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Евразийский проект – основа многовекторной политики России

Рафик Хамматович Усманов

Астраханский государственный университет им. В.Н. Татищева, г. Астрахань, Россия
usmanr@mail.ru

Аннотация. Автор проанализировал современное состояние внешней политики Российской Федерации, раскрыл роль и влияние России как евразийского субъекта в международных геополитических процессах и ее участия в формировании Большой Евразии. На основании современной методологии и сравнительного анализа рассмотрены процессы формирования глобального Юга. Сделан анализ основных положений новой Концепции внешней политики Российской Федерации и тенденций евразийского проекта как основы многовекторной политики России. Изложены направления и вектор развития евразийского геополитического пространства и основные его приоритеты, с учетом вызовов и угроз международных конфликтов. Приведены примеры деятельности прикаспийских государств, транспортных коридоров МТК «Север-Юг» и союзных блоков ЕАЭС, БРИКС, ШОС, а также роли Астраханской области как Южного форпоста России.

Ключевые слова: многовекторная политика, евразийский проект, Большая Евразия, геополитика, регион, глобальный Юг, процесс, новая Концепция, безопасность, государство

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Research article

Eurasian project - the basis of Russia's multi-vector policy

Rafik Kh. Usmanov

V.N. Tatishchev Astrakhan State University, Astrakhan, Russia
usmanr@mail.ru

Abstract. The author analyzed the current state of foreign policy of the Russian Federation, revealed the role and influence of Russia as a Eurasian subject in international geopolitical processes and its participation in the formation of Greater Eurasia. On the basis of modern methodology and comparative analysis the processes of formation of the global South are considered. The main provisions of the new Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation and the trends of the Eurasian project as the basis of Russia's multi-vector policy are analyzed. The directions and vector of development of the Eurasian geopolitical space and its main priorities, taking into account the challenges and threats of international conflicts, are outlined. Examples are given of the activities of the Caspian littoral states, transport corridors of the North-South ITC and allied blocs of the EAEU, BRICS, SCO, as well as the role of the Astrakhan region as the Southern outpost of Russia.

Keywords: multi-vector policy, Eurasian project, Greater Eurasia, geopolitics, region, global South, process, new Concept, security, state

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Introduction. During the formation of a multipolar world, geopolitical reality requires a new approach to the political and philosophical understanding of ongoing modern international processes. As stated by Director of the Institute of China and Modern Asia of the Russian Academy of Sciences Kirill “since 2014, a cold war of a somewhat different kind has begun in the world and is still developing to this day, one that is somewhat different from the one we are accustomed to limiting to the framework of 1946-1991.... The national interests of Russia and the United States are once again spreading across the entire globe, and the struggle for global influence has been fully revived, even intensifying after 2022.” Indeed, the author notes that the “Bloc confrontation” can be condemned as much as one likes in public speeches from both sides of the Ukrainian front line, but it has already become a reality – very similar to what was observed in the second half of the previous century” [2].

Materials and research methods. The latest events related to Ukraine clearly show that the main actors in the confrontation are Russia and the United States, and the main region mediating the discord is Europe; moreover, the problems of the existential gap between Russia and NATO are growing significantly to their critical state.

A natural reaction to the hegemonic policy of the Anglo-Saxon countries led by the United States of America and a striking example of the current situation is the formation of the global South together with Russia and its allies, essentially the formed "world majority" opposing the dictate of the United States and the NATO bloc. It should be noted that the formed global South of the 21st century in its composition and ideological content actually repeats the Non-Aligned Movement of the 20th century, whose members, with greater or lesser success, sought to withstand the onslaught of the West with their balanced policy, which today is positioned with the so-called "multi-vector policy". The events that took place in Syria and Serbia strengthen Russia's chosen position, and today it is invariably confirmed by its consistent anti-American position, demonstrated in its support for Palestine in the Gaza Strip.

