с другими приоритетами. К примеру, правительство США распорядилось приостановить действие контракта о закупке Ираном из Франции четырёх пассажирских самолётов. США мотивировало это тем, что при производстве этих самолётов были использованы двигатели производства США. Франция не выразила по этому поводу никаких особых протестов или высказываний.

Выводы

Как представляется, если нынешняя политика Ирана и ЕС будет продолжаться и обретёт желаемые формы, то в их отношениях наступят изменения. Если в процессе этих изменений Евросоюз чётко заявит о возможностях Ирана в сфере ядерных и ракетных технологий, то Ирану придётся серьёзно отнестись к своим стратегическим расчётам в этой области. Иран расценивает новые меры в политике ЕС как поворот к победе. Считать глубину стратегических отношений США с ЕС поверхностной, является ошибкой, подобные расчеты стратегического планирования внешней политики будут дорого стоить стране, поэтому в будущем их следует избегать. Очевидно, что единственный способ для Ирана занять достойное место в международном сообществе и в регионе - это улучшение своего имиджа, который крайне искажён и непригляден. Данная проблема демонстрирует необходимость проведения в жизнь более открытой и ясной политики, соответствующей международным нормам и принципам. В то же время, Иран волен в избрании им прагматического подхода в своей будущей политике, сообразно изменяющимся реалиям нашего мира.

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The events of September 11 led to the formation of ideas of some researchers about the inclusion of the system of international relations to the new stage. However, the review of the main methods of behavior of the major players showed that the new phase began 10 years before those events.

The article examines the relationship between Iran and the European Union on the basis of current research, taking into account the existing realities.

Keywords: Iran, European Union, strategic areas, likemindeds

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Көптеген жылдар бойы Иран мен ірі Еуропа мемлекеттері арасындағы қатынастарда саяси стратегия мәселелері маңызды орын алып келді. Бұл мәселелер геосаяси ойындардан және аймақтағы державалардың бәсекелестігінен шықты. Мақалада автор Иран мен Еуропалық одақтың стратегиялық аядағы саяси қатынастарына тоқталады.

L.F. Delovarova

MIGRATION CHALLENGES IN CENTRAL ASIA: SOME THEORETICAL ASPECTS

Migration in the initial period of the time after the collapse of the Soviet Union was considered as temporary and spontaneous phenomenon.

During the Soviet administration people of fifteen republics knew no bounds and were free in their movements. After the collapse of the USSR they were separated from their families and became foreigners in the neighboring countries in living in other republics. Spontaneity and the difficulty of these processes were considered as temporary conditions.

However, after the twenty years of independence, the issues connected to movement of people are still

^{1.} Об этом см.: President discusses Medicare. Iraq, Iran and the Middele East // The white House, June 18, 2003; The Wite House, June 25, 2003

^{2.} Thomas L. Friedman: shaking up the Neiqhbours $\ensuremath{/\!/}$ NY Time, Auq 6, 2003

among the most acute ones of the agenda of these states.

During the twenty years of independent development post-Soviet states experienced difficult transformations in the political, economic, social and cultural and other spheres.

Migration processes play an important role in these transformations. In particular it is well illustrated by the case of post-soviet states. This article focuses on migration issues related to post-Soviet Central Asia: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

The migration in the region is one of clearest indications of various problems and issues that these states face.

Understanding of these problems is essential in comprehension of the patterns of Central Asia development. Migration flows in the region clearly show both positive and negative effects of different transformations. Migration can also serve as integration generating factor. At the same time it can cause serious challenges of social security of the states and the region.

According to various estimates about 45-50% of the employable population move within the Central Asia. These flows are distributed between Russia and Kazakhstan. Remittances that migrants send make a major contribution to development in countries of origin. In countries like Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan these contributions are very significant and compose a large portion of GDP [1].

Currently, labor migration of indigenous population in Central Asia is a large-scale phenomenon. This article touches upon some theoretical aspects of labour migration issues in the region.

