

Baktybek KAINAZAROV

Polish Academy of Science

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6403-2835>

Competition of world powers in Central Asia

Abstract: The region represents a great opportunity to research the common security challenges of Central Asian countries, which require regional cooperation. Security issues connected with vulnerability of Central Asian countries into natural hazards and complex emergencies (that may derive from territorial disputes, ethnic violence, drug trafficking, combating against terrorism and extremism) equally proves that regional cooperation is necessary to solve common problems. Moreover, from cultural and traditional context, Central Asia has shared common past and heritage which would serve as driving force for regional integration process.

When Soviet Union collapsed most scholars argued that the region finally would develop independent. However, historical analysis of the post-Soviet period shows that geopolitical interest of world powers did not disappear. To some extent historical overlords of Central Asia (Russia and China) regained their geopolitical position through creating economic and military institutions with the participation of Central Asian countries. In this respect, this research paper focuses on analysis of interplay between China and Russia in Post-Soviet Central Asia, their role of regional stability and economic growth. Finally, paper also considers important to investigate the role of USA and the EU for Central Asia region, including where the EU and USA can have more space for cooperation.

Key words: Central Asia; world powers; security, geopolitics

Introduction

When Soviet Union collapsed most scholars argued that natural resource rich Central Asian region finally would develop independent and benefit from regional integration process. There was a hope for regional integration which would unite Central Asian nations who share common cultural and traditional values. However, historical analysis of over two and half decade of post-Soviet period shows that Central Asian countries could not create regional institution which would develop without external powers interference. On the contrary, geopolitical interest of world powers has increased in the region and Central Asian states became increasingly dependent on external powers.

When one analyzes the post-soviet period of Central Asian states, one can see how China and Russia actively developed their regional platforms, which aimed at increasing their influence in the region. Historical overlords of Central Asia created Shanghai Cooperation Organization (China led security and economic area), Collective Security Treaty Organization (Russia led security oriented institution), Eurasian Economic Union (Russia led economic integration organization) and Silk Road Belt Initiative (China led economic project), which shows increased geopolitical interest of both regional players. By local experts' view, in contrast to USA and the EU, Russia and China regained their geopolitical positions through creating economic and military institutions that engage Central Asian countries into integration process.

At the same time, while defining the region from geographical context, scholars consider Afghanistan as an intrinsic part of the region. Historically, Afghanistan had close cultural and traditional ties with Central Asian nations. When one analyzes ethnic composition of Afghanistan, it accommodates Tajik, Uzbek, Turkmen and Nur people, who have cultural and linguistic commonness with Central Asian people. Besides, three of Central Asian countries are bordered with Afghanistan, which directly influences for regional security of the post-Soviet Central Asian countries. In this regard, there are also local scholars who argue that geopolitical competition in Central Asia also includes situation in Afghanistan, where United States and NATO have central role to play for regional stability. Local experts acknowledge that Afghanistan, while straddling territories of three post-Soviet Central Asian states has direct impact for Central Asian countries in responding global challenges such as terrorism, Islamic radicalism, drug trafficking and others which requires regional cooperation. Therefore, while discussing the world powers competition in Central Asia, local and international scholars mostly analyze policies of four contenders: China, Russia, USA and the EU, who have higher capacity and resources than other players. In this respect, this research paper focuses on analysis of interplay between China and Russia in Post-Soviet Central Asia, as well as refers to Western countries' role for regional stability.

From Geopolitical context, there can be also regional players such as India, Turkey, Iran, who have interests to develop their cultural and economic influence. However, in front of China, Russia, USA and the EU they have not enough capacity to compete. Iran and India hold only status of observers in China and Russia led regional institutions. By social scientists view, even, if they become equal members of those institutions, the rule of the game is dictated by Russia and China. Thus, this paper analyzes competition only among main contenders: China, Russia, USA and the EU, including their shared interests and competition.

