the quantitative and qualitative characteristics at maintenance of steady strategic balance. The understanding of the minimal nuclear restraint and sizes of stocks of the nuclear weapon for its maintenance can vary over a wide range. At the same time the experience of the Russian-American negotiation on strategic offensive to arms allows to hope for radical reduction of nuclear arsenals. For nuclear disarmament in Asia it is extremely important as soon as possible to leave on a level of negotiation about the further strengthening of strategic stability with connection of China and others nuclear having held.

In spite of the fact that there is a number of international forums for discussion of problems of transfer of arms and military technologies, the countries of Northeast Asia could strengthen modes of non-distribution by the coordination of the export politics, and also develop principles of the control above distribution of critical technologies of military purpose on inside and interregional level.

The question of reduction of the armed forces and usual arms in Northeast Asia can appear very difficult, that is explained by difficult strategic and military-political conditions in region. The Russian-Chinese negotiation on reduction of the armed forces in a frontier zone testifies Soviet-Chinese, and subsequently to it.

Thus, we collide with difficulties in development of new strategy of joint actions in region.

Some more attempts are hardly to solve new questions on the basis of old stereotypes. At the same time expansion and deepening of military contacts, downturn of a level of a military opposition, exit in negotiation on creation of system of collective interaction of the countries of Northeast Asia will allow strengthening military safety and stability of this extensive region.

As to APR as a whole, - the multilateral structures, arising in region, of safety, despite of the present lacks, subsequently can become the important means in business of an establishment of the long-term world and stability. The multilateral forums with a plenty of the participants, such as ARF, APEC in the field of safety and others are rather useful to discussion of potential problems, and also at use as tools of strengthening of measures of trust directed faster on prevention of crises and aggressions, than on their elimination. In some cases they can be effective enough at occurrence of threats to safety in such nonconventional forms, as a problem of the refugees, power, ecological and other problems of regional character. Besides the multilateral modes, it can serve to development of the bilateral or sub regional forms of dialogue between the countries, for example, in a case no readiness them to direct bilateral contacts.

In a context of struggle with national extremism and terrorism the large meaning would have planned creation by the members ASEAN of the regional centre on struggle with trans border by criminality, and in the long term - its interface to the appropriate SCO centers.

In business of safety and stability the further increase of a role of ARF as key a regional mechanism of dialogue will be positive in the field of politics and diplomacy. In this plan the large importance there is a job above the concept and principles preventive diplomacy for APR, though it is obvious, that she will require significant time and rather serious efforts. The simultaneously joint job above the concept becomes a parameter of ability of the members ARF to search of the compromises in interests of maintenance of predicted development of general conditions in region in new conditions of the international relations. In this context rather justified is the special accent on the further perfection and expansion of measures of trust in region and acceptance of the codes of behavior regulating relation between the states for prevention from occurrence between them crisis situations. Such codes can become the important elements in sphere of regional safety. In parallel in APR it is necessary to continue efforts on expansion of multilateral dialogues on other directions of interaction also promoting consolidation of regional safety at complete understanding that the maintenance of stability in region is possible only on principles of close interaction and balance of interests.

On our sight certain prospects there is also such again created regional structure as the EAC. Under condition of the introduction into it of Russia and adjustment of close cooperation from the USA this structure is capable to remove the intensity trans national relations in APR. In subsequent the West-Asian community has a potential opportunity to become an institute, and to turn to the capable mechanism of all-round cooperation of all

countries of region, some kind of the East-Asian union. Becoming of this association will promote that the same countries today are the participants of various integration associations or cooperate with them.

Finishing our project, it is necessary to note, that the regional structures of safety in East Asia should be considered as forums, on which there is a speech about interests of regional safety. It means, that the new system of safety here will function only then, when the states will consider, that she represents their interests more effectively, than the support is exclusively on own forces and national strategy. The contracts of the two institutes will ensure organizational and normative structure provided that those and others reflect interests of the state-participants and the realizations of political will and active cooperation promote in the field of safety. In other words - the regional system of safety of East Asia XXI of century should answer concrete new requirements and problems, with which the separate states of region collide.

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