

Foreign and Security Policies of the Russian Federation
 Overview on Options and Perspectives
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Considering scientists' debate on properly dealing with the breakdowns of the Perestroika-process, the USSR, and the integrity of the Soviet empire still a kind of no-man's-land, principles of Russian foreign and security policy options are subject to a wide range of interpretations.

Generally agreed is only the notion of a tight connexion between Russian domestic politics and Russian foreign policies as well as the existence of a wide continuum of options ranging from mainly European or American patterns of development to a rollback according to imperial and russocentrist values.

In the following it will be attempted to outline basic elements of the discussion within the Russian Federation and to integrate key-lines of argumentation into the broader context of Euro-Atlantic, Russo-European and Russo-Eurasian relations.

Continuum of Options of Russian Foreign and Security Policy

- Four general options of Russian foreign policy can ideal-typically be discussed: Cooperative Republicanism, Geopolitical Realism, Eurasianism, and Imperialism.
- The four paradigms can be characterized according to seven criteria: Tsarist inheritance, Soviet inheritance, territorial structure, ethnic identity, religious identity, state structure, and Russia's perceived role in international politics (see Table I).
- Orientation on cooperation in international affairs as one pole of the continuum of political opinions goes hand in hand with Republicanism in Russia: Westernization, Democratization, Marketization.

Cooperation in this respect is perceived as mainly beneficial economically and in terms of security. Burdens of the Tsarist and Soviet periods of Russian history have to be — and can be — shouldered, a civil society has to be — and from this point of view can be — implemented in Russia. Internally, Russian society has to be secularized and plu-ralized the more political group-interests become vi-tal. Decentralization must lead to cross-cutting social cleavages. Externally, integration into the networks of international trade and partnership in responsibility become stabilizing elements in a multipolar and interlinked world-society.

Table I: Ideal-types of Foreign and Security Policies in the Russian Federation
 [Fischer, J. (1997): Eurasismus – Eine Option russischer Außenpolitik, Berlin (BWW), P. 87]

	Cooperation	Realism	Eurasianism	Imperialism
Tsarist Inheritance	Rejection	Rejection	Split Acceptance	Rejection Neo-Communists Acceptance Slavophiles
Soviet Inheritance	Rejection	Rejection	Split Acceptance	Acceptance Neo-Communists Rejection Slavophiles
Territory	Russia	Eurasia	Eurasia	Soviet Union
Ethnic Identity	Pluralistic	Pluralistic	Russian Slavo Turanic	Russian
Religious Identity	Secular	Secular	Orthodox	Secular Neo-Communists Orthodox Slavophiles
State Structure	Federation Liberalism	Federation Statism	Centralized Autocratic	Soviet-Federation Neo-Communists Theo-Autocracy Slavophiles
Foreign Policy	Cooperation	Superpower	Eurasianism	Expansion

- Imperialism and Russocentrism as options at the opposite pole of the continuum unite Communists and Slavophiles with reference to the territory of the Soviet Union, which implies an expansion over the borders of the Russian Federation. Insofar as Communists, Revanchists and Slavophiles are divided over Tsarist inheritance, Soviet inheritance, religious identity and state structure, political identity building works internally relying on the notion of Russian ethnic homogeneity and externally in explicit demarcation from any kind of US-dominated new world order. Mondialism is the single target in foreign and security politics against which to stand together.
- Geopolitical Realism and Eurasianism mediate as ideal-types of Russian foreign and security policies between the polarized scenarios of global cooperation versus imperialistic designs.
- The option of Geopolitical Realism has rejection of Tsarist and Soviet inheritance, secular religious and pluralistic ethnic identity and federal state structure in common with the radical paradigm of Cooperation. But geopolitical Realists focus much more on central state institutions, stress Russia's status as a superpower in international relations — and want the U. S., the European Union, China, and Japan as the four other powers in the world-pentagon to accept this status consideration. To emphasize Russia's superpower position, territorial orientation of most geopolitical Realists goes toward the Eurasian heartland. Legitimate Russian interests in Eurasia are being claimed, which are tried to be carried through via negotiations, in a peaceful manner, without application of violence.
- Eurasianism does not neglect Tsarist and Soviet inheritance and partially accepts developments in Russian history as worth considering under present circumstances. A centralized, autocratic structure of the Russian state and an orthodox fundament of the Russian community are in this respect the key proposals. Russia is characterized as of a Eurasian nature, and herein Russia's specific mission is seen. People in Russia-Eurasia are said to have Slavo Tu-ranic roots, and are called to be proud of it. The peoples of Eurasia are reminded of having lived together under Russian legislation in a multiethnic community. Russia is seen as having over centuries integrated the peoples of Eurasia. To re-enforce Russian hegemony in Eurasia, in a more or less moderate way, is from a Eurasianist's point of view the central and moral obligation of Russian foreign and security policy.