Central Asia region

When scholars define the Central Asian region, it has various names which come from different historical epochs. Whilst during Alexander the Great's intervention in Central Asia the region was called Transaxonia, during the Persian cultural domination it was called earlier '*Turan*'¹ and later Turkestan.

What is characteristic to the region is that it was in the center of power play dynamics and the world's powerful countries have fought for centuries over Central Asia. In contemporary international politics, Central Asia still remain unique region where geopolitical interests of world powers intersect. According to some scholars, in one hand it is connected with its geographical location and the same time the region is rich for natural resources, making it attractive for major players.

¹ Turan comes from Persian word which referred for Nomads of Central Asia. Iranians were sedentary whereas Turanians were considered only nomads. It is a sort of Pan Turkic trend which was lobbied before the Soviet intervention and which has revived after the fall of communism as well. Information regarding Turan can be retrieved from <http://karty.narod.ru/great/turan/turan.html>.

Map 1. Map of Central Asian countries²



Source: <https://www.rosjapl.info/podroze/azja-centralna.html>.

In relation to terminology of the name of the region, Frederick Starr emphasized that “much of the rest of the world adopted the Russians’ terminology and the assumption underlying it, namely, that the region was defined in terms of the territory under Russian control rather than by its intrinsic geographical, cultural, or economic properties” (Starr, 2006, p. 1). By local experts view, Central Asian society conceptually might extend to Xinjian and Afghanistan. However, politically the region is limited to five former Soviet states, which have a common heritage from the Soviet system.

After the intervention of Russia into the region, Soviet scientists defined the region as inner Asia or middle Asia. The Soviet period brought more than cultural and traditional commonness for the region, called Soviet civic and political culture. The Soviet period of Central Asia is described as one of educational advancement and modernization of society in the region, which had vital influence for the political and power structure. Internationally, the region now includes only five post-Soviet countries: Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Soviet civic culture equipped these countries with their own perception of political participation and political system, which differs from other post-Soviet states.

² As Fredrick Starr argued the term Central Asia is perceived from soviet terminology of SrednyAzia (Middle Asia). Therefore, this map of Central Asia covers only five post-Soviet Central Asian countries.

Post-Soviet Central Asia

The post-Soviet Central Asia countries is confronted with regional security challenges connected with Islamic radicalism, drug trafficking, labor migration, and other challenges which require regional response and cooperation. Moreover, due to its landlocked geographical location, poor economy, and increased vulnerability for natural disasters and complex emergencies, Central Asia is identified as one of the biggest landlocked and fragile regions in the world. Therefore, while examining local scholars works on geopolitics, one can see that it is more prevailed by regional cooperation with the participation of major players in the region (for last decade the role of dominating major players in the region became Russia and China).

Local scholars argue that Russia considers Central Asia not only as its periphery but also as its geostrategic partner for security matter, due to the vulnerability of the region to drug trafficking, border disputes, and poverty which can overlap into instability of whole region. Some scholars also draw attention to the term '*Afghan threat*' which emphasizes vulnerability of Central Asian countries due to religious extremism, Taliban regime and drug trafficking in Neighboring Afghanistan. Central Asian states are concerned on Taliban insurgents in the territory of Afghanistan, which presents direct threat to security in Central Asian region.

However, a certain number of scholars argue that "security threats to Central Asia don't come mainly from Afghanistan, but are rather posed by returning homegrown jihadists and groups based in countries such as Pakistan who have infiltrated Afghanistan" ("Deutsche Welle", 2017, p. 1). Russian intelligence service warned Central Asian colleagues about increasing number of religious extremists who join ISIS in Afghanistan and in Middle East countries. By local experts view the main root cause of religious extremism in the region derives also from poverty, unemployment and growing illiteracy which increase vulnerability of youth and young population of Central Asia to radicalism.

