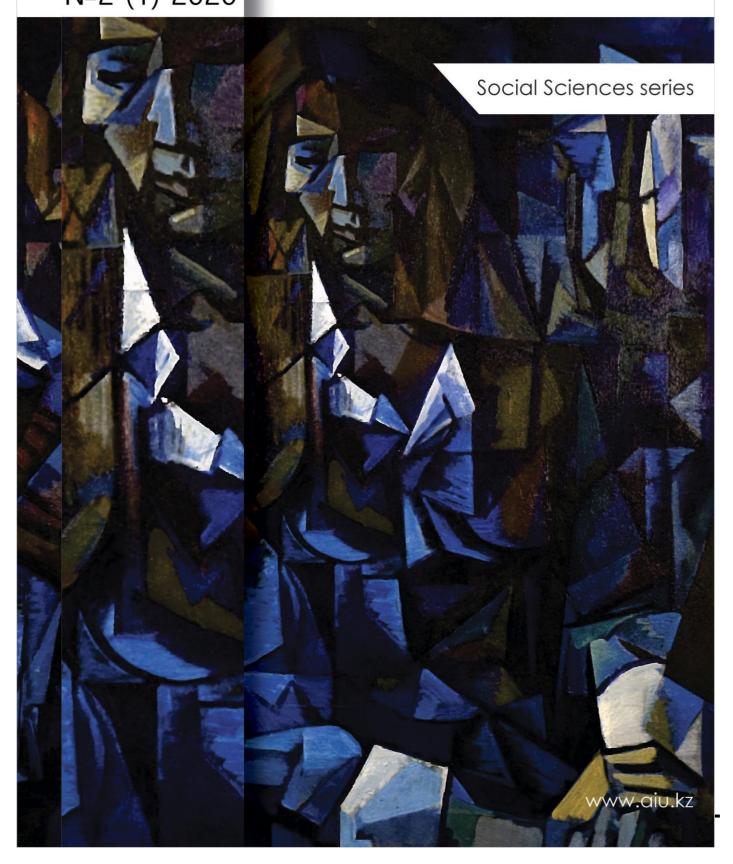


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CONTENT

Section LAW

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW
Jacek Zalesny, Jaroslaw Szymanek LIMITATION OF THE LEGISLATIVE
POWER OF PARLIAMENT AS A PRECONDITION FOR THE RULE OF A
BALANCED POWER. HISTORICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL
CONSIDERATIONS4
Tkhabisimova Lyudmila Aslanovna FEATURES OF DELEGATION OF
AUTHORITY BETWEEN DIFFERENT LEVELS OF POWER
Bitsieva Emma Vladimirovna CONSTITUTIONAL-LEGAL STATUS OF
POLITICAL PARTIES AS SUBJECTS OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS11
CRIMINOLOGY, CRIMINAL LAW
Sembekova Bakitkul Raktayevna, Bertovsky Lev Vladimirovich
CRIMINOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF CRIMINAL OFFENSES OF A
TERRORIST ORIENTATION
Section
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND GEOPOLITICS
NUTEDNIA TRONG A TRONG
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Somzhurek Baubek Zhumashevich, Ibrayeva Aygerim Ergaliyevna MILITARY-
POLITICAL COOPERATION OF THE NEW TURKIC COUNTRIES WITHIN
THE FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL REGIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS
GEOPOLITICS
Sadvakasov Zh. ANALYSIS OF GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS OF THE
LINITED STATES AND CHINA IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC 34

IRSTI: 11.25.25.

MILITARY-POLITICAL COOPERATION OF THE NEW TURKIC COUNTRIES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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Abstract. New Turkic countries (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) make a significant contribution to the development of the Eurasian space, so there is every reason to study in depth the heritage of the Turkic world, their role and place in modern international relations.

Key words: Turk world, geo-policy, Central Asia, international organization, security.

Introduction

The creation of a regional Turkic geopolitical bloc is still relevant. Alone, it is difficult for the Turkic States to become a subject of modern geopolitics and geostrategy.

In the history of the independent period of the three Turkic States of Central Asia - Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan – there was an experience of regional cooperation in the military and political sphere. It should be noted that as early as January 1994, the leaders of three Central Asian States (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan) signed an Agreement on the formation of the Central Asian Union (CAC), the goals of which were to create an economic space and ensure the security of the countries of this region. In the CAC in the first half of the 1990s, the main focus was on solving economic problems, although this Union was essentially a geo-economic and geopolitical system, characterized as a condition for increasing the security resource of integration subjects. And according to the Agreement on the establishment of the CAC organization (2002), these same States were to provide mutual support to each other in preventing the threat of independence, combating transnational crime, drug trafficking, terrorism and illegal migration, as well as cooperate on the creation of common transport and energy infrastructures, and conduct a coordinated policy in the field of border and customs control.

