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EVOLUTION OF CONCEPTUAL BASICS OF RUSSIAN FEDERATION'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL ASIA

Abstract. Relations between the Russian Federation and the Central Asian countries have always been of strategic importance for both sides. The topic of the study is interesting because against the background of historical events, in the absence of experience in the conduct of foreign policy only by the newly independent Central Asian countries and building their own ways of development, it is possible to trace changes in the conceptual foundations of foreign policy and strategy of the Russian Federation in relation to this region. Despite the twenty-eight years since the collapse of the Soviet Union, there remains a high degree of interdependence between Russia and the Central Asian States. This is due not only to the large extent of the common state borders, but also to the common economic policy promoted both within the framework of the Eurasian Economic Union and on a bilateral basis. Thus, the Central Asian region is a major supplier of energy resources to Russia, through the territory of which raw materials are transported to the countries of the European Union, while Russia exports mineral products, machinery and equipment to the Central Asian countries. However, it is worth noting that, despite the efforts made by the Russian authorities to establish relations with the Central Asian States on a bilateral and multilateral basis, to this day there is no single separately developed concept that would determine the long-term strategy of the Russian Federation in Central Asia. It is no secret that official conceptual sources are required for the study of relations between countries, but since there is no single document of the strategy in relation to the Central Asian countries in the Russian Federation, it is necessary to turn to other concepts. Thus, in this article the authors examined the evolution of the conceptual basics of foreign policy and strategy of Russia towards Central Asian countries with which it is possible to identify stages of relationships, the strategic goals of the Russian Federation and the region's place in Russian foreign policy.

Key words: Russian Federation, Central Asia, foreign policy concept.

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Ресей Федерациясының Орталық Азия елдеріне қатысты сыртқы саяси тұжырымдамаларының негіздерінің эволюциясы

Аңдатпа. Ресей Федерациясының Орталық Азия елдерімен қарым-қатынасы әрқашан екі жақ үшін де стратегиялық маңызды болды. Зерттеу тақырыбы тарихи оқиғалар аясында, тәуелсіздікке жаңадан қол жеткізіп Орталық Азия елдерінің сыртқы саясатты жүргізуде тәжірибесі аз және өзіндік даму жолын енді құрған кезеңде, осы аймаққа қатысты Ресей Федерациясының сыртқы саясаты мен стратегиясының тұжырымдамалық негіздеріндегі өзгерістерді байқауға болатындығымен қызығушылық танытады. Кеңес Одағы ыдырағаннан бері жиырма сегіз жыл өткенімен Ресей мен Орталық Азия мемлекеттерінің өзара тәуелділігі жоғары деңгейде қалып отыр. Бұл тек ортақ мемлекеттік шекаралардың үлкен көлеміне ғана емес, сонымен бірге Еуразиялық экономикалық одақ аясында да, екіжақты негізде де жүргізіліп жатқан ортақ экономикалық саясатқа да байланысты болып отыр. Осылайша, Орталық Азия аймағы Ресейге энергия ресурстарын жеткізушілердің ішіндегі ірісі, оның аумағы арқылы Еуропалық Одақ елдеріне шикізат тасымалданады. Ресей болса Орталық Азия елдеріне минералды өнімдерді, машиналар мен жабдықтарды экспорттайды. Алайда, Ресей билік өкілдерінің Орталық Азия мемлекеттерімен екіжақты және көпжақты негізде қарым-қатынас орнату жөніндегі күш-жігеріне қарамастан, бүгінгі күнге дейін Ресей Федерациясының Орталық Азияға қатысты ұзақ

мерзімді стратегиясын анықтайтын жеке әзірленген тұжырымдамасы жоқ. Елдер арасындағы қатынастарды зерттеу үшін ресми тұжырымдамалық дерек көздерді қажет ететіндігі жасырын емес, бірақ Ресей Федерациясында Орталық Азия елдеріне қатысты бірыңғай стратегиялық құжаты болмағандықтан, басқа тұжырымдамаларға жүгіну керек. Мақалада авторлар Ресей Федерациясының Орталық Азия елдеріне қатысты сыртқы саясаты мен стратегиясының тұжырымдамалық негіздерінің эволюциясын қарастырып, соның негізінде қатынастардың қалыптасуының кезеңдерін, Ресей Федерациясының стратегиялық мақсаттарын және Ресейдің сыртқы саясатында Орталық Азия аймағының орнын анықтады.

