

# Understanding of the Security Cooperation under the CICA Framework from the Evolving Security Concept

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**Abstract:** *The complex characteristics and the grim situation of the Asian security in the new period puts construction of a new security structure in Asia on the agenda, and the existing CICA composed of most Asian countries can provide useful help for the Asian security structure construction. The CICA plays a unique role in promoting peace and cooperation in Asia, and in promoting mutual understanding and trust among its member states. Facing the common and comprehensive security challenges in the Asian region, the CICA security concept is also constantly developing and improving. A new Asian security concept advocated by China has become the core content of the CICA security concept, which carries far-reaching significance for pushing Asian countries to boost mutual trust and cooperation, and jointly build a secure and stable environment in the region. Respecting and caring of the security concerns of all Member States, and promoting security and mutual trust through dialogue and cooperation are the CICA main consideration for carrying out security cooperation. The Security cooperation under the future CICA framework should, on the basis of the new security concept, overcome a dilemma for lack of a community of cognition identity, a community of interests, a community of responsibility and a community of shared destiny, actively implement the measures for mutual trust, strengthen mechanisms construction, and make contributions for establishment of a new security structure in Asia.*

Since the inception of the twenty-first Century, the economic development of Asia attracts attentions of the world; meanwhile, various security contradictions and conflicts pose challenges to stability and development in Asia. The regional reality that security cooperation lags behind economic cooperation makes the Asian countries think about the issues of constructing and improving the Asian security structure. A regional security structure in sound operation should include several elements: Firstly, member states should cover the vast majority of countries in the region representing the most extensive regional security interests. Secondly, adapted to the regional security situation and characteristics. Thirdly, the concept is representative, the mechanism is effective, the decision-making is authoritative and action is pragmatic. The establishment of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (hereinafter referred to as "CICA") advocated by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev at the 47th Session of the UN General Assembly on October 5, 1992 includes main

countries in the Asian sub-regions, some of which are regional hot-spot countries, and have a strong representation in terms of regional security. For more than 20 years since establishment, the CICA plays a unique role in promoting peace and cooperation in Asia, enhancing mutual understanding and trust among member states, safeguarding regional security and stability, and advancing regional exchanges and cooperation. It can be viewed that the CICA is an international forum to guarantee peace, security and stability in Asia, and whose security cooperation concept and cooperation practice can provide beneficial enlightenment for the construction of a new security structure in Asia.

## I. Security Challenges: Dynamics For the CICA Security Cooperation

The Asian region where the CICA member states and observer states are located is currently facing a series of complex and serious security challenges, including traditional and non-traditional security issues. In the Asian region, there are both the security and military

alliances and splits formed during the Cold War era, and the disputes of territorial and maritime rights and interests left over from the Second World War and the Cold War, while there are also varieties of non-traditional security threats.

***First, terrorism and extremism have become common security challenges facing the CICA member states.*** These security threats find no national boundaries, so all sides share identical interests, and fortune or misfortune. Presently, Asia has become the region for the most rampant terrorist activities. According to incomplete statistics, in 2014 there was 2383 global terrorist attacks in total, while as high as 1794 terrorist attacks in the Asian region, accounting for 75.28% of the total global terrorist attacks.<sup>1</sup> In addition, "Jihad Salafists" trend of thoughts not only encourages extremist forces to whip up a series of violent terrorist activities in the Middle East, but also expands to Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asian countries, China's neighboring countries. The spillover effect of the Middle East upheavals, the U.S. and NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan also aggravate the rampancy of the Central Asian and South Asian terrorism. The originally outbound-based terrorist activities find their ways to the hinterland of Central Asia, and coordinate from afar with "Islamic Liberation Party" having stable foundation in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan and the "Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" in Fergana Valley and even hook together, which increase the security risks of the Central Asian countries, and the counter-terrorism and counter extremism pressure. The rampant terrorist and extremist activities in Asia serious harm normal social life and economic development in various countries, also endanger China's trade and investment, energy cooperation, enterprises and citizens' personal and property safety, but also exacerbate the security environment of China's western region. The common security challenges require the CICA member states to work together and jointly respond.

***Second, hard drug planting and trafficking, arms smuggling, illegal immigration, transnational crime, and refugee problems caused by regional conflicts pose a security threat to the Asian region.*** These

non-traditional security challenges have higher chain-reaction, and require the CICA member countries to explore comprehensive and integrated solutions to respond. Take the hard drug cultivating and trafficking for example, Afghanistan is the world's third largest opium producer, according to the report of the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Afghan opium planting areas have increased on three consecutive years, expanding 7% in 2014 year-on-year; since the war in Afghanistan launched by the United States, Afghan opium production increases by 40 times.<sup>2</sup> In addition, Central Asia and South Asia have become major regions for Afghanistan's drug trafficking and consumption, from the Afghanistan illegal contingents and terrorists to the "three forces" of (terrorism, extremism, separatism) in Central Asia and South Asia, huge amounts of money are ripped off by producing hard drug, drug sales, and drug trafficking to recruit terrorists, operate terrorists organizations and camps, buy various modern advanced weapons, plan and launch terrorist attacks and organize related demagogical incitements. In recent ten years, Afghanistan drugs through Pakistan and Central Asian countries penetrate into China's Xinjiang, and China also has witnessed the drug crime-related terrorism. Although the Central Asian countries have established drug control centers, while, to contain drugs smuggling must be combined with prevention of other non-traditional security threats, and require regional countries to strengthen communication and coordination and look for comprehensive management under the CICA framework.