Today, Russia, as before, is interested in unconditional compliance with the norms and principles of international law, protection of the legitimate interests of all states, which requires a new agenda in matters of the activities of regional organizations and interstate unions and blocs. Supporters and participants of the Eurasian regional blocs and unions mostly support Russia's position. The new Concept of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation adopted on March 30, 2024, confirms the strategic vector of Russia's foreign policy in international relations. Characterizing the modern world and the main trends of prospective development, the new Concept indicates an intensification of the crisis of economic globalization. Particular emphasis is placed on the existing problems, including in the energy market and in the financial sector, which are caused by the degradation of many previous models and instruments of development, as well as illegal unilateral restrictive measures and unfair competition. The sanctions policy of Western European countries in this regard is a characteristic indicator in relation to countries independent from the global policy of the Anglo-Saxons. Therefore, attention is focused on the abuse of certain states by their dominant position in certain areas, which intensifies the processes of fragmentation of the global economy and inequality in the development of states [7, II. p. 10].

Based on this, the priority areas of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation are “the formation of a fair and sustainable world order and in order to facilitate the adaptation of the world order to the realities of a multipolar world.” In this regard, Russia intends to “strengthen the potential for enhancing the international role of the interstate association BRICS, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), RIC (Russia, India, China) and other interstate associations and international organizations, as well as mechanisms with significant participation of Russia.” [7, IV. P. 19, 4]. The Concept emphasizes that the main objective of such a strategic direction of Russia is the formation of a Greater Eurasian Partnership. For this purpose, it is supposed to “use the unique geographical location

and transit potential of Russia for the development of the national economy, strengthening transport and infrastructural interconnectedness in Eurasia.” [7, IV. P. 39, 7, 8].

Research results and their discussion. Due to the fact that Russia, occupying a central position within the entire continent and having grounds to be called the "Middle State" [5], is one of the geopolitical centers of Eurasia, and the Caspian region, which includes the southern part of Russia, is located in the center of the geoeconomic Eurasian space and has very significant natural, economic, military and political resources. All this together suggests the formation of a center of the emerging new regional subsystem, which corresponds to the modern trend of development of a multipolar world. Today, Russia must not only initiate, but also in the full sense facilitate the creation of a new supranational association, the emerging "world majority" in opposition to various Anglo-Saxon ideas, which are built on the principles of Atlanticism and neoliberalism, demonstrating the obvious hegemony of the United States of America.

At present, we can determine the main vectors of development of the geopolitical space of Eurasia.

Vector of development of the Eurasian geopolitical space. In determining the vector of modern development of the Eurasian geopolitical space, it is necessary to pay attention to the main trends that are currently manifested in the modern system of international relations. Today, there is an accelerated formation of a multipolar structure in world politics, the complication of international relations, which, of course, is influenced by both the vector of active development and the consolidation of most Eurasian states and the formation of various blocs and unions here as opposed to the European and North Atlantic alliance. In this regard, we are witnessing a crisis of globalization built on the monetary, financial, technological and cultural dominance of the United States, and as a backlash - the role and independence of China, India, Russia and Kazakhstan in these areas is increasing. Thus, a stable confrontation is formed, and even rejection on the part of the Eurasian countries of the aspirations of Western communities led by the United States to regain dominant positions in the economy, culture, and the advantages of the international system of division of labor. As a result, a characteristic reaction on the part of the European and North Atlantic alliance is an increase in the role of the power factor in international relations. As a result, the phase of rivalry between Eurasian countries, mainly led by Russia, for the right to establish the basic principles of world order and multilateral cooperation in the new international conditions after more than 30 years of constructive interaction between Russia and the West is intensifying. [1] It should be emphasized that these processes were especially evident during the start of the Special Military Operation in February 2022.

Key priorities. As a result of these trends, the vector of Russia's foreign policy has today been activated in the direction of the Eurasian project, which provides not only for economic integration, but also for larger-scale and multi-level organizational and structural activity. This allowed us to talk about the formation of a regional subsystem under the auspices of the Russian Federation, which in the early 2000s could be defined as "Little Eurasia". At the initial stage, not many countries joined "Little Eurasia" - Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan - in essence, it was the Eurasian Economic Union. Other members of the Commonwealth hesitated at this stage, although they did not turn away and even cooperated with the Union to some extent. The most important thing was that the idea of Eurasian integration did not lose its significance and was in demand, and Russia's role increased and became more significant in this regard.