From security context local experts also highlight drug trafficking as major concern. According to Muratbek Imanaliev (former secretary of Shanghai Cooperation Organization) "One of the most difficult international problems for Kyrgyzstan, as well as for all the states of Central Asia, is the situation in Afghanistan, more precisely – several principal factors related to the present, but more to the future of this country and potentially to the future of the region" (Imanaliev, 2016, p. 1). What is argued by local scholars is that drug trafficking increases fragility of Central Asian states, due to sluggish reaction of the world community to the current situation

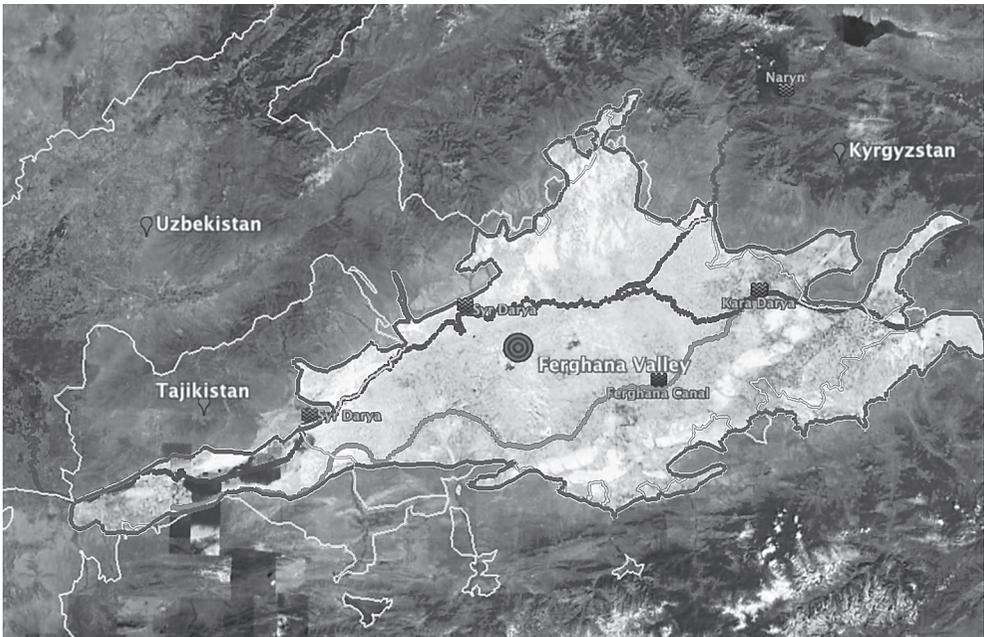
Furthermore, Central Asia accommodates Fergana valley, which is defined by social scientists as the potentially explosive region. For instance, all last major ethnic conflicts (that resulted displacement and flow of refugees across the region), revolts and ethnic violence in Central Asia took place in Fergana valley:

- the ethnic conflict between Uzbek and Kyrgyz took place in Southern part of Kyrgyzstan in 1990s, in 2010;
- in 1992 the Uzbek city of Namangan witnessed an outbreak of religious-based violence that presaged the founding of the radical Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan;
- in 1999 a Tajik colonel, Mahmud Khudoiberdiev, took control of large areas of the Tajik sector of the valley in an attempt to oust President Emomali Rakhmonov;

- in 2005, Uzbek forces opened fire on Uzbek protestors in Andijon, killing from several hundred to 1,000 people according to differing estimates (Starr, 2010, p. 3).

The list of ethnic violence and conflicts in Fergana valley can be quite long. In addition, Fergana Valley accommodates all seven existing enclaves of three Central Asian countries which retain the ethnic tension and violence. Therefore, it is argued that without active collaboration of Central Asian states in the frame of Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Collective Security treaty organization it would be impossible to respond to regional security challenges.

Map 2. Map of Fergana Valley³



Source: <http://www.energyglobalnews.com/march-1992-the-fergana-valley-massive-oil-spill/>.