Түйін сөздер: Ресей Федерациясы, Орталық Азия, сыртқы саяси тұжырым.

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Эволюция концептуальных основ внешней политики Российской Федерации по отношению к странам Центральной Азии

Аннотация. Взаимоотношения Российской Федерации со странами Центральной Азии всегда носили стратегически важный характер для обеих сторон. Тема исследования интересна тем, что на фоне исторических событий, в условиях неимения опыта во ведении внешней политики только обретшими независимость центральноазиатскими странами и построения ими своих собственных путей развития, возможно проследить изменения концептуальных основ внешней политики и стратегии РФ по отношению к данному региону. Несмотря на прошедшие двадцать восемь лет с развала Советского Союза, между Россией и государствами Центральной Азии сохраняется высокая степень взаимозависимости. Это связано не только с большой протяженностью общих государственных границ, но также с общей экономической политикой, продвигаемой как в рамках Евразийского Экономического Союза, так и на двусторонних основах. Так центральноазиатский регион является крупным поставщиком энергоресурсов в Россию, через территорию которой сырье транспортируется и в страны Европейского Союза, в то время как Россия экспортирует в страны ЦА минеральные продукты, машины и оборудование. Однако стоит отметить, что, несмотря на предпринимаемые властями России усилия по налаживанию отношений с государствами Центральной Азии на двусторонней и на многосторонней основах, по сей день не существует единой отдельно разработанной концепции, которая бы определяла долгосрочную стратегию РФ в ЦА. Не секрет, что для исследования взаимоотношений стран требуются официальные концептуальные источники, но так как единого документа стратегии по отношению к странам ЦА в РФ не существует, следует обратиться к иным концепциям. Таким образом, в этой статье авторами была рассмотрена эволюция концептуальных основ внешней политики и стратегии РФ по отношению к странам ЦА, благодаря которой можно определить этапы становления отношений, стратегические цели РФ и место региона во внешней политике России.

Ключевые слова: Российская Федерация, Центральная Азия, внешнеполитическая концепция.

Introduction

On December 8, 1991, in Viskuli near Brest (Belarus), the leaders of the RSFSR, Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus signed an Agreement on the collapse of the Soviet Union and the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States. For almost three decades, Russian foreign policy has undergone a number of major changes, characterized by the transition from complete political domination of the Atlanteans, to defend the role of one of the most powerful centers of the multipolar world.

The first Minister of foreign Affairs of the newly formed Russian Federation Andrey Kozyrev saw the main priority of Russia's foreign policy

in cooperation with Western countries, in active support of their course and familiarization with it. Instead of the classic version of confrontation with Western countries, he called Russia's best choice – an Alliance with NATO which was reflected in the first document of the conceptual foundations of Russian foreign policy. However, Atlantean ideas could not fit into the routine of Russian politics, and, soon, this idea was abandoned. Three years after the adoption of the first Concept, in 1996, Kozyrev was replaced by Yevgeny Maksimovich Primakov, known for his anti-Western stance. It is with the name of Yevgeny Maksimovich that Russia's transition from Atlanticism to a multi-vector foreign policy is connected.

Despite the heterogeneity and contradictions of the Russian foreign policy at the beginning of its independent path, it is worth noting that since the independence of a number of former Soviet republics, that is, during the work of Kozyrev, and to date, the development of bilateral relations with the Commonwealth countries has always been a priority in the foreign policy of the Russian Federation, as evidenced by the fundamental documents in this area.

Theoretical and methodological basis of the study

For decades, the Central Asian region was part of the Soviet Union and therefore for a long time was not a subject of international relations. As of today there is no single official document of Russia, defining its strategy towards the countries of Central Asia, the theoretical basis for this study were taken all taken with the independence of the foreign policy Concept of the Russian Federation, of which there are only five documents: the foreign policy Concept of the Russian Federation 1993 foreign policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 2000, foreign policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 2008 the foreign policy Concept of the Russian Federation in 2013 and the foreign policy Concept of the Russian Federation in 2016, the current. Through the method of studying the document and content analysis, the study can trace the evolution of the conceptual foundations of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation in relation to the Central Asian countries, which is the aim of the authors. The level analysis allowed the authors to comprehensively consider the evolution of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation in Central Asia.