Three fraternal States-Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan-took part in military cooperation and peace-keeping measures, including joint security of the Afghan-Tajik border with Russia and the creation of a Central Asian battalion. However, at the present stage, the integration of the Turkic countries of Central Asia, including the military and political ones, has encountered difficulties, objective and subjective. Some researchers suggest that States participating in integration processes do not define regional relations as priority due to the lack of objective prerequisites. (Саидазимова Г. 2006).

In short, in the global economic and political space, the Central Asian States do not act collectively, but rather autonomously and on an individual basis. (Алшанов Р., Ашимбаева А. 2011).

In these circumstances, the Turkic countries of the Central Asian region prefer to participate in international regional organizations with the participation of powers with more powerful potential, and an important role is assigned to the military-political aspect of cooperation. The fight against terrorism, political and religious extremism, transnational

organized crime and other threats to stability and security is at the heart of the foreign policy of the Central Asian States.

Discussion

As we know, the decision of the Council of foreign Ministers of the CSCE member States on January 31, 1992 to join the CSCE along with Armenia, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Tajikistan, as well as Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan marked the beginning of cooperation between the new Turkic States of Central Asia and Transcaucasia with the CSCE/OSCE. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the following stages of cooperation between Central Asian countries and the CSCE/OSCE are highlighted:

- 1992-1995 establishment of cooperation in the regional context (the 1st stage of the evolution of relations between the Central Asian countries and the CSCE was largely tentative and introductory);
- 1996-2001-the OSCE is beginning to understand the strategic importance and value of the region, which is reflected in the opening of the Organization's" field presences " (i.e., representative offices) in each Central Asian Republic;
- 2001-2004 the "war on terror" and the growing contradictions between Central Asia and the OSCE. (Боконбаева Ж.К. 2011).

In 2004, the Central Asian countries and the OSCE adopted the "Appeal of the CIS member States to OSCE partners". The address addresses the problems of OSCE reform in the following areas:

- strengthening the anti-terrorist direction in the functioning of the Organization;
- settlement of regional conflicts throughout the OSCE area;
- further improvement of the military-political, as well as full-fledged development of the environmental and economic dimension of the OSCE;
- a more balanced work of the OSCE in the humanitarian sphere, including the introduction by the ODIHR (Office for democratic institutions and human rights) and OSCE missions of common objective criteria for evaluating electoral processes throughout the OSCE area.

It is no secret that at the beginning of the new Millennium, relations between the OSCE and Tashkent deteriorated due to human rights violations in Uzbekistan. But at the same time, the next and long-awaited OSCE summit was decided to be held in Kazakhstan, which once again confirmed the trust of this authoritative organization to the new independent States.

From the CIS countries, the Republic of Kazakhstan managed to achieve a high level of relations with the OSCE. In 2003, Kazakhstan made a statement of its intention to run for the OSCE Chairmanship, which was supported by the CIS member States. In November 2007, the Council of foreign Ministers of the OSCE participating States decided to grant Kazakhstan the post of OSCE Chairman in 2010.

In 2008, a separate Permanent mission of Kazakhstan to the OSCE was opened, and this decision was dictated by the tasks of preparing and holding the chairmanship of Kazakhstan in the organization in 2010. This was the logical conclusion of a large and productive work of the state and recognition of the country's real achievements in building a democratic society with a liberal market economy. (Шаймуханова С.Д.2013).

During its presidency, the Republic of Kazakhstan put forward a military-political initiative to move from the concept of "security space" to the concept of "security community". In this vector, the OSCE activities under the chairmanship of Kazakhstan were aimed at resolving protracted conflicts. Kazakhstan's chairmanship of the OSCE has become a significant event in Kazakhstan's foreign policy, which it has undoubtedly used to assert itself as a regional leader, increase the country's international weight and improve the foreign policy position of the organization itself.

In 1992, the Republic of Azerbaijan joined the OSCE Helsinki Final Act, in 1993-the Paris Charter, and in 1999-the Charter of European Security, which are the main documents of the organization. It is clear that Azerbaijan is cooperating with the OSCE on the settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, in the field of democratization.