Russia and China in post-Soviet Central Asia

Russia’s and China’s increased geopolitical role in the region is explained with geographical location of the post-soviet Central Asian countries between these two historical overlords. In this regard, Virginia Marantidou and Ralph A. Cossa stated that “If Ukraine is Russia’s front yard, then Central Asia must be considered its back yard. Russia has longstanding historical, economic, and political ties to Central Asian governments” (Marantidou, Cossa, 2014, p. 1). Indisputably, all Central Asian countries inherited with strong political, economic and cultural ties with Russia. However, among Central Asian countries, Uzbekistan till the death of Islam Karimov (first president of Uzbekistan) had

³ The Map of Fergana Valley, which show border disputes, existing enclaves and exclaves among Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

reluctant position to cooperate and declined from Russia led regional institutions whereas Turkmenistan distinguished with its neutrality position. As for other three Central Asian countries they all actively have been participating in regional integration, through their dependency have been increasing on China with the launch of One Road and One belt project.

In relation to current situation to Russia and Central Asian countries relations one can see how Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan also joined for close collaboration with Russia. In the latest meeting in Sochi on October 12, 2017, representatives of all Central Asian countries took part in the meeting and signed their agreement for further deepening of regional integration in the frame of Eurasian Economic Union and Commonwealth of Independent states. Local Experts connect it with the complicated situation with Islamic radicalism in Afghanistan and Middle East that present threat to national security of Central Asian countries. Central Asian governments have been showing high concern on their citizens' participation in IS conflict in Syria. According to International Crisis Group sources, for last three years from 2000–4000 have participated in conflict with Islamic State". International crisis group report highlighted that "The problem is acute in southern Kyrgyzstan, where the risks are amplified by the alienation of the Uzbek community since the violence in Osh in 2010". In this regard, Central Asian leaders acknowledge that Islamic radicalism has direct threat to national security and Russia can serve as security guarantor for regional stability and fight against Taliban from Afghanistan. In comparative analysis of external powers geopolitical influences in security area, Richard Weitz emphasized that "the last few years has seen a sharp drawdown in U.S. military activities in Central Asia, which has induced Russia but not China to increase its regional security management" (*Richard Weitz, 2017, p. 1–3*). Russia's regained geostrategic presence is evidenced through its leading role in Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), where Russia has been strengthening military alliance with Central Asian countries without China.

In addition, as experts highlight "Central Asia serves as a nexus for a thriving narcotics trade emanating from Afghanistan. Drug smugglers funnel heroin and opium from Afghanistan through the "Northern Route," passing through Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan to final destinations in Europe and Russia" (*Richard Weitz, 2017, p. 1–3*). In counter drug trafficking Russia also takes leading position in the frame of CSTO as well as in SCO. For all Central Asian countries, who are affected with drug trafficking that increase fragility of Central Asian state borders and development of trans-border criminal groups, involvement of Russia to fight against drug trafficking is welcomed.

Within this regards, Russia's presence in the region is explained with its intention to avoid any destabilization of Central Asia and the same time to keep its competitors, China and the United States, at bay (The EU report, 2016, pp. 5–6). At the same time, local scholars draw attention to China's strengthened relations with Central Asian countries, which started to deepen through huge financing and foreign direct investment to infrastructure, natural resources, energy, transport and communication area. According to statistics, "Since China forged diplomatic relations with the five Central Asian states in 1992, its overall trade with the region has increased 100-fold" (Xinhua, 2013, pp. 1–3). The economy oriented investment of China presents a great opportu-

nity for landlocked Central Asian countries to get access to global market, through Chinese led ambitious project one road one belt. In this regard, William T. Wilson referred to Chinese companies investment to building roads, bridges and tunnels across Central Asia, which increased trade between China and Central Asian states China. For instance, according to comparative research analysis for 2013, “trade between China and the five Central Asian states totaled \$50 billion, while the five states’ trade with Russia – previously the region’s top economic player – amounted to only \$30 billion” (Wilson, 2016, pp. 1–3).

