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**RUSSIAN COMPATRIOTS AS AN ACTOR OF RUSSIAN POLITICS IN
CENTRAL ASIA**

**СООТЕЧЕСТВЕННИКИ КАК АКТОР РОССИЙСКОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ
В ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОЙ АЗИИ**

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Аннотация

Этот тезис направлен, в какой степени российские соотечественники определяют российскую внешнюю политику как актер в Центральной Азии после распада Советского Союза. Он анализирует, что определения и определения проблемы российского соотечественника за рубежом как концепция. Это свидетельствует об их тенденции к снижению численности населения в Центральной Азии с советских времен до 2000-х годов, и как и в какой сфере соотечественники стали приоритетными для российской внешней политики. В частности, я исследую российские внешнеполитические подходы, как исторический процесс, используя официальные правительственные документы внешнеполитических концепций и их реализации в Центральной Азии в двустороннем и многостороннем уровнях, иллюстрирующие основные переломные точки на региональных и международных событий, для понимания значимости, что все внешнеполитические аспекты зависят друг от друга. Это позволит лучше понять особенности подходы российской внешней политики в отношении соотечественников в Центральной Азии после распада Советского Союза. Таким образом, это даст возможность в какой именно зоне Российской политики соотечественников были достигнуты или не удалось.

Ключевые слова: *Центральная Азия, диаспора, Внешняя политика России, российские соотечественники, русские мягкой силы, СНГ*

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to what extent the Russian compatriots determine Russian Foreign Policy as an actor towards Central Asia since the collapse of the Soviet Union. It analyses that the defining and determining issue of the Russian compatriot abroad as a concept. It demonstrates their decreasing population trends in Central Asia from the Soviet times to the 2000s, and how and in which area the compatriots have become a priority for Russian foreign policy agenda. In particular, I will examine the Russian Foreign Policy approaches as a historical process by using the official governmental documents of the foreign policy concepts and their implementations in Central Asia in bilateral and multilateral levels by illustrating the main breaking points on regional and international developments for understanding the significance that all foreign policy aspects depend on each other. It will allow the better understanding of particularly approaches Russian Foreign Policy towards the compatriots in Central Asia after the demise of the Soviet Union. In this way, it will give an opportunity in which particular area Russian compatriots policy have been achieved or failed.



Keywords: *Central Asia, Diaspora, Russian Foreign Policy, the Russian Compatriots, the Russian Soft Power, the CIS*

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Introduction

The objective of this thesis is to what extent the Russian compatriots determine Russian policy as a foreign policy actor in Central Asia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. This will be achieved by analyzing the main foreign policy approaches and implementations of Russian Federation after the demise of the Soviet Union in a historical process. As an issue, it is seen that the Russian compatriots were not studied by reviewing under the historical process of Russian foreign policy after the collapse of the Soviet Union in academic fields and English language. With this regard, the beginning of the main aim of the thesis is the defining problem of the population in the concept of the Russian compatriots abroad should be underlined here in order to understand the main approach of the thesis towards them. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Kozhevnikov called the 'compatriots abroad' in the first time, thus the term was seen into Russian political discourse. According to Russian governmental approach, the mean of the compatriot refers the person who is connected with Russia and demonstrates the common language, history, heritage and tradition with the Russian state at the same time by having relatives who lived in Russian imperial territory and the Soviet Union. Moreover, it emphasizes on the legal basis which was adopted and renewed in 1999 and 2006 respectively. With this way, the Russian state conceptualizes the population who are living in the former Soviet Union. Therefore, in that study, the term of the compatriot is used for defining and determining of that population who are living in Central Asia.

The importance of the issue can be explained with three main aspects which have a different significance for both Russia and Central Asian states that are Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan.

First of all, Central Asian states have encountered many problems after they declared their independencies from the Soviet Union. This historical breaking point resulted in a complicated demographic problem in the region at the same time. As a result of regional historical background, the Russian-speaking population moved from different parts of the country especially, to Central Asia in the time of Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Hence the region's economy, policy, trade, security, and population could be controlled by the central governance. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, approximately 25 million Russian people stayed out of Russia; about 9.5 million of that population were leaving in Central Asia. With this regard, the problem of Russian compatriots has emerged as a

priority for foreign policy agenda with their vital problems which were deeply political, economical and socio-cultural transition. For the region, when Central Asian states started to establish new national state structures with political identities, national languages, it was seen that the Russian compatriot population started to decrease from the beginning of the 1990s gradually. That tendency continued during the 2000s. Today, more than 6.5 million people as compatriots are living in Central Asia. The majority of them is in Kazakhstan with more than 4 million people. That population in all states still keeps their importance in terms of bilateral and multilateral relations of Central Asian states for each other and with Russia.

Secondly, the problems of the transition period were felt deeply in Russia in the area of political, economical, socio-cultural and demographic situations. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian foreign policy approaches fluctuated from Atlanticist to Eurasianist points of view by depending on the domestic and international situations of the Russian state. In the second period of the 1990s, the near abroad gained an importance for Russian foreign policy when Primakov was appointed as the ministry of foreign affairs. Thus the Russian compatriots abroad became a top priority of Russian foreign policy agenda. The role of Russia towards the compatriots was stated in main official documents. After the 2000s, it is seen that Russian policy makers have followed mainly a pragmatic foreign policy approach. As a result of this, the compatriots as a foreign policy tool were emphasized in different governmental documents which are foreign policy and security concepts. Moreover, some institutions have established and especially the soft power tools have a great importance in order to protect the rights of the compatriots as language and culture. On the other hand, according to the Russian foreign policy approach, Russia is a great power and has a role in regional and international developments. That perception requires the emergency of Russian compatriots as a priority in the agenda. As a result, the Russian compatriots as an actor should be evaluated at bilateral and multilateral levels of relationships between Russia and Central Asian states. Finally, it is seen that the population of the compatriots in former Soviet Union have become an issue and gained importance by depending regional developments after the Ukrainian Crises, the annexation of Crimea. Academic and political circles all over the world have evaluated the role of compatriots for Russian foreign and security policy towards Central Asia. Especially, Kazakhstan is a significant actor of this debate with a large compatriot population. As a

result of those explanations, the thesis will also give an opinion for understanding the compatriot policy to what extent an actor of Russian foreign policy towards Central Asia.

Those three aspects constitute the importance of the thesis. In this framework, the main research question is how the Russian foreign policy perceives and uses the Russian compatriots as a tool in relationships with Central Asian states. As a result of the evaluation in last part of the thesis, the question will be answered by dividing some aspects in order to demonstrate the success and failure points.

The Methodology

The methodology of the thesis grounds the historical analysis. It is used throughout the study in order to make interpretation and understanding various historical breaking points of Russian foreign policy and its perspective of implementations. The content of the thesis consists two chapters. In the first chapter, Russian foreign policy is embraced in the end of the Soviet Union in a historical process with the main foreign policy pillars. Hence the importance of the main foreign policy changing is aimed to demonstrate in the historical process. Therefore, historical interpretation is used for analyzing Russian foreign policy by using the primary and the secondary documents.

The main aim of using that methodology is giving historical perspective. With this regard, the same way is also used for the second chapter. To understand the role of Russian compatriots, it is a necessity to make an overview of the main political developments in the period. In that point, the Russian foreign policy towards the compatriots is evaluated according to gathered information and statistics from historical process and official foreign and compatriots policy documents. After that, the personal conclusions are written in related titles of the thesis. Moreover, it is another substantial point that the compatriots are a priority of Russian foreign policy and it is not possible that this issue can be evaluated by ignoring the historical process.

The primary resources consist the most important part of the thesis. Both chapters include the main official documents, agreements and the documents of official meetings at the same time. In this regard, the historical analyze is used for determining the breaking and

changing points of Russian foreign policy applications towards the compatriots. In contrast, the theoretical approach is not preferred to examine the main objective of the thesis. The reason is that the idea that the Russian compatriots as an actor for Russian foreign policy is a necessity to make the historical analyze. To sum, research questions of chapters are shaped with historical methodology. For example, what are the breaking points of Russian foreign policy during the 1990s? How the Russian compatriot policy became a priority? Are the Russian compatriot policy successful and in which area it can be observed? etc. Those questions are aimed to demonstrate in the methodology of the historical analyze by using personal interpretations.

Literature Review

The Russian Foreign Policy and the interpretation of the issue of the Russian compatriots as an actor for foreign policy implementations contain the primary and secondary resources in terms of the literature review. First of all, the official documents are used for understanding the main priorities of Russian foreign policy after the collapse of the Soviet Union. There are five foreign policy concepts which were prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and approved by the presidents who are Boris Yeltsin and Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev in 1993, 2000¹, 2008², 2013³ and 2016⁴. Beside those documents, the military doctrines which were approved in 1993⁵, 2000 (the draft version 1999⁶), 2010⁷ and 2014⁸ consist another part of primary documents.

¹ The Foreign Policy Concept of Russian Federation (28.06.2000) // Federation of American Scientists (FAS), <<https://fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/econcept.htm>>

² The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (12.01.2008) // The President Of Russia, the Official Website, <<http://en.kremlin.ru/supplement/4116>>

³ The Concept of Foreign Policy of Russian Federation (18.02.2013) // The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Fundamental Documents, <http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptICkB6BZ29/content/id/122186>

⁴ Foreign Policy Concept of Russian Federation (01.12.2016) // The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, the Official Website, <http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptICkB6BZ29/content/id/2542248>

⁵ The Basic Provisions of Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation // Federation of American Scientists (FAS), <<https://fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/russia-mil-doc.html>>

⁶ Draft Russian Military Doctrine 1999 // FASS, <<https://fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/991009-draft-doctrine.htm>>

⁷ The Text of Newly-Approved Russian Military Doctrine' (05.02.2010) // Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/2010russia_military_doctrine.pdf>

⁸ Military Doctrine of Russian Federation (29.06.2015) // Press Releases, The Embassy of Russian Federation to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, <<http://rusemb.org.uk/press/2029>>

On the one hand, the national security concept which was approved in 2000⁹ and the concept of Russia's Security Strategy to 2020¹⁰ which was approved in 2009 are also significant referred primary documents. All of them demonstrate that the main priorities of Russian foreign, security and military policy in the international system, the near abroad and Central Asia. On the other hand, the evolution of Russian foreign policy after the demise of the Soviet Union can be observed in the resources. For Central Asia, the regional institutions as the Commonwealth Independent States (CIS) and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) are emphasized as multinational foreign policy institutions. With this way, the Russian foreign policy activities are legitimated and they are in accordance with the International Laws. Moreover, the charter and treaty documents of the CIS¹¹ and the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU)¹² are also examined for determining the Russian foreign policy agenda. All of them provide an opportunity to evaluate the foreign policy implementations towards Central Asia. During the research, the official website of the President of the Russian Federation¹³ and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation¹⁴ are also used for collecting primary resources. The speech of the president, the minister of foreign affairs during the meetings such as the annual addresses to the Federal Assemble and the annual reports of Russian foreign policy give some important points about Russian foreign policy priorities in Central Asia.

In terms of the Russian compatriots as a foreign policy priority has been emphasized in all documents. According to the documents, the compatriots near abroad was conceptualized as a matter of foreign policy agenda. Russia as a state is responsible for the Russian compatriots abroad in terms of promoting their culture and education, their rights and relations with their host countries. On the other hand, their security is also under the responsibility of Russian government. Beside of the official concept documents, not only the president or the minister of foreign affairs but also other primary resources from governmental officers are also used as a primary resource. For example, the article which

⁹ National Security Concept of Russian Federation // The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, <http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptICkB6BZ29/content/id/589768>

¹⁰ Russia's National Security Strategy to 2020 // Rustrans, <<http://rustrans.wikidot.com/russia-s-national-security-strategy-to-2020>>

¹¹ Charter of the Commonwealth of Independent States, <<https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201819/volume-1819-I-31139-English.pdf>>

¹² Treaty on Eurasian Economic Union // Eurasian Economic Commission, <<http://www.eurasiancommission.org/en/nae/news/Pages/01-01-2015-1.aspx>>

¹³ President of Russia, <<http://en.kremlin.ru/>>

¹⁴ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, <http://www.mid.ru/en/main_en>

was written by the State Secretary in 2012 by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Grigory Karasin¹⁵ is also significant resource for following the funds which are prepared by the government. All of them provide the opportunity for determining the main foreign policy implementations towards the Russian compatriots in Central Asia.

In terms of the secondary resources, the books, the articles which were written by prominent academicians and researchers and the reports which were prepared by research centers comprise the significant part of the thesis. The importance of the secondary resources for the thesis is the main complementary of the evolution of the Russian foreign policy after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The first three books which were written by Martha Brill Olcott as **1.'Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise?'**¹⁶, **2.'Central Asia's Second Chance'**¹⁷ and **3.'Tajikistan's Difficult Development Path'**¹⁸. Three of them give the general interpretation about Central Asian political, economical, security, socio-cultural situations. The second book gives the interpretation after the collapse of the Soviet Union by dividing two aspects after and before 9/11 terrorist attack in the USA. In terms of the compatriots, there is not any information, that book should be read in the beginning of reading about Central Asia. The other two books are useful to gather significant statistics about changing the demographic situation which was calculated by the writer in Central Asia. Two of them successfully and specifically explain all political and economical aspects of states by including a lot of comparative statistics.

The other books as secondary resources are **'Russian Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Area'**¹⁹ and **'Russian Foreign Policy and the CIS'**²⁰ which were written by Bobo Lo and Nicole J. Jackson respectively. Those two books are also significant resources for understanding Russian foreign policy towards Central Asia and in the CIS umbrella by including all political processes after the demise of the Soviet Union. Bobo Lo examines the foreign policy during the 1990s by identifying the main conceptual approaches of

¹⁵ Grigory B. K., 'Russian world is Becoming a Reality' 22.10.2012,
<http://www.mid.ru/en/activity/compatriots/forum/-/asset_publisher/QPhCKwsLtu5Z/content/id/137918>

¹⁶ Olcott, M., B., Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise?, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, 2010

¹⁷ Olcott, M., B., Central Asia's Second Chance, Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, Washington, 2005

¹⁸ Olcott, M., B., Tajikistan's Difficult Development Path, edited by Martha Brill Olcott, Brookings Institution Press, 2012

¹⁹ Lo, B., Russian Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Era, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2002

²⁰ Jackson, N., J., Russian Foreign Policy and the CIS, Routledge, London, 2003

policies. Moreover, it has a large literature of the examining area. Therefore, the book is useful for not only foreign policy but also it gives the framework to Russian policy. On the other hand, Nicole J. Jackson in his book examines the first presidential period of B. Yeltsin by discussing three military conflicts in post-Soviet area. At the same time, the evolution of the Russian foreign policy is demonstrated with the debates and approaches in the selected period. In order to understand the security dimension of Russian foreign policy by using theoretical and policy formation, the book **"Russia's Foreign Security Policy in the 21st Century"**²¹ which was written by Marcel de Haas should be evaluated. That book is mainly based on the security aspect of Russian foreign policy. For this study, interpretations of official state documents and critical assessments of Russian policy are used for the first chapter.

On the other hand, in order to obtain general perspective about the Russian political history by including the foreign policy until today, the book **'A History of Russia'**²² which was written by Nicholas V. Riasanovsky and Mark D. Steinberg is the other secondary resource which is evaluated here. The Turkish language version of the book is used for the thesis. The 6th and 7th chapters of the book include the history of the Soviet Union to Russian Federation by including policy, economy and foreign policy implementations. It gives a chance for the understanding historical background of the foreign policy during the 1990s and until 2009. The other book in the Turkish language is **"Rusya'nın Dönüşümü: Kimlik, Milliyetçilik ve Dış Politika"**²³ which was written by Zeynep Dağı. The book debates the Russian identity, nationality and foreign policy after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The historical process is examined by the main breaking points of Russian foreign policy by interpreting its effects on foreign policy agenda. With this respect, it is a significant secondary resource. Lastly, the book **'Russians in the Former Soviet Republics'**²⁴ which was written by Poul Kolstoe gives the general framework of the Russian population in Central Asia from the Tsarist time to the Soviet Union in a historical overview. There are several statistics for the changing number of population by depending on historical breaking points. It is beneficial for the second chapter to understand in which

²¹ Haas, M., de, Russia's Foreign Security Policy in the 21. Century: Putin, Medvedev and Beyond, Routledge, New York, 2010

²² Rianovsky, V., Nicholas and Stinberg, D., Mark, Rusya Tarihi: Başlangıçtan Günümüze, Çev. Figen Dereli, İnkılap Yayınları, İstanbul 2014

²³ Dağı, Z., Rusya'nın Dönüşümü: Kimlik, Milliyetçilik ve Dış Politika, Boyu Kitapları, İstanbul, 2002

²⁴ Kolstoe, P., Russians in the Former Soviet Republics, (Hurst and co/Indiana University Press, London, 1995

waves the Russian population migrated to not only Central Asia but in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union.

The significant reports which were prepared by research centres are also used as a complementary part of the thesis. The first two reports are "Russia's Interests in Central Asia"²⁵ and 'Russian Minority in Central Asia'²⁶ which were prepared by Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC) and the Kennan Institute respectively. In the first report, it gives the general perspective of Russian interests in Central Asia by including bilateral to multilateral levels. The other report also gives the population changing trends of the Russian compatriots in Central Asia by determining migration movements in terms of cultural and language policies of Central Asian states. The another report which was written for Marlene Laurelle as "The Russian World: Russia's Soft Power and Geopolitical Imagination"²⁷. In order to understand the concept of the Russian world, the report includes the concept by giving historical perspective. For the thesis, when it is compared two concepts that are 'the Compatriots' and 'the Russian World', it gives a chance to understand the scope of the concepts. Therefore, the Russian world has a historical development as distinct from the concept of the compatriots. The last significant report which is used for the thesis "Russia's Role in the SCO and Central Asia: Challenges and Opportunities"²⁸ that were prepared by Valdai Discussion Club. It bases on Russian role in the SCO and its opportunities for comparing other member states by including India and Pakistan. In this framework, Central Asia and regional political, economical and security challenges are evaluated. In order to determine the position of Russian policy in Central Asia, the report gives an opportunity.