The humanitarian disaster and refugee problem caused by regional conflicts are one of comprehensive security challenges that should not to be ignored. A traditional security threat is likely to lead to a humanitarian disaster and refugee problem, once refugees get across a border into neighboring countries, which will cause a series of non-traditional security problems, such as epidemic prevention and control, the utilization of resources and other issues, which demand co-governance between a refugees-exporting country and a refugees-accepting country. Take Afghan

refugees for example, as of April 2015, only Pakistan already has as high as 1.61 million Afghan refugees registered, and another 1.00 million Afghan refugees to be registered.<sup>3</sup> A huge refugee problem is the important content of the government regular consultations between Pakistan and the Afghan governments, but due to the instability in Afghanistan and other reasons, neither side has abundant resources to solve refugee problem, so it is an urgent need for regional multilateral security mechanism to get involved.

***Third, the lack of cooperation in Asia increasingly aggravates the security challenges.*** First of all, East and South Asian territorial and maritime disputes continue. Territorial and maritime disputes in East Asia shaped because of historical reason existing for a long time, and in recent years have witnessed amass outbreaks and triggered a series of chain reactions, the negative effects caused especially by "the four northern islands" disputes between Russia and Japan, the Dokdo islands disputes between South Korea and Japan, the maritime islands disputes among China, Japan and the Philippines, etc. on the regional security are noteworthy. In addition, there are different degrees of territorial disputes between Thailand and Cambodia, between China and India, and between Pakistan and India. Secondly, the American Asia-Pacific rebalancing strategy has also created some negative effects on the strategic mutual trust and cooperation among major countries, increasing the likelihood of mutual misjudgment. Focusing "attention" on security in the Asia-Pacific, the Obama Administration comprehensively intensifies its "strategic investment", having brought the negative influence to Asian security. On the one hand, it has triggered misgivings about the U.S. actions in countries such as China and Russia; on the other hand, it made some Asian countries having doubts about China or Sinophobia get closer to the United States, resulting in mutual confrontation and mutual estrangement among Asian countries. China has truly felt the security pressure brought by the U.S. return to the Asia-Pacific strategy, Russia is also worried about being sandwiched by the U.S. return to the Asia-Pacific strategy

and NATO endless "Eastward Expansion". The inadequate strategic mutual trust among major countries is bound to pose threats to the security and stability in East Asian and South Asian regions. Thirdly, conflicts resulted from the use of resources and boundaries delimitation among the Central Asian countries are a typical case of non-traditional security challenges triggered for lack of cooperation. The partial distribution of oil and gas and water resources as well as their imbalanced utilization often lead to conflicts among the Central Asian countries, while the boundaries delimitations between Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in the Fergana region have been controversial, plus the Fergana basin extremist influence and rising nationalist sentiment of the three countries, which are extremely easy to intensify the contradictions.

***Fourth, the non-traditional security issues such as energy security, resources security, ecology security, food security and cyber security are closely connected to the economic and social sustainable development of the CICA member states and observers states,*** and shape sustainable security challenges related to development. Take energy transport security as an example, there are nine important transport sea-lanes in the world, of which four lanes in Asia, and the Malacca Strait is the most critical one. In 2013 the average daily transport of oil was 17 million barrels through the channel, and also large quantities of goods transported through the passage from East Asia to West Asia and Europe.<sup>4</sup> However, piracy in Southeast Asia seriously affects this lane safety. In order to ensure energy transportation security of the sea lanes, various countries should work together to combat piracy. In addition, take Central Asian ecological security and food security for an example, because of the forest fires and bad drought in the period from 2000 to 2011, grain yield decreased in Central Asian countries, particularly in Kazakhstan, a world's major grain exporter, so whose government had to control grain exports, forcing the Tajikistan Government to use seed grain to tie over the food crisis, which poses a threat to the economic and social sustainable development.

Besides, with the rapid development of

information technology and cyber technology, Internet crime, terrorism, hacker attack and cyber warfare pose profound threats to national security. The special role of cyber media in the upheavals in the Middle East and outbreak of the 2013 "PRISM" leakage fully demonstrates the importance of cyber security for the sustainable development of a country. Various countries all over the world have been actively exploring how to maintain national sovereignty and interests in cyberspace, South Korea, Japan, India, Singapore and other countries have adopted network security strategy or program. China has also set up the Central Leading Group on Cyber Security and Information Technology in charged by the national top leaders so as to accelerate formulation of development strategy of cyber security and information technology.

Such a reality of complex traditional security threats interwoven with non-traditional security threats prompts the CICA member states and observer states pay more attention to the security issues and security cooperation, and also promote gradual evolution of security concept to cope with the increasingly severe security threats.

## II. Evolution of the CICA Security Concept

Safeguarding regional security is the CICA founding objective, giving attention to security issues in the region and promoting the basic cognition of security by member states to gradually become integrated are the main content of the CICA Summits of the heads of state, foreign ministers meetings and senior officials meetings. From the establishment initiative proposed by Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev in October 1992 to 2015, the CICA security philosophy experienced development process from giving concerns singly to security to attaching importance to multiple security challenges, and from ambiguity gradually to clarity.