In 2015, “China became Uzbekistan’s largest trading partner with \$3 billion worth of trade, Kazakhstan’s largest investor with 33 deals delivering \$23.6 billion to the nation and Turkmenistan’s biggest investor in energy sector. In addition, China became a leading partner in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan for hydro-power projects” (Kelly-Clark, 2015, p. 1–3). China’s long term strategic investment into infrastructure of Central Asian countries is making China as dominant economic power in the region.

Scholars also argue that China has redrawn Central Asia’s energy economics. According to latest statistics, “Chinese companies now own close to a quarter of Kazakhstan’s oil production and account for well over half of Turkmenistan’s gas exports. Recently they signed \$15 billion in gas and uranium deals with Uzbekistan” (Wislon, 2016, pp. 1–3). The main explanation of China’s strategic investment on infrastructure of Central Asian countries is that with the growth of Chinese economy, its dependency from raw materials and natural resources increases tremendously.

The EU and USA in Central Asia

When one analyses Western nations’ approach towards Central Asia, from the early 1990s, the USA as well as the EU saw political transformation as the main driving force for democratic reforms in the region. Therefore, initial bilateral and multilateral agreements between Central Asian countries and the US State Department as well as agreements with the European Commission focused on assistance for developing new parliaments, parties, laws, and courts.

Among the Western projects, the Technical Aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS) program promoted by the European Commission had a very promising impact for inter-parliamentary relations between European countries and Central Asia. However, as critics state “it became clear that the ‘presidential’ (as opposed to parliamentary) systems adopted everywhere had opened the door for powerful individuals to rise to the fore and claim authoritarian powers” (Starr, 2006, p. 6). Therefore, the EU and US strategy towards democratization process in Central Asia took the alternative route, which came through the NGO sector.

While discussing the EU and USA engagement in post-Soviet Central Asia, till September 11, it was characterized as limited due to geographical location and with western approach which was not welcomed by Central Asian presidents who created sultanistic and family centered regimes. By some scholars view, before September 11 the EU and USA were not proactive enough in promoting either political or economic reform in the region. Martha Brill Olcott’s emphasized “supporting reform in Central Asia was nei-

ther a priority of the U.S. nor of Europe, and in most ways policy in this region became a hand-maiden of the policy toward Russia” (Olcott’s, 2007, pp. 1–2). At the same time scholars emphasize that 9/11 changed fundamentally USA’s and the EU’s engagement in the post Soviet Central Asia. According to the EU report, after September 11, “Washington – to fight the war on terror – has transformed Central Asia into a logistical hub for its operations in Afghanistan” (The EU Report, 2016, pp. 3–5). When USA and the EU started its anti-terroristic campaign through NATO it was welcomed by Central Asian states as well as by its historical overlords, who also saw Taliban as common threat regional stability. However, cooperation of Central Asian states with western countries in NATO’s anti-terroristic mission gradually decreased. For instance, both military air base of USA was closed in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan.

Analysis of the EU report on Central Asia indicates that Brussels and Washington lost their role as major players in the region. Until recently the United States has seen the region through a security prism, focusing on the situation in Afghanistan (The EU report, 2016, pp. 8–9). However, what scholars argue is that regardless of the lack of geographical access, Central Asia entails important partner for the United States and NATO in the fight against terrorism, Islamic radicalism, drug trafficking and other contemporary challenges.

Shanghai Cooperation and its role for security in the region

SCO, which includes 4 states of Central Asia (except Turkmenistan), China and Russia, is intergovernmental organization that aims addressing not only security but also economic issues in the region. As local and international scholars argue, SCO already appeared as an umbrella under which member states can initiate and deepen economic ties with one another. For example,

Kyrgyzstan’s northwestern Talas province in February 2011 announced plans to sign a memorandum of economic partnership with Russia’s Altai province under the SCO’s umbrella and in 2009, the SCO’s umbrella was used to initiate joint economic cooperation amidst the global financial crisis, with the first meeting of SCO finance ministers and heads of central banks held in Kazakhstan though China has by far used this umbrella the most (Boland, 2011, p. 1).