Thus, following the changes in the conceptual documents, we can draw conclusions about the changing priorities of Russia in relation to this region in different periods of its activity. The first Concept of 1993 was the first official document defining the foreign policy of Russia (The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 1993). In the early 90's, for the newly independent successor state of the Soviet Union, there was an active process of formulating its political identity, and the first FPCRf clearly shows its attempt to conceptualize strategies for each region of the world. Central Asia was given the place of a strategically important region for Russia, but the priorities specified in the document were only generalizing, emphasizing that it is desirable to create an organization on the basis of the Commonwealth that allows "harmonizing" the political courses of

these countries. The 2000 FPCRf was a kind of "revision" of the 1993 Concept, the institutions within which the integration of the Commonwealth States was supposed to take place were already clarified and the desire to introduce a common fight against terrorism and extremism was also expressed. In the FPC 2008 first used the term "Central Asia" (The foreign policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 2008). It is in this document that the primacy of the military-political orientation of relations with the region was replaced by an economic orientation. The 2013 concept envisaged active integration within the Eurasian economic community (The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 2013), and the 2016 Concept envisaged closer integration with Central Asian countries such as Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan (The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 2016).

Literature review

Among the works devoted to the issues of Central Asia and the policy pursued by the Russian Federation in relation to this region, we can note the works of such Russian authors as Bogaturov A. (Bogaturov, 2007), Kulmatov K. N. (Kulmatov, 2002), Savichev Yu. N. (Savichev, 2016). New trends in the foreign policy of Russia in Central Asia is devoted to the work of Chufrin G. "Russia in Central Asia" (Chufrin, 2010). The analysis of the evolution of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation and the policy in Central Asia is devoted to the works of such authors as Andrew Monaghan (Monaghan, 2013), Włodkowska-Bagan A. (Włodkowska-Bagan, 2012), Francisco J. Ruiz González (González, 2013), Maria Raquel Freiré (Freiré, 2009) Reinhardt R., Zonova T. (Reinhardt, Zonova, 2014), Omelicheva M. (Omelicheva, 2018), Safranchuk I. (Safranchuk, 2014). In the work of the Kazakh author Laumulin M. (Laumulin, 2012) the idea of the directions of studying Central Asia in Russia is given. The work of the famous Kazakh researcher Nursha A. (Nursha, 2015) attempts to understand what Russia pursues as its main goal, implementing the "Eastern turn" in its foreign policy. The work of Shkapyak O. (Shkapyak, 2013) is devoted to the identification of the main directions in the evolution and development of Russian foreign policy in Central Asia.

Central Asia is on the agenda

Even before the conceptual framework of foreign policy, the CIS region, including the

countries of Central Asia (Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan), occupied a leading place in Moscow's foreign policy interests. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Central Asian countries are actively searching for new ways to develop independently without management from a single center. It was assumed that the former Soviet republics were themselves interested in close cooperation with Russia, which would continue to regulate their actions. However, having gained independence, the Central Asian countries no longer sought to coordinate their policy with Moscow and, on the contrary, in an effort to break the Soviet past, declared a priority of their foreign policy, as well as Russia, relations with Western countries. The Russian Federation, finding itself in a new round of history, in search of a better way of development, was more occupied with its own problems of self-determination. With the arrival of the first Minister of foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Andrei Kozyrev, Russia has chosen the path from peaceful confrontation with the West to relations based on Alliance with him. According to the policy of Atlanticism promoted by the Minister, Russia had to take a course, first of all, on the development of relations with economically powerful and technologically advanced Western neighbors, and new industrial countries. Naturally, only the newly independent countries of Central Asia were not included in this list. However, it is worth paying tribute that the security issues of this region and the border territories of Russia, related to the problems that arose after the collapse of the USSR, have always been the object of attention of the Russian Federation.