Turkmenistan joined the Final Helsinki act of 1975 in 1992. The OSCE center in Ashgabat operates in three main dimensions: military-political, economic-environmental, and humanitarian. Projects are also being implemented in the areas of security, combating organized crime and drug trafficking, and strengthening and managing borders.

By a decision of the OSCE Permanent Council of 23 July 1998, the OSCE Centre in Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) was given broad responsibilities for implementing cooperation with the Kyrgyz Republic across the entire spectrum of mutual interests. According to the mandate of the OSCE Center in Bishkek, activities in the field of political and military cooperation are concentrated in three key areas: the development of political institutions, conflict prevention and the fight against terrorism. (Шаймуханова С.Д. 2015).

The accession of the Turkic States of the post-Soviet space to the OSCE membership has contributed to the formation of common principles of coexistence with European countries and the development of domestic and foreign policy. But at the same time, the role of other international and regional organizations in the multilateral diplomacy of the Turkic States is noticeably growing.

Relations between the Turkic countries of the post-Soviet space and the NATO bloc began immediately after these States gained independence. In the early 1990s, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan became members of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (renamed the Euro - Atlantic partnership Council (EAPC) in 1997). The EAPC, as a multilateral mechanism, allows the Turkic countries to carry out a dialogue with the NATO member countries and the countries of the Eurasian space on the most pressing issues of international security. Participation in the annual Meetings of the EAPC foreign and defense Ministers is an important component of cooperation. All Turkic countries of the former Soviet Union joined the Partnership for peace (PFP) program in 1994.

As M. Starchak notes, with the beginning of the anti-terrorist operation in Afghanistan, Central Asia became a region of interest for the North Atlantic Alliance. The US and its NATO allies have requested and received support for their operation in Afghanistan. Kyrgyzstan has leased Manas airport. Uzbekistan also granted the right to fly over its territory and transit for the transport of NATO members 'personnel and supplies.

The Turkic countries of the former Soviet Union joined the NATO program "PFP planning and analysis Process" (Azerbaijan in 1997, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan in 2002, Kyrgyzstan in 2007). In 1996, Tashkent and NATO approved the first individual partnership Program (PIP), which allowed Uzbekistan to develop cooperation with the Alliance on a substantive basis. Since 2006, the Republic of Kazakhstan has also started cooperation with NATO within the framework of the Individual action plan of the partnership between Kazakhstan and NATO. The set of measures outlined in the programs cover the areas of training and equipping individual units of the Kazbat Armed forces according to NATO standards, training a special rescue team capable of taking part in international rescue and humanitarian operations, cooperation in border security, reforming the Armed Forces, as well as emergency civil plan In June 2009, NATO held a security Forum in Astana, which demonstrates the importance of Kazakhstan in the strategy of cooperation with post-Soviet countries. The Forum was attended by delegations from 50 EAPC and NATO countries and other countries. The Forum discussed security issues in Central Asia and the Caucasus, the situation in Afghanistan, and energy security issues.

In contrast to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan began to build armed forces on the model of NATO countries, i.e. military units were re-formed on the NATO model. However, Uzbekistan's

cooperation with NATO has not always been on the rise. For example, after 2005, due to disagreements over actions in Andijan, Uzbekistan suspended participation in EAPC meetings. However, in 2007, NATO and Uzbekistan resumed regular dialogue through the EAPC. Based on the Partnership for peace program, Uzbekistan has started developing practical cooperation with the Alliance in a number of areas, including training military personnel, combating terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and other international threats.

Turkmenistan has joined some NATO programs, but unlike other Turkic countries, its cooperation with this organization is limited by the country's neutrality. At the same time, there has been some intensification of Turkmenistan's cooperation since 2007, when the Republic began participating in a pilot project of the NATO-Russia Council to train personnel in Afghanistan and Central Asia in anti-drug control methods. In the literature, it was reported that in 2008, Turkmenistan agreed to use its territory for logistical support of the International security assistance forces, and Alliance aircraft were able to land at military.

Kyrgyzstan cooperates with NATO in such areas as defense reform and training of officials, and civil emergency planning. As part of the planning and analysis Process, the armed forces were modernized and compatible with the Alliance forces in order to meet common challenges and participate in PIM exercises. Kyrgyzstan's participation in the Partnership for peace program involves sharing information on military planning and " developing military cooperation with NATO in order to increase its ability to support Alliance operations." This fact makes Kyrgyzstan a weak link in the collective security Treaty Organization. (Эйвазов Д. 2001).