Furthermore, the latest annual meeting of SCO in China showed, how this platform is now used to tie up economic, business and trade relations. However, when one analyzes SCO annual meeting agendas, the security activities dominate. As far as Central Asia is bordered with Afghanistan, security issues connected with counter-terrorism and combatting trafficking is prioritized in regional scope. In this regard, Julie Boland emphasized that.

The SCO has made progress on counter narcotics issues as well, to complement its Afghanistan-focused efforts. The RATS signed a Protocol of Cooperation with the Central Asian Regional Information and Coordination Center (CARICC) on September 27th, 2010 to combat drug trafficking, trans-border drug crime, and subsequent terrorist related financing (Boland, 2011, p. 4). In high security issues connected with border management, counter-trafficking counter-terrorism and radicalism, SCO can be considered

more operative. In the frame of SCO countries of Central Asian countries have been participating security exercises on counter-terrorism, drug trafficking which develops capacity building of member states. Importance of regional approach in the scope of SCO also derives from the NATO deployment in Afghanistan by the end of 2014. According to Stephen Aris "SCO's elites are increasingly focused on developing a regional approach to Afghanistan" (Aris, 2013, pp. 5–6).

Development and Challenges

In the process of regional intensifications in the frame of Eurasian Economic Union or Great Silk Road initiative, one can also see how these two regional rivals and major players impose new import restrictions in their led regional institutions which focus on increasing dependency of Central Asian states. Eurasian Economic Union (EEU), which is seen as Moscow's counter response to Beijing's great Silk Road plan that aim at extending China's zone of economic interest in the region, offers opportunity to Moscow to tie economic interdependence of Central Asian countries with Russia. Moreover, since 2014 with the eruption of Ukrainian crisis and with the active engagement of Russia in Syrian conflict, Russia regained its role as security guarantor in the region.

At the same time, local experts also draw attention to shared interests of Russia and China in the region. Both powers have common interest in maintaining regional security which is complicated due to increasing religiosity and development of radical groupings in post-Soviet Central Asia and Chinese Xinjiang region. Since Central Asia obtained independences, number of radical groups and sects such as Hisbut Tahrir, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, Turkestan movement, Tabligi Jamaat and others have increased. Central Asian states as well as Russia and China acknowledge that without regional cooperation it would be impossible to address security challenges in the region. Therefore, when one investigates Shanghai cooperation organization and Collective Security Treaty organization, both of these institutions are security oriented.

Membership of Central Asian countries in Russian and China led regional institutions plays a crucial role to extend economic growth and to confront drug trafficking, terrorism, Islamic radicalism and to secure regional stability. However, when one analyzes main root causes of high unemployment and poverty which increase fragility of Central Asian society to Islamic radicalism, drug trafficking and organized crime, it is tightly connected with high corruption and weak civil society which is suppressed.

Conclusion

Although scholars argue that there are four main contenders in Central Asia, it is equally argued that historical overlords of Central Asia – Russia and China increased their geopolitical presence. Development of regional organizations with Russia and China in Central Asia shows not only increased interests of two major player in the region but also their competition for economic expansion and regional dominance. While analyzing current regional integration process in Central Asia it can be concluded that

Central Asian states see China and Russia led organizations as an opportunity for balancing their alliances – two major players, both of which have greater ambition to economic and political dominance in the region. The latest statistics and reports clearly show how Chinese trade with Central Asian region has been exceeding Russian economic turnover with Central Asian countries. In contrast to Russia and China, the EU and USA has limited geopolitical presence in the region, whereby their partnership and cooperation focus mostly on soft issues including cultural and educational program, technical assistance and development aid. At the same time, the western approach such as democracy promotion, application of rule of law and civil society development, are not welcomed by Central Asian leaders who are against political system change.