### ***The first stage: the period of preliminary communication (October 1992 - January 2001)***

At this stage, because of the active efforts of the governments of Kazakhstan and Asian

countries as well as the international community, scholars in many Asian countries began participating in the experts meeting for the CICA, and decided to set up the special working group for the preparatory CICA conference of foreign ministers. In this period, the CICA had in February 1996 and December 1997 held two vice foreign ministers' meetings, at which delegates stated their positions on the CICA rules in line with their own national interests in the region, most countries held a positive attitude that the CICA could become another forum for discussing regional security and attaining mutual trust in Asia. CICA foreign ministers' meetings held in succession in September and November 1999 began negotiating members mutual relations principles and planning to establish Asian regional stability and security assurance mechanism, and signed the *CICA Declaration on the Principles Guiding Relationship of Member States*.

At this stage, the CICA mainly focused on the common security challenges, and initially put forward the necessity to strengthen mutual trust in the security field in the Asian region proceeding from the common security threats. The CICA member states believe that Asian countries security is indivisible, regional security and global security are closely linked, all parts of the Asian security system are complementary to each other and related to each other, the diversity of civilizations is not resulted from the elements of security threats, tolerance and dialogue help promote mutual understanding and trust among countries, and carrying out security cooperation is the main way to solve the regional problems on the basis of recognition of the United Nations and respect of the international law. The CICA Founding Declaration, the CICA basic document guiding relations of its member states, repeatedly stresses the common and indivisible security of Asia, and has also acknowledged the diversity of security concerns caused by historical and cultural factors. The CICA declaration recognizes the importance of indivisibility of security in Asia and expresses their resolve to intensify joint efforts in this direction with a view to oppose



the challenges and threats to peace, security and stability in Asia; recognizes the close link between peace, security and development in Asia and in the world as a whole and conscious of the need for each member state to make its contribution to strengthening world peace and security and to promoting fundamental rights, economic and social progress and the well-being of all peoples; reaffirms that the diversity of national characteristics, traditions, cultures and values of the Asian states is not a divisive but a valuable mutually enriching factor for their relations.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the preliminary consensus reached on responding to common security challenges, the CICA member states have no clear cognition of cooperative security, and the concerns focus mainly on how to strengthen trust and dialogue. For example, the CICA Founding Declaration points out that member states should emphasize the importance of tolerance in international relations and the significant role of dialogue as a means to reach understanding, remove threats to peace and strengthen interaction and exchange among civilizations.<sup>6</sup>

***The second stage: the period of high-level dialogue and consultation (January 2001 - October 2009)***

At this stage, the CICA member states carry out high-level dialogue and consultation on the concept of security. On the basis of the meetings of CICA foreign ministers, and vice foreign ministers, the Kazakhstan Government in the beginning of the year 2001 began pushing hard the CICA Summit of Heads of State. The first CICA Summit was held in June 2002, at the which the heads of state jointly issued the "ATA Document", and "Declaration on the Elimination of Terrorism and Promotion of Dialogue Among Civilizations". In October 2004, the CICA second session of the foreign ministers meeting was held, which adopted the *CICA Catalogue Of Confidence-Building Measures and the CICA Orders of Procedure*, and laid a legal foundation to promote the CICA to become a regional mutual trust and security mechanism. Afterwards, the second CICA summit, and the third session of the foreign ministers meeting were held.

Deepening understanding of the regional security challenges at this stage, the CICA Member States further pointed out that terrorism and separatism are common security challenges threatening regional countries, emphasized the importance of cooperation in the field of security, and practiced cooperative security in the aspect of implementing confidence building measures. The ATA Document-- the CICA Charter-- explicitly points out that the CICA's main goal and action direction are to safeguard peace, security and stability in Asia through a multilateral approach to consolidate cooperation. To achieve the above goal, the Member States will take necessary steps to develop the CICA into a forum for dialogue, consultation, decision-making and measures-implementing based on the consensus of Asian Security. The purpose of the CICA is to expand cooperation and safeguard peace, security and stability in Asia, to combat illicit drug production and circulation, and to expand trade and economic cooperation for the prosperity and stability of Asia, to combat terrorism in any form, to strengthen all-dimensional cooperation in environmental protection, to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and eventually eliminate these weapon, to take confidence-building measures in the field of humanities to strengthen mutual respect, understanding and tolerance between different civilizations, and to implement confidence-building measures between the member states, and so on.<sup>7</sup>