Despite external pressure from Western countries led by the USA – members of the NATO bloc, Russia has demonstrated a high degree of restraint and consistent defense of its national interests. It (Russia), remaining among the centers of power in the world, with the existing imbalance in its great power characteristics, contributes to the process of forming a new world order, pursuing a multi-vector policy. One of the significant factors of this process is the formation and structuring of regional subsystems. Along with the traditional characteristics of

states potentially included in these regional subsystems, such as: the geographical factor, commonality of vital interests, including political, socio-economic institutions, as well as historical experience and culture, it is also necessary to form a strong and creative core of this system. It is clear that the absence of such a leading country can (based on the example and experience of relations with post-Soviet countries and some Eurasian states) lead to disorganization of such a regional space and the emergence of an extra-regional player in the person of Western powers with the prospect of an external manager, which is what we are seeing today. Today, Russia offers in the new concept of foreign policy its organizational and structural project, characterized by non-aggressive, unifying and presenting broad opportunities for activity and autonomy for all participants, preserving its sovereign capabilities in conducting a multi-vector policy. An example of this can be such structural formations that are part of a certain regional subsystem as the EAEU, CIS, SCO, BRICS and other associations. [7, IV. p. 19, 4].

One of the most important institutions of this regional subsystem was the CSTO and bilateral agreements between the CIS member states. At this stage, the role of such an organization as the CSTO should increase significantly. This was confirmed by the fact that this organization very timely joined at the request of the leadership of Kazakhstan in order to prevent a socio-political conflict in the country at the beginning of 2022, the consequences of which could lead to an unpredictable situation and chaos in the Republic.

It should be noted that in the current conditions of deep economic, political and military crisis and uncertainty in the sphere of international security on the continent and especially near the borders of many countries participating in the integration dialogue and interaction, interest in Russia has increased significantly. (This growth was more significant before the military conflict with Ukraine, now this interest has been divided into "friendly" and "unfriendly"). This, of course, was facilitated by Russia's active participation in these organizations, especially in the SCO, through an increased interest in resources and economic cooperation, which has become very attractive for many countries. That is, through the creation of such subsystems, the Eurasian space from "Little Eurasia" is gradually turning not formally, but actually, into "Greater Eurasia", as noted in one of her works "Spatial Reconfiguration of the World: Great Powers and Their Regional Subsystems" by Professor T. A. Shakleina of MGIMO MFA of the Russian Federation . [3] Which is reflected today in the Foreign Policy Concept in the section on the priority direction of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation "to encourage processes of regional and interregional economic integration that meet the interests of Russia, primarily within the framework of the Union State, the EAEU, the CIS, the SCO, BRICS, and also for the purpose of forming the Greater Eurasian Partnership." [7, IV. 3 9. P. 7].

Moreover, such transnational organizations as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), RIC (Russia, India, China), as well as the conjugation of the EAEU development projects and the Chinese initiative "One Belt - One Road" also contribute to this process of forming "Greater Eurasia". In confirmation of this trend, it can be stated, for example, that the SCO, in terms of geographical space and population, covers approximately 60% of the area of Eurasia, 40% of the world's population and more than 30% of the world's GDP. In addition to 10 permanent members, there are 9 dialogue partners, as well as 5 observers and 11 Eurasian states that have applied for this status. In total, this is over 30 Eurasian states. [6] It should be said that the integration economic project of the Eurasian Economic Union is of particular importance at present, which needs to be given a new impetus today, since the EAEU currently also has good prospects in this regard, as does BRICS.

The formation and development of the global geopolitical project "Greater Eurasia" should also be facilitated by such significant economic and logistical projects as: the Baikal-Amur and Trans-Siberian railways, the international transport corridor "North-South", as well as the improvement of the infrastructure of the international transport corridor "Europe - Western China", the Caspian and Black Sea regions and the Northern Sea Route. [7, IV. 54. P. 3].

It should be noted that the Multimodal ITC "North-South" is an important component of

the network of latitudinal and meridional trade routes, including those planned within the framework of the implementation of the Chinese initiative “One Belt, One Road” (OBOR), and its development directly contributes to the formation of a macro-regional transport and logistics system – the “Eurasian transport framework”, which, in turn, serves as the basis for the development of trade and investment partnerships within Eurasia and can become a driver of Greater Eurasia [4].