Russian foreign policy towards compatriots can be followed with online and published articles and occasional papers more than other secondary resources practically. The first study is 'Mobilizing Compatriots: Russia's Strategy, Tactics, and Influence in the Former

²⁵ Russia's Interests in Central Asia: Contents, Perspectives, Limitations// Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), Report No: 10, 2013 <http://russiancouncil.ru/common/upload/RIAC_Central_Asia_En.pdf>

²⁶ Peyrouse, S., 'The Russian Minority in Central Asia', The Kennan Institute, Occasional Paper 297, 2008, <<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/OP297.pdf>>

²⁷ Laurelle, M. (2015), 'The Russian World: Russia's Soft Power and Geopolitical Imagination', Center on Global Interests, <http://globalinterests.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/FINAL-CGI_Russian-World_Marlene-Laruelle.pdf>

²⁸ "Russia's Role in the SCO and Central Asia: Challenges and Opportunities", Valdai Discussion Club, Grantees Report, <<http://valdaiclub.com/files/11480/>>

Soviet Union²⁹ which was written by Vera Zakem, Paul Saunders and Daniel Auntoun in 2015. It gives a general perspective about the determining issue of the compatriots, Russian foreign policy towards them together with the integrations problems and measuring success. To understand the Russian strategy, the significant points are examined and at the same time, it is a contemporary study in the English language. The other study is an article which is 'The Russian Diaspora in Central Asia: Russian Compatriots and Moscow's Foreign Policy'³⁰ which was written by Charles E. Ziegler in 2006. Generally, the article gives important information about Russian policy towards the compatriots after the Soviet Union with significant population statistics in a historical overview. However, he examines the population as a Diaspora. In that thesis, they are not defined a Diaspora. Therefore it is a criticized point of the writer. On the other hand, the articles of Igor Zegelev are important secondary sources for following the Russian strategy towards the compatriots by including the concept of the Russian world. The first article is "'The Russian World in Moscow's Strategy'"³¹ It is emphasized that the difference of two concepts and their backgrounds. He debates the Russian compatriots became an issue for Russian policy during the 1990s. Moreover, the perception of Eurasia is interpreted in terms of regional security and policy changes. The other of the writer is 'Russian Policy Toward Compatriots in the Former Soviet Union'³². The issue of the dual citizenship, the defining issue of the compatriots with the Law of 1999 are emphasized by comparing neo-imperialist rhetoric and reality of the state-building.

In terms of the defining issue of Russian communities in the former Soviet Union, there are two articles which are debated the Diaspora issue. In this thesis, it is examined could the Russian compatriots be defined as a Diaspora. In that point, it is a necessity to make an overview the concept of Diaspora. With this regard, the first article 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return'³³ which was written by William Safran. In that article, the Diaspora is examined with samples in the world. According to main

²⁹ Zakem, V., Saunders P., Antouni, D. 'Mobilizing Compatriots: Russia's Strategy, Tactics, and Influence in the Former Soviet Union', CNA Analysis and Solutions, November 2015, <https://www.cna.org/cna_files/pdf/DOP-2015-U-011689-1Rev.pdf>

³⁰ Ziegler, C. E., 'The Russian Diaspora in Central Asia: Russian Compatriots and Moscow's Foreign Policy', P. 105, <<https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-147825487/the-russian-diaspora-in-central-asia-russian-compatriots>>

³¹ Zevelev, I., "The Russian World in Moscow's Strategy", 22.08.2016, Center for Strategic and International Studies CSIS, <<https://www.csis.org/analysis/russian-world-moscows-strategy>>,

³² Zegelev, I., 'Russian Policy Toward Compatriots in the Former Soviet Union', 02.03.2008, Russia in Global Affairs, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/n_10351>

³³ William S., 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return, A Journal of Transnational Studies, Volume 1, Number 1, 1991, P. 83-99, Toronto University Press, <<http://muse.jhu.edu/article/443574>>

determination criteria, it is seen that the Russian compatriots cannot be named as a Diaspora; it gives to interpret the situation for the thesis. The second article is 'A Diaspora in Diaspora? Russian Returnees Confront the Homeland'³⁴ which was written by Hilary Pilkinton and Moya Flynn. In that study, the writers focus on the issue of classification the Russian community as a Diaspora. They examines the importance of the situation by dividing home and homeland. At the same time, they use surveys of returnees Moreover, it is emphasized that the term of the Russian Diaspora is using by media and political discourse in order to make the process of diasporization.

³⁴ Pilkington, H. and Flynn, M. , 'A Diaspora in Diaspora? Russia Returnees Confront the 'Homeland', *Refuge, Canada's Journal On Refugees, Refugee Diasporas and Trans-nationalism*, Vol 23, No:2, 2006, <<http://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/21355>>

Chapter 1 : Russian Foreign Policy towards Central Asia

1.1 Foreign Policy after the Collapse of the Soviet Union

1.1.1 Mikhail Gorbachev's Policy and Central Asia

The presidency period of Mikhail Gorbachev tried to change traditional Soviet Marxist-Leninist political, socio-economical concepts in terms of both domestic and external policies with well known two reforms as 'perestroika' (reconstruction) and 'glasnost' (openness) and one conceptualized approach of foreign policy as 'the new thinking'.

His aims with those reforms are generally to reconstruct the state structure, 'breaking ideological control'³⁵, to create the Soviet civil society and political pluralism, to keep human rights with democratization process, and to develop the free market economy in terms of domestic policy. His foreign policy ideas can be understood with the following principles of New Thinking³⁶:

**States are dependents for each other, it has a strong effect on the world's development,*

**Nuclear weapons should be restricted and reduced gradually,*

**The priority of the Soviet Foreign Policy bases on democracy, human rights and human values,*

**That concept refuses using force to solve international problems, conflicts also should be solved with political methods. The main method for them is dialog. As a principle, states should respect to other states and the world's diversity.*

**All people around the world can choose their life and their systems, they should have this right.*

³⁵ Dağı, Z., Rusya'nın Dönüşümü: Kimlik, Milliyetçilik ve Dış Politika, Boyu Kitapları, İstanbul, 2002, P. 91

³⁶ Cherniaev, A., 'Gorbachev's Foreign Policy' (111-140), Hoover Institution, Stanford University, <http://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/uploads/documents/978-0-8179-4632-6_111.pdf> , P. 112-113

On the one hand, his reforms resulted in the dissolution of the union. Even if people became free, the administration made several mistakes and did not have enough experience to apply new reforms successfully.³⁷ As a result of his presidency period, the dissolution of the Soviet system created new regions for the international system. Hence Central Asia, is one of them, have become one of the most significant at the same time a problematic area in the former Soviet Union. On the other hand, his presidential term means the failure of the socialist system. As a result of the Sovietisation policies, Central Asia that has been divided five national units encountered with the new reforms' so-called free political atmosphere and the process resulted with new independencies together with the collapse of the Soviet Union. As a region, Central Asia had the importance during the 1980s for not only territorial security of the union but also economic (agriculture, industry and raw materials), technological and social with a great Russian population. For example, about 90% of Soviet cotton were growing in Central Asia.³⁸ Moreover, the reforms created new troubles as nationalism in the Soviet territory which is an important role in the breakup. The national dissatisfactions have been started to see in all over the country. As a significant reason, it can be said that socio-economic problems resulted in national disintegrations. During the Soviet Period, more than 100 nationalities³⁹ were living in the same territory together with the Central Asian nationalities. People started to discuss 'multiparty system, political institutions, rule of law and division of powers'⁴⁰.

In that period, while the Russian identity was becoming stronger, other nationalist movements started to demand several economic and political wills with small-scale demonstrations. There were four types of national or ethnic movements. The first group was conscious nations as Lithuanian, Ukrainian and Georgian, the second group was protesters of ethnic minorities against dominant nations in the union as Armenian, the third group was the national Russian movement which targeted to leave from the USSR as a

³⁷ Gorbachev: Perestroika Set Us Free //The International Foundation for Socio-Economic and Political Studies (The Gorbachev Foundation), < http://www.gorby.ru/en/presscenter/publication/show_27407/> (accessed 05.12.2016)

³⁸ N., H., "Gorbachev's Mounting Nationalities Crises", The Heritage Foundation, 09.04.1989, <<http://www.heritage.org/europe/report/gorbachevs-mounting-nationalities-crisis>> (accessed 12.05.2017)

³⁹ Goble, P., A., 'Gorbachev Facing the Nationality Nightmare', The Washington Post, 25.04.1990, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1990/03/25/gorbachev-facing-the-nationality-nightmare/d73bbfab-d82d-4867-a17d-7f36791c582c/?utm_term=.3ff59f7cae20>, (accessed 11.05.2017)

⁴⁰ Lipman, M., '25 Years Since Mikhail Gorbachev Came to Power', Carnegie Moscow Centre, 16.04.2010, <<http://carnegie.ru/publications/?fa=40388>> (accessed 10.12.2016)

Russian state and the last group was ethnic and national diasporas who were living out of their national Soviet republics.⁴¹

When it is compared, national movements were weaker than the Eastern Europe in Central Asia because communist parties did not lose control until the demise of the union⁴² and the region fell behind as economically. However, as an illustration, there was a significant event that resulted in a protest by younger Kazakhs called as Jeltoksan Victims in Alma-Ata. On December 1996, Gorbachev dismissed Dinmukhamed Kunayev and Gennady Kolbin was appointed as First Secretary of Kazakhstan Communist Party due to Russian ethnicity of him.⁴³ On the one hand, it was resulted in protests and it is a symbol of the Soviet Union in terms of nationalist movements. Even Gorbachev tried military intervention to Baltic states against protesters for preserving his country 'as a community of allied states'⁴⁴, he could not keep his prestige.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the referendum results for the future of the Soviet Union are significant illustrations in order to observe the main attitudes of Central Asian republics. The majority of people voted 'yes' to keep the Soviet Union with 97.9% in Turkmenistan, 96.4% in Kyrgyzstan, 96.2 in Tajikistan, 94.1 in Kazakhstan and 93.7% in Uzbekistan.⁴⁶

To sum, the policy of new thinking and the reforms of perestroika and glasnost did not avoid to the demise of the Soviet Union. When the military coup was tried by one group soldiers on August 19 1991, the process of the collapse accelerated. On 8 December 1991, the Soviet Union fell down and 15 states achieved their independencies together with Russian Federation.⁴⁷ The agreement Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) which became the strongest tool for Russian foreign policy until today in the post-Soviet area was

⁴¹ Riasanovsky, V., Nicholas, Steinberg, D., Mark, Ibid, p. 654

⁴² Beissinger, R. Mark, Ibid., p. 332

⁴³ Kara, Füsun, 'Alma-Ata 1986 Aralık Olayları: Jeltoksan', Turkish Studies, International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic, Volume 7,#4, Fall 2012, PP. 417-426, Ankara, P. 421

⁴⁴ Shevstsova, Lilia, 'Gorbachev: A Leader Who Changed the World', Russia Beyond the Headlines (RBTH), 09.02.2011, <http://rbth.com/articles/2011/02/09/gorbachev_a_leader_who_changed_the_world_12398.html> , (accessed 10.12.2016)

⁴⁵ Dağı, Z., Ibid, P. 98

⁴⁶ Nastoyashcheye Vremya, 'Sokhranit SSSR?', Da/Net', <<https://www.facebook.com/currenttimetv/photos/a.1547181128830256.1073741830.1543950879153281/1896043510610681/?type=3&theater>> (accessed 02.04.2017)

⁴⁷ Dağı, Z., Ibid., P. 99

signed by Russia, Belarus and Ukraine on 9th of December; after that, the other 11 republics also signed the agreement on 21st December 1991.⁴⁸

One of the most significant results of the demise of the Union, Central Asian states achieved their independencies in the international system as new modern national actors. All of them began to establish their national identities, interests and own state policies. During the 1990s, they struggled with a new transformation periods. They tried to determine their historical identities, cultures, languages, religions as well.

1.1.2 Boris Yeltsin's Foreign Policy

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russian foreign policy was shaped by some internal and external political movements during the 1990s. The main determinant factor of those movements was the necessity of establishing new state structure practically. First of all, the new Russian state was not structured as a national state. The situation was observed during both Tsarist and Soviet times, there was multinational empirical order and 'with messianic ambitions'⁴⁹. Secondly, demographic structure of the state changed sharply by decreasing of the population. However, as a determining factor, the society of Russian was more homogenous than before, while political and economic problems were going on.

In order to solve the transition problems, the state needed economic help from Western institutions with liberal approaches. As a Soviet heritage, it was clear that many questions were waiting to solve in terms of new foreign policy. Therefore, approaches to foreign policy were affected deeply by the new atmosphere. At the same time, Russian Federation entered to the 1990s as a significant actor. It was obvious that Russia was not a superpower and lost its territorial position, however, it kept his seat on United Nation Security Council. It means that it had the liberum veto, could affect the international system.

⁴⁸ Shevtsova, L., 'The August Coup and the Soviet Collapse', *Survival*, Vol. 34, PP. 5-18, 1992, P.5
<<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/citedby/10.1080/00396339208442627?scroll=top&needAccess=true>>
(accessed 01.12.2017)

⁴⁹ Donaldson, R., H., 'Boris Yeltsin's Foreign Policy Legacy', Presented to the 41st Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Los Angeles, California, P. 2
18.04 2000, <<http://www.personal.utulsa.edu/~robert-donaldson/yeltsin.htm>>, (accessed 12.01.2016)

1.1.2.1 Atlanticist Foreign Policy

Boris Yeltsin was coming from the years of the New Thinking Policy of Gorbachev and aimed to keep his liberal approaches on foreign policy. Therefore, Atlanticism was the main determining approach on Russian foreign agenda in the early period of Yeltsin between 1991 and 1993. That period can be defined as 'Atlanticist' or 'liberal internationalist'⁵⁰ pro-western approach for Russian foreign policy. It focused on cooperation with Western states as in Gorbachev era. Implementers of this approach were named as 'Atlanticists'. Because they believed that the problems of the new state could be solved with economic integration and cooperation of the West and its institutions; according to them, the future of the state depends on liberal ideas. On the one hand, if Russia as a state has a strategic partnership with the West, the process of democratization, human rights, and other liberal values could be developed in Russian society. They were planning to create new state identity with Western ideas. On the other hand, there was an identity discussion related to that issue. Atlanticists were discussing where Russian identity are located. Their answer was the West in contrast to Eurasianists. The Western culture was also a part of Russian cultural identity.⁵¹ In addition, they were refusing 'messianic' discourse. Therefore, outside of the state were not determined as enemy, especially the Western states.

Andrei Kozyrev who was the first ministry of foreign affairs between 1991 and 1996 under Yeltsin era was a significant figure of those years. In this period, Russia started to open his economic and political boundaries to foreign states and their investors especially, to the West. Under the Atlanticist approach, these developments emerged during the 1990s. On the other hand, Russia achieved consensuses on some substantial nuclear issues such as Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), The Conference on Forces in Europe (CFE) and offered a partnership of NATO charter.⁵² Even if there were developing relations between Western states and Russia, NATO expansion on eastern Europe and in the post-Soviet area was perceived as the most important territorial treat by Russia.

⁵⁰ Aggarwal, V., K., Govella, K., Responding to a Resurgent Russia: Russian Policy and Responses from the European Union and the United States, Springer Business Media, California, 2012, p. 4

⁵¹ Dağı, Z., Ibid. P. 147-148

⁵² Larrabee, F., Stephen, Karasik., T., W., Foreign and Security Policy Decision-making under Yeltsin, National Defence Research Institute, Santa Monica, 1997, p. X

Atlanticist foreign policy approaches could not resolve the main problems of the state and did not respond the needs. In contrast to planned, some opposition groups started disaffection and criticized the government. Since some of them were thinking about Western states were benefiting from Russian economic and political weaknesses. Moreover, NATO's integration in the post-Soviet area also caused decreasing confidence to Western assistances. In that point, INOBIS report which was commissioned by Russian Ministry of Defence in 1993 is also important for understanding Russian position towards NATO and post-Soviet geography. According to the report, policies of NATO and the US towards Russia were defined and some treats were numerated. If CIS states were invited to become a member of NATO, Russia should stop this expansion. There are two events which were tasted that report's arguments: Nagorno-Karabakh and Tajikistan.⁵³

In the first two years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian new territorial near abroad was ignored. The main reason of it was completely practical: Russia entered a transition period with deep economic and political problems. That situation avoided to determine the importance of the former Soviet Union. Moreover, it was seen that there occurred two main problems which were the absence of territorial security and stability. In other words, Central Asia emerged as a newly independent region politically and economically. The same transition period was also observed there. The (CIS) was established after the collapse of the union but it was far from being a strong intergovernmental cooperation tool on the regional level. However, together with the changing Russian foreign policy agenda, the members of the CIS started to determine their relations both with each other and towards Russia.

1.1.2.2 Eurasianist Foreign Policy

Modern or neo-Eurasianist thinking emerged especially on foreign policy field after the Soviet Union. The thinkers as A. Dugin, B. Erasov, E. Bagramov and A. Panarin discussed what Russian role is in the world. Their arguments were affected by classists. There are variety of different Eurasian perspectives, focused on some questions such as 'what is

⁵³ Axmith, B., 'Denying History: The United States' Policies Toward Russia in the Caspian Region', 1991-2001, Anchor Academic Publishing, Hamburg 2015, P. 77-78

Eurasia?', 'where is Eurasia?', 'what is the West?', 'what is Eurasia's place in the world?'⁵⁴ They defended to analyze Russian history and Slavic culture. Especially E. Bagramov supported post-Soviet integration. Insofar as possible, Russia had to move its foreign policy priorities from the West to the near abroad. According to them, Russia has a supranational, imperial role in its region. The West is not and cannot be a friendly partner for Russia, it has its own interests and should follow them. Together with history, culture, and language, Russian Orthodox identity also are strong historical tools. Therefore, Russia should return its core, continue its superpower status.