Because of occurrence of the 11/9 attacks, the CICA Member States at this stage focused terrorism as a common security challenge. In 2002, the first CICA Summit published the "Declaration on Eliminating Terrorism and Promoting Dialogue Among Civilizations", expressing the CICA member states' stand against terrorism to the international community. The Member States condemn any form of terrorism, and acts of violence and crime against innocent peoples' lives and endangering peaceful co-existent environment, and there is no reason to defend terrorism. Meanwhile, the Declaration also stresses that no terrorism should be confused with any religion,

nationality or civilization. We must never allow terrorism to lure us into conflicts of religions, cultures or civilizations. We must be on vigilant that the global fight against terrorism is evolving into a war targeted at culture, religion or nationality. The Declaration also pointed out that the struggle against terrorism should be global, comprehensive and sustained, and not selective or discriminatory. The fight against terrorism must avoid double standards, oppose the interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state with the fight against terrorism as an excuse, and oppose the use of force against a sovereign state bypassing the "UN Charter"..... We must respect human rights and lawfully combat terrorism. In addition, the Declaration also expresses the cooperation intention of the CICA Member States in the fight against terrorism that they with open attitude cooperate with all countries, regions, and international organizations or institutions in countering against terrorism.... The CICA Member States should strengthen mutual cooperation and dialogue, promoting common values, enhance mutual understanding and trust, and jointly combat terrorism.<sup>8</sup>

Having recognized a series of problems and challenges caused by lack of cooperation, the CICA Member States continue to improve their consensus on security cooperation, and both meetings of foreign ministers and summits of heads of state convened at this stage made guiding arrangements for implementation of security cooperation. The choice of confidence-building measures is a typical case. In 2007 in the course of discussing *Implementing Cooperation Methods Of the CICA Confidence-Building Measures*, the implementation of confidence-building measures in the military and political dimensions became the most controversial ones in the nine-dimension catalogue of the confidence-building measures. Then, some member states believed that the CICA development had not yet reached the level for confidence-building measures in the military and political dimensions; some other member states advocated performing confidence-building measures first from social and economic dimensions, and the confidence-building measures in the military and political dimensions can be postponed; and still some member states (such as Kazakhstan) insist that cooperation in the military and political dimensions should be the core of the CICA philosophy,<sup>9</sup> and is emphasized in the *Almaty Act* and the *Catalogue of CICA Confidence-Building Measures*. Because it is difficult to reach agreement in the military and

political cooperation, *Implementing Cooperation Methods Of the CICA Confidence-Building Measure* does not touch on how to implement confidence building measures in the military and political dimensions, so the member states believe that cooperation should focus first on how to respond to new challenges, and new threats and social economic development. In the later work practice, Member States show enthusiasm to deal with non-traditional security threats and the cautious attitude on military security cooperation, hence putting aside their difference, seeking common ground and implementing the cooperation models are widely used in various dimensions by those coordinator countries.

For example, Turkey and Afghanistan are the coordinator countries and common coordinator countries for confidence-building measures in the dimensions of responding to new challenges and new threats, and at the beginning of its work, Turkey pays high attention to promoting the importance of consultations. Unlike other coordinator countries, Turkey, prior to convocation of the experts meeting, did not submit its draft plan of action, but locked the agenda for the experts meeting in four topics: border control and management, and police activities-related issues, counter terrorism, and smuggling. Then it distributed to the member states to discuss the views of the participating experts on the above topics in the form of "common conclusion", and then submitted the draft plan of action to the special working group after obtaining the feedback. Two months later the Committee of Senior Officials adopted the Turkish plan. The final action plan contained the four themes of the expert meeting, also established a national coordinator cyber network to implement confidence-building measures to cope with new challenges and new threats, and regularly exchanged information, conference's and meeting's contents in this dimension.

Despite deepening the understanding of commonality and cooperation on security challenges, the CICA Member States are still short of clear understanding of comprehensive security challenges and challenges to the regional countries economic and social sustainable development. The CICA extends security content from the military and political security to the dimensions of economic security, ecological security, humanitarian security and energy security, many of which belong to the "new challenges and threats". For example, energy security is one of the priorities in the agenda, and

the dialogue and cooperation between energy supply countries and energy demand countries are of special significance. Hence, it should be emphasized that energy security is an inseparable part of economic and social security, and is an integral part of stable development.<sup>10</sup> The Member States also believe that in the face of terrorism, separatism and cross-border organized crime, natural disasters, epidemic prevention and other transnational security challenges, various countries should respond together and govern comprehensively. For example, the Almaty Act points out that peace, security and development will complement each other, reinforce each other, and promote each other: all composition parts of an Asian security system including military and politics, confidence-building measures, economic and ecological problems, and humanitarian cooperation and cultural cooperation are interdependent and interrelated, and should be put in active operation".<sup>11</sup>

***The third stage: deepening extension period (October 2009 - May 2014)***

In October 2009, CICA Senior Officials Committee meeting held in Beijing International Club, delegates of the Member States shared full exchange of views for a potential security risk in the Asian region affected by the global financial crisis, and further discussed issues of how to continuously improve the CICA confidence-building measures and security dialogue mechanism. In June 2010, the third CICA Summit held in Istanbul, Turkey, which symbolizes acceptance of the CICA concept by more Asian countries.

