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Geopolitical context of realization of foreign policy of Russia in the Pacific Rim

In this article some aspects of geopolitical context of realization of foreign policy of Russia in the Asia – Pacific region in the middle of the tenth years of the 21st century are considered. In the article the process of formation of the multipolar world and influence of this phenomenon on the relations between the certain countries is considered. The prospects of influence of global problems of the present and the process of globalization are analyzed, the possibilities of influence of implementation of the concept of sustainable development on the relations between the states of the world community are considered. The author analyzes the new approaches in foreign policy of the state reflected in the editorial office "The Concepts of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation" approved by the decree of the Russian President of November 30, 2016 compares provisions of this document to the contents of the concept approved in 2013. The author pays attention to the natural interrelation between the successful realization of foreign policy in the Pacific Rim and the requirements accelerated socially – economic development of the Far East of Russia.

Keywords: *the Pacific Rim, the Northeast Asia, multipolar world, global problems of the present, concept of sustainable development, globalization, the Far East of Russia, concept of foreign policy of Russia.*

Геополитический контекст реализации внешней политики России в Азиатско-Тихоокеанском регионе

В статье рассматриваются некоторые аспекты геополитического контекста реализации внешней политики России в Азиатско-Тихоокеанском регионе (далее – АТР) в десятых годах XXI в. А также процесс формирования многополярного мира и влияние этого явления на отношения между отдельными странами. Анализируются перспективы влияния глобальных проблем современности и процесса глобализации, рассматриваются возможности влияния реализации концепции устойчивого развития на отношения между государствами мирового сообщества. Автор анализирует новые подходы во внешней политике государства, отраженные в редакции «Концепции внешней политики Российской Федерации», утвержденной Указом Президента РФ от 30 ноября 2016 г., сравнивает положения этого документа с содержанием

концепции, утвержденной в 2013 г. Автор обращает внимание на естественную взаимосвязь между успешной реализацией внешней политики в АТР и потребностями ускоренного социально-экономического развития Дальнего Востока России.

Ключевые слова: *Азиатско-Тихоокеанский регион, Северо-Восточная Азия, многополярный мир, глобальные проблемы современности, концепция устойчивого развития, глобализация, Дальний Восток России, концепция внешней политики России.*

In the analysis of international relations, foreign policy of each state, more exact understanding of universal processes which are extremely wide background and a factor of influence is important. Then, naturally, regional processes, in this case the situation in the Asia-Pacific Region (APR) are important and that especially concerns Russia, in the Northeast Asia (NEA) region and already then all set of various aspects of relations between the certain states. Such approach gives the chance to see and understand the influence of universal tendencies and regional processes on the bilateral relations and to find out possibilities of the return influence of bilateral relations on a situation in the region and the world.

It is natural that the view of processes happening in the world, the way of development of relations between the states in certain regions, the prospects of development of bilateral relations is in many respects formed by the fundamental documents of national value accepted in different countries. The author builds the discussion proceeding from the approaches formulated in the decrees of the Russian President: "About measures for realization of foreign policy of the Russian Federation" (2012, on May 7) [1], "About the Strategy of national security of the Russian Federation" (2015, on December 31) [2], "About the approval of the concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation" (2016, on November 30) [3].

In what is a basic novelty of geopolitical situation now and when it was shown most brightly? There is a sufficient basis to argue that this geopolitical novelty as extremely wide context for the analysis of many processes happening in the world is that at first the 90th years of the XX century formation of new world order, new geopolitical structure of the world became active to happen. Also there is this process in the conditions of a peculiar competition for what can be this world order. It is natural that each of the parties which is taking part in this competition, and having resources for such claims looks for the supporters for support. And all states together, more precisely the political elite of all states is in a condition of search of a vector of the foreign policy, and this vector of elite is sought to be found taking into account, on the one hand global and regional trends which were shown and gain strength, and on the other hand taking into account upholding and realization of the national interests. At the same time each of the parties understands the national interests, and especially means of their realization is in many respects other than the partners.

The bipolar world system existing during the period since 1946 – 1990 broke up. As a result of discharge from the power of communist parties in the countries of the Eastern Europe, dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organization

(WTO) and the collapse of the USSR intersystem contradictions between capitalism and socialism consigned to the past. Within that system of coordinates all set of international relations including bilateral was also built. On the one hand, in the international relations we saw the USA, the North-Atlantic Union (NATO), in general capitalist system and first of all industrially developed countries of the world. On the other hand, we saw the USSR, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the other countries of socialism which first of all are on the European continent. In the new conditions political elite of different countries appeared before a need of finding of new approaches for the relations with each other for a new global geopolitical situation.