The case study of Kazakhstan is chosen as the one of the receiving country in Central Asia. In the analysis of case the article will focus on the three classical paradigms of international relations.

Discussion of this problem in the expert community will minimize the adverse effects of migration in the region for both the sending and receiving countries. This will also draw attention to the rights of migrants, who represent the major economic and demographic potential of the sending countries.

Insufficient research into migration processes in the region result in misunderstanding situation in the receiving and sending states.

Understanding the theoretical framework may also shed a light on the increased social challenges and even threats to regional security in Central Asia.

For a more comprehensive understanding of these issues it is necessary to apply to the theories of International Relations. It is very important to study how the theories explain the migration processes in the region.

In the modern theory of international relations migrations and their impact on global, regional and domestic transformation of the political, cultural and socio-economic nature viewed through the prism of a number of paradigms.

However, three of these paradigms – neo-realist, neo-liberal and neo-Marxism are of fundamental theoretical importance and can reflect a certain type of political philosophy, world view and vision of all migration-related problems of contemporary world development [2].

Neo-realism. Sufficiently interesting approach to migration is used by neo-realist paradigm. If summarize the main characteristics of neo-realist paradigm and take into account such main postulates of the theory as primacy of national interest, chaotic system of international relations and war (conflict) it should be noted the following provisions:

Priority of conservation of indigenous cultural and religious values is dominated. Migrants can cause serious threats to it. The threat is in the fact that immigrants are representatives of "alien" religious and cultural traditions. A consequence of this there is a danger of dissolution or disappearance of the host society's culture.

Tolerance and "political correctness" of the authorities towards immigrants undermine the rights of indigenous people and give unwarranted benefits to immigrants.

To avoid the negative consequences of immigration, it should be tight restrictive immigration policies, up to a total ban on immigration.

Immigrants are a threat to national security (terrorism and crime) and they cause instability of national economies (dependency on Social Security System, provoking unemployment among the local population).

Different civilizations existing in the world are self-sufficient and self-worth. They can interact, but cannot "understand" each other. Immigrants, one of the civilizations, being in the space of a civilization, are potentially the cause of the phenomenon of "split the country" because of civilization (or, rather, cultural and religious) incompatibility country's ethnic and religious groups. According to the Samuel Huntington, the most important boundaries between humanity and the dominant sources of conflict will be determined by the culture ... the most important conflicts of global politics will unfold between nations and groups belonging to different civilizations [3]. Compact settlement of immigrants in the host country creates a threat of secession, irredentism, or division of society into isolated ghettos.

Thus, according to neo-realist paradigm immigration in all its forms and types is an unambiguously negative phenomenon, and the negative effects of the process are magnified.

In addition, it is argued that immigration complicates the crime situation in the host countries: there are criminal groups organized along ethnic lines.

With regard to the rights of migrant workers and help improve their social status Neo-realists negatively tuned up to take the most stringent measures.

It is interesting to use the main points of neo-realism with regard to migration to the analysis of the processes in Central Asia.

Migration – is always a challenge. However, the migration processes in Central Asia, and in particular migration from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan to Kazakhstan, it is very difficult to define as strictly negative.

Culture and religion of migrants from the donors in the region are not so "alien" to the host country – Kazakhstan, on the contrary migrants and local people have much in common. Soviet past is also common for them.

Kazakhstani government is regulating the status of migrants by law. But rights of migrants are very limited. And at this time Kazakhstan has not ratified any of the major international conventions on labor migration. These are the International Convention on the Rights 1990 of All Migrant Workers' and Members of Their Families, ILO Convention 1949 № 97 on Migrant Workers' Convention (Revised) and the Convention of ILO from 1975 № 143 on Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of migrant workers equality of opportunity and treatment. In this condition it is very difficult to tell about discrimination of indigenous population.

It is very difficult to avoid the negative consequences of immigration by the tight restrictive immigration policy (on the opposite it causes problems) and moreover by the total ban on immigration which is impossible in principle. The official quota in Kazakhstan for labor migrants in 2010-2010 is 60,000. Informally, these figures are higher.