At this stage, the CICA Member States, based on continuous focus on common security challenges and security cooperation, show stronger awareness on responding to comprehensive security challenges, and share increasingly clearer cognition on security challenges affecting the sustainable development of the regional countries. In the meantime, CICA Member States for the first time proposed to encourage citizens and industrial circles of various countries to participate in counter-terrorism operations, develop inter-civilization dialogue and inter-cultural dialogue, and promote mutual understanding to effectively solve the problem.<sup>12</sup> As for drug cultivation and trafficking, arms smuggling, transnational organized crime that constitute comprehensive security challenges, it reiterates the importance of international cooperation and comprehensive governance: we recognize that no government alone can successfully deal with the threats, so we urge all

countries to cooperate, coordinate, and take resolute action to curb the threats. We have the resolve to implement the strategy to combat the domestic, international and transnational organized crime and develop more effective means to crack down on this kind of crime.<sup>13</sup>

At this stage, persistent security challenges such as energy security, response to the negative influence of the financial crisis are also of concerns. For example, the CICA Member States recognize the importance of energy security to sustainable development and to improvement of the social and economic well-being and the technical cooperation as a major direction to safeguard energy security; and stress the necessity of energy cooperation so as to strengthen cooperation, promote and configure feasible environmental clean energy technology, expand the use of energy, and accelerate energy-related technologies to transfer from developed countries to developing countries under favorable conditions.<sup>14</sup>

***The fourth stage: the period to become well-set (since May 2014)***

Held in Shanghai in May 2014, the fourth CICA Summit of Heads of State and Government adopted the *Shanghai Declaration* to further clarify and improve the CICA security concept. The "*Shanghai Declaration*" for first time proposes the "common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security" concept. It points out that in the context of globalization, the meaning of security has evolved into an integrated concept, and security's transnational, comprehensive and interacted features have become more prominent; that all countries in the region share not only common interests, but also common security and danger; that any country is unable to maintain integrity on the security front; and that all countries should seek common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security on the basis of consensus reached so far.<sup>15</sup> Through the Shanghai Summit, the CICA security concept is fixed in the form of a declaration: the common security is the main-body of security, there will be real security only if all countries enjoy security, no country should strengthen its own security at the expense of security of other countries... We emphasize that any state, bloc or organization has no special leading responsibility in the maintenance of peace and stability.<sup>16</sup> Comprehensive security covers security contents, including both traditional security and non-traditional security; cooperative security is the way to attain security, which can only be achieved through cooperation of equality, mutual respect, and

mutual trust; sustainable security is the foundation of security, giving emphasis on the relationship between development and security. The sustainable security is a new formulation. The CICA Member States work for the security that is sustainable, rather than short-term; while the basis for sustainable security is development that can be achieved only through economic cooperation. As Chinese President Xi Jinping points out at the Shanghai Summit that sustainability lays emphasis on both development and security in order to achieve lasting security; development is the basis of security, security is the condition for development.; and for most Asian countries, development is the matter of greatest security, and also the master-key to solve the issue of regional security.<sup>17</sup> The vast majority of the CICA Member States are developing countries, so economic and social development is always the top priority for these countries, meanwhile, some security problems are triggered by inadequate development. Therefore, the CICA Member States also need to enhance mutual trust through strengthening economic cooperation, and further promoting security.

### III. China's Possible Contribution to CICA

In the course of CICA development, China has been actively involved in various stages of the work. It must be emphasized that China's greatest contribution to the CICA lies in improving its security concept, the Asian security concept proposed by China has become the core content of the CICA security concept. Especially in the keynote speech at the fourth CICA Summit, and expounding comprehensively and systematically the Asian security concept, President Xi Jinping first proposed concept of the common security, comprehensive security, cooperative security and sustainable security, carrying far-reaching significance to promote Asian countries' mutual trust and cooperation, and build a secure and stable environment in the region. Therefore, although the term "new security concept" is not included in the CICA declaration text, the CICA security concept indeed is highly consistent with the new security vision.

The new security concept advocated by China includes the following contents.

**First, security challenges show a commonality, the security subject has universality, equality and inclusiveness.** As President Xi Jinping points out that security should be universal, it won't do if only one nation enjoys security while others are subjected to national insecurity; security

should be equal, all countries have the right to equal participation in regional security affairs, and also have the responsibility of maintaining regional security; security should be inclusive, observe international basic norms such as respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs and others, respect their independent choice of social system and path of development, respect and accommodate the legitimate security concerns of all parties. Security should be a common security for all people of Asia and the world at large.

**Second, highlighting a comprehensive way to respond to the security challenges.** For the current Asian region, there exist both traditional security and non-traditional security, linkage and overlapping of security problems are on the increase, therefore, in response to security challenges, it is necessary to take into overall consideration the historical origin and realistic basis incubating those regional security issues and their possible development trajectory, to fully mobilize enthusiasm of government, civil, industry, academia, research, etc., and to make multi-pronged efforts, overall planning, and comprehensive management in the political, economic, social, cultural, religious and other aspects.

**Third, emphasizing the importance of security cooperation.** Based on the common and comprehensive features of security challenges, any one country is unable to successfully deal with a security threat alone, so cooperation is essential, and cooperation must have equality and respect as the premise, which is also the principle emphasized by the CICA previous summits.

**Fourth, highlighting interactions between development and security, and putting forward the concept of "sustainable security".** China believes that development is the greatest security, also the starting point and the key-point for solving various regional security challenges. Only focusing on development, and improvement of people's livelihood, can the gap between the rich and the poor in a country and between countries in the region be narrowed down, the potential factors generating security threats be reduced, all kinds of security challenges be eliminated fundamentally.

The proposal of an Asia new security concept and its reflection in the Shanghai Declaration reflect the recognition and acceptance of the new security concept by the CICA Member States, and carry landmark significance for improving the CICA security concept.