References

- Aris S. (2013), *Shanghai Cooperation Organization MAPPING MULTILATERALISM IN TRANSITION NO. 2*, International Peace Institute, New York.
- Boland J. (2011), *Ten Years of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: A Lost Decade? A Partner for the United States?*, Brookings Institution, Washington DC.
- Imanaliev M., *Geographical threat – what is the future of Afghanistan and its impact to neighboring countries*, International Valdai discussion club, translated from Russian into English.
- Marantidou V., Cossa R. A., *China's and Russia's Great Game in Central Asia*, <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/china-russias-great-game-central-asia-11385?page=2>, October 15, 2017.
- Olcott Martha Brill (2007), *Democracy Promotion in Central Asia: From High Expectations to Disillusionment*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Presented at CORE Workshop on Democratization in Central Asia, Hamburg, Germany.
- Richard Weitz on new and old security challenges in Central Asia, <http://kabar.kg/eng/news/dr-richard-weitz-on-security-in-central-asia-and-its-new-old-challenges/>, November 10, 2017.
- Starr F. (2006), *Clans Authoritarian rulers and Parliaments in Central Asia*, Central Asia Caucasus Institute, John Hopkins University, SAIS.
- The EU report (2016), *The EU in Central Asia: Regional context*, The EU policy department.
- Wilson W. T., *China's Huge 'One Belt, One Road' Initiative Is Sweeping Central Asia*, the heritage Foundation.
- Xinhua, *Xi proposes a 'new Silk Road' with Central Asia*, 8 September 2013, www.chinadaily.com.cn/sunday/2013-09/08/content_16952160.htm.

Internet sources:

- “Deutsche Welle”, *Why Central Asia is increasingly worried about Afghanistan*, <http://www.dw.com/en/why-central-asia-is-increasingly-worried-about-afghanistan/a-18826223>, October 25, 2017.
- <http://thediplomat.com/2017/01/understanding-islamic-radicalization-in-central-asia/>.

Konkurencja światowych mocarstw w Azji Środkowej

Streszczenie

Region stwarza doskonałą okazję do zbadania wyzwań, przed jakimi stoją kraje Azji Środkowej, w celu zapewnienia sobie bezpieczeństwa, co wymaga współpracy regionalnej. Kwestie bezpieczeństwa związane z zagrażającymi krajom Azji Środkowej zjawiskami naturalnymi, jak i złożonymi sy-

tuacjami nadzwyczajnymi (które mogą wynikać ze sporów terytorialnych, przemocy etnicznej, handlu narkotykami, zwalczania terroryzmu i ekstremizmu) w równym stopniu dowodzą, że współpraca regionalna jest niezbędna przy rozwiązywaniu wspólnych problemów. Ponadto, z punktu widzenia kontekstu kulturowego i tradycji, państwa Azji Środkowej łączy wspólna przeszłość i dziedzictwo, które mogą posłużyć jako siła napędowa procesu integracji regionalnej.

Po upadku Związku Radzieckiego większość badaczy była zdania, że region zacznie wreszcie zdobywać niezależność. Jednak analiza historyczna okresu postsowieckiego pokazuje, że interesy geopolityczne światowych potęg nie straciły na znaczeniu. Do pewnego stopnia historyczni hegemoni Azji Środkowej (Rosja i Chiny) odzyskali swoją pozycję geopolityczną poprzez tworzenie instytucji gospodarczych i wojskowych z udziałem krajów Azji Środkowej. W tym względzie niniejszy artykuł skupia się na analizie wzajemnych zależności między Chinami i Rosją w postsowieckiej Azji Środkowej i ich znaczeniu dla stabilności regionalnej i wzrostu gospodarczego. Za ważne uznano także zbadanie roli USA i UE w regionie Azji Środkowej, łącznie ze wskazaniem na obszary, w których UE i USA mogą rozwinąć współpracę.

Słowa kluczowe: Azja Środkowa, potęgi światowe, bezpieczeństwo, geopolityka