In these conditions political elite of the USA as only the remained superpower tried to strengthen the influence in the world. Here it is possible to note its contribution to disintegration of Yugoslavia, its role in the tragic fate of such states as Iraq and Libya. A part of political, economic and military elite of the USA hoped for the further weakening and possible disintegration of Russia as a uniform geopolitical space. The aspiration to domination in the international relations from political class of the USA was most actively shown in the 90th – the beginning of the 2000th.

At the same time, in the world the other tendencies more and more distinctly began to be shown: strengthening of positions of the certain countries, first of all China and India, preservation of a role and weight in the sphere of international policy and world economy of Japan and the European Union (EU), despite all problems which it has now. At the beginning of the 2000th years strengthening of the positions of Russia in the world began to be shown gradually, the new international organizations and associations of a number of the countries, such as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and BRICS, including Brazil, Russia, India, China and the Southern-African Republic actively began to work. Also we will note that the share of the USA in world GDP shows a tendency to decrease. Thus, to the middle of the tenth years of the XXI century, we can see that discussions of the experts about emergence in the world of a number of the new centers, instead of two superpowers of the period of Cold War, began to be shown more and more distinctly. And the multipolar world began to find reality and turned into extremely wide geopolitical context of development of the modern international relations.

The point of view that though the tendency to polycentrism is obviously shown, not the classical multipolar world, "and more likely multilevel high-mobile international and interstate system in which the global economic problems requiring multilateral solutions and new international institutions are put in the forefront" is formed is of considerable interest to the analysis of the modern international situation [4, p. 67].

Except the tendencies to strengthening of multi-polarity, at all various interpretations of this process, one more geopolitical factor acts, it is the perspective of preservation and survival in general mankind connected with the existence of a number of global problems of the present. In this case various

approaches to definition of this phenomenon are also shown, but most of them can be brought to a uniform denominator.

Global problems of the present are understood as a set of problems which can't be solved within one country or their regional associations, they demand not only coordination in the actions between many states, but also through the joint efforts in different spheres and certain financial expenses. Such problems treat: prevention of nuclear warfare and providing peace conditions for development of all states of the world community; fight against the international terrorism; solution of the problems of environmental pollution; providing the states with necessary resources, first of all power; global climate change, overcoming a gap in the level of socially-economic development between the developed and developing states and many others. The lack of regulation in a due measure of the perspective connected with the realization of migration policy in the countries of the European Union (EU) brought in the middle of the tenth years of the 21st centuries to an aggravation of internal political situation in Europe. In too time the deep reasons of this problem are connected on the one hand, with consequences of military operations in the territory of a number of the states of North Africa and the Middle East, and on the other hand with backwardness of the socially-economic development of the numerous countries of these regions.

In the context of the analysis of global problems of the present, naturally, the situation which developed on the Korean peninsula and connected with an ongoing course of political elite of DPRK directed to the further development of nuclear weapon and providing appropriate means of its delivery is allocated. Special alarm of world community the carrying out fact in DPRK caused on September 3, 2017 tests of a hydrogen bomb. There were many questions connected with the further development both on the Korean peninsula, and in SVA in general. The political elite of this country consistently conducts a course on further improvement of nuclear weapon and appropriate means of its delivery to the estimated and already planned purposes. We will note that the leadership of Russia and China of summer of 2017 offered the road map on regulation of the problems connected with the nuclear tests in DPRK.

The important geopolitical factor concerning each state of our planet is connected with a phenomenon of globalization which is also understood variously, but the phenomenon continues to amplify, and its influence is reflected as in the internal and foreign policy of different countries. The author of this article proceeds from understanding that globalization is an objective process of strengthening of interrelation, interference and interdependence between the all participants of international relations, first of all the sovereign states, the international organizations and associations of the states in all spheres of public life. A basis for this process are the world scientifically achievements – technical progress, first of all in the information sphere and also the modern global problems and tendencies of economic development which are formed now.

The factor influencing the all geopolitical situation of the planet is the practice and the further prospects of implementation of the concept of sustainable development which is a consensus official paradigm of development of the world

economy in the 21st century now. It arose, generally as ecological in the early seventies of the XX century. Now the third stage of its transformation which essence is that, "it became complex – socio-eco-economic – both in the theory and in the practical interpretations"[5 p. 108]. In September, 2015 at the conference in New-York sustainable development goals of the UN for all countries till 2030 were adopted. In this regard we will emphasize that cooperation, first of all in the economic sphere of Russia with Japan, China and the Republic of Korea it is possible to consider how one of the factors of ensuring sustainable development in SVA.