In addition to making a concept proposal,



China, as the CICA country chair, has also made greater contributions to security cooperation under the CICA framework. From the beginning of May 2014, China is the rotating country chair of the CICA, its special status of the rotating chairmanship and good relations with Kazakhstan and Turkey and other CICA core Member States provide a good opportunity to promote CICA's further development.

*Firstly, the CICA members expect China during its rotating country chairmanship to play a special leading role, and to enhance the CICA ability and influence with the aid of China's influence.* Kazakhstan, Turkish scholars repeatedly express a hope for China during its rotating chairmanship to promote and upgrade the CICA, strengthen leadership and execution of various mechanisms including the Secretariat and promote steadfast implementation of confidence-building measures in the security dimension, etc..

*Secondly, the extensive and representative character of the CICA Member States and Observer States also provide internal power for China to play the chairmanship's special leading role.* With the help of China, the CICA international influence will get a promotion; and with help of the CICA, China's influence and attraction in the regional security cooperation will gradually rise. This is because the Chinese peripheral interests and the interests of Asia are closely related to the CICA interests. Most of the CICA Member States are China's neighboring countries and the areas where China's interests from land to the sea are concentrated, security and stability in the areas covered by the CICA member states are closely related to China's peripheral security and stability. In addition, from the perspective of a tool, the CICA is part of China Asia diplomacy and peripheral diplomacy. With the help of the CICA, China can carry out dialogue with international organizations of the West; and through the CICA, China can strengthen strategic communications with sub-regions of Asia, especially the South Asia, West Asia, North Africa; so giving support to the CICA is conducive to strengthening of bilateral comprehensive strategic partnership between China and Kazakhstan.

*Thirdly, based on the reality of diversity and differences of the CICA Member States and Observer States and given a comprehensive review of the CICA development course, China should, in the capacity of an active participant with a leading role, push forward the CICA further development. To play the special leading role of the rotating*

country chair, China should proceed from crystallizing Asian new security concept with Asian characteristics; lay a thinking foundation for security cooperation under the CICA framework, meanwhile, promote the CICA mechanism capacity building such as enhancing the Secretariat coordinative functions, strengthening the communication and cooperation between the country chairmanship and the core Members States (Kazakhstan, Turkey, etc.), between the country chairmanship and regional international organizations, and between the country chairmanship and major countries in the world; bring the CICA to more maturity and make it more radiated and influential.

*Finally, the CICA security cooperation concept and China's constructing Asian new security architecture share important points in common.* China repeatedly stresses that nurturing an Asian security framework, accorded with the regional reality and meeting the needs of all parties, is the "essential link" to maintain security in Asia. The Asian new security architecture should be based on the new security concept, and should be two-wheel drive conducive to the promotion of regional economic cooperation and security cooperation.<sup>18</sup> The Joint Statements between China and Russia express many times the basic idea for the two countries to structure a regional security architecture with the new security concept as a guidance and based on abiding by the basic principles of international law, and to establish open, transparent and equitable, inclusive security and cooperation architecture in the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>19</sup> The CICA, whether in theory or practice, obvious observes the new security concept, can provide enlightenment and experience for the Asian new security architecture construction. Besides, China, as the rotating CICA country chair, also can, to a certain extent, make up for "inadequacies of international institution building".<sup>20</sup> China is a major country in the world while Kazakhstan and Turkey are medium-countries with regional influence, the three countries are fully capable of advancing the security cooperation model involved and led by major and medium-sized countries in the CICA, which provide a reference model for the Asia new security architecture construction.

#### **IV. The Difficulties and Prospects of Security Cooperation under the CICA Framework**

It is true that the CICA has made some progress in security concepts and in practice of

security cooperation, but due to various subjective and objective factors, security cooperation under the CICA framework also faces a series of difficulties, which is related to how to promote pragmatic cooperation on security issues.

As an international forum with the most extensive geographical coverage of the Asian region, the CICA biggest attraction is that it can provide a non-exclusive platform for member states and observer states to conduct exchanges and cooperation on security issues in Asia as well as the existing security problems among them, and to handle issues difficult to resolve and of common concerns. To respect and care of the security concerns of all member states and to promote security and mutual trust through dialogue and cooperation are the CICA main considerations for security cooperation. Over the past 20 years, the achievements obtained by the CICA in confidence building measures are mainly the result of its openness, progressiveness and non-mandatory, however, the further development and influence elevation of the CICA in the future are largely dependent on whether it can make a practical breakthrough in security cooperation. The author believes that the CICA currently shows inadequate pragmatic security cooperation, for which the main reasons are that Member States have not yet established a community of cognition, a community of interests, a community of responsibility and a community of shared destiny.

On the one hand, the diversity and differences of the Member States and Observer States generate their cognitive differences on security challenges, and result in lack of a community of cognition, which leads to more segmentation on security issues of the CICA. Besides, because of rather limited understanding of the connection between one country's security challenges and other member states, the national security self-consciousness prompts some member states unable to provide public products and bear the cost of cooperation, which leads to lack of community of interests, and shows inadequate collective decision-making power on security.