Mainly, the classical Eurasianist view became stronger with a form of 'neo-Eurasianism' against Atlanticist foreign policy agenda. It was clear that previous approach was not successful and could not be a remedy for main problems after 2 years of establishment of the new state. From 1993 to the end of the Yeltsin era, Eurasianist group's nationalist discourse started to have an influence on Russian political life.⁵⁵ Some domestic and external political developments also caused radical changing on foreign policy. For instance, after Duma elections 1993, there were some signals from nationalists against Yeltsin's administrations. Eurasianist view criticized Yeltsin's Atlanticist foreign policy in some points. According to them, the near abroad was ignored beside of far abroad. Thus Russian foreign policy began to change completely.

1.1.2 B. Yeltsin's Foreign Policy Towards Central Asia

1.1.2.1 The Official Discourse of Returning the Near Abroad

Alteration of foreign policy agenda towards Russian near abroad, especially Central Asia, were formulated with three main documents which are Foreign Policy Doctrine (on April 1993) and Military Doctrine (on November 1993) and the new version of National Security Concept followed it in 1997.

⁵⁴ The titles were written by Mark Bassin to discuss eurasianism. For information: 'Eurasianism: 'Classical' and 'Neo': The Lines of Continuity, 01.04.2014, Center for Strategic Research and Analysis, <http://cesran.org/Dosyalar/MAKALELER/MARK_BASSIN_Eurasianism_Classical_and_Neo_The_Lines_of_Continuity.pdf>

⁵⁵ Dağı, Z., Ibid. P. 156

According to the new foreign policy doctrine, westernization of foreign policy was abandoned, 'pragmatic nationalist' viewpoint was started to establish.⁵⁶ It meant that the post-Soviet area became a top priority for Russian economic, political and security interests. On the one hand, together with that approach, Russia could take a peacekeeper role for resolving regional conflicts by providing regional economic and political stabilizations. On the other hand, Russia would be responsible for keeping the borderland of the CIS states. In order to make those political applications, it was a necessity that military and strategic cooperation should be materialized.

According to Military Doctrine, collective security of the former Soviet Union and defense of national territory became a top priority for Russian foreign policy. The CIS as an intergovernmental regional cooperation area, Russia will be responsible for 'technical/material supply, instruction, training, planning and operational command of Russian contingents in accordance with UN standards and procedures and agreements thereon within the CIS.'⁵⁷ It also gave importance to some threats which are the disintegration of CIS states, infringement of human rights, freedoms of Russian-speaking communities, and the possibility of another military conflicts for Russia.⁵⁸ The CIS as an area was emphasized one more time in all documents. Military cooperation which is required to deploy Russian troops outside of the state by participating in peacekeeping operations which are undertaken by the United Nations and other international organizations; defense industrial and sectoral scientific cooperation are significant points of the security concept document.⁵⁹ Policymakers aimed to use CIS for the approach of near abroad, it was clear that the main target was the reintegration. Under CIS umbrella, there were also signed bilateral agreements such as Community of Sovereign States with Belarus⁶⁰ and Treaty between Russian Federation and Kazakhstan on Military Cooperation on 28 March 1994⁶¹.

After parliament elections on December 1995, Yevgeny Primakov was assigned as a new minister of foreign affairs (1996-1998) after Andrei Kozyrev in January 1996. Hence the new period for Russian foreign policy agenda began practically. The main logics of his

⁵⁶ Donaldson, R., H., Op.cit, P. 4

⁵⁷ The Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of Russian Federation // Federation of American Scientists, <<https://fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/russia-mil-doc.html>> (accessed 24.01.2017)

⁵⁸ Jackson, N., J., Russian Foreign Policy and the CIS, Routledge London and New York, 2003, p. 65

⁵⁹ The Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation (2.11.1993) // FAS, <<https://fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/russia-mil-doc.html>>, (accessed 12.01.2016)

⁶⁰ Jackson, N., J., *ibid.*, P. 78

⁶¹ For Agreement Text: <<https://fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/940328.htm>> (accessed 13.01.2017)

rule on foreign policy that was known as 'Primakov Doctrine' are 'to establish Russia as regional hegemonic power within Eurasia, limiting the influence of the US in the former Soviet states'⁶². He stated some points which had priorities his foreign policy: To control territorial integrity, to strengthen ties with the former Soviet republics from centre to abroad, to contribute the stabilization of the international situation in the regional level, to prevent new tensions and to develop peaceful international relations.⁶³ Thus, the new abroad gained importance in the new foreign policy agenda. For Central Asia, as a result of the strategic geopolitical position of the region, natural resources and Russian-speaking population, Russian foreign policy 'pleased a great deal importance.'⁶⁴

1.1.2.2 Foreign Policy Applications in Central Asia

The main pillars of the relations with Central Asian states in the presidency term of Yeltsin based on military and security interests. It was clear that Russia lost its political and economical superiority; however, it tried to continue being the main actor to solve security problems of the region which were radicalism and drug-trafficking and smuggling. The Islamic fundamentalism of Central Asia in Tajikistan (during the Civil War) and Uzbekistan were the main threat to Russian territorial integrity. If the movements resulted in a regional conflict, the situation could be a threat to Russian national security together with the Afghan issue. Because about 15.000 Soviet troops died in Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989.⁶⁵ In that point, 'the 201st Motor Rifle Division and Federal Guard Service'⁶⁶ of Russian army which were stationed in Tajikistan was important for Russian regional security in Central Asian in those years.

⁶² Aggarwal, V., K., and Govella, K., Ibid., P. 4

⁶³ Donaldson, R., Op.cit., P. 5, the Writer's Footnote: "Primakov Starts with the CIS," Moskovskie Novosti, 2, January 1421, 1996, CDPSP 48, no. 2 (1996), PP. 1112. , P. 5

⁶⁴ Yevgenievich , K., 'Two Decades of Russia's Foreign Policy in Central Asia: Trends and Problems', Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research 21 (1), PP. 63-65, P. 63 <http://www.lifesciencesite.com/ljsj/life1111s/050_25825life1111s14_227_228.pdf> (accessed 12.12.2016)

⁶⁵ Erlanger, S., 'Block Raids, Yeltsin Tells Central Asians', The New York Times, 08.08.1993, <<http://www.nytimes.com/1993/08/08/world/block-raids-yeltsin-tells-central-asians.html>>, (accessed 14.05.2017)

⁶⁶ Olimov, M., 'The Policy of Russia in Central Asia: A Perspective from Tajikistan', The Emerging Security Agenda, Edited by Gennady Chufrin, Oxford University Press, 1999, New York, p. 114

Practically, Russia played a peacekeeper role in order to solve conflict in Tajikistan. According to the meeting which was taken place in 1993 between Yeltsin and Central Asian leaders, he offered to help for protecting former Soviet Union territory against Afghanistan.⁶⁷ During his presidency terms, he visited only one time to Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan in order to talk about regional security problems.⁶⁸ There were some agreements on the bilateral level between Russia and Central Asian states. For example, the treaty 'Declaration on general cooperation between the Russian Federation, the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Tajikistan' was signed between Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan for joining political, economical and defense actions and protecting borders between Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Afghanistan.⁶⁹

On the regional cooperation bases, there are two organizations emerged which are the CIS and Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) as a military alliance of the CIS. The CIS was created in the post-Soviet area which involved all states of Central Asia, however, it was not a prior political tool until the middle of the 1990s. On the one hand, according to CIS's agreement text, states agreed for common activities on foreign policy, military cooperation, security, economic stability by respect for each other.⁷⁰ The Russian policy of the CIS was about not only security issues but also gaining Russian great power status over the region. On the other hand, Russia tried to keep its economic relations under the CIS. In addition, the CIS department opened in Tajikistan in order to develop relations on security policies in 1997.⁷¹

The CSTO known as Tashkent agreement was signed as the CIS collective security system in May 1992. It was legalized Russian military occurrence in CIS states⁷² for instance, as a result of collective security understanding, the common military base established in Armenia.⁷³ The CSTO which was adopted by Central Asian states except for Turkmenistan. On the regional level, it should be noted here the proposal of the

⁶⁷ Erlanger, S., Op.cit

⁶⁸ 'List of Trips Made by Boris Yeltsin', Wikipedia
//<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=List_of_trips_made_by_Boris_Yeltsin&oldid=779481458>, (accessed 12.05.2017)

⁶⁹ Olimov, Mouzaffar, Ibid., P. 113

⁷⁰ Soglasheniye O Sozdanii Sodruzhestva Nezavisimykh Gosudarstv (8 Dekabrya 1991 Goda, Minsk) // Portal Arkhivy Rossii, <<http://rusarchives.ru/projects/statehood/10-12-soglashenie-sng.shtml>>, 12.01.2017

⁷¹ Olimov, M., Ibid. P. 111

⁷² Jackson, Nicole, J., Ibid., p. 63

⁷³ Tellal, E., 'Zümürdüanka: Rusya Federasyonu'nun Dış Politikası', Ankara Üniversitesi, SBF Dergisi, 65:3, PP. 190-236, P., 206, <<http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/42/1425/16045.pdf>>, (accessed 11.11.2016)

establishment the Eurasian Union by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev. However, the offer was ignored.⁷⁴

Yeltsin had to establish the national identity and state structure of the new state. There were many discussing issues to determine it. When some of them defended the historical role of Russian and Soviet Empires with nationalist ideas, others justified the superiority of Western values. It was seen that Russia was becoming to depend on to Western states economically. However, it was clear that the West was not only one alternative for Russia. As a result, he had to alter the route of policies. It can be said that he could not find enough support from Western States. the economic chaos, on-going political demoralization returned priorities from the West to it's near abroad. In that point, it is also clear that policy-makers could not use successfully their near abroad policies because new independent states were not voluntary to accept Russian role on their policies, they were also establishing their identities, state structures, as well; it is still a controversial issue. Therefore, it is seen that Russian Central Asian policy during the presidency term of Yeltsin was not successful, weak and exception of Tajikistan during the Civil War.

1.2 Russian Foreign Policy and Central Asia after the 2000

1.2.1 The Internal Parameters of Changing Foreign Policy

After Yeltsin's resign which 'shocked his nation'⁷⁵ at the end of 1999, Vladimir Putin was elected as new president on 27 March 2000 by taking 52.9⁷⁶ percent of the total vote. His administration began to become stronger after his first presidential election on March 2000. Putin's strategy can be found in the article which was written by Putin in 1999. The title of the article is 'Russia at the Turn of the Millennium'⁷⁷. In that article, he evaluated the general situation of Russia and international problems and possibilities in terms of

⁷⁴ Syroezkin, K., 'The Policy of Russia in Central Asia: A perspective from Kazakhstan', Russia and Asia: The Emerging Security Agenda, Edited by Gennady Chufrin, Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, P. 103

⁷⁵ Bohlen, Celestine, ' Yeltsin Resign: The Overview; Yeltsin Resigns, Naming Putin as Acting President To Run in March Election (01.01.2000)', New York Times, <<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/01/01/world/yeltsin-resigns-overview-yeltsin-resigns-naming-putin-acting-president-run-march.html>> (accessed 06.02.2017)

⁷⁶ Istoriya Dosrochnykh Vyborov Prezidenta RF 2000 Godu, 26.04.2015 //TASS News Agency, <<http://tass.ru/info/1854245>> (accessed 06.02.2017)

⁷⁷ Putin, Vladimir (1999), 'Russia at the Turn off the Millennium', Nezavisimaia Gazeta:4 "Rossiia Na Rubezhe Tysiachetii", Translated in Putin's, First Person, PP. 209-229, University of Oregon, <<http://pages.uoregon.edu/kimball/Putin.htm>> (accessed 07.02.2017)

Russian politics. The importance of strong state as defined 'a strong state power in Russia is a democratic, law-based, workable federative state', 'efficient' state economy was also stated by him, lastly, he added that 'our people will not withstand a new radical break-up'.⁷⁸

During his presidential periods, the policy of governance focused on the centralization. To do this, he used a term of 'sovereign democracy' in terms of intellectual domain. It means that Russia had to follow its own democratization process.⁷⁹ In the practical field, he controlled the parliament and planned a series of internal reforms in terms of military, federal and political fields. It is called as 'the Putin Doctrine'⁸⁰. The main strategy of the doctrine can be gathered with four targets that are a strong and active state, a strong economy, a powerful army, peacemaker and an active foreign policy.⁸¹ His priorities were 'the recovery of economic, political, and geostrategic assets lost by the Soviet state in 1991'. In this direction, it can be said that Putin aimed to gather the state power in fields of domestic and foreign affairs although there were power groups more than one, such as bureaucracy, and 'siloviki' which is a Russian term for calling security and military services in the state structure.⁸²

1.2.2 The New Foreign Policy

Putin's centralization steps were seen on Russian foreign policy implementations. When we make an overview of his policies' background, it is clear that there is not only one point of view. In the other words, his foreign policy is not only Atlanticist or Eurasianist but also pragmatist and realist, therefore, it can be said that the debate of Eurasianist-Atlanticist

⁷⁸ Putin, Vladimir, Op.cit

⁷⁹ Rousseau, R., 'Russian Foreign Policy Under Dmitri Medvedev's Presidency (2008-2012)', CESRAN Papers No:8, April 2015, P. 3, < <http://cesran.org/russian-foreign-policy-under-dmitry-medvedevs-presidency-2008-2012.html>> (accessed 02.01.2017)

⁸⁰ Aron, L., 'The Putin Doctrine: Russia's Quest to Rebuild the Soviet State', 08.03.2013, Foreign Affairs, <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2013-03-08/putin-doctrine>> (accessed 12.10.2016)

⁸¹ Jarafov, N., 'Rusya'da Ulusal Güvenlik Anlayışının Dönüşümü (1991-2006)', Ankara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı, Doktora Tezi, 2007, P. 184, <<https://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwiDwuql4YvUAhVGAPoKHTKIALsQFggiMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Ffacikarsiv.ankara.edu.tr%2Fbrowse%2F3604%2F4492.pdf&usg=AFQjCNEAVwk4YC58MpZE5SAbGlnRVuXjA>> (accessed 10.10.2016)

⁸² Kaczmarzsky, M., 'Domestic Power Relations and Russia's Foreign Policy', Demokratizatsiya, Number 3, PP. 383-409, 2014, P. 384 <https://www2.gwu.edu/~ieresegwu/assets/docs/demokratizatsiya%20archive/GWASHU_DEMO_22_3/E0361765L61G4886/E0361765L61G4886.pdf> (accessed 11.01.2017)

ended, the syntheses of two of them was adopted. In the end of 2000, he restored the Soviet national anthem 'to create a strong, effective state the distinctively reddish hue of the past.'⁸³

There is a significant point for understanding Russian foreign policy of Putin which is his statist identity. That identity is fed with historical Russian arguments such as Russian Orthodox identity. 'The powerful Russia' as a slogan has affected all political areas. With this way, the global and regional position the state and the power of Russia was resituated. As the economic resurgence was going on, it's positive effects were seen in Russian political behavior in the international system. The concrete illustrations are seen on developing bilateral and multilateral relationships with both supranational organizations and international actors. Therefore, absolutely, Russian foreign policy is still sitting on a multilateral ground from India to the USA due to both its historical heritage in its near abroad and geographical positions in the world.

1.2.2.1 Foreign Policy in Official Documents

To understand Putin's perception of the world and the changing foreign policy agenda towards the near abroad from the 2000s, we should make overview some official state documents. Together with the new presidential term, there are three official concepts which were signed in 2000 by including Russian national, military and new foreign policy views that are National Security Concept⁸⁴, Russian Military Doctrine and Russian Foreign Policy Concept⁸⁵. As the Yeltsin era, the same way was used for determining the main policy of Russia on military, security and foreign policy levels. In other words, Russian strategic plans on those areas gained the official status, whit this way the behaviours of the sates were legitimized.

⁸³ 'Putin Revises Soviet National Anthem', 09.12.2000, The Telegraph
<<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/1377685/Putin-revives-Soviet-national-anthem.html>> (accessed 14.02.2017)

⁸⁴ Konseptsiya Natsional'noy Bezopasnosti Rossiyskoy Federatsii 2000 Goda// FMP, MGU,
<<http://fmp.msu.ru/center-for-security-and-development-studies/anthology/document-inventory/countries/item/1622-kontseptsiya-natsionalnoj-bezopasnosti-rossijskoj-federatsii-2000-goda>>
(accessed 08.02.2017)

⁸⁵ The Foreign Policy Concept of Russian Federation, 28.06.2000 // FAS,
<<https://fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/econcept.htm>> (accessed 08.02.2017)

The common points of those documents in terms of foreign policy applications can be summarized. First of all, the foreign policy should be constructed on a pluralist and multilateral perspective, political institutions also should be strengthened for cooperating on multiple principles. Secondly, treats of Russia are territorial conflicts against Russia, the proliferation of mass destructions, NATO's expansion in the eastern Europe. Importantly, the rights and interests of Russian citizens and fellow countrymen and compatriots abroad were the main priority of Russia, it promotes Russian language and culture in foreign states. The basic international laws and bilateral agreements to adequately guarantee the rights and freedoms of them are used by Russian authority. On the regional perception, to develop relationships and cooperation for struggling against terrorism within the CIS umbrella have a priority, the CIS as a regional organization has a great importance for Russian security, the cooperation on military and security areas should be strengthened. In this direction, growth of separatism, ethnic-national and religious extremism, illegal drug trafficking were main threats for national and regional stability.