There is an opinion in the literature that the inefficiency of the mechanisms for the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict proposed by the UN and the OSCE is one of the reasons that pushed Azerbaijan to cooperate with NATO. At the same time, it is indicated that NATO, along with the possibility of resolving this conflict, is able to play a significant role in maintaining the military and political security of Azerbaijan. (Бекиев Ж. 2002).

On November 19, 2002, the Republic of Azerbaijan was admitted as an associate member of the NATO parliamentary Assembly. In July 2006, Azerbaijan and NATO officially opened the Euro-Atlantic center in Baku, which serves as the main information center for NATO. Cooperation between NATO and Azerbaijan covers a fairly wide range of activities. But since 2011, the pace of cooperation between NATO and Azerbaijan has declined sharply, as Baku joined the non-aligned Movement, which, as we know, unites countries that have declared non-participation in military-political blocs and groupings as the basis of their foreign policy.

Thus, it can be noted that the Turkic countries of the post-Soviet space consider partnership with NATO as one of the priority directions of their foreign policy in the field of security. Integration into the North Atlantic Alliance programs gives the Turkic CIS countries formal protection from NATO members. In turn, NATO considers the territory of the Turkic States (Central Asian and Transcaucasian regions) as one of the key areas of its strategy aimed at expanding its influence in these regions. NATO seeks to weaken Russia's role in the post-Soviet space and prevent the Turkic States of this region from merging with the Islamic world.

It should be noted that initiatives for common Turkic integration were put forward by the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. A. Nazarbayev, who at the summit Of heads of Turkic-speaking States in Antalya in 2006 made proposals for the creation of several common Turkic structures, in particular the Permanent body of Heads of Turkic-speaking States, the parliamentary Assembly of Turkic-speaking States and the Council of Elders. The result of successful implementation of N. A.'s initiatives. Nazarbayev was undoubtedly the signing by Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkey on October 3, 2009 in the Azerbaijani city of Nakhchivan of the Agreement on the establishment of the Council of cooperation of Turkic-speaking States (CSTG), which became the basis for the creation of the first in the history of the Turkic world interstate Association of Turkic-speaking countries, designed to strengthen the unity of the Turkic peoples.

The 1st CSTG Summit was held on October 21, 2011 in Kazakhstan. The 1st FTS summit also addressed issues of national and regional security, strengthening the international community's fight against acts of aggression that threaten peace and stability, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and global security, among a wide range of issues. The sides stressed the importance of the peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the process of political stabilization in Kyrgyzstan. They also expressed support for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of Afghanistan and Iraq, ensuring the rights and freedoms of the entire population.

In January 2013, the Association of law enforcement agencies of the military status of Eurasia, consisting of Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Mongolia, WAS established in Baku. This event was regarded as the first step towards the creation of a pan-Turkist army – the "Army of the Great Turan" [8]. This DOES not imply the creation of unified security forces, which means that national formations or structures with the participation of Russia will have to deal with real threats in Central Asia. (Богатырев В.Б.2004).

Central Asian countries cannot ignore the role of Russia as a strategic and influential partner in the political arena. In the context of increasing threats in connection with the withdrawal of coalition troops from Afghanistan, the role of the CSTO (collective security Treaty Organization) is being updated, in which Moscow undoubtedly plays an important role. The CSTO is the only multilateral structure in Eurasia that is engaged in creating a system of collective security for several post-Soviet States and has a military-political dimension.

Among the Turkic States, the CSTO includes Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. In 1999 (as part of the collective security Treaty), Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan withdrew from the Treaty. In 2006, Uzbekistan's membership in the CSTO was restored. However, on June 28, 2012, Tashkent sent a note notifying the suspension of Uzbekistan's membership in the CSTO.

Initially, within the CIS, multilateral cooperation in the military and political sphere took place within the framework of the collective security Treaty (CSTO), which was signed on May 15, 1992 in Tashkent. The increased terrorist threat in connection with the events of 11 September 2001 required the strengthening of the security structure in Central Asia. There was a question of transforming the CSTO into an international regional organization-the CSTO (2002). The creation of the CSTO can also be seen as a reaction of Russia to the expansion of NATO and the growth of US influence in the post-Soviet space.

Since 2004, the issue of the mechanism for peacekeeping activities of the collective security Treaty Organization has been developed. In 2006, a session of the CSTO SCB was held, at which the political Declaration On further improvement and increasing the effectiveness of the CSTO was signed. The Declaration contains tasks to adapt the organization to modern realities and to turn the CSTO into a multifunctional international security structure. Another important vector in the CSTO's activities is the formation of a unified migration and border policy.