As for the North-South ITC, in this case the key link of this corridor in its Russian part is the port special economic zone in Astrakhan. Port The SEZ is intended to become the main port hub of Russia on the ITC "North-South" and opens access to the markets of the countries of Central, South and South-East Asia, Arab states and African countries, which is approaching the completion of the formation of the territory within the first stage of the project. In the future, the port SEZ will be developed in the coming years, which will become one of the main prerequisites for the growth of the economy of not only the Astrakhan region, but also Russia as a whole. In addition, giving priority in the integration processes of Russia as a civilizational entity of the Greater Caspian, a significant role is given to the Astrakhan region not only as the main transport hub of the ITC "North-South", but also the southern outpost of Russia. In this context, the Astrakhan region is a median geostrategic transborder territory of the Russian Federation and the world as a whole. In a certain sense, we can also talk about the region as a certain international "docking" and "connecting" node (zone) of conjugation between Europe and Asia. Of course, Astrakhan, as an example, has historically been a multi-vector territory, covering almost all elements of the specified dimensions, and therefore has traditionally been considered as the Southern outpost of Russia with the forming center of the Caspian region and the corresponding powers of the center.

Of course, against the background of modern transnational challenges and risks, the threat of escalation of international conflicts that can lead to armed clashes and wars with the use of nuclear weapons is increasing. The confrontation of conflicting states is growing to a clash of blocs and alliances of countries of various regional subsystems. A striking example of this is the special military operation (SMO) of Russia in Ukraine, where Ukrainian nationalist interests are fueled and supported by various types of weapons of the military alliance of the NATO bloc.

Thus, the modern international political situation has entered an active form, reaching an aggressive phase. It naturally concerns the countries of the Eurasian space. Firstly, the strategic autonomy of the players is increasing, primarily medium-sized powers, which is typical of Eurasia, which have sufficient resources to conduct an independent foreign policy. Secondly, in the period of structural crisis, foreign policy goal-setting is becoming more difficult. Information and armed provocations have become especially aggravated, and due to the degradation of the culture of dialogue in the international sphere, the effectiveness of diplomacy as a means of peaceful settlement of disputes and prevention of conflict situations is decreasing. There is a disruption of well-established diplomatic communication, the boundaries between foreign and domestic policy, its foreign policy strategy and tactics are erased. In this regard, there is a high probability of the resumption of waves of latent, smoldering conflicts, starting from the one that has already taken place in Nagorno-Karabakh and the following ones: Transnistria, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, not excluding the Korean Peninsula and Taiwan. All these factors seriously affect, among other things, the demographic component of Eurasian and Western countries.

Periodically, active illegal migration processes occur, the movement of population to more comfortable conditions in other countries, to this has been added the forced migration of the population of Ukraine and Russia. One of the serious consequences of these processes may be both internal and interstate contradictions, and conflicts not only in those countries where there are hotbeds of tension, but also in their neighboring countries, where a redistribution of socio-economic resources and the labor market begins to occur.

In this regard, it is the formation of the above-mentioned subsystems of “Greater Eurasia”, whose institutions can ensure collective security and coordination, preventing international

conflicts that should in the future remove such “zones of tension” in the Eurasian geopolitical space. In this regard, it is quite relevant and timely that a number of leading Eurasian states are taking constructive steps to create and implement the basis of a multipolar world. In this case, the adopted new Foreign Policy Concept also provides for this direction, noting that “Russia strives to transform Eurasia into a single common continental space of peace, stability, mutual trust, development and prosperity.” [7, IV. 54. P. 3].

Conclusion. The implementation of the Eurasian project has every basis and prospect for further development with the agreement and consolidation of the “world majority” of the global South together with Russia and its allies.

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ИНФОРМАЦИЯ ОБ АВТОРЕ

Рафик Хамматович Усманов – доктор политических наук, профессор, профессор кафедры востоковедения и политических наук, Астраханский государственный университет им. В. Н. Татищева, usmanr@mail.ru

Конфликт интересов: автор – доктор политических наук, профессор Р. Х. Усманов является членом редакционной коллегии журнала «Современная наука и инновации». Автору неизвестно о каком-либо другом потенциальном конфликте интересов, связанном с этой рукописью.

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INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Rafik Kh. Usmanov – Dr. Sci. (Polit.), Professor, Professor of the Department of Oriental Studies and Political Sciences, VN Tatishchev Astrakhan State University, usmanr@mail.ru

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