President Medvedev (2008-2012) also used that method. The three documents were renewed and launched respectively as The Foreign Policy Concept in 2008, the National Security Concept in 2009 and The Military Doctrine in 2010. The Russian perception of the world that are the main threats for citizens, security of territorial integrity in the international system was tackled by following objectives. According to the Foreign Policy Concept⁸⁶ and the Military Doctrine⁸⁷, first of all, Russian foreign policy and the military power should ensure national security from military dangers, wars and threats, territorial integrity and achieve the necessary growth of its political, economic modernizations and intellectual potential. Secondly, The objective image of Russian Federation are as a democratic, social oriented market economy and independent foreign policy; therefore, Russian language and culture in foreign states should be promoted and propagate for developing inter-civilization partnerships. Thirdly, the integration processes with CIS is in the national interests of Russia, therefore, the fundamental importance of Russia are strengthened Russian statehood, stable economic growth, further political and economic reforms, resolution of social problems, overcoming of the resource-based economy and its

⁸⁶ The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, 12.01.2008// The President Of Russia, the Official Website, < <http://en.kremlin.ru/supplement/4116>> (accessed 09.02.2017)

⁸⁷ The Text of Newly-Approved Russian Military Doctrine, 05.02.2010 // Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/2010russia_military_doctrine.pdf> (accessed 09.02.2017)

transition to innovations. Lastly, the military security of Russian Federation was depend on strengthen system of the CSTO within the CIS, the OSCE, the SCO and the European Union and NATO and in that point, the CIS has the key role for peacekeeping, ensuring regional and international security, however, NATO enlargements in this region is perceived as a threat.

To sum, the contemporary versions of those documents which were approved the Foreign Policy Concept (2016)⁸⁸ and the Military Doctrine (2014)⁸⁹ follow the basic principles of previous documents. Distinctly, some points should be added for understanding emphasized point for Russian foreign policy and security perceptions on the regional bases. First of all, for regional priorities, it can be seen that the CIS and the CSTO gained importance year by year. On the bilateral and multilateral levels, cooperation with the CIS states should be expanded by regional cooperation as the Eurasian Economic Union. That cooperation is not only security or military issues, it includes political, cultural and humanitarian basis. Secondly, the dialog under the CIS umbrella should be kept and the main challenges of the region should be solved the common perceptions. In that perception, all states under the CIS are equal, mutual and respect for each other. Because they have common cultural and historical legacy. Secondly, it was emphasized in the military doctrine, in terms of the military and security cooperation, it is the main aim of Russia that to solve regional and global problems.

As it can be understood in the official context, the position of Russian federation as a great power and a part of the international system were located, renewed and gained a new ground. The perception of the great power status should be a necessity to determine the state interests on broadening sphere from it's near abroad or region to the international system. As a result of this, Russian ruling circles have focused on all parts of foreign policy in the agenda. In that point, Central Asia became one of the most significant areas for Russian foreign policy. In contrast to the Yeltsin period, Russian interests gained a new ground after the 2000s. Russian policymakers have focused on many issues in the region. On the one hand, Russia has tried to use the great power status which can be found in the

⁸⁸ Foreign Policy Concept of Russian Federation, 01.12.2016 //The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, the Official Website, http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptICkB6BZ29/content/id/2542248 (accessed 17.05.2017)

⁸⁹ Military Doctrine of Russian Federation, 29.06.2015// Press Releases, The Embassy of Russian Federation to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, <<http://rusemb.org.uk/press/2029>> (accessed 15.05.2017)

common historical process. As a heritage of the Soviet Union, especially, economic dependency of the region and the security challenges against regional states and Russia should be a necessity to cooperation. On the other hand, in the general framework, it is seen that the economic and security problems predominate the other issues. In this point of view, the CIS and the CSTO are attributed multilateral organizations between Russia and Central Asian states. However, as an example, the status of the Russian compatriots, their cultural and political rights, migration to Russia from all states of the region are other significant issues even if those were not emphasized in the documents. The implementation of them has a different constitutional, institutional bases.

1.2.2.2 Russian Interests in Central Asia

Russian interests in Central Asia after the 2000s can be enumerated with four main aspects: Geopolitical, economic, security, and humanitarian. Central Asia has a top priority for Russian interests. On the official discourse, the region has generally mentioned under the CIS and the CSTO spheres on multilateral cooperation level. At the same time, Russia is trying to abandon activities of other powers in the region such as China, the USA, and the EU. However, it can prefer to use cooperation at the same time, for example, after the terrorist attacks the 9/11, Russia preferred to cooperate with the US against terrorism. When it is compared, Russia has some advantageous than other external actors in the region. First of all, the geopolitical position of the state is one of the most important factors of those advantages. Secondly, the region still mainly depends on Russia in terms of the economy such as the main exported products from the Central Asia are agricultural and natural raw materials, machinery and textile; trade routes, security assistance.

The Russian compatriots who are living in the region emerge a priority of Russian foreign policy agenda. Those ties are keeping alive the close relations against common threats and benefits the states for each other. However, it is not possible to say that all states have the same developed relations with Russia. As an exception, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan try to balance their relations between Russia and the Western States and Kazakhstan are the most independent state to Russia relatively. In contrast, the relations between Russia and Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan base on total dependency of Russian military, economic and political assistances. Therefore, the framework of Russian interests in Central Asia and the

dependence of Central Asian states to Russia should be evaluated with three factors: '1) their structural dependence on Russia; 2) the level of Russia's insistence on conformity to its policies; and 3) their interests with other states and powers.'⁹⁰

For Russian foreign policy, the majority problems of the region are potential threats to Russian national security, economic stability, and territorial integrity. 'Territorial integrity' or 'national security' is the major priority of foreign policy that stated in almost all official documents. Practically, Russian foreign policy towards Central Asia has been carried out with official visits more than the period of Yeltsin. The first visit of President Putin was taken place in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan in 2000. The meetings continued in some institutional and bilateral levels as Caspian Sea Talks, the CIS, the CSTO and the SCO meetings. Generally, the economic labor migrants with Kyrgyzstan in 2014, and energy and military issues with Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan in 2005, struggle against security challenges with Tajikistan, political stabilizations with Kyrgyzstan again, the status of the Russian compatriots and humanitarian issues with Turkmenistan in 2007 emerged the main talking issues.

Today Central Asia has also many problems. When some of them are coming from as the Soviet heritage as national border problems, the others are actual and non-traditional issues as drug trafficking from Afghanistan and Islamic extremism. In that point, the problems of the region have a probability of affecting Russia directly. Therefore, It is not possible to think about the main challenges or political situation of the region depends on each other. For example, when the economic situation depends on Islamic extremism, the status of Russian compatriots can be understood with economic and security dependency of the states to Russia.

The challenges of Central Asia for Russia can be divided three categories: internal, regional and external. If they are numerated together here:

** Security issues (energy, terrorism, separatism, post-Afghanistan, and Islamic extremism),*

** Drug trafficking and narcotic,*

⁹⁰ Radnuitz, S., "How Central Asia Responds to the Kremlin's Exhortations", Ponars Eurasia Policy Memo, No: 451, November 2016, < http://www.ponarseurasia.org/sites/default/files/policy-memos-pdf/Pepm451_Radnitz_Nov2016.pdf> (accessed 15.05.2017)

- *Weak state institutions, democratizations and human rights,*
- * The status of the Russian speaking population-the compatriots*
- * Internal territorial and ethnic problems,*
- * Instable economic situations of the regional states and corruption,*
- * Illegal immigration and labor migrants.*

Russia sees that it is impossible to solve the problems or to prevent negative effects of them without regional and global cooperation. Therefore, Russia has enhanced some cooperation models with both regional states in Central Asia and the other powers on security, military, and economic fields after the collapse of the Soviet Union until today. Not only CIS (1991) and CSTO (1992-1999 and it was renewed in 2002⁹¹) but also other organizations can be seen as Eurasian Economic Community (EEC) in 2001, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (2001), Central Asian Cooperation Organization (2002-2005), the Customs Union (2010), Collective Security Treaty Organization (2002), the Common Economic Space (2012), and lastly, the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) (2015). Hence Russia foreign policy tried to develop relations with Central Asian states by focusing security, energy by broadening the role of Russia.

The most significant multilateral intergovernmental organizations are the CIS, the CSTO and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). The SCO as an organization focuses on 'a series of bilateral negotiations between Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan (Turkmenistan is not a member of SCO) over the demarcation of borders in Central Asia'⁹²; economic cooperation, transportation systems and communication are among them. The member states struggle against the main security challenges. It is the top priority for Russian Foreign Policy on multilateral bases. Russia suggested to establish the SCO's energy club in 2006 in terms of energy security; it was created in December 2013.⁹³ When Afghanistan is keeping its importance on regional security level, the growing Chinese power can be prevent Russian activities in the region. Nevertheless, Russian

⁹¹ Haas, M., *Russia's Foreign Security Policy in the 21. Century: Putin, Medvedev and Beyond*, Routledge, Contemporary Security Studies, New York, 2010, P. 40

⁹² "Russia's Role in the SCO and Central Asia: Challenges and Opportunities", Valdai Discussion Club, Grantees Report, P. 6, <<http://valdaiclub.com/files/11480/>> (accessed 10.12.2016)

⁹³ "Russia's Role in the SCO and Central Asia...", Op.cit, P. 16-17

relationships with China via the SCO competes with the Western influence. Moreover, some economic projects of China are also significant for economic relations among regional states as Chinese New Silk Road Project for coming years. In that point, Russian bilateral relations with Central Asian states should be evaluated here before questioning the Russian compatriot issue at the end of the first chapter.

1.3. Russian Bilateral Relations with Central Asian States

1.3.1 Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan is one of the most significant partners among five regional states for Russia. When it is compared with other states in the region, the country has a great economy and political independence from Russia⁹⁴ relatively. It has governed by President Nursultan Nazarbayev since the first presidential election in 1991. His leadership is not questioned as other states in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan can be an exception here. However, he has tried to move the political system from individual to presidential-parliamentary system since 2007.⁹⁵ Putin's personal relationship with President Nazarbayev exists the other significant face of relations.⁹⁶

The importance of Kazakhstan is not only due to its geographical position (Russian-Kazakh border is 7645 km) towards Russia but also for widening Russian Eurasian perspective. Security, energy, Russian compatriots, nuclear issues, production of electricity, and military technical aspects create main cooperation areas between Kazakhstan and Russia. As an economic importance, the country has 70.52 trillion cubic feet of gas reserves and about 16.4 billion barrels of oil reserves.⁹⁷ It is member almost all pro-Russian organizations and signed treaties from the CIS to the EAEU. At the same time, it is trying to keep its national sovereignty towards Russia and other regional and global partners totally with the balance of the foreign policy, as an example, despite the fact that

⁹⁴ Nixey, James, 'The Long Goodbye: Waning Russian Influence in the South Caucasus and Central Asia', Chatham House, Briefing Paper, Russia and Eurasia Programme, June 2012, p. 8, <<https://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/papers/view/184065>> (accessed 22.12.2016)

⁹⁵ Zorlu, Kürşad, 'Kazakistan Nasıl ve Neden Parlamenter Sisteme Geçiyor?' , 04.02.2017, <<http://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/kazakistan-nasil-ve-neden-parlamenter-sisteme-geciyor-41546yy.htm>>, (accessed 28.02.2017)

⁹⁶ LO, B., Ibid., P. 10

⁹⁷ Olcott, M. B., Kazakhstan: Unfulfilled Promise?, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, 2010, P. 3

the idea of Eurasian Union was suggested including common currency and the new trade barrier by Nazarbayev in 1994⁹⁸, he refused to establish an Eurasian Parliament which was offered by Russia.⁹⁹

Russia has seven military plants in Kazakhstan.¹⁰⁰ Baikonur Cosmodrome which is the first space station in the world, was set up in Soviet times, is one of them. According to the agreement that was signed on 26 December¹⁰¹, Russia will continue to cooperate at Baikonur with Kazakhstan. The state is the major economic partner of Russia than other regional states. Today, more than 5000 Russian companies are operating in Kazakhstan, the cooperation lies in 'oil and gas extraction, electric power industry, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, production of mineral fertilizers, nuclear industry, as well as finance and mobile communication'¹⁰². On the other hand, the country is a member of the WTO (2015) and has an active trade and investment cooperation with China, the USA, and other European states.¹⁰³ Kazakhstan is the fifteenth state having valuable energy resources in the world.¹⁰⁴ According to the World Bank statistics, the GDP of Kazakhstan increased from about \$18 billion to \$184 billion between 2000 and 2015.¹⁰⁵

1.3.2 Kyrgyzstan

Kyrgyzstan has the weakest economy in Central Asia. Even if it is the first state that became the member of the WTO in the CIS members in 20 December 1998¹⁰⁶, it has not stable economic and politic state structures. However, the most significant feature of the state is the democratic identity relatively than the others. When the color revolutions which

⁹⁸ Chepurina, M., Ibraev, B., 'Four Socio-Political Factors that Could Make or Break the Deal for Eurasian Economic Integration after Kyrgyzstan's Accession', 30.03.2016, RIAC, <http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=7474#top-content>, (accessed 02.03.2017)

⁹⁹ Russia's Interests in Central Asia: Contents, Perspectives, Limitations // RIAC Report No: 10, 2013, Moscow, P. 11

¹⁰⁰ Aliyev, B., 'Rusya'nın Orta Asya'daki Askeri Üsleri, BİLGESAM Analiz/Rusya, No: 1338, 20.07.2016, p. 4, <<http://www.bilgesam.org/Images/Dokumanlar/0-463-2016072245rusyanin-orta-asyadaki-askeri-usleri.pdf>> (accessed 20.07.2016)

¹⁰¹ Why Russia Won't Be Leaving Kazakhstan's Baikonur Cosmodrome Anything Soon, 29.12.2016 // Sputnik News Agency, <<http://sptnkne.ws/dfRH>> (accessed 28.02.2017)

¹⁰² "Russia's Interests in Central Asia: Contents, Perspectives...", ibid., p. 25

¹⁰³ Vyacheslav, D., 'Russia and Kazakhstan: Twenty Years of Sovereign Cooperation', 26.01.2012, RIAC, <http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=95> (accessed 10.01.2017)

¹⁰⁴ Valuable Energy Reserves: Kazakhstan // Business Insider, <<http://www.businessinsider.com/countries-with-most-energy-reserves-2014-2#15-kazakhstan-4>> (accessed 01.03.2017)

¹⁰⁵ Kazakhstan //The World Bank, <<http://data.worldbank.org/country/kazakhstan>> (accessed 28.02.2017)

¹⁰⁶ Kyrgyz Republic and WTO // WTO Official Website, For More Information: <https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/countries_e/kyrgyz_republic_e.htm> (accessed 02.03.2017)

were in Georgia (2003) and Ukraine (2004) were seen in the CIS area, the Kyrgyz NGOs led to change the president with two revolutions in 2005 and 2010; Askar Akaev and Kurmanbek Bakiyev had to leave their country respectively. Today, Almazbek Atambayev presidency term who was elected as president in 2011 for 6 years continues.¹⁰⁷

Despite the fact that Kyrgyzstan seems more democratic state than others, the sphere can mislead about its political, security and economical situations. Russian-Kyrgyz relation should be evaluated in this framework. For example, Kyrgyzstan is a member of almost all pro-Russian regional cooperation. In terms of military aspect, Russia has two military bases in Kyrgyzstan; Kant and the 954th Anti-Submarine Testing Base.¹⁰⁸ This situation gives the strategic importance on military and security fields. On the other hand, in the today's political situation in Kyrgyzstan towards Russia, there can be seen the growth nationalist mindset among people 'who deny the Russian historic and cultural contribution in the national development in principle'¹⁰⁹. Russian-Kyrgyz economic relations are based on the dependency of Kyrgyzstan to foreign partners, especially Russia. It is the first country which introduces national currency after the collapse of the Soviet Union.¹¹⁰ At the same time, the economic stability of Kyrgyzstan depends on Russian relations with Western states.¹¹¹ The country has not large natural resources, this feature is almost the same with Tajikistan. Furthermore, more than one million Kyrgyz are working in Russia.¹¹² Kyrgyzstan pointed at 148 of 220 export rate in 2014 when its GDP per capita was 138th of 185 in the same year.¹¹³ The other illustration is about Russia's position in the Kyrgyz economic statistics, Russia had the first import value with more than \$1.2 billion when it had the third export value of Kyrgyzstan with more than \$157 million in 2015¹¹⁴, in the same year, the country signed the treaty of the Eurasian Customs Union.

¹⁰⁷ Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan // CIA, The World Factbook, ><https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/kg.html>> (accessed 28.02.2017)

¹⁰⁸ Aliyev, Bayram, Op.cit., P. 7-8

¹⁰⁹ "Russia's Interests in Central Asia, Op.cit, P. 15

¹¹⁰ Olcott, Martha Brill, Ibid., P. 41

¹¹¹ Kazantsev, Andrey, 'Relations Between the Independent Kirgizia and Russia: Present and Future' RIAC, 26 01.2012, < http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=94>, (accessed 15.01.2017)

¹¹² Chepurina M., Ibraev, B., Op.cit.

¹¹³ Kyrgyzstan Country Profile // The Observatory of Economic Complexity (OEC), <<http://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/kgz/>> (accessed 28.02.2017)

¹¹⁴ 'Kyrgyzstan: Trade Statistics' // Global Edge, <<https://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/kyrgyzstan/tradestats>>, (accessed 08.02.2017)

1.3.3 Tajikistan

Tajikistan is one of the most smaller states in terms population in the region as Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. The importance of the country for Russia can be seen with two aspects: military and geography. Russia has a military base in Tajikistan since the Soviet times. Therefore, it had to attend to resolve the civil war. The regional dividing of Tajikistan by tribes can be observed as the north and the south, the situation was also shaped the civil war. Today, Tajik political situation bears traces of the 1990s. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Rahmon Nabyev elected as president, however, it resulted in the civil war. Today, the state is governed by Emmomali Rahmon's administration which has secular and nationalist identities.¹¹⁵ The assembly is under his control via People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan. At the same time, the country provided some political parties during the 1990s as Tajikistan Islamic Revival Party.¹¹⁶

Russian interests in Tajikistan can be explained with security, economic and migration spheres. It has still a military base in the state. It is significant for domestic and regional security problems because Tajikistan has the longest border with Afghanistan, 1344 km.¹¹⁷ In other words, Tajikistan's security is preserved by Russian troops. The biggest Russian army outside of Russia has been deployed in Tajikistan by three different compounds.¹¹⁸ When the Afghan issue will depend on the US and NATO policies, the Islamic extremism still continues to threaten for local and regional security of Central Asia.