Kazakhstan actively participates in the CSTO. Participation in the CSTO of Kazakhstan from a military point of view should be considered in terms of the emergence of asymmetric threats from its southern borders — international terrorism, religious extremism, drug trafficking, illegal migration.

From a political point of view, Kazakhstan's membership in the CSTO consists in an effort to maintain special, friendly relations with its neighbors, primarily with Russia. That is, for Kazakhstan, membership in the CSTO, on the one hand, is an important condition for ensuring national security, and on the other hand, has significant non-military goals. In 2012, Kazakhstan chaired the CSTO. During this time, the Organization has carried out several major operations to detect and stop illegal migration, human trafficking and drug trafficking, as well as strengthening the military component. The military Committee introduced a system of collective response to conflicts. Kazakhstan has played a major role in countering the threats emanating from

Afghanistan. It was at the initiative of the Former President of Kazakhstan that the CSTO member States analyzed the situation in Afghanistan and prepared a plan for localization of threats based on the forecast.

In General, it should be noted that cooperation in the field of regional security is an unshakable foreign policy priority of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Today, Kazakhstan's role in all regional structures designed to help maintain stability, including the CSTO, is very high. Kazakhstan is one of the most stable countries in Central Asia, on which the overall security in the region depends in many ways.

Another Turkic country participating in the CSTO is Kyrgyzstan. It is widely believed that the main force that keeps Kyrgyzstan in the CSTO is the need for Russia. As noted by V. B. Bogatyrev, progress in the issues of the Russian military base and Russia's participation in the development of the energy potential of Kyrgyzstan, the write-off of public debt significantly changes the attitude to the CSTO, creating prospects for Bishkek's participation in the work of this military-political Association at a new level. The Russian leadership's decision to transfer \$ 1.1 billion worth of weapons, equipment and military equipment to Kyrgyzstan is also working in this direction [9]. It is possible that the strengthening of the role of Russia and the CSTO in the formation of military standards in Kyrgyzstan led to the intention of this country to cooperate with NATO in the framework of non-military programs.

At the same time, it is widely believed in Kyrgyzstan that NATO can ensure the country's security. Moreover, there is experience of Kyrgyzstan's appeal to the CSTO for help in 2010, during the inter-ethnic conflict in the South of the country. On the part of the CSTO, the events in Kyrgyzstan were regarded as an internal affair of this country. The potential of the CSTO can be used by the decision of the CSTO Council against external aggression against one of the CSTO members. The end result of the CSTO, Kyrgyzstan has provided technical and humanitarian assistance, but did not go for military intervention. (Никитина Ю.2009).

Kyrgyzstan chaired the CSTO in 2013. The action plan from the Kyrgyz side included countering modern threats and challenges, strengthening the CSTO's position, ensuring border security, and cooperation in emergency situations. In fact, within the framework of the CSTO, it was decided to create a security belt in the Central Asian region, where one of the important components is to ensure border security and strengthen borders (primarily of countries in the immediate vicinity of Afghanistan). Kyrgyzstan made a proposal to create such a belt.

Uzbekistan was one of the initiators of the creation of the collective security Treaty within the CIS. Uzbekistan's withdrawal in 1999, along with Georgia and Azerbaijan, from the military Treaty of the CIS countries can be explained by their disagreement with the strengthening of Russia's influence in the post-Soviet space through military cooperation. Another reason is the aggravation of relations between the participants of the DCB: Georgia and Russia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Western sanctions against Uzbekistan after the Andijan events, the events in Kyrgyzstan, and the continued build-up of Russia's military presence in the region led to the adjustment of Uzbekistan's foreign policy and its return to the CSTO in 2006. At the same time, the Uzbek side refrained from participating in many CSTO projects, in particular, it concerns cooperation in the military and military-technical spheres.

There is an opinion among experts that the suspension of Uzbekistan's participation in the CSTO in 2012 may mean that Tashkent has finally decided on its foreign policy orientation. According to B. akhmedkhanov, Uzbekistan's withdrawal from the CSTO will have virtually no consequences for the organization, since the role played by Uzbekistan in it is not a key one. (Ахмедханов Б.2001).

It is clear that Azerbaijan is not going to return to the CSTO, since Armenia is a traditional partner and ally of Russia.

The CSTO plays an important role in the multilateral diplomacy of the post-Soviet Turkic countries. But not all Turkic republics are now part of this organization, where Russia is the main pillar. Despite the diversification of ways and mechanisms for ensuring security, according to most experts, military-political cooperation between the countries of the region is based on the Russian factor, as the main guarantor of security in Central Asia. (А. Богатурова 2011).