Immigrants can be a potential threat to national security (separatism, terrorism and crime) of Kazakhstan. But the key issue here is social weakness of the host state and corruption. And migrants can cause instability of national economies (dependency on Social Security System, provoking unemployment among the local population) but it has a slight effect.

Moreover migrants in Kazakhstan cannot initiate the clash of civilization due to the irrelevant religious and cultural differences. Thus, it can be concluded that the neo-realist approach to the problem of migration in Central Asia does not objectively reflect the essence of this process

Neo-Marxism. The next major paradigm is neo-Marxism. The theory defines the following provisions of migration.

Migration is one of the main problems of the modern world, generated by the polarization of the world property on the poor South (East) and the rich North (West). The North has created the current system of global colonialism, aimed at the removal of resources in the South and using them in the North.

The subjects of the globalized economy are not the state and civil society institutes, but transnational corporations and global financial institutions that build contours of the new, globalized corporate world. In this world which global industry, finance and migration flows integrated into the global system of exploitation for infinitely growing profits of these corporations.

The new capitalist world order" is characterized by a polarization of wealth and poverty, not only for North – South, but nationally within the Northern States, where the role of the rich is played by the national bourgeoisie and the role of the poor – immigration proletariat.

The bourgeoisie of the North considers the immigrants from the South only as a "permanently temporary" labor force, which should impose their duties and have very limited rights and income. So there is restrictive and protective legislation in the field of immigration and citizenship. This situation pushes immigration proletariat to the initiation of evolutionary and revolutionary movements for the transformation of neoliberal global capitalism in the "social justice" system.

World capitalism is in fact promoted chauvinistic and racist attitudes in the North to prevent the possibility of local and immigrant proletariat to overcome ethnic boundaries and unite to protect the common class interest.

Kazakhstan is the ninth country in the world according to its territory, with a population of over than 15 million people. During recent years it has become a major economic force in the Central Asia due to significant oil and gas reserves. It also takes sixth place for the production of flour (wheat, rice, oats) and is the seventh largest country in the world grain exporter.

Human development in Kazakhstan in 2010 is equal to 0.714. The Republic is in the category of countries with high human development level and takes 66 th place out of 169 countries. Compared

with the report for 2009 (82th place), Kazakhstan rose to 16 steps [4]. This is a fairly good result, which shows the progressive development and confidence. As for the other countries in the region, their results are more modest: Uzbekistan – 102, Kyrgyzstan – 109 and Tajikistan – 112.

Kyrgyzstan, with a population of 5.4 million people, has no large reserves of natural resources and its economy is still weak. Frequent revolutions (2005, 2010) further weakened the country.

Uzbekistan has very good economic potential. For Uzbekistan it is very convenient to develop regional infrastructure and cooperation. However, excessive political pressure and closed regime seriously hampers the development of the state.

Tajikistan is the poorest country in the region. In addition, the proximity of Afghanistan complicates the situation.

It is obvious that Kazakhstan is a dynamically developing country in the region. Modernization and transformation processes here are much faster than in neighboring states. But it is very difficult to compare Kazakhstan with developed states of North. Its economy today is still mostly oil-export orientated.

Kazakhstan is very attractive for migrants from donor states. And the migrants are pushed out from their states but there are no any tendencies for colonization of donor states.

Moreover, at the moment it is very difficult to imagine that the "working class" of Kazakhstan will be united with the "working class" (migrants) of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan against the bourgeoisie. The main reason is the difference in quality of life.

With regard to the important component of Neo-Marxism – the exploitation – it takes place in a sense. According to the ILO reports migrant workers in Kazakhstan are paid at least half less than the local residents for the same services. However, migrants are forced to accept as it is an income for themselves and their families. Moreover, remittances are very important for donor states.

So it is possible to conclude, that Neo-Marxism can be used for the explanation of migration processes in the region in some extend. However, there are still many unexplained gaps.