The adoption of the first Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (FPC of the Russian Federation) during the presidency of Boris Yeltsin in 1993 was no exception. This was the first attempt to conceptualize the country's foreign policy after the collapse of the USSR, until now the state has done without any official document that would coordinate its foreign policy. According to the text of the first Concept, relations with the countries of the CIS region were supposed to be "brought to the level of full-scale interstate relations, ensuring full cooperation in all areas on the basis of reciprocity" (Shakleina T., 2002). Conflict resolution and prevention methods have been included in the long-term objectives for the region. This was supposed to be done through bilateral forms of Russian mediation and the involvement, if necessary, of such international actors as the UN, CSCE, EU, etc. In addition to bilateral relations, the document led

to the desire of the Russian Federation to create a full-fledged multilateral form of cooperation in the region, which would include the following points:

1. Transformation of the region into an effective interstate formation of sovereign entities based on voluntary participation and common interests. At the same time, Russia did not deny the slow and progressive development of this process in order to obtain a better result.

2. Creation of such mechanisms of work of the Commonwealth which will allow to harmonize political courses of the participating countries, to reveal commonality of their interests and to become a platform of their political interaction.

3. Improvement of the legal framework of the Commonwealth as an international regional organization. At the same time, Russia admits an uneven and multi-speed approach to the formation of the organization, in case of unwillingness of individual States to deeper cooperation. Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan play a special role here.

4. The implementation of the agreements on cooperation in the field of security, etc.

One of the key goals defined in the text of the Concept, set before the policy of Russia – "the inclusion of the Russian Federation in the world community as a great power." Hence the active and clearly defined position of countering attempts to increase the military and political presence of third States in countries adjacent to its borders.

But it is worth noting that the painted priorities were only generalizing and did not have a well-built structure or plan of the Institute, within which these goals could be implemented or put into action.

In the run-up to the 1995 presidential election, President Boris Yeltsin replaced the foreign Minister. Andrei Kozyrev, an avid supporter of Atlanticism, was replaced by Yevgeny Primakov, a supporter of a multi-vector foreign policy. With his arrival there is a rethinking of the priorities of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation, which led to the rejection of the orientation of the policy in only one direction and proclaimed the primacy of national interests and equal relations with all States.

Just in this period, in the Wake of the search for new ideas for self-determination, the search for new ideological and political trends, the ideas of Eurasianism and the development of Russia as a Eurasian state began to be popularized. Within the framework of this idea, the experts proposed to consider Central Asia as a region where Russia could strengthen its position as a regional power by strengthening and intensifying cooperation with the countries of this space in matters of international

security and the military sphere. We can say that the ideas of Eurasianism still prevail in Moscow's foreign policy strategy, and we can see this by the example of the practical implementation of these ideas in the creation of the Eurasian economic community, and after the Eurasian economic Union.

Thus, seven years after the adoption of the first Concept, in a situation of sharply changed direction of foreign policy priorities of the country, as well as with the coming to the post of President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin, a new Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation in 2000 was adopted.

By that time, the Central Asian countries were already able to show the first successes in their foreign policy, demonstrating the ability to independence and independence. The development of the oil and gas industry, the expansion of ties with other political actors, participation in integration processes – all this has led to the fact that the region has become an important subject of international relations. However, along with the successes, the old problems related to drug trafficking, international terrorism and extremism, illegal migration have also worsened. The new Concept required special attention to the development and maintenance of security institutions in the Central Asian region.

According to the text of the new document, the old priorities of Russian foreign policy required revision in connection with the international situation prevailing at that time, in which some calculations from the 1993 Concept were not justified. Thus, it was necessary to create a new Concept.

The new Concept was adopted on June 28, 2000 and was a document of the country's foreign policy, with an already strengthened international position, while under the FPC 1993 Russia only sought to restore its international status (The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 2000).

Relations with the CIS countries in the text of the new Concept were formulated by the first paragraph in the Chapter, under the heading "Regional priorities", where the main emphasis was placed on the need to build good-neighborly relations with the countries of the region, taking into account the willingness to take due account of the interests of the Russian Federation. According to this Concept, Russia continued to adhere to multi-speed and multi-level integration with the Commonwealth countries, but in narrower associations, such as the Customs Union and the collective security Treaty. Special attention is paid to the military-political sphere, where the priority of interstate relations is joint efforts to resolve conflicts in the CIS member

States, as well as the development of cooperation in the security sphere, including the fight against international extremism and terrorism. They noted the importance of developing economic cooperation, creating a free trade zone, as well as Russia's participation in the formation of mutually beneficial cooperation with coastal States on the status of the Caspian Sea.