Russia is a component of the Pacific community of the states, but owing to many historical reasons is presented in it by the territories which aren't most developed economically and their further development is inseparably linked with the multilateral cooperation of Russia with the other Asia-Pacific countries. In too time the foreign policy of our country in the region is carried out in many respects with the use of all cumulative potential which is available in the Far East.

Consideration of its regional priorities on the international scene is important for understanding of the place and a role of this direction of foreign policy of Russia. Asian problems in general, orientation on the Pacific Rim in the concept of foreign policy of Russia approved in 2000 were considered after cooperation with the CIS countries, the European states and the USA. This sequence of priorities isn't formal it determines the place of each of them in the foreign policy of the state. In the concept is noted: "In the foreign policy of the Russian Federation Asia has important and escalating value that is caused by the direct ownership of Russia to this dynamically developing region, the need of economic recovery of Siberia and the Far East". [6, p. 12]

In the new edition the concepts of foreign policy of the country adopted in 2013 more developed characteristic of value of this direction in the foreign policy is noted: "The increasing value gets strengthening of a position of Russia in the Pacific Rim that is caused by belonging of our country to this most dynamically developing geopolitical space where the center of gravity of the world economy and policy" is consistently displaced [7 p.75].

The changes which happened in the world since 2014 led to the fact that a set of international conditions of realization of foreign policy of the states of the world community changed. They in many respects were reflected also in the world situation of Russia and its relations with a number of the states. These processes resulted in a need of the profound analysis of current situation for the world and introduction of the corresponding changes concerning the foreign policy activity of our state.

In these conditions on November 30, 2016 the Russian President V.V. Putin approved new edition of the concept of foreign policy of Russia. By preserving in general structure of the document a number of new, essentially important provisions are reflected in it. The experts pay attention to the new moments which appeared in it in connection with the changing conditions of world development: strengthening of attention to increase in a role of a factor of force in the international policy; in the document the threats connected with the international

terrorism are staticized and concrete steps are determined by counteraction to this phenomenon, dangerous to the modern world; in separate point intention of Russia to take necessary measures for ensuring information security is allocated; the basic value has the provision of the concept connected with the answer of our country to the anti-Russian sanctions; new aspects are reflected in the foreign policy of Russia in the attitude towards the USA and other countries [8, p.84–86]. The comparative analysis of contents of the previous and present concept gives a certain basis for understanding not only the changes happening in the world political process, but also emergence of new aspects in the foreign policy of our state.

We will address the new moments which found reflection in this document in the section "Regional Priorities of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation" and are connected with a situation in the Pacific Rim. We will pay attention that in the new edition of the concept there was a formulation that Russia considers strengthening of the positions to the Pacific Rim and activization of the relations with the states located in it "as strategically important direction of the foreign policy" [9, p. 78]. Also strengthening in definition of opportunities of the development of cooperation with the People's Republic of China is fixed. Unlike the wording of the previous document that we will develop interaction with China "including a search of answers to the new calls and threats" [7, p. 80] in a new edition the provision on interaction with China "including counteraction to the new calls and threats" is noted [9, p. 84]. These and some other provisions of the document reflect not only strengthening of value of the Asia-Pacific vector in the foreign policy of our country, but also show the more accurate expression of the accents dictated by the really current situation in the world.

Priorities of the foreign policy of Russia as in the solution of global problems of the present, and regional have two measurements of their realization. The first is at the level of the state as a subject of international relations. The second is implementation of all agreements at the level of the territorial subject of the federation. Regions participate in the system of multi-vector international relations, in activity of the enterprises, firms and organizations which are in their territory, the arrangement, top-level receive a specification and specification here. We will emphasize that in the article 72 of the Constitution of our country it is said that in the joint maintaining the Russian Federation and its subjects there are "a coordination of international and foreign economic relations of the territorial subjects of the Russian Federation, implementation of international treaties of the Russian Federation" [10, Art. 72].

Analyzing the results of cooperation of Russia with the foreign countries in dynamics, researchers pay attention that in comparison with 2013 there was a reduction of volumes of foreign trade of Russia to EU countries. In the value terms commodity turnover between these traditionally connected partners decreased more than twice: in 2013 it made 417,7 bln. dollars, and in 2016 – 200,4 bln. dollars. The share of the EU was respectively reduced in the foreign trade exchange of Russia – from 49,6% in 2013 to 42,8% in 2016 [11, page 98 – 99]. In this situation countries of APEC formally increased a contribution to external commodity turnover of our country by a decrease in values of trade with Russia. If

in 2013 their share made 24,8%, then in 2016 it increased up to 30,0%. During this period the People's Republic of China fixed its promotion on positions of the largest foreign trade partner of Russia. In 2016 the People's Republic of China provided 14,1% of all external turn of Russia at cost, the second place among the Russian partners in this region was taken by the USA – 4,3%, on the third place Japan – 3,4%, on the fourth – the Republic of Korea – 3,2% was fixed [11.c.99]. Contrary to the sanctions pressure upon Russia Taiwan, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico intensified trade contacts with it [11, page 104].