Covering the whole Asian continent, from East Asia to West Asia, from the Russian Far East to Southeast Asia and South Asia, the various CICA member states and observer states face huge differences in history and culture, customs, ideology, political system, social development level and geopolitical environment, and other dimensions. The diversity of the CICA members not only brings about different interests for security, but also

different priorities of the CICA security cooperation. For example, the Middle East countries view the Palestinian-Israeli issues as the core of regional peace, while Central Asian countries are more concerned with the spillover effects of Afghan situation on regional security and stability, and some East Asian countries pay more attention to security problems triggered by disputes over maritime rights and interests. Even on the non-traditional security issues commonly concerned by the CICA members, various countries still have their different focuses. For example, On non-traditional security issues, the Middle East countries are more concerned about the spread of terrorism and religious extremism, Central Asian countries are more concerned about drug trafficking, transnational crimes and water resources utilization and other issues, while Southeast Asian countries are more concerned about disaster prevention and mitigation, climate change and other issues. Thus, in the face of common security challenges, the CICA members must also face enormous challenges brought by these differences. And implementation of all the CICA initiatives is on a voluntary basis of the member states and observers states, the security issues dispersed segmentation can easily lead to more discussions rather than pragmatism on the CICA security cooperation decisions and goals, and confidence-building measures short of specific content, which leads to greatly reduced enforcement of multilateral confidence-building measures, and slow advance of pragmatic cooperation. How to search for common and primary security needs with the greatest degree of inclusiveness from the complicated and different security requirements may be a formidable matter for the CICA to urgently solve in the future.

On the other hand, mechanism capacity-building lags behind, which has become the main factor that hinders the CICA further development, there is neither corresponding mechanism safeguard to enable various countries to work together to respond to a variety of security challenges, nor dominant recognition knowledge on sustainable security challenges and others, which further leads to lack of sense for a community of responsibility and a community of shared destiny. The diversity and differences of Member States and Observer States also makes the CICA short of clear core values in security cooperation, which constrains more its elevation of the mechanism capacity-building. The different views of the CICA Member States and Observer States on the CICA development direction and increasingly grim

security situation in Asia even add new obstacles to the CICA mechanism capacity-building. It should be noted that over the past 20 years, the CICA has set up some mechanism for security cooperation, such as a decision-making mechanism including a summit of heads of state and government, and foreign ministers' meeting held every four years, and senior officials committee meeting or meetings held annually; a working mechanism is special working group meeting and experts meeting; a functional mechanism is the CICA Secretariat in Kazakhstan. However, the existing institutional arrangements cannot fully ensure the goal of security cooperation to be advanced pragmatically, resulting in the questioned efficiency and even existential necessity of the CICA. Besides, in the CICA development process, and Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev has made great contributions, Turkey during its rotating CICA country chair also made a considerable efforts for the CICA, while, this kind of "small horses pulling a huge-cart" effect after 20 years is gradually diminishing, how to bring to full play the role of core members, and promote the CICA capacity-building has become one of the major tasks facing the CICA.

The author believes that improving the status quo for lack of a community of cognition, a community of interests, a community responsibility and a community of shared destiny need a two-pronged approach of concept-building and mechanism-building.

As is known to all, the establishment of the CICA mainly is an imitation of the development model of the OSCE, and therefore with obvious traces of European mechanisms. However, the obvious characteristics of European cooperation mechanism is shared common values, while Asia's characteristic is diversity and difference, which makes the CICA in the development process show a relatively agreed security cooperation concept, but short of clear and unified security identity cognition accepted by the vast majority of the member states. Diversity is certainly valuable, but unity is more important here. Therefore it is necessary for the CICA to use the Asian new security concept as the core identity to maintain security cooperation. This concept covers the value elements usually emphasized in the current international system, while also takes into account the special challenges facing Asia. In the future, Asia's new security concept should be further fit into the cultural concepts commonly shared in Asia, for instance, Kyrgyzstan former foreign minister Imanaliev

stressed that the new security concept should embody the cultural spirit that Asia pursues peace, humanitarianism and inclusiveness.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the CICA should also further improve theoretical connotation of the new security concept, responding to the current Asian common security concerns, and also bearing long-term significance. In addition to targeting the three forces as real security threats generally concerned by the CICA Member States, the concept should also include cyber security, environmental protection, nuclear non-proliferation, the militarization of outer space, etc. In short, the new security concept should be based on the Asia's history and culture core spirit, but also look forward to the future, and can arouse sympathy in the international community.

Strengthening the CICA from the perspective of mechanism should proceed from the following several aspects: First is to implement the adopted confidence-building measures and the plan of action in the CICA security dimension to achieve more concrete results. Second is to keep focus on the subjects in order to determine priority dimensions of cooperation as soon as possible based on the issues of common concerns of the Member States. Third is to bring to play the special leading role of the CICA rotating country chair and the coordinate role of core members. In view of the CICA development process, the rotating country chair leadership has a special role in advancing various security cooperation and core members active participation also has a positive significance on implementation of multilateral cooperation. Meanwhile, regional cooperation under the CICA framework requires major countries' leadership, but should maintain the interaction with other regional mechanism especially such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the ASEAN Regional Forum, etc., and also strengthen communication with no-regional forces such as the United States, the European Union and others, hence, the CICA can gain more acceptance and also can avoid becoming an exclusive mechanism.