Neo-Liberalism. The most attractive theory for the studding and analyzing of migration processes in Central Asia can be considered neo-liberal paradigm. The main characteristics of neo-liberal approach to migration may be described as the following.

Immigration is, first, necessary for rapid and sustained economic development work and intellectual resources, and secondly, Western countries are char-

acterized by the twin processes of fertility decline and increase in life expectancy.

The promotion of different socio-economic and even some political rights of migrants in the host country is an important indicator of democratic development of the nation.

Free migration processes meet the liberal principle of free competition of labor for labor markets and employers – for the labor force (human resources), the specificity is manifested only in the fact that in the conditions of global community migration processes are global in nature.

The doctrine of neo-liberalism based on the civil understanding of the nation, not involving any major negative impact of immigrants on the culture of the indigenous societies of the host countries, due to the fact that the rights of locals and non-citizens should be equally and impartially defended and observed by every society and in every state. This means that everyone, regardless of their location and status, is free to occupy any position in life, to profess any religion, to have any moral and ideological values and defend them in accordance with the law.

The main problem is that providing an effective liberal immigration policy in many countries is often weak because of poor competence and awareness of public managers, or their prejudices and inability to objectively assess the situation in the immigration field. Intolerance and xenophobia against immigrants in public opinion and mass media are usually generated by the same causes and blind faith in the statements of politicians, populists playing on certain social conflicts or contradictions. Due to this the immigration policy and attitudes toward immigrants are distorted and no longer be rational character.

Common stereotypes in public opinion about the "negative" consequences of the presence of immigrants in the host society is an increase in unemployment among the indigenous population, an increase in crime, the destructive influence of the culture that dominates the host society, as a rule, are greatly exaggerated and cannot withstand criticism.

Kazakhstan as a dynamically developing country needs in migrants from neighboring countries. In addition, the population is very small in compare with the occupied territory.

Thus, migration is a very positive process, which will allow Kazakhstan successfully implement a policy directed to modernization.

However, the successful modernization is impossible without democratization, and therefore migrants should be given as many rights as possible.

Misunderstanding and xenophobia are the trends which have no any strong foundations. But the in-

creasing migration flows cause some negative consequences. Migrants often violate the law and are involved in illicit business like drug and people trafficking. In Kazakhstan, there are also cases related to terrorism and extremism. There is an opinion that this is due to illegal immigration from Afghanistan and Pakistan. From the perspective of neo-liberalism, this is due to lack of cooperation of states in the region in the regulation of migration flows. In contrast, the fruitful cooperation will contribute to positive effects of migration. This will improve the contribution of migrants to the development of the state and promote regional integration through cooperation. So it also means that the neo-liberals believe that anti-immigration policy is a much greater threat to national security. From the perspective of the author it is well justified.

The study of migration issues in Central Asia is important. Also it is important to look through some theoretical aspects of the problem. The analysis of these issues through the basic paradigms of international relations allows defining the necessary directions to find solutions to these problems.

The analysis of the basic provisions of these three paradigms can be concluded that neo-liberalism is the most attractive theory for the analysis of migration processes in the region.

The main provisions of neo-liberalism can explain the main difficulties in the way of solving the migration problems in the region. According to the neo-liberal approach governments of sending and receiving states in Central Asia can effectively cooper-

ate in the field and create mechanisms of sustainable management of the migration process.

Protection of migrants' rights and minimization of the negative effects are associated with the active collaboration between states complies with the provisions of this theory. It is also possible to state that more effective migration policy will support migrants, will be very positive for Kazakhstan and contribute to promotion of integration initiatives in the region.

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Данная статья освещает некоторые теоретические аспекты миграционных процессов в Центральной Азии. Автор анализирует основные положения трех основных парадигм современных международных отношений (неореализма, нео-марксизма и нео-либерализма) применительно к феномену миграции, а затем пытается применить основные выводы к анализу миграционных процессов в центрально-азиатском регионе. В заключении в статье констатируется, что наиболее приемлемой теорией для анализа основных проблем миграции в регионе может служить неолиберализм.