In terms of economic situation, Tajikistan has not great natural resources, as a result of this, its economic dependence is not only to Russia but also to China and Kazakhstan. At the same time, it became a member of the WTO in 2013. The country feels deep economic problems which are inequality incomes, the high degree of corruption, unemployment and rising drug economy. Therefore, on the one hand, the membership of the SCO and the CIS, and possibility of the member of the EUEU in the near future can help for resurging

¹¹⁵ Eker, Süer, "Orta Asya'nın İrani Halkı Tacikler ve Bağımsızlığının 20. Yılında Tacikistan", (349-398) Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Türkiyat Araştırmaları, Sayı:15, Güz 2011, p., 376, <<https://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwjZ2vyqLYnUAhXEiywKHSoeDeUQFggmMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fhutad.hacettepe.edu.tr%2Findex.php%2Fhutad%2Farticle%2Fdownload%2F314%2F467&usg=AFQjCNGBJ2QW6QKOGD5-cOI5WwpEq0JzeQ&cad=rjt>> (accessed 07.02.2017)

¹¹⁶ "Rusia's Interests in Central Asia: Contents...", Op.cit, P. 16

¹¹⁷ Putz, K., 'Why is Russia Cutting Troops in Tajikistan', 05.02.2016, <<http://thediplomat.com/2016/02/why-is-russia-cutting-troops-in-tajikistan/>> (accessed 20.11.2016)

¹¹⁸ Aliyev, B., Op.cit, P. 8

economic problems. On the other hand, more than one million Tajik citizens are working abroad, the majority of them is in Russia.¹¹⁹ However, their situation in Russia depends on some measurements, for instance, Russia could change migration policies toward Tajikistan.¹²⁰

1.3.4 Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan has not only large natural resources but also advantageous geographical position among Central Asian states. It is one of the littoral states of Caspian Sea. Therefore, natural resources and their transportations have importance for Turkmenistan policy towards both regional and other international actors. As other regional states, the state is ruling under the authoritarian regime. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the country declared its independence with the leadership of Saparmyrat Niyazov (Turkmenbashi). When he died in the end of December 2006, Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow elected as the new president of Turkmenistan in early 2007¹²¹. His ruling period continues, according to the last presidential election results, he won the elections with 97.69% of total vote.¹²²

Turkmenistan has followed an isolationist foreign policy. It is shaped by energy card. According to the statistics, it is the twelfth country in terms of having valuable energy reserves in the world.¹²³ Its energy cooperation is not only with Russia but Western states and China. It exports natural gas to Russia via the Soviet-built Central Asia-Centre gas pipeline¹²⁴ that is controlled by Gazprom, by passing Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and to China via Turkmenistan-China pipeline which was opened in 2009, furthermore, the EU, India, and Pakistan compose the potential direction of the country.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Tajikistan Economy' //Countries of the World,

<http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurrent/tajikistan/tajikistan_economy.html> (accessed 28.02.2017)

¹²⁰ Rossiya Ogranichivayet V'yezd Tadjikistana // Demographia, <<http://www.demographia.ru/node/126>> (accessed 28.02.2017)

¹²¹ Turkmenistan // Country Watch Elections Central,

<<http://elections.countrywatch.com/country.aspx?con=175>>, (accessed 01.03.2017)

¹²² 'Berdimuhamedov Wins Turkmenistan Presidential Elections with 97.69%', 13.02.2017, TASS News Agency, <<http://tass.com/world/930514>> (accessed 01.03.2017)

¹²³ Valuable Energy Reserves: Turkmenistan // Business Insider, <<http://www.businessinsider.com/countries-with-most-energy-reserves-2014-2#12-turkmenistan-7>> (accessed 01.03.2017)

¹²⁴ Kazantsev, A., 'Turkmen-Russian relations in the Post-Soviet era', 26.12.2012, RIAC, <http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=87> (accessed 02.03.2017)

¹²⁵ "Russia's Interests in Central Asia: Contents...", Op.cid, P. 14

Today, Russia has not any military bases there. It is obvious that Turkmenistan was totally dependent on Russia, especially in terms of energy transportation during the 1990s; the country had to export its energy via Russia to Europe. It has other alternative routes today, not only to China but also it is working on the plan of Trans-Caspian pipeline via Azerbaijan to Europe. It shows that Russia is not a major determinant actor of Turkmen foreign policy. As an evidence, Turkmenistan has only become the CIS member of all pro-Russian organizations.

1.3.5 Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan is one of the most significant and powerful actors together with Kazakhstan in terms of economic, military and demographic potentials. The state was ruled under Islam Kerimov's presidency from independence to September 2016. After his death, the Prime Minister Shavkat Mirziyoyev (2003-2016) elected as the new president on December 4 election with 88.6 percent of the vote.¹²⁶ In this way, the new ruling period will demonstrate whether substantial changing will be observed on Uzbek politics towards Russia. The clans have a great role on Uzbek domestic political life as 'Tashkent, the Samarkand, and the Fergana, though four smaller clans — Jizzakh, Kashkadarya, Khorezm and Karakalpak'.¹²⁷

During Kerimov's presidency, the state was ruled by an authoritarian regime. This authoritarianism became stronger during the 1990s, and it reached a peak with Andijan incident in 2005. This situation affected behaviours of the state towards Russia and the Western states. According to the statistics, Uzbekistan's free press rank was 155th of 160 in 2005, the illustration also has a low rank as 166th of 181 today.¹²⁸ Moreover, the political oppositions had to leave their country during the 1990s. The most known politician Muhammed Salih is still living abroad and he continues his political opposition role under Uzbekistan's People's Movement.

¹²⁶ Mirziyoyev Declared Winner of Uzbekistan's Presidential Election // Radio Free Europe, 05.12.2016, <<http://www.rferl.org/a/uzbekistan-presidential-election-2016-mirziyayev/28156160.html>> (accessed 01.03.2017)

¹²⁷ Uzbekistan: Where Clans Clash // STRATFOR Analysis, 30.08.2016, <<https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/uzbekistan-where-clans-clash>> (accessed 03.03.2017)

¹²⁸ 'Uzbekistan', Reporters Without Borders, <https://rsf.org/en/uzbekistan>, 01.03.2017

The main feature of Kerimov's foreign policy was to keep the balance and to maneuver between Russia and other international actors. He generally avoided to attend pro-Russian or pro-Western institutions directly because Uzbek foreign policy was established on to prevent one power or one institution's dominance on Uzbek political system. When the possibility of color revolution as Tulip in Kyrgyzstan with Andijan incident in 2005, he suppressed the rebellion and changed policy towards the Western states. The US also applied the arms embargo. As a result of this, Uzbekistan and Russia signed the Treaty of Allied Relations which was giving to Russia using the military base in Uzbekistan; after that, he concerned the Russian influence and 'began to make overtures towards the West'¹²⁹. Today, Russia has not any military base in Uzbekistan. In terms of regional integration projects of Russia, it is only the CIS member as Turkmenistan, however, the country is a member of the SCO. Its membership of CSTO also was not stable, it withdrew from this alliance in 1999.¹³⁰

For Russian foreign policy, Uzbekistan is a guarantee for Russian security in the region because it is the second country which has the Islamic extremist potential in Fergana Valley. As an illegal organization, The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) is not recognized by the Uzbek ruling circles. However, Uzbekistan is one of boundary states of Afghanistan, the threat thus will keep its importance for national and regional security when it is considered with Syrian Crises and continuing terrorist activities there. The ruling circles prefer to develop bilateral relations with neighbours and other actors. Therefore, Uzbek economy should be evaluated in this perspective. Economically, Russia is the major importing country of Uzbekistan, however, China has the first volume for Uzbek export destination.¹³¹ It accounts natural gas via Gazprom and the big number of Uzbek migrants are working in Russia.¹³² To sum, as it was generally embraced above that Russia is one of the major actors in the region. Its historical ties, economic dependency of the states, their internal and external security problems, and their manoeuvring foreign policy approaches give Russia the role of the advantageous position. In that point, the other and substantial issue for Russian policymakers is the Russian Compatriots who are living in all regional

¹²⁹ Nixey, J., Ibid., P. 10

¹³⁰ Olcott, M. B., Central Asia's Second Chance, Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, Washington, 2005, P. 14

¹³² Popadyuk, O., 'Uzbekistan: twenty years of independence,' RIAC, 26 January 2012, <http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=100> (accessed 02.03.2017)

states. That issue is one of the shaping factors among states and towards Russia even if it seems as overshadowed the main issues.

Chapter 2: Russian Compatriots in Central Asia

2.1. The Emergence of the Issue after the Collapse of the Soviet Union

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the common feature of newly independent states was multi-ethnic structures. Russian, Slavic or the Russian-speaking population comprised the significant number of this multi-ethnic situation with local populations. During the Tsarist and Soviet times, the migration of the populations was used for Russification and Sovietization policies not only for Russian or Slavic population, but also other ethnic groups had to change their homelands with some migration waves. In other words, when the boundary of the state expanded, that method was implemented to security; to control the new territories, trade ways, and local societies.

With regard to Central Asia, the same situation can be observed here. However, it has a complex history, Russian settlement in Central Asia continued with some migration waves during the past four hundred years.¹³³ When the conquest of the region was completed, not only the skilled Russian population but also the Turkic population had to migrate from their homelands and distributed to Central Asia for instance, the inhabitants of Crimea, about 200.000 people were deported from their homeland to Central Asia by J. Stalin in 1944 during the Soviet times.¹³⁴

According to the statistics, more than 21 million Russian resided in the 14 non-Russian republics, they emerged nearly one-fifth of the total population in those republics in 1970; the population raised at 23.87 million in 1979¹³⁵. At the same time, several cities were also established by Russians as Farghana, Alma-Ata in that period. In those cities, the majority of populations were constituted by Russians. The main characteristic of the migrated Russian population were highly skilled engineers and the white color workers. As a result of the population policies of Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, Russian culture, language and tradition became a dominant identical value in Central Asia. At the same time, the situation also supported political and economic governance models.

¹³³ Ziegler, C., E., 'The Russian Diaspora in Central Asia: Russian Compatriots and Moscow's Foreign Policy, P. 105, <<https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-147825487/the-russian-diaspora-in-central-asia-russian-compatriots>> (accessed 10.12.2016)

¹³⁴ Allworth, E., Central Asia, 130 Years of Russian Dominance Historical Overview, Third Edition, Duke University Press, the USA, 2002, p. 65

¹³⁵ Kolstoe, P. 'Russians in the Former Soviet Republics, Hurst and co/Indiana University Press, 1995, London, P. 46-47

When the Soviet Union was collapsed, about 25 million people became as minorities in the new 14 independent states, the majority of them was Russians; on the other hand, approximately 9.5 million individual Russians were living in the five Central Asian states before the demise of the union in 1989.¹³⁶ This historical changing resulted in a political, economical, social, cultural and ethnic complexity for both Russian and independent states. Their state structure was based on nationalistic character. Therefore, Russian communities encountered many problems.

First of all, the main problem of the Russian communities was the determining of the identity. As it was stated, Russian identity did not include an ethnical or modern nationalist approach. It can be seen in the state structure of the Soviet Union. There was an identity, however, it based on common culture, language, and socio-economical implementations. As a result, the gaining newly nationalistic character of independent states emerged a new identity problem under new national states. Secondly, the demographic situation of Central Asian states started to change gradually, it can be seen in the related title. This situation compelled the Russian communities to migrate to Russia. Finally, in terms of language and culture, Russian values continued to dominate towards local languages and traditions, however, the problem of keeping their political and cultural rights became an another problematic aspect of their lives.

To sum, Russian foreign policy had to look for resolving the problem of Russian communities in the former Soviet Union. To do this, it was a necessity that the Russian communities should be determined in some discourses to develop new strategies. In other words, the questions are a vital importance: Can the Russian population in the former Soviet Union be defined as a Diaspora or are they minorities there? Or which measurements should be applied to determine their status in the new Russian state structure and foreign policy implementations? Lastly, in which concept the problem can be solved by Russian ruling circles? To answer those questions, we should define the Russian communities in the concept of Diaspora.

¹³⁶ Peyrouse, S., 'The Russian Minority in Central Asia: Migration, Politics, and Language', Kennan Institute, Occasional Paper: 297, P. 1, <<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/OP297.pdf> > (accessed 02.02.2017)

2.1.1 The Problem of Defining the Compatriots in the Concept of Diaspora

The Diaspora is widely used in the area of social science to determine ethnic communities, migrated people from their homelands, minorities, political refugees, and their relationships towards their homelands and host countries by making generalizations. According to William Safran¹³⁷, the main defining characteristics of those communities can be enumerated as;

- *They have been dispersed from their centre to the another foreign regions,*
- * They should have a collective memory,*
- * They are alienated and isolated from their host countries,*
- *Their homeland is conceptualized as their ideal and they want to return there,*
- * Their homeland countries incline to keep their rights.*

According to those characteristics, to determine any communities in the concept of the Diaspora, their relations with their original states should be base on the continuity. Their homeland politics should involve to support and keep them in foreign countries. Their social and cultural ties are also another significant element. It bases on the continuity. The Diaspora communities should have common ideas, national identities. On the one hand, The political and socio-cultural situations in host countries should be different from local populations.

Moreover, their social, political and cultural organizations work for keeping their rights. On the other hand, they support their homelands with economic activities. They have a potential for affecting or changing the policy of their host countries in some areas by representing in some bureaucratic and governance processes. In that point, can the Russian community be defined as a Diaspora after the collapse of the Soviet Union in Central Asia? According to Brubaker, they can be conceptualized in the concept. The ethno national communities which were separated as a result of some events from their homelands can be

¹³⁷ Safran, W., 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return, A Journal of Transnational Studies, Volume 1, Number 1, Spring 1991, PP. 83-99, Toronto University Press, <<http://muse.jhu.edu/article/443574>> (accessed 15.05.2017)

defined as the Diaspora. However, the defining issue of the Russian compatriots is a paradoxical issue.

In contrast, according to John A. Armstrong, the Russian communities in the former Soviet Union cannot be defined as a Diaspora¹³⁸ even if it is used in many academic studies for determining the issue as the Diaspora. The reasons for that issue can be explained with some illustrations. First of all, the Russian communities migrated to Central Asia in the period of Tsarist and the Soviet Union. They did not cooperate under any nationalistic ideas. In that period, their perception of the homeland was not alive as an ideal homeland to return. Because it was impossible. Therefore, the compatriots are not defined as Diaspora community in the study.

On the one hand, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, their descendants had to return gradually to Russia, however, the main reason of it was mainly resulted from their economic and social problems. The nationalistic discourse of newly independent states were also main factor of migration. Against that political atmosphere, there was no chance to stay in their states. On the other hand, as it was numerated above, the population of the Russian communities did not emerge as a result of migration from the homeland to the host state. They moved to another part of the country. Their position in Central Asian states was determined as a result of historical process. Therefore, the complex situation of the Russian communities was tried to defined with the concept of the Russian Compatriots Abroad.

2.1.2 The Concept of the Russian Compatriot and the Russian World

When the Russian foreign policy evolved from the Atlanticism to the Eurasianism during the 1990s, the Russian communities in the successor states gained the importance in the framework of the near abroad with the Eurasianist discourse. When they were called as 'Russian minorities', 'the Diaspora communities, 'the Russian Speaking Population' 'the new abroad' during the 1990s; it has been moved to the new stand with new approaches of V. Putin's presidency after 2000. With this regard, the concepts of the Russian compatriots abroad and more general discourse the Russian World are the main prioritized concepts of Russian foreign policy towards Central Asian successor states. Each of those concepts has

¹³⁸ Kolstoe, P., Ibid., P. 7

'two different and overlapping discourses and their own intellectual history'¹³⁹. In other words, the concept of the Russian World is broader than the compatriots in terms of philosophical and historical background and addresses not only the Russian population in the former Soviet Union but it is interested in the Russians who are living all over the world.

The main problem which has become the major critical issue here how they could be defined, in which identity the most complementary in Russia and the former Soviet Union. In contrast to the English language (the word of 'Russian' can be used for all Russian people) , it can be formulated, the Russian language uses three words to define the word of Russian. When the word of 'Russkiy' means to determine the ethnic Russian identity, the word of Rossisskiy means the citizens of Russian Federation. As a term of 'Sootechestvennikii' (compatriots) 'encompasses both of these categories as well as individuals connected to Russia by culture or family background'¹⁴⁰.

In other words, the Russian compatriot as a term includes the person who demonstrates "commonality of language, history, cultural heritage, traditions and customs (with the Russian state) and their direct relatives, and living beyond the borders of the Russian Federation having...spiritual, cultural, and legal connections with (Russia), or persons whose direct relatives lived on the territory of the Russian Federation or the Soviet Union."¹⁴¹ First of all, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the term was used by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, A. Korizev as 'compatriots abroad', thus the term was seen into Russian political discourse, the concept has developed as a state policy since 1994¹⁴². At the same time, the term was emphasized on the legal basis which were adopted and renewed in 1999 and 2006 respectively. According to the law, the legal situation of the compatriots was determined with four categories of people in the Law on Compatriots Abroad in 1999 as "citizens of the Russian Federation living abroad; individuals that used to have Soviet citizenship; individuals who emigrated from the Soviet Union or the

¹³⁹ Zevelev, I., "The Russian World in Moscow's Strategy", Center for Strategic and International Studies CSIS, 22.08.2016, <<https://www.csis.org/analysis/russian-world-moscows-strategy>> (accessed 03.02.2017)

¹⁴⁰ Zakem, V., Saunders P., Antouni, D. 'Mobilizing Compatriots: Russia's Strategy, Tactics, and Influence in the Former Soviet Union', CNA Analysis and Solutions, November 2015, P.3, <https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/DOP-2015-U-011689-1Rev.pdf> (accessed 20.03.2017)

¹⁴¹ Zakem, V., Saunders, P., Antoun, D., Op.cit, P. 4

¹⁴² Zevelev, I., Op.cit

Russian Federation; and descendants of compatriots."¹⁴³ Moreover, it is a self-identification of citizens that it is a personal free choice.¹⁴⁴ With this way, the Russian state conceptualizes the population who are living in the former Soviet Union. Therefore, in that study, the term of the compatriot is used for defining and determining of that population who are living in Central Asia on the governmental discourse.