According to the Russian researcher Bogaturov A., Russia's priorities crystallized as a doctrine only in 2006 in the speech of the country's leader to ambassadors and permanent representatives. Previous attempts to conceptualize Russian interests were devoid of a common core idea that links certain areas of foreign policy into a single logic (Bogaturov, 2007).

In this regard, the Concept of 2008, adopted during the presidency of Medvedev D., was a kind of expanded version of the FPC of 2000, which appeared under the influence of transformations that occurred in international relations, and the change in the status of Russia on the world stage (The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 2008). The document indicates that the role of the country in international Affairs has increased, as well as responsibility in connection not only with the implementation, but also with the formation of the international agenda, therefore, a "rethinking of the priorities of Russian foreign policy" is required.

In the Chapter "Regional priorities" relations with the CIS member States are now built on the basis of taking into account the interests of each other. Issues of military cooperation and security have given way to economic cooperation in the regional priorities. In the military-political sphere, the main tasks for Russia were to neutralize the terrorist threat and drug threat emanating from the territory of Afghanistan and to prevent the destabilization of the situation in Central Asia. The term "Central Asia" was first used in the 2008 Concept. These actions were planned to be carried out within the framework of the Eurasian economic community and the collective security Treaty Organization. Regarding the activities of sub-regional entities and other structures in the Commonwealth, the document notes that depending on respect for Russian interests and existing cooperation mechanisms, such as the CIS, CSTO, EurAsEC and SCO, Russia's attitude to the presence of third parties in the region is built. Russia continued to position itself as one of the centers of a multipolar world, a power with regions of special interest.

Five years later, in connection with the "rapid acceleration of global processes and the strengthening

of new trends” in the new world of the XXI century, it was necessary to rethink the priorities of Russia’s foreign policy “in view of its increased responsibility for the formation of the international agenda and the foundations of the international system.” Thus, 2013 marked the emergence of a new, fourth Concept of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 2013).

The document stated the goal “to actively support the process of Eurasian economic integration, implementing together with Belarus and Kazakhstan the task of transforming the Eurasian economic community and forming the Eurasian economic Union, to promote the involvement of other EurAsEC member States in this work, to take steps to further develop and improve the mechanisms and regulatory framework of the Customs Union and the Common economic space”. Thus, it becomes clear that the priority task for Russia is the formation of the Eurasian economic Union as a model of unification that determines the future of the Commonwealth countries.

Russia regards the collective security Treaty Organization as an important element of ensuring security in the post-Soviet space. Neutralization of such threats as international terrorism, extremism, drug trafficking, transnational crime, illegal migration emanating from the territory of Afghanistan and prevention of destabilization of the situation in Central Asia are called the primary tasks in the sphere of mutual security. Russia continues to play an active role in the political and diplomatic settlement of conflicts in the CIS.

Three years after the adoption of the Concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation in 2013, Russian President Vladimir Putin issued a decree on the entry into force of a new, relevant foreign policy doctrine (The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 2016).

In comparison with the Concept of 2013, the new doctrine focuses on the expansion and deepening

of integration within the EAEU with such Central Asian countries as Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, which is a key task for the Russian Federation in foreign policy. In General, the remaining items remain unchanged.

Conclusion

Taking into account all the above, comparing and analyzing the texts of documents of all Concepts of Russia, we would like to note that all five adopted foreign policy doctrines are based on the same principles of openness, pragmatism, predictability and defending the interests of the Russian Federation. Of course, relations with Central Asia were not fully painted in the texts of the documents, but the example of building relations between Russia and the Commonwealth countries can be understood, what Russia aspired and aspires to in this region. With the strengthening of Russia’s role on the world stage, the position of the state began to sound different: if in 2000 one of the goals in the foreign policy course was “to promote a positive perception of the Russian Federation in the world”, in 2008 the goal was “to promote an objective perception of the Russian Federation in the world”, which suggests that Russia realizes itself as one of the global players on the world stage.

In general, in relation to individual regions, Russia’s priorities are not subject to strong changes. The development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation remains a priority of the Russian foreign policy. Security, conflict prevention, economic development and integration, protection of rights and freedoms of Russian citizens abroad, as well as a common policy in the field of cultural development can be noted as common priorities for each Concept in relation to the Central Asian countries. Russia is building relations of strategic partnership and Alliance with States that show readiness for deeper development of relations.

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