It is necessary to mention another international organization, which includes the Turkic countries. This is the Shanghai cooperation organization, the Declaration on the establishment of which was signed at the meeting of 6 States (Kazakhstan, China, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan) in Shanghai on June 15, 2001. At the summit in St. Petersburg on June 7, 2002, the SCO Charter was adopted, which is the basic Charter document that defines the goals, principles, structure and main activities of the organization.

The results. For the Turkic countries of the Central Asian region, their participation in the SCO largely contributes to the discussion and solution of problems of security, economic, transport, and energy cooperation. The SCO plays an important role in ensuring international security and in the fight against terrorism, separatism and extremism.

Kazakhstan was the Chairman of the SCO from June 12, 2010 to June 15, 2011. Strengthening regional and global security has become the country's top priority as SCO Chairman. Kazakhstan has made a significant contribution to the development of the anti-Drug strategy of the SCO member States for 2011-2016, which was approved at the SCO anniversary Summit in Astana.

In Kyrgyzstan, the SCO is considered one of the most important mechanisms for ensuring regional security and stability. Kyrgyzstan was the first to call for the creation of an anti-terrorist structure in the SCO.

Along with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, another Turkic country participates in the SCO – Uzbekistan. As you know, the SCO's priorities are the fight against three evils: terrorism, extremism, and separatism. For this purpose, the headquarters of the regional anti-terrorist structure (rats) was opened in Tashkent in 2004.

The similarity of security threats for the three Turkic States participating in the Shanghai organization creates a platform for their cooperation. The main purpose of the SCO for the Turkic States is to strengthen regional security by improving the mechanism of multilateral consultations and agreements, in which all regional actors participate.

The SCO's interaction with the CSTO and NATO is of great importance. The Turkic member States of the SCO are also participants in the Meeting on interaction and confidence-building measures in Asia (CICA), the idea of which was put forward by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev at the 47th session of the UN General Assembly in 1992. CICA is an international organization on the Asian continent that deals with issues of Asian and regional security. The CICA is not an international organization, but a forum for political dialogue and consultation. Today, the CICA unites 24 countries with a population of more than 3 billion people. The CICA includes almost all Turkic States: Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey, and Uzbekistan.

During Kazakhstan's chairmanship of the CICA, first of all, an effective international structure was launched, concrete work was started on all five areas of cooperation, and work on institutionalization was completed when the Secretariat, a permanent administrative body, was created in 2006. The government of the Republic of Kazakhstan has an interdepartmental working group on strengthening the CICA.

On June 8, 2010, the 3rd CICA summit of heads of state and government was held in Istanbul (Turkey), where the Declaration "Building a joint approach to interaction and security in Asia" was adopted. The participants considered issues of strengthening of trust between the members of the CICA.

The role of the CICA as a mechanism for multilateral diplomacy, including that of the Turkic countries, is to expand cooperation through the development of multilateral approaches to promoting peace, security and stability in Asia. It is necessary to note the significant role of Kazakhstan in initiating, developing and strengthening this forum.

Conclusion.

Given the above, we can say that the current issue of foreign policy of the new Turkic countries is, first of all, ensuring their national security. In this context, the foreign policy strategy of the Turkic States should ensure national military construction, develop a certain line of conduct in resolving conflict situations, and protect their own borders and interests. One of the ways to achieve this goal is the participation of Turkic countries in international regional associations and organizations of military and political cooperation. The participation of Turkic countries in both European and Asian regional organizations, as well as cooperation with the Euro-Atlantic military-political structure, indicates that the leadership of the Turkic States is aware of their place and role in global geopolitical and cultural-historical processes that Express the relationship between Western and Eastern civilization.

It should be noted that the Turkic countries participate both in consultative multilateral mechanisms (CICA) and in structures directly aimed at resolving issues related to the security of these countries (for example, in the SCO, cooperation with NATO), in military-political structures (CSTO).

Bilateral cooperation and partnership within the framework of the CSTO, SCO, CICA, OSCE and other regional organizations should be the Foundation for increasing joint efforts to strengthen and ensure the security of the new Turkic countries. For the most part, the Turkic States have to either balance between blocks or make a choice between them. At the present stage, the multi-vector foreign policy of the Turkic countries is growing.

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ВОЕННО-ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЕ СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВО НОВЫХ ТЮРКСКИХ СТРАН В РАМКАХ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ РЕГИОНАЛЬНЫХ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЙ

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