Moreover, the definition of the president Putin can be thought as a complementary of the meaning:

*"Our compatriots (sootchestvenniki), Russian people (russkiye lyudi), people of other ethnicities, their language, history, culture, their legitimate rights. When I say Russian people and Russian-speaking (russkoyazychnyye) citizens, I mean people who sense that they are a part of the broad Russian World, not necessarily of Russian ethnicity, but everyone who feels to be a Russian person (russkiy chelovek)."*¹⁴⁵

Today, the Russian compatriots as an actor of foreign policy is also used by Russian government in official documents such as in foreign policy concepts for determining the Russian policy towards the Russian compatriots abroad, in both post-Soviet area with the migrated people to Russia, and all over the world under the umbrella of the Russian World (Russky Mir). In that point, the changing number of Russian compatriots in the Central Asian states will be illustrated with a historical overview and some statistics.

2.1.3 The Population of the Compatriots in Central Asian States

Under the USSR, Russian population dominated in key sectors as governance, they were region's skilled labor workers in medicine and engineering fields. Moreover, their population outnumbered the inhabitants in their major states where established as capitals

¹⁴³ Zegelev, I., "Russian Policy Toward Compatriots in the Former Soviet Union", Russia in Global Affairs, 02.03.2008, < http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/n_10351> (accessed 20.03.2017)

¹⁴⁴ Zegelev, I. Op.cit

¹⁴⁵ Socor, V., "Putin Inflated 'Russian World' Identity, Claims Protection Right", Publication: Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 11 Issue: 120, 02.07.2014, <<https://jamestown.org/program/putin-inflates-russian-world-identity-claims-protection-rights/>> (accessed 20.03.2017)

after their independents. The census of the USSR are major indicators here. (see Table1) When Russian compatriots were moved to the region, Russian language also became dominant and common language. Their alphabets were changed with Cyrillic version, their language division prevented to use local languages around governmental and working areas. Educational activities also promoted by Russian administrative circles. However, the declining Russian population resulted in the losing language prestige relatively, slower than population.

Under the USSR, Russian population dominated in key sectors as governance, they were region's skilled labor workers in medicine and engineering fields. Moreover, their population outnumbered the inhabitants in their major states where established as capitals after their independents. The censuses of the USSR are major indicators here. (see Table1) When Russian compatriots were moved to the region, Russian language also became dominant and common language. Their alphabets were changed with Cyrillic version, their language division prevented to use local languages around governmental and working areas. Educational activities also promoted by Russian administrative circles. However, the declining Russian population resulted in the losing language prestige relatively, slower than population. For next two decades, Russian compatriot population rates will continue to decrease in all states. It is not only as a result of migration from the region but also surely increasing trend of local populations. According to estimated numbers, 'by 2050 Kazakhstan's population will rise by 27 percent (from 17.6 million people to 22.4 million), Uzbekistan's by 24 percent (from 29.9 million people to 37.1 million) and Turkmenistan's by 22 percent (from 5.4 million people to 6.6 million). At the same time, Kyrgyzstan's population will grow by 39 percent (from 5.9 million people to 8.2 million) while Tajikistan's will rise by 70 percent (from 8.4 million people to 14.3 million)'¹⁴⁶. It can be seen that the issue of decreasing Russian compatriots population will keep its significance for Russian foreign and domestic policy. In that point, they will be analyzed here in each country.

¹⁴⁶ Central Asia: A Different Kind of Threat //STRATFOR Analysis, 01.01.2016, <<https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/central-asia-different-kind-threat>> (accessed 10.03.2016)

TABLE 1. Russian Share of Population in Central Asian Republics, 1926–1989 (%)¹⁴⁷

	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979	1989
Kazakhstan	20	40	43	42	41	38
Uzbekistan	5	12	14	13	11	8
Kyrgyzstan	12	21	30	29	26	22
Tajikistan	0.7	9	13	12	10	8
Turkmenistan	8	19	17	15	13	10

Kazakhstan has still a large number of Russian settlement among Central Asian states. Under the Soviet Union, according to the 1959 census, Russian population accounted for 43 percent of total population, it decreased to 38% in 1989. Between 1988 and 1998 about 1.1 million Russians left from Kazakhstan.¹⁴⁸ The Ministry of National Economy Committee on Statistics shows that the total population of the country accounted for 16.8 million in 2012¹⁴⁹, it was estimated with 18.3 million in July 2016¹⁵⁰. If this number is grounded, Russian population accounts for 25.3% in 2007¹⁵¹; 23.7 percent when Kazaks comprises 63.1% of total population today.

The Russian compatriots in Kazakhstan have a unique role for Kazakhstan domestic policy. As an example, the capital was moved from Alma-Ata to Astana in order to control the north of the state in 1997. The majority of compatriots are living in the west and the north of the country. Its wide common borderland with Russia is one of the most substantial determinant of Kazakhstan' foreign policy towards Russia at the same time. During the 1990s, the Lad Slav Movement was one of the Russian association in the country. In 2014, Russian annexation to Crimea and the Crisis of Ukraine have had to

¹⁴⁷ Ziegler, C., E., Op.cit., P. 106, the Writer's Source: S. I. Kuznetsova, *Russkie v Tsentral'noi Azii* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Gumanitarii,"2002), 9.

¹⁴⁸ Olcott, M., B., Kazakhstan, Ibid., P. 175, The Writer's Footnote: Vitkovskaya, Emigration , p. 13.

¹⁴⁹ 'The Official Statistical Information', Ministry of National Economy of the Republic of Kazakhstan Committee on Statistics, http://www.stat.gov.kz/faces/wcnav_externalId/homeNumbersPopulation?_adf.ctrl-state=ue7wp3mcc_80&_afLoop=18520684406971379, 12.03.2017

¹⁵⁰ Central Asia: Kazakhstan // CIA, The World Factbook, <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/kz.html>> (accessed 12.03.2017)

¹⁵¹ Olcott, M., B., Kazakhstan, Ibid., ,P. 293, the Writer's Footnote: 'Statistics Agency of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2007'

review the situation of Russians in that state. There were seen some speculations related to this movement's separatist actions.¹⁵²

Kyrgyzstan was the second shared Russian population in Soviet administration between 1926 and 1989 in terms of sharing the percentage. The Soviet census showed when the population of Russian consisted 12 percent in 1926 census, it rose to 22 percent in 1959, and it emerged about 22 percent in 1989. According to the actual statistics, the population of the country is estimated about 5.9 million¹⁵³, Russians are the third ethnic group with 7.7% after Kyrgyz (70.9%) and Uzbek (14.3%). When Kyrgyzstan declared its independent, Russian compatriots had continued to leave the country. It decreases from 22% to 7.7% in 26 years period. The unstable political and economic situations of Kyrgyzstan are the main reason for migration. During the 2000s, there was seen two color revolutions in 2005 and 2010, the government has not still to succeed resurgence vital problems. In contrast, Kyrgyzstan is the most tolerant state than the others toward minorities, the Russian language has as official status since the presidency of Askar Akaev.¹⁵⁴

Tajikistan had one of the minimum percent of Russian population with 8% in the Soviet Union, according to the 1989 census. The number of Russians fluctuated from 0.7 to 13 percents during the Soviet times. Table1 shows that the number of Russians started to incline gradually after 1959 census as other countries. The population of Russian in the state decreased from 7.6% to 1.1% between 1989 and 2000.¹⁵⁵ Today, the population of Tajikistan accounted about 8.3 million¹⁵⁶. When Tajik population consists about 84.3%, Russian population numbered about 2% together with Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Tatar and Arabs.¹⁵⁷ Tajikistan has the lowest percent of Russian compatriots among Central Asian states. Except for other states, the main reason of this was the bloody Civil War (1992-

¹⁵²A Tale of Russian Separatism in Kazakhstan // Radio Free Europe, 03.08.2014, <<http://www.rferl.org/a/qishloq-ovozi-kazakhstan-russian-separatism/25479571.html>> (accessed 13.03.2017)

¹⁵³ Kyrgyzstan //Demographic Components of Future Population Growth: 2015 Revision, United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, <<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/theme/trends/dem-comp-change.shtml>> (accessed 12.03.2017)

¹⁵⁴ Panfilova, V., Op.cit

¹⁵⁵ Olcott, M., B., Tajikistan's Difficult Development Path, edited by Martha Brill Olcott, Brookings Institution Press, 2012, P. 340

¹⁵⁶ Vypusk Naseleniya Respubliki Tadjikistan Po 1 Yanvary 2015 // Agenstvo po Statistike Pri Prezidente Respubliki Tadjikistan, <http://stat.tj/en/img/65a709121baf8a64bf15d33f398aafde_1435737014.pdf> (accessed 12.03.2017)

¹⁵⁷ Central Asia: Tajikistan // CIA, The World Factbook, <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ti.html>> (accessed 12.03.2017)

1997). In contrast to this situation, Russians can get a dual citizenship in Tajikistan; the Russian language is recognized by the government as an inter-ethnic language of communication.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, the Russian is still used widely in education and media.

Turkmenistan was the third country which had the Russian population with 10% after Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan according to the Table1 in 1989. Turkmenistan had lost its Russian population in all censuses after 1939. Today, the population of Turkmenistan is more than 6.2 million people, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and it defines as a multinational state which hosts more than 100 nations and ethnic groups.¹⁵⁹ As the Factbook of CIA noted that the majority of the population was Turkmen with 85%, Russian compatriots accounted at 4%, it is the second minority in the country after Uzbekistan (5%).¹⁶⁰ They tended to leave from Turkmenistan, for example, during 22 years of independence, about 'one in two Russians have been forced to leave the country'¹⁶¹. Russia had been interested in the problem of dual citizenship in Turkmenistan by depending on energy agreement in the 1990s. The problem was partly solved by keeping a second passport. However, the right of the dual citizenship was canceled in 2003.

Uzbekistan had the minimum percent of Russian population with Tajikistan under the Soviet Union. However, when the total populations compare, it had a big value. The last census showed that only 8% of total population was Russian. It can be seen that the number of Russian population begun to decrease after 1959 census. Today, Uzbekistan is the most populated country in the region. According to the State Statistics Committee, the population reached 32.1 million in January 2017.¹⁶² When Uzbeks consists about 80% of total population, Russians only accounts approximately 5.5%.¹⁶³ Under Kerimov's administration, Uzbekistan applied radical reforms on state building process after the independence. it is not possible to say that Russian compatriots could keep its rights in this period. The regime did not tolerance multimodality, and it was resulted in leaving from

¹⁵⁸ Panfilova, V., Op.cit

¹⁵⁹ General Information // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkmenistan, < <http://www.mfa.gov.tm/en/articles/2>> (accessed 12.03.2017)

¹⁶⁰ Central Asia: Turkmenistan // CIA, The World Factbook, <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tx.html>> (accessed 12.03.2017)

¹⁶¹ Panfilova, V., ibid.

¹⁶² Uzbekistan's Population is Oversteps 32 Million // Uzbekistan Today, <<http://ut.uz/en/opinion/uzbekistan-s-population-oversteps-32-million/>> (accessed 12.03.2017)

¹⁶³ Central Asia: Uzbekistan // CIA, The World Factbook, <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/uz.html>> (accessed 12.03.2017)

Uzbekistan to other states. However, the Russian language has the status of inter-ethnic communication language, it is still widely used by higher education schools and universities.¹⁶⁴

2.2 The Role of Compatriots for Russian Foreign Policy towards Central Asia

2.2.1 The Policy under Yeltsin

Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the issue of the Russian compatriots in the former Soviet states affected weakly the state policies. However, even if there was not a special conceptualized approach toward the compatriots in terms of the foreign policy during the first presidency term of Yeltsin, the changing situation of the foreign policy approach with the term of the near abroad. The situation resulted in three official documents were issued by the administration as 'On Protecting the Rights and Interests of Russian Citizens Outside of the Russian Federation in 1992. According to the document, the role of Russian Federation towards its citizens was emphasized as a serious of conflicts if there were violations against Russian citizens.

On the other hand, 'Basic Directions of the State Policy of the Russian Federation in Relation to Compatriots Living Abroad in 1994'¹⁶⁵ and the federal law as 'On State Policy of the Russian Federation in relation to Compatriots Living Abroad'¹⁶⁶ were approved. According to the federal law, the Russian compatriots were aimed to support in the language using, organizational issues and connections between Russian Federation and the compatriots. However, the policy implementations towards compatriots were limited than a strategy. Moreover, the issue of dual citizenship became an issue of foreign policy agenda. However, the dual citizenship policy was seen as symbolically. The compatriots have right of the second citizenship, only with Tajikistan (1995) and Turkmenistan, the agreement was signed which included twenty-five-year natural gas transfer from Turkmenistan to Russia and the dual citizenship in 1993, in contrast, Turkmenistan withdrew the agreement in 2003. Moreover, the Russian government afforded to persuade a law about the dual citizenship in Kazakhstan, however, it was rejected by Kazakh president.¹⁶⁷ It should be

¹⁶⁴ Panfilova, V., Op.cit

¹⁶⁵ Ziegler, C., E., Op.cit., P. 117

¹⁶⁶ Zakem, V., Saunders, P., Antoun, D., Op.cit., p. 15

¹⁶⁷ Ziegler, C., E., Op.cit, P. 114

noted, the nationalist domestic and foreign policy of Central Asian states prevented the influence of Russian Federation on the population of the Russian compatriots. To sum, the issue of Russian compatriots was seen as a foreign policy actor of Russia, the issue had a symbolic value. During the transition period in the 1990s, it can be said that the major problems of the state's transition period in domestically outweighed than other issues.

The Russian compatriots as a foreign policy tool started to gain importance with the presidency terms of Putin. The first signals were seen with the Foreign Policy Concept of Russian Federation which was approved in 2000.

2.2.2 The Policy under Putin

The Russian compatriots have become a top priority for the agenda of Russian foreign policy with the presidency of Putin. As it was questioned in the related title, the foreign policy focuses on establishing the status of the great power as a member of the world. It not only pragmatist but also independent and sovereign. That perception requires the national and regional security, the economic and political stability in its near abroad. In order to ensure it, the foreign policy should undertake a pioneering role in the post-Soviet area. In contrast to the 1990s, the main perception that Russia is located the centre of the Eurasia continent where is defined as a geopolitical landscape and it has not only historical ties with the former Soviet states, its identity, culture and language are sustained by the compatriots.

Mainly, the Russian foreign policy mobilizes its support toward the compatriots in the former Soviet Union by trying to keep their political and cultural rights, establishing the common identity, and promoting the Russian language using as an object. However, according to the official discourse, those activities do not aim to become as a threat for the states' sovereignties, the activities legitimate the situation on the international law and bilateral agreements. The Russian Federation is the homeland of them, however the perception is 'not away from Russia as homeland but back to the homeland'¹⁶⁸. They are thus conceptualized as a foreign policy priority as one of the instruments of Russian policy

¹⁶⁸ Pilkington, H, Flynn, M., "A Diaspora in Diaspora? Russia Returnees Confront the 'Homeland'", *Refuge, Canada's Journal On Refugees, Refugee Diasporas and Transnationalism*, Vol 23, No:2, 2006, P. 58, <<http://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge/article/view/21355>> (accessed 22.03.2017)

towards that landscape together with economic, political, geopolitical, security and humanitarian interests.

Practically, after he was elected as the president in 2000, he demonstrated the importance of the Russian compatriots abroad. During his visit to Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan for attending the CIS meeting in the same year, he met with local Russian people to demonstrate his support to them and to listen to their problems. This example shows the changing implementations of new foreign policy approach.¹⁶⁹

Under the presidency terms of Putin, it is seen that the significance of the Russian compatriots abroad have become as a strong tool of the foreign policy agenda. He mentions the importance of Russian-speaking population which is emphasized as 'the Russian Diaspora or the Compatriots' not only in Central Asia but in all over the world. During the World Congress of Compatriots which was held in November 2015¹⁷⁰, he demonstrated the importance of compatriots as:

"Far-reaching support for our compatriots has always been a priority for us, an area of joint action by the state and by public organisations. We will make every effort to make this work more efficient and less bureaucratic, so that any compatriot could make comments, proposals and suggestions and the feedback to the questions you ask and issues you raise is as quick and substantive as possible – to make the feedback more human. This approach is the guiding one in the work of the Commission for the Affairs of Compatriots Living Abroad, the Foreign Ministry, the Federal Agency for the Commonwealth of Independent States, Compatriots Living Abroad and International Humanitarian Cooperation, and our other agencies."