Important aspect of consideration of the main directions of foreign policy of Russia in the Pacific Rim is their indissoluble communication with the socially - economic development of the Far East and Transbaikalye. In all documents connected with the prospects of development of these territories the need of expansion of the multidimensional relations with the countries of the region is fixed. We will note that discussions on strengthening of attention to the east direction in the foreign policy of Russia at the end of the second decade of the 21st century aren't enough to be based only to reaction of the country leaders to the next complication of the relations with the West which is especially connected with the economic sanctions. Conclusion of the experts that this turn to the east a certain attempt to eliminate a considerable imbalance in cooperation of our country with the West and the East and "in achievement of the balance in the relations of Russia with the West and the East, the dress, naturally, with accumulation of the own geopolitical potential should see strengthening of the positions of Russia in the world is represented perspective" [12, page 57]. In this regard we see interference of activization of the Asia-Pacific direction of foreign policy of the country and new impulses in the social and economic development of the Far-Eastern territory of the state.

The experts emphasize that increase of attention to development of the region is shown in the created territories of the advancing development and the volume of investment into them. 13 territories of the advancing development are so far created. The total amount of the investments involved to the Far East was 1 trillion 30 billion rubles, of them 950 billion – private investments and 80 billion – the state investments [12, p. 59 – 60]. Following the results of 2016 the Khabarovsk territory in the National rating of condition of the investment climate of Russia rose with 73 to the 40th place [13]. In Khabarovsk for the first time passed on June 29, 2017 the Day of the Korean investor on which leading companies of the Republic of Korea submitted the investment projects, possible for realization in general in the Far East. The Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the Far-Eastern federal district Yu.P. Trutnev noted that today in the Far East more than 600 projects with participation of the foreign business[14] are announced, and the special attention among the new projects is drawn by those, "which are implemented in the branches having for development of the Far East basic value" [14].

In the middle of November, 2017 in Vietnam (Da Nang) the 25th summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) took place, and in the capital of Philippines Manila the summit of Association of the countries of the South-Eastern

Asia (ACEAN) and also the 12th East-Asian summit was held (EAS). At these meetings heads of the states discussed the wide range of problems connected with the questions of modern world development.

Formation of the Asia-Pacific free trade zone, an opportunity of expansion of the structure of APEC, prospect which is given by the digital economy for the development of relations between the states in the economic sphere was discussed. Leaders of Russia and the USA agreed on a joint statement on fight against terrorism in Syria. Acting following the results of work of the East-Asian summit, the prime minister – the minister of the Russian Federation D.A. Medvedev emphasized that Russia sees the prospects of deepening of cooperation with the Asia-Pacific countries for the benefit of economic and social development of the Eastern Siberia and the Far East [15].

The foreign policy of the state located in the extensive territory can be effective if the regional material basis for its realization is created. It assumes fixing and growth of the population, health of the citizens, comfort of conditions of accommodation, the level of their vocational training which are successfully working and having the prospect of development of the enterprise, firm, organization, the investment climate promoting attraction of the foreign capital investments. At the level of federal and regional public authorities the tendency to the steady mutual understanding is fixed on the fact that development of the Far East and the Baikal region, multidimensional and mutually beneficial cooperation with the Asia-Pacific countries and, as a result, strengthening of the positions of Russia in the Pacific community of the states is a task which can be solved only in the interrelation of domestic and foreign policy of modern Russia.

Now the situation such is, or on the basis of the available historical achievements of the country in this region will occur strengthening of the social and economic development of the Far East and strengthening of the positions of Russia in the Pacific Rim, or we once again will have not an implementation of the drawn-up plans of transformations and, respectively, loss by the country of the next chance of strengthening of geopolitical positions in the basin of the Pacific Ocean, there will be a loss of historical time for which then it is necessary to make up with the big expenses and tension of the all set of resources. Implementation of the projects important not only for the region, but also the whole country depends in many respects on each resident of the Far East who, as a matter of fact, is the plenipotentiary of Russia in the Pacific Rim.

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