In addition, it should also be noted that the CICA is a multilateral forum mainly with security subjects on the agenda, but is not limited to discussions of security. That is reflected very clearly in Asia, i.e. the security of Asia is a comprehensive subject, and requires various parties to strengthen coordination and confidence-building measures from different aspects, among which strengthening economic and trade cooperation, reducing the security sensitivity,

and seeking interests convergence of all parties are important aspects of constructing the security architecture of Asia. The new security concept China proposes also emphasizes comprehensive, cooperative, sustainable security, and is supplemented by regional economic and trade cooperation. Especially as China has proposed to strengthen the construction of interconnection and interoperability among Asian countries so as to promote the common interests and sustainable interests of Asian countries, which is a bright spot highlighting establishment of a new security architecture in Asia. In this regard, Afghanistan and South Asian region are facing new opportunities and various benefits related to construction of the projects concerned will attract more and more countries. To develop cooperation in some other dimensions on the CICA security platform is expected indeed by various sides.

In summary, the CICA has experienced some 20- year development, a series of relevant documents and declarations on security, peace and development is signed and issued, and plays a unique role in enhancing member states mutual understanding and trust and promoting Asian security and stability. Having entered a new historical period, Asian security situation has become more complicated, the CICA member states put higher demands on the security cooperation. However, a reality also needs to be faced, the CICA member states and observer states cover the vast majority of Asian countries, while various countries and sub-regions have different cognitions on specific security challenges and huge differences in their security interests as well, which confines the CICA decision-making ability and execution ability, so the pragmatic cooperation is in rather slow progress, thus strengthening the Member States communication and cooperation in the security

dimension, and accelerating the CICA mechanism capability-building become urgent without delay. In this regard, the rotating country chair and core members of the CICA can also play an important role.

It is worth noting that the experiences and limitations of the CICA have certain enlightenments on the construction of a new security architecture in Asia. In terms of concept, the CICA takes the new security concept largely accepted by member states as the focus; in terms of practice, respecting security concerns of all member states, enhancing mutual security and trust through dialogue and cooperation, and elevating small and medium-sized members participation are the CICA success, and an integral element of a reasonable Asia new security architecture. Moreover, over-emphasis on the universality and comfort also make obvious limitations exist in the CICA pragmatic cooperation, which needs to be dealt with through improvement of various mechanisms. The improvement process of the CICA mechanisms-building and the major countries participation model is also the process for the Asian countries to explore how to build a reasonable new regional security architecture. That is the main extended significance of the CICA development process.

In a word, based on the complex characteristics of the Asian security situation in the new era and CICA security concept and security practices, the future security cooperation under the CICA framework should, on the basis of advocating a new security concept of Asia, actively implement various confidence-building measures, strengthen the mechanisms capacity-building, further play its special role in the maintenance of security and stability in Asia, and contribute to construction of a new security architecture in Asia.

### **Foot Notes:**

1. "Exploring the Asia's Future Security Development Road", *People's Daily*, May 29, 2015, p.22.
2. Afghanistan is the third largest opium producer country in the world, <http://af.mofcom.gov.cn/article/tbbd/201412/20141200834742.shtml>.
3. The Political and Economic situation in Afghanistan in March 2015. <http://af.mofcom.gov.cn/article/afdt/201504/20150400933541.shtml>.
4. "Exploring the Asia's Future Security Development Road", *People's Daily*, May 29, 2015, p.22.
5. CICA Declaration on Principles Guiding Relationship for Member States, Декларация принципов, регулирующих отношения между государствами-членами СВМДА, [http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page\\_id=179&lang=2](http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page_id=179&lang=2)
6. Ibid. .
7. Almaty Act, Алматинский акт, [http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page\\_id=179&lang=2](http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page_id=179&lang=2).



8. Declaration on Elimination of Terrorism and Promotion of Dialogue among Civilizations, Декларация об устранении терроризма и содействии диалогу между цивилизациями, [http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page\\_id=183&lang=2](http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page_id=183&lang=2).
9. Эволюция процесса СВМДА, [http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page\\_id=395&lang=2&parent\\_id=139](http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page_id=395&lang=2&parent_id=139).
10. CICA Second Summit Declaration, Декларация Второго саммита СВМДА, [http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page\\_id=183&lang=2](http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page_id=183&lang=2).
11. Almaty Act.
12. CICA Third Summit Declaration, Декларация Третьего саммита СВМДА, [http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page\\_id=183&lang=2](http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?page_id=183&lang=2).
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Shanghai Declaration of CICA Forth Summit, [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_chn/ziliao\\_611306/zt\\_611380/dnzt\\_611382/yxhy667356/zxxx/t1158307.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_chn/ziliao_611306/zt_611380/dnzt_611382/yxhy667356/zxxx/t1158307.shtml).
16. Ibid.
17. President Xi speech at the Fourth CICA Summit, [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_chn/ziliao\\_611306/zt\\_611380/dnzt\\_611382/yxhy\\_667356/zxxx/t1158070.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_chn/ziliao_611306/zt_611380/dnzt_611382/yxhy_667356/zxxx/t1158070.shtml).
18. Liu Zhenmin: "Asia's security and Chinese responsibility", *International Studies*, No.1, 2014, p.24.
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