In terms of the context of the governmental official documents give attention and define the situation of the compatriots. First of all, the most substantial documents are the foreign policy concepts which were approved in 2000, 2008, 2013 and 2016. In the concept of 2008, the Russian compatriots were in the main foreign policy efforts. There were emphasized as 'to provide comprehensive protection of rights and legitimate interests of Russian citizens and compatriots abroad' by contributing the protecting of compatriots,

¹⁶⁹ 'Central Asia: Putin Prefers to Visit Local Russians', Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, 13.10.2000, <https://www.rferl.org/a/1094950.html>, 19.05.2017

¹⁷⁰ World Congress of Compatriots // President of Russia, Events, 05.11.2015, <<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/50639>> (accessed 15.03.2017)

their rights, language, and identities.¹⁷¹ The CIS as a regional cooperation area was emphasized as an essential resource for protecting their 'educational, linguistic, social, humanitarian, and other rights and freedoms'¹⁷². Differently, their ties with the homeland and their voluntary relocation to Russia emphasized in the last concept which was approved in 2016.¹⁷³ In addition, the role of the Federal Agency for CIS, Compatriots Living Abroad, and International Cultural Cooperation are other official agencies are shown as a contributor on international humanitarian cooperation. The governmental activities can be divided three groups with a table here:

Table 2¹⁷⁴: The Coordination of the Russian Compatriots Abroad

Institutions of Russia	State Institutions
*World Congress (2001)	*President of Russia *Ministry of Foreign Affairs *Federal Agency Rossotrudnichestvo *Government Commission on the Affairs of Compatriots Abroad *State Duma Committee on the Affairs of CIS, *Eurasian Integration and Relations with Compatriots *The Governments of Moscow and St. Petersburg and other institutions
*World Coordination Council (2007)	
*Regional Coordination Councils (2015)	GONGOs
*Country Coordination Councils	*Foundation for Support and Protection of Compatriots Living Abroad *World Russian Press Foundation *International Council of Russian Compatriots *Foundation Russkiy Mir and other organizations
*Compatriots Organizations	

¹⁷¹ The Foreign Policy Concept of Russian Federation 12.01.2008, // The President of Russia, <<http://en.kremlin.ru/supplement/4116>> (accessed 22.03.2017)

¹⁷² The Concept of Foreign Policy of Russian Federation, 18.02.2013 // The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Fundamental Documents, <http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptICkB6BZ29/content/id/122186> (accessed 22.03.2017)

¹⁷³ Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (approved by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on November 20, 2016) // The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, 01.12.2016, <http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptICkB6BZ29/content/id/2542248> (accessed 20.03.2017)

¹⁷⁴ Russia's Compatriots Policy in the NB8 Region, 17.02.2017 //National Defence Academy of Latvia, <http://www.baltdefcol.org/conferences/russia/wpcontent/uploads/2017/02/Berzina_RussiasCompatriotPolicyNB8_February17_2017.pdf> (accessed 19.05.2017)

The government is working about the compatriots living abroad on the legal basis of other basic documents and institutions. The Federal Agency for CIS, Compatriots Living Abroad, and International Cultural Cooperation is the main governmental organization. Moreover, On Amendments to the Federal Law On Russian Federation's State Policy toward Compatriots Living Abroad which was signed by President Medvedev in 2010¹⁷⁵ consists the basic constitutional aspect of the compatriots living abroad. The law ensures general procedure of recognizing and representing the interests of compatriots. To sum, the other governmental basis programs which are working on the issue of compatriots can be enumerated as The Department for Work with Compatriots Abroad, the program called Basic Directions of Russian Federation's State Policy Toward Compatriots Living Abroad, the International Council of Russian Compatriots, The Agency of Compatriots Living Abroad, The State Duma Council of Russian Compatriots, the International Coordination Council of Russian Compatriots, the Program of Work with the Compatriots (2006-2008), (2012-2014), and The World Junior Compatriot Games constitute the official context of Putin's administration.

2.2.3 The Russian Soft Power Tools Towards the Compatriots

The soft power consists a part of Russian foreign policy toward compatriots beside of the governmental implementations after Putin was elected as president in 2000. The policies pursue in a practical context. As it was stated in official documents aspect, the main targets of Russian soft power aspect are promoting Russian language using with language programs, protecting their rights and supporting their culture and religion. It is also the humanitarian aspect for strengthening ties with their determined homeland. In order to realize them, there are some organizations which were established and are supported by the government budget. Those activities address both regional such as in Central Asia and global context which is emphasized in the Russian World concept.

¹⁷⁵ Amendments to the Law on State Policy Toward Compatriots Living Abroad, 24.07.2010// The Official Website of the President of Russia, < <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/8429>> (accessed 26.03.2017)

In 2008, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergei Lavrov emphasized the importance of soft power towards the compatriots abroad during the interview for Rossiyskaya Gazeta.¹⁷⁶ According to him, the soft power is a new approach for Russian foreign policy agenda and the relations with the compatriots bases on principles of the soft power. In that direction, all Russian-speaking people in Russian near abroad are targeted as Russian compatriots policy by including humanitarian projects.

In terms of funded organization, the Russkiy Mir Foundation is one of the most significant soft power tool of Russia. It was established 2007 with a decree¹⁷⁷ which was signed by V. Putin. The foundation works for Russian language, education, culture, history and education. It organizes activities in all over the world. Today, there were established Russian centres in four Central Asian states which are Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.¹⁷⁸

President Putin explained the importance of the foundation as:

*“The Russian language not only preserves an entire layer of truly global achievements but is also the living space for the many millions of people in the Russian-speaking world, a community that goes far beyond Russia itself. As the common heritage of many peoples, the Russian language will never become the language of hatred or enmity, xenophobia or isolationism.”*¹⁷⁹

The another organization is the Federal agency for the Commonwealth of the Independent States, Compatriots leaving abroad and for the international humanitarian cooperation (Rossotrudichestvo) which was established in 2008 and is represented in 80 states with a presidential decree.¹⁸⁰ It is working on the assistance to compatriots and promoting the

¹⁷⁶ Kudors, A., "Russian World-Russia's Soft Power Approach to Compatriots Policy", Russian Analytical Digest, No 91, 16.06.2010, <http://www.laenderanalysen.de/russland/rad/pdf/Russian_Analytical_Digest_81.pdf> (accessed 19.05.2017)

¹⁷⁷ Decree of President of the Russian Federation on the Establishment of the Russkiy Mir Foundation // Russkiy Mir Foundation, <<http://russkiymir.ru/en/fund/decreed.php>> (accessed 23.03.2017)

¹⁷⁸ Russian Centres of the Russkiy Mir Foundation // Official Website, <<http://russkiymir.ru/en/rucenter/>> (accessed 20.03.2017)

¹⁷⁹ About Russkiy Mir Foundation // Official Website, <<http://russkiymir.ru/en/fund/index.php>> (accessed 23.03.2017)

¹⁸⁰ About Rossotrudichestvo' // Official Website, <<http://rs.gov.ru/en/about>> (accessed 23.03.2017)

Russian language in all over the world by including the CIS states and the Baltic states. It is also supported by the Russian Government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with short term programs on funded bases such as the federal program of the Russian Language (2011-2015), (2016-2020). Moreover, it supports the foreign student to education in Russia. Moreover, the organization finalized the Russian Schools Abroad Concept Document in 2015.¹⁸¹

On the other hand, the most important summit is the Congress of Compatriots. When the first conference was held in Moscow in 2001, the fifth meeting was organized in November 2015. The Congress is taken place in three years in different cities in Russia. The representatives attend the Congress from all over the world. During the last congress, the delegates from 97 countries were represented.¹⁸² The main problems of compatriots were discussed during the meetings. Periodically, the Congresses give the opportunity to talk about problems as migration from the former Soviet Union, their possible solutions from official sources. In addition, the Russian's People Council, the World Russian Press Congress, The Coordination Council of Russian Compatriots, The Russian-Speaking Lawyers Association are the other organizations which aim to cooperate the compatriots. Moreover, media instruments also consist a part of Russian soft power implementations. On the one hand, the most known tools on the internet area is the Russia Today, Russia Beyond the Headline and the Sputnik news agencies. Moreover, some institutions as Valdai Club and Russian International Affairs Council are working on academic field. The social media tools are also targeted as the common communication area such as V Kontakte.

For Central Asia, the Russian soft power influence has a great significance. There can be enumerated some reasons. Firstly, the Russian is still the common communication language of the states. The situation even can be observed official meetings which are taken place in different states. The presidents of Central Asian states prefer to use the Russian language beside of their local language during the talks. The same situation can be seen in national assemblies. As a regional organization level, the CIS is the main implementation area of the soft power implementations. According to the State Secretary

¹⁸¹ Vladimir Putin Approved the Russian Schools Abroad Concept Document, 04.11.2015 // The Official Website of The President of Russia, <<http://en.kremlin.ru/acts/news/50643>> (accessed 15.03.2017)

¹⁸² Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's remarks at the Fifth World Congress of Compatriots, 5.11.2015 // The Official Website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, <http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/ /asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/140198> (accessed 24.02.2017)

and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Grigory Karasin¹⁸³, Central Asia as a region is promoted by Russian government with education, culture and media policies with the Intergovernmental Foundation for Education, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation (IFESCO). Moreover, the region was also supported with the governmental budget on the humanitarian and education aspects, for instance in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan with \$6.7 billion in the period of 2008-2015. Furthermore, the Russian top universities are working by establishing cooperation on educational level in the region, for instance, the various departments of the Moscow State University have established in Kazakhstan and Tajikistan. At the same time, students from Central Asia are promoted to take education into Russia.

To sum, Russian soft power implementations have an active role for cooperating with the compatriots. The common historical ties which are language, culture are promoted by not only funded governmental level but also other organizations.

2.3. The Evaluation of the Russian Compatriots Policy

Until this point, it demonstrates that Russian relationships with Central Asian states mainly involve all aspects which are political, economical, military, geographical and humanitarian and the soft power basis relations. After V. Putin was elected as president, the Russian compatriots who are living in the former Soviet Union have determined as a priority for achieving Russian goals. Primarily, the Russian ruling circles encountered the case of Russian population as the migration problems after the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, the situation evolved from being a problematic issue to preferable political tool. As it was stated, the Russian soft power activities which are consisted on official, legal and humanitarian bases are working and have an assistive role of Russian interests.

Today, the role of compatriots on foreign policy applications have become the top issue which is questioned by academic circles after the Ukrainian crises, the annexation of Crimea. Some researchers issued that Russia could use the Russian compatriots as a threat

¹⁸³ Karasin, G. 'Returning to the Idea of Soft Power' , Published in Rossiyskaya Gazeta on June 14, 2016, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Russian Federation < http://www.mid.ru/en/web/guest/nota-bene/_asset_publisher/dx7DsH1WAM6w/content/id/2318454> (accessed 19.03.2017)

to national security in the region, especially in the northern Kazakhstan. However, those claim are far from the reality. Bilateral and multilateral relations among states and with Russia depend on many issues. Almost all of them are again also depend for each other. In that point, the compatriots issue should be evaluated with five aspects. To understand the role of Russian compatriots for the Russian foreign policy will be evaluated by dividing subtitles which are political, economical, security, demographic and humanitarian aspects.

2.3.1 Political Aspect

The Diaspora communities can affect the states' political achievements. They can also become a threat to their host countries by demanding some political rights, at the same time, they can affect the main political discourse of their homeland governments toward their host states. They can be represented in local and national assemblies. However, there should be a strong Diaspora community. They can cooperate under some ideas, common targets, etc in order to keep their rights at the same time their homeland is the most significant actor for promoting and supporting to their activities. In that point, as it was stated in the related title, the Russian compatriots are far from determining as a Diaspora. With regard to the general political situation of the compatriots in Central Asia, it is not possible to say that they are main determinant actors of regional state policies in order to keep their political, social and cultural rights. The main reason of this situation is authoritarian regimes in all Central Asian republic. The repressive political situation do not give a chance to organize by demanding political rights. It is not only about Russian compatriots, the situation is acceptable for all national minorities. As an example, it is impossible any political movement which led by Kyrgyz population in Uzbekistan.

Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan can be an exception here relatively. The Russian and the Slavic communities are organizing under some 'government-affiliated' organizations which support the rights of the compatriots by having low effectiveness.¹⁸⁴ Their activities do not include any political demands. Some claiming speculations on attending some northern parts of Kazakhstan to Russia prohibited harshly. In Kyrgyzstan, the state system is democratic respectively. In contrast, its unstable economic and political situations give some advantages to Russia in order to protect the rights of compatriots. In contrast, the

¹⁸⁴ Zakem, V., Saunders, P., Antoun, D., Op.cit., P. 9

weak political and economic situation of the state result in migration movements not only for Russian compatriots, local people also prefer to leave their country in order to work. For Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, the situation is almost the same. For Uzbekistan, after the death of the Uzbek leader Islam Kerimov, the relations between Russia and Uzbekistan will demonstrate whether the situation of Russian compatriots in that country will affect political developments between Uzbekistan and Russia for next years. However, there is no signal to change policies in terms of the political rights, the Uzbek government will keep its foreign policy which bases so called on the balance of power.

The Russian compatriot policies are not the main political pillar of the relations in general perspectives between Russia and regional states. In that point, the issue of the dual citizenship should be underlined here. When the dual citizenship have become an issue, exception of Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan for a short period, other republics opposed the idea. However, the situation in Tajikistan also has started to change. According to the new law, it is banned that the person who has dual citizenship must not work in state's security services.¹⁸⁵ In coming years, it will be broadened. In the example of Turkmenistan, energy played a significant role for the dual citizenship. Today, the issue is far from being a possible achievement of Russian foreign policy in the region. In terms of internal policies, there are no strong political demand to change the policy of the citizenship. On the other hand, the Russian citizenship law which was signed in 2014¹⁸⁶ by the Russian government makes easy to get Russian citizenship from former Soviet Union. It depends on renouncing current citizenship of the compatriots from their host states. That issue can also result in decreasing the compatriots population in Central Asian states in coming years.

Significantly and lastly, the Ukrainian crises and the annexation of Crimea have issued a discontent for Kazakhstan. The state has the highest volume of Russian compatriots population in the region. Not only the number of population but also the wider borderland with Russia have become a new political problem for Kazakhstan. Generally, the domestic policy of the state has established on state's multi-ethnic situation and it is a determinant factor of Kazakh foreign policy towards international and regional partners. When the Russo-Kazaks close relations do not give a chance for Russian separatist of irredentist

¹⁸⁵ Citizenship Becomes Important Factor for Getting Post in Tajikistan, 05.04.2017// ASIA-Plus, , <<https://news.tj/en/news/tajikistan/power/20170405/238307>> (accessed 10.05.2017)

¹⁸⁶ Kalybekova, A., 'Kyrgyzstan Ponders the Impact of Russia's Citizenship Law Amendments', 25.04.2014, <<http://www.eurasianet.org/node/68309>> (accessed 25.03.2017)

movements, the situation has a potential in the scenario of after Nazarbayev. In that point, the current situation would result in more autocratic control on Russian compatriots in all Central Asian states. They are not as the main pillar of Russian foreign policy to divide or captured some territories from Central Asia or the main tool of regional states toward Russia, however, at the same time regional states also do not want to become the next Ukraine, especially Kazakhstan.

2.3.2 Economic Aspect

The effect of the compatriots on economic relations between Russia and Central Asian states based on the economic dependency of the region to Russia. Especially, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are two of the most dependent states of the Russian economy. It is seen that after Ukraine and Crimea, the West have started the economic sections against Russian economy. When the economy has become narrow, especially the value of the Rubble had the deep point in January 2016. Collaterally, local currency had to encourage to decrease as a result of declining Russian economy. At the same time, economic crises also affect the economy of two states because Tajik and Kyrgyz migrants who are working and sending their money to their countries decreased sharply. It is an important situation for local economy, because As an example, the one-third of GDP of Tajikistan came from migrant remittances in Russia, for example, they sent \$1.9 billion in 2016.¹⁸⁷ At the same time, the compatriots are a tool for providing economic supports from Russia, mostly for Kyrgyzstan.

In terms of economic policies, the energy, and its security compose the main pillar of relations with the region for Russia. After the collapse of the USSR, the main energy transportation routes have depended on Russian pipelines and the situation partly continuous today. The Russian investments on petroleum and gas fields in the near abroad have started to increase after the 2000s. Russian energy firms as Gazprom, Rosneft, and Lukoil are the main companies of those investments. They are controlling the main energy routes and working on the new pipeline projects. Their activities help to control regional energy relations among states. However, Turkmenistan is an exception here, it has

¹⁸⁷ Migrant Remittances from Russia Equal to One-third of Tajikistan's GDP, Says Russian Official ,17.02.2017, // ASIA-Plus Media Grup Tajikistan, <<https://news.tj/en/news/tajikistan/economic/20170224/237046>> (accessed 25.02.2017)

alternative routes for delivering its gas to Europe and China. Moreover, the economic dependency of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan is not as a result of having energy resources, in contrast, they are depending on energy supplying from the other countries.

Furthermore, their economic dependency is not about only energy field. Russian economic relations and its effects on the compatriots can be observed on Russian-lead regional economic cooperation after the demise of the Soviet Union. The situation can be observed on the compatriots and local populations in Central Asia. Therefore, the issue should be evaluated by dividing two sections which are the migration of the compatriots and the migration of local people such as labor workers. Each of them has to become potential problems in the regional level. The EAEU is the last economic integration project which was established in 2015. The major idea of the integration is to create single economic space. The EAEU has four principles into practice: 'free movement of goods, services, capital, and people'¹⁸⁸. As a project, the President of Kazakhstan, Nazarbayev voiced the idea of the Eurasian Union. Today, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have become the member of the EUU. With this regard, it is not possible to say the EEU address for all regional states. The Article 96 have stated the cooperation on labour migration levels among member states.¹⁸⁹ As a result of economic union, the changing on population level can be observed in coming years. Thus the situation can be an opportunity for the Russian compatriots.

To sum, the role of the concept of the compatriots abroad and the Russian world under the EAEU is complicated because the cooperation bases on economic orientation basically. Even if it gives the freedom of labour, it is mostly about migrant workers from Central Asia. In the general perspective, Russian economic interests in Central Asia are mainly controlled by Russian authority. Therefore, the situation of the compatriots can be described as the low-level importance for Russian politics on economic issues. The economic dependency of regional economies can be seen as an opportunity to keep rights of the compatriots especially, in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. However, in contrast, there were not any positive developments about the issue. The rights of compatriots generally

¹⁸⁸ Laurelle, M., "The 'Russian World: Russian's Soft Power and Geopolitical Imagination", Center on Global Interests, May, 2015, P. 16-17<http://globalinterests.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/FINAL-CGI_Russian-World_Marlene-Laruelle.pdf> (accessed 15.01.2017)

¹⁸⁹ Dogovor o Evraziiskom Ekonomicheskom Soiuze // The Official Website of the Eurasian Economic Union', <https://docs.eaeunion.org/ru-ru/Pages/DisplayDocument.aspx?s=bef9c798-3978-42f3-9ef2-d0fb3d53b75f&w=632c7868-4ee2-4b21-bc64-1995328e6ef3&l=540294ae-c3c9-4511-9bf8-aaf5d6e0d169&EntityID=3610> (accessed 26.03.2017)

are as an agenda between Kyrgyzstan and Russia. In general, it is not possible to say that the compatriots policy of Russia have combined with economic interest successfully.

2.3.3 Security Aspect

The security issue is the most substantial aspect of Russian foreign policy towards Central Asia. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian territorial integrity, national and regional security generally have depended on political developments in the region. Since the Civil War in Tajikistan, Russia have undertaken the role which is a security guarantee of Central Asia. All regional states mainly depend on Russian security policies against the challenges which were written in the related title. Therefore, Russia could achieve to keep the rights of the compatriots. However, regional security issues generally have predominated other issues. The period of after the Soviet Union can be divided two parts; before and after 9/11. During the Yeltsin period, the Tajik Civil War and destabilization of Caucasus occupied the foreign policy agenda of Russia. The same situation can also be observed after 9/11 terror attacks. The US military intervention in Afghanistan, the Georgian problem of Russia and Tulip revolutions in the former Soviet Union determined Russian foreign security policy towards Central Asia. In that political atmosphere, the compatriots were far from to determine and affect Russian regional security agenda.

When the role of the compatriots on the regional and national security of Central Asian states is observed, it is definitely said that the Russian compatriot population did not try to change regions security situation in any time. It can be claimed that the authoritarian regimes, absence of democratic structure are also the main reason of any challenge inside the region. The Russian compatriots generally, gives guarantee for regional security than instability in the regional state. Russia does not use them for creating new problems on the regional level. In contrast, their secure position gives Russia to manage major political cooperation. However, if there are some threats for the compatriots inside or outside of the region, it should be considered that Russia uses both soft and hard power ways in order to protect the political and security rights of the compatriots. In that point, Russian military existence in Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan shows that Russia keeps its role as a major security actor in the region in order to struggle with regional problems. Therefore, it shows if there are some threats for regional security levels, Russian will perceive it the

reason of inclusion practically for keeping the rights of compatriots. To sum, the role of Russian compatriots on regional security aspect means the guarantee for national securities of the states. At the same time, it contributes to general stabilizations of the region. Russian foreign policy avoids using the population as a threat. At the same time, all probability of destabilization inside the regional state is also controlled under the authoritarian regimes.

2.3.4 Demographic Aspect

During the 1990s, Russian had to get involved the Civil War in Tajikistan practically in Central Asia. On the one hand, the conflict has shaped the situation of Russian compatriots in that state. Three hundred and fifty thousand Russian were living in Tajikistan in these years and nearly half of the population had to leave the country as a result of the war.¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, the migration issue became a vital issue of the Russian population that was seen from all successor states. Table 2 is an important illustrate of migration movement from the region to Russia between 1990 and 1995. During the 1990s, the federal migration programs assisted the resettlements of the migrated population in 1994 and 1997. Moreover, the resettlement program was applied during the 2000s. About 5 million people immigrated to Russia from the former Soviet Union¹⁹¹, according to the another source, Russia received 7.2 million foreigners in the period of 1991-2001 from former Soviet Union.¹⁹² When the population decreased, that migration movements supported to balance of the total population in Russia.

The current statistics of Central Asian states demonstrate that the population of Russian compatriots continues to decline during the 2000s. In 2005, the Law on Repatriation to the Russian Federation was outlined for 'creating prerequisites for the voluntary return of Russian compatriots to their historical homeland'¹⁹³. The Russian compatriots in Central Asia have seemed to migrate to Russia for example, in late 2012, the majority of applicants were seen from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan mostly.¹⁹⁴ As it was stated earlier, Russian

¹⁹⁰ Ziegler, C., E., Op.cit, P. 108

¹⁹¹ Zakem, V., Opcit, P. 17-18

¹⁹² Mendkovich, N, 'Supporting Compatriots Abroad: Failures and Accomplishments', RIAC, 09.08 2013, <http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=2212> (accessed 10.01.2017)

¹⁹³ Vykhovanets, O., Zhuravsky, A., 'Compatriots: Back to Homeland', RIAC, 31.05.2013, <http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=1908#top-content> (accessed 26.02.2017)

¹⁹⁴ Mendkovich, N., Op.cit

government have implemented variety programs on the compatriot issue. Importantly, the resettlement programs of the migrated population from the former Soviet Union is a significant part of demographic aspect. The migration of compatriots as a case will not be questioned here, however, it has a significant value in terms of demographic aspect of them in Central Asia.

Table 3: The Migration Number of Russians to Russia ('000)¹⁹⁵

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Kazakhstan	55	30	82	104	234	114
Uzbekistan	66	36	64	51	94	64
Kyrgyzstan	21	18	41	66	43	13
Tajikistan	40	18	47	41	26	22
Turkmenistan	5	5	11	7	13	12
Total	187	107	247	269	410	255

The main reason of decreasing of compatriots population in the region is increasing nationalist approaches of the states during the 1990s. The population graphics in all states have changed completely. When the USSR collapsed, they have become a minority in their cities. Therefore, the Russian influence on demographic aspect is limited today. In that point, the success of foreign policy implementation is open to criticize. It is seen if the number of Russian compatriots continues to decrease, it is obvious that their availability as a foreign policy tool can lose its importance. Therefore, the general situation shows that the trend of migration to Russia will seem as the best choice for the compatriots. The Russian government has worked some program for resettlement of the compatriots in Russia in 2006 and 2012. For example about 400.000 people from 57 countries applied to use this program between 2006 and 2015, approximately 394.000 people were resettled into Russia.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵Ziegler, C., E., Op.cit, P. 110, the Footnote of the Writer: I. Kuznetsova, *Russkie v Tsentral'noi Azii* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Gumanitarii," 2002), P. 10.

¹⁹⁶ Some 400,000 used Russia's government resettlement program since 2007, 10.06.2015 // TASS News Agency, <<http://tass.com/russia/800100>>, (accessed 19.05.2017)

The migration the Russian compatriots has two significant results. First of all, population of the compatriots have minimal values in Central Asian states, Kazakhstan can be an exception here. The increasing population rates of the Central Asia are thought with this situation, it can be seen that the demographic framework can be understood clearly. Secondly, the immigration movements into Russia have balanced decreasing Russian population. However, their socio-economic situations, their job problems and cultural adaptations even if they are sharing common values emerge are another significant issues of resettlement.

2.3.5 Humanitarian Aspect

Russian policymakers have realized the importance of the common language and cultural ties in its historical legacy in Central Asia after the 2000s. The Russian language and educational activities are promoted under the concepts of the compatriots near abroad and the Russian World. Moreover, it has supported with other official documents as the foreign policy concepts. The humanitarian aspect consists activities of soft power implementations via cultural centres, exchange programs, Russian schools mainly under the official context. Media and press are also promoted in the former Soviet Union, especially in Central Asia. Moreover, some traveling programs are also launched by the government, for example, the Program of State Assistance for Voluntary Travel of Compatriots to Russia is one them in 2006.

Despite the fact that decreasing the population of compatriots in Central Asia, the Russian language keeps its inter-ethnic language position in all states. There are 32 Russian language institutions in Tajikistan and each of them accepts 'up to 500 students per academic year'¹⁹⁷. Moreover, the International Coordination Council for Russian Compatriots centres are working in Tajikistan and Turkmenistan for supporting Russian compatriots on educational activities. However, the situation has become a problem under local nationalistic discourse.

The national languages have gained importance for establishing nationalist state structures. Thus the Russian language using has gained a decreasing trend. In terms of the legal

¹⁹⁷ Tajik Parents Say 'Da' to Russian Language Schools // Institute for War and Peace Reporting, RCA 796, 22.08.2016, <<http://www.refworld.org/docid/57e929164.html>> (accessed 08.03.2017)

situation of Russian language in Central Asia, the framework confirms that trend. The Russian language has an official status in Kyrgyzstan and it is used as the official inter-ethnic language in Kazakhstan. The other states, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan do not recognize the Russian as an official state language. The status of inter-ethnic language of Russian language in Tajikistan was abolished by the Tajik government in 2014.¹⁹⁸ If this situation is thought with increasing of the national population, it can be seen the emergence of the problem for Russian foreign policy. Moreover, the using alphabet also should be noted here for understanding Russian humanitarian policies and their effectiveness. Today Central Asian states the same alphabet of Cyrillic except of Turkmenistan, it changed it with Latin form. The situation also shows an advantage for Russian humanitarian policies, however, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan have decided to change their alphabet with Latin form. Uzbek government have discussed it for a long time, Kazakh President Nazabayev announced that the state will switch the alphabet with Latin for by 2025.¹⁹⁹

To sum, Russian political approaches towards the compatriots on humanitarian aspect are more effective than other aspects. First of all, it includes soft power tools and relatively they can conceptualized easily. At the same time, local governments also give some opportunities for using them. Because the implementations are not viewed as a threat for national sovereignties. The widely using the Russian language and the importance of common historical culture make easier to cooperate in this area.

¹⁹⁸ Parshin, K., 'Tajikistan: Language Row Riles Russians', International Centre for Strategic Research and Analysis CESRAN, 01.04.2014, <<http://cesran.org/tajikistan-language-row-riles-russians.html>> (accessed 05.02.2017)

¹⁹⁹ Rysaliev, A., 'Kazakhstan: President Calls for Switch to Latin Alphabet by 2025', EurasiaNet, <<http://www.eurasianet.org/node/83206>> (accessed 17.04.2017)

Conclusion

The thesis aims to demonstrate to what extent the Russian compatriots determine the Russian foreign policy towards Central Asia as an actor. In order to demonstrate this, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the new foreign policy approaches and implementations were examined by dividing subtitles before and after the 2000s. There were seen some problems during the process of the thesis. First of all, the Russian foreign policy is a multi-directional case. In order to determine any specific issue, it should be evaluated all aspects because all of them depend on each other. On the one hand, the determining issue of the compatriot and the Russian policy towards them are also complicated parts of the topic. Some of the writers evaluate the population as a Diaspora when the others claim that they cannot be defined with the concept of Diaspora. At the same time, it is seen that the significant question is 'who is the compatriot'. We can understand the meaning from official and law documents, the speech of the president or the other governmental officers; however, for those people, it is not easy to determine for themselves under that identity. For example, how the compatriot population can accept the identity of the compatriot. Since the demographic situation demonstrates a interwoven complexity. On the other hand, the gathering the information from regional states in terms of the population, the activities of the compatriots in all states is always not easy by depending on their internet systems. In addition, it is a necessity that not only Russian language but also the national language of Central Asian states should be known in order to examine the policies specifically. They are the main difficulties which were seen during the study.

In that point, the general results of the thesis are summarized as by depending on the chapters:

Under the presidency period of Yeltsin until the end of 1999, Russian foreign policy followed the Atlanticist model in the first period between 1991 and 1993. However, the model could not resolve the main foreign policy challenges of Russian. At the same time, the former Soviet Union or the new abroad was ignored completely. After 1993, the Russian foreign policy approach started to alter from the Atlanticist to Eurasianist concept. The Russian political life entered chamber the nationalist discourse. When Y. Primakov was appointed as a new Minister of foreign affairs in 1996, the new period of Russian foreign policy began practically with known as Primakov Doctrine. As a result of this changing, Central Asia gained importance in terms of military and security

implementation. During those years, the main security issue was the Islamic fundamentalism. Therefore, Russia had a peacekeeper role in order to end the Tajik Civil War in 1997. As a result during the presidency period of Yeltsin, the main issue between Russia and Central Asian states were shaped by security and economic concerns. The Russian-speaking population or the Russian compatriots had not a priority for policymakers as an exception, the issue of the dual citizenship with Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. Even if there were some political bargains with Turkmenistan by depending on the energy issue, it withdrew from the agreement in 2003. Generally, the Russian foreign policy towards Central was unsuccessful in all areas.

After the presidency of Yeltsin, when Putin was elected as a new president, Russian foreign policy gained a realist and pragmatist identities. The logic of this new approach based on the great power status of Russian Federation. The centralization steps which were appeared on domestic policy were implemented for new foreign policy discourse. The foreign policy concepts, the military doctrines and national security strategies are the main documents of changing foreign policy discourse in the presidential term of Putin. When it is compared with Yeltsin, Russian interests in Central Asia have become a top priority for Russian foreign policy. The first visit of Putin was taken place Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan in 2000. In the first years of the presidency term of Putin, the challenges of Central Asia perceived threats to Russian national security and territorial integrity. As a result of this, during meetings under bilateral and multilateral levels, the common struggle with regional challenges comprised the agenda. At the same time, about the status of the Russian compatriots became an issue with regional states such as in Turkmenistan in 2007. On the other hand, Russian interests in Central Asia have been formulated with regional institutions The CIS and its military cooperation the CSTO, the EEC, the SCO and the EAEU are used actively in order to solve regional problems. After 2000, even if the security and military issues have seemed as a top priority of Russian interests in Central Asia, the Russian compatriots also have determined in some official discourses to develop new strategies. In that point, the Russian population was conceptualized in a term as the compatriots. According to the defining, the person who demonstrates common history, language, cultural heritage, their direct relatives and living outside of the borders of Russian Federation could be defined as a compatriot. At the same time, the role of Russia towards the compatriots was emphasized in the main official foreign policy documents. According to the foreign policy concepts which were approved in 2000, 2008, 2013 and

2016, the Russian foreign policy mobilizes its support toward the compatriots in the former Soviet Union by trying to keep their political and cultural rights, establishing the common identity, and promoting the Russian language using as an object.

To evaluate the role of Russian compatriots policies as an actor for Russian foreign policy in Central Asia, we should pay attention that about 6.7 million compatriots are living in Central Asia today. It is a different value for each country; when the majority of them are living in Kazakhstan about 4.3 million, the population is very low in Tajikistan and Turkmenistan with about 83 and 212 thousand respectively. They have some difficulties in term of economic supports, political and cultural rights, so on. Moreover, their situation change by depending on the political and economical situation of regional states. For example, the Tajik Civil War, the color revolutions in 2005 and 2010 in Kyrgyzstan have resulted in migration patterns to the other countries. On the other hand, the vital security problems of the region such as Islamic fundamentalism in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan together with the Afghan problem are the biggest obstacle of the compatriots in the region. The local governments have taken measures in order to control social and daily lives.

The Russian policy towards compatriots can be divided two periods which are during the 1990s and after the 2000s. During Yeltsin's presidency, not only compatriots but also Central Asia were ignored. During the second presidency term, the Russian politics were interested in vital issues in Central Asia. There was not any specific inclusionary institutional or governmental program about the compatriots. After the 2000s, the situation has started to change. In institutional and governmental areas, several organizations have been established such as *Rossotrudnichestvo* and mainly the Russian soft power tools comprise the structure of those establishments. It can be said that the humanitarian basis with the using of soft power is the most successful base for Russian policy. Moreover, some laws were also approved in order to resettlement of the compatriots into Russia; however, the results are controversial. Even if the role of the compatriots were emphasized by policymakers, their status cannot be resolved via bilateral or multilateral basis with Central Asian states. On the other hand, the Russian compatriots is playing a stable role, there were not seen any ethnic or political crises between Russians and local communities. It still gives a guarantee for national securities. However, there are still some problems in educational, social, and cultural areas for the community. It is a necessity that Russian policy should support them more actively in terms of political status and organization levels. There are not any developments to solve that problem.

The general attitudes of Central Asia governments also comprise a significant aspect of the issue. All of them aim to strengthen national languages. The Russian language is still inter-ethnic language status in the region. However, they are trying to decrease the using the Russian by changing their national alphabets. It will be a significant issue for next decades. In that point, to what extend the Russian compatriots determine the Russian foreign policy towards Central Asia can be rearrange by enumerating according to the aspects which are evaluated at the end of the thesis:

Politically. the Russian compatriots are far from defining as a Diaspora. In terms of the political situation of the population in Central Asia, it is impossible to say that they are the main determinant factor for regional state policies. In that point, the role of Russian politics is generally limited. It can be seen the political status of Russians in Central Asia. At the same time, the compatriots are not the main political figure for determining relations between Russia and Central Asian states and their host governments practically.

Economically. The effect of the compatriots on economic relations between Russia and Central Asian states based on the economic dependency of the region to Russia. However, there are not any results for the compatriots by depending economic situation of the states to Russia, especially, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The other Central Asian states are trying to decrease their dependencies of the Russian economy by cooperating with other global and regional actors. It affects using Russian economic policies in terms of the compatriots. As an exception, the role of the concept of the compatriots abroad and the Russian world under the EEU is complicated because of the cooperation bases on economic orientation basically. Even if it gives the freedom of labor, it is mostly about migrant workers from Central Asia.

Security. the role of Russian compatriots on security regional aspect means the guarantee for national securities of the states. At the same time, it contributes to general stabilizations of the region. Russian foreign policy avoids using the population as a threat. At the same time, all probability of destabilizations inside the regional state are also controlled under the authoritarian regimes. At the same time, Russia is a guarantor state for the compatriots. If there are some threats, it is possible to use soft and hard powers in order to protect them. However, there were not be seen any unstable situations until today.

Demographically. the Russian compatriot policy in terms of the demographic area have depended on some governmental programs in order to resettlement of the population into

Russia such as the program was approved in 2005, about 400.000 people have applied to the program. However, the success of those programs also depend on their status when they resettle into Russia. Their social, economic and political problems are also significant factors. Relatively, the Russian demographic policies are successful, even if there was not a second chance to apply it during the 1990s.

Humanitarian. The Russian language and educational activities are promoted under the concepts of the Compatriots near abroad and the Russian World. Moreover, it has supported with other official documents as the foreign policy concepts. political approaches towards the compatriots on humanitarian aspect are more effective than other areas. It can be said that the Russian compatriot policy are applying successfully under governmental and institutional bases by using the soft power tools.

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