Political Relevance of Russian Foreign and Security Policy Options

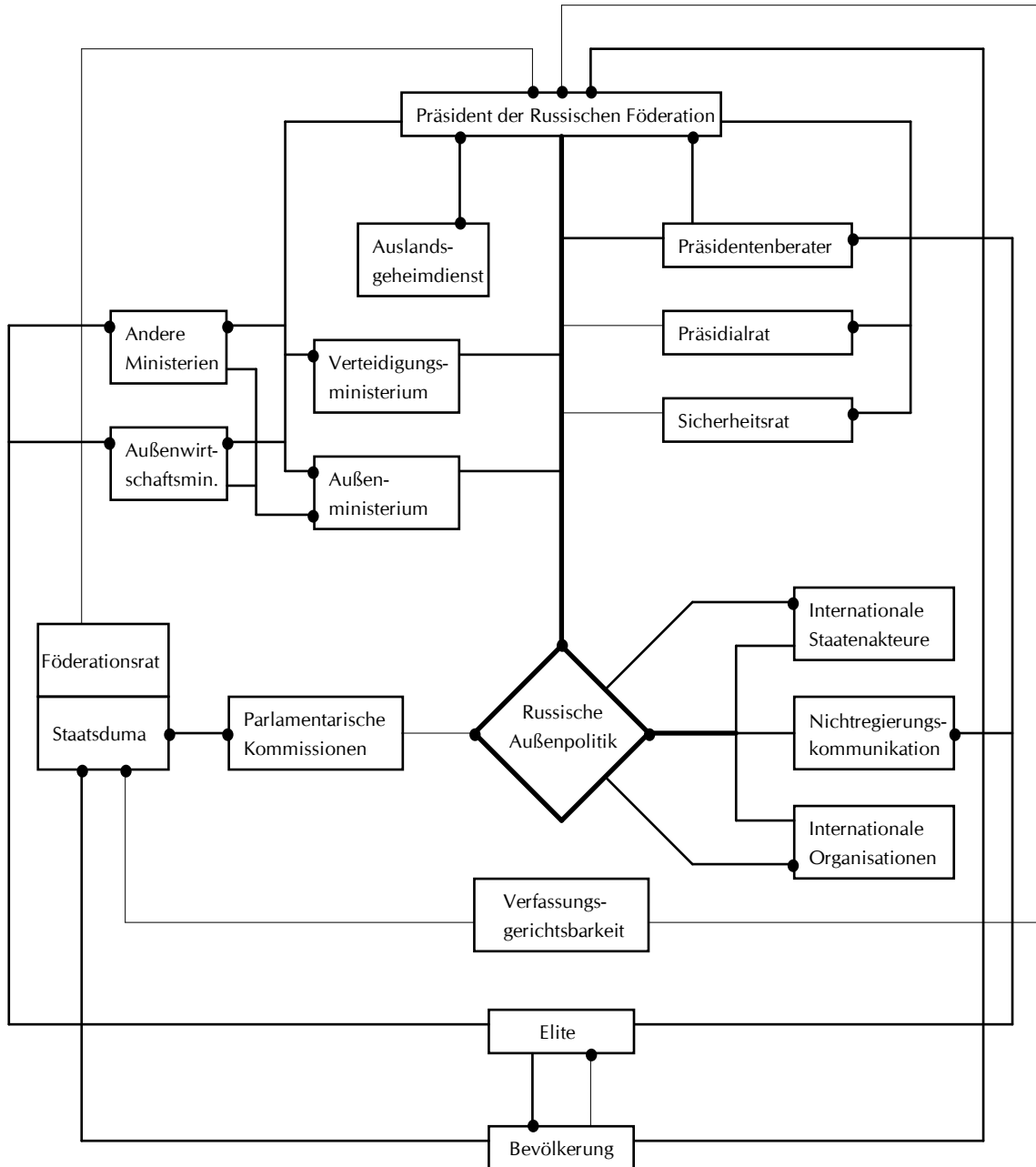
- Setting up ideal-types of Russian foreign and security policy options is a useful approach for analytical purposes. All four options derived need to be seen, however, in the broader perspective of the international environment which limits Russian ambitions and Russian scope of action.
- With Russia lately having signed the NATO-Russia-Agreement, the Euro Atlantic Partnership Council having been established, NATO-enlargement not having been prevented, and MEE-countries having been closely associated with NATO- as well as EU-structures, options which encalculate expansionist views and imperial designs appear to be less probable than ever before in Russian history. On the global scale, confrontation will — in mid-term perspective — not be the game to play for the Russian Federation — even if it wanted.
- Cooperation is on the agenda. Full stop? As long as the economic situation of a significant part of the Russian population improves on the basis of international financial aid and international trade, cooperation in key-matters of foreign and security politics is on the agenda — and only cooperation. But the longer the Russian Federation remains on the level of a very slightly developing country in rusty nuclear arms, the higher is the risk of Russian foreign policies changing back over to claims of spheres of hegemony and multipolar schemes of world politics. Taking this factor into account, the U. S., Europe and regional powers in the Middle-East and in Asia should not lean back and consider Russia knocked-out. Cooperation is always a two-sided game, and the Russian Federation was the player who powerwise and influencewise gave away significantly more over the last decade than its international counterparts.
- On the regional scale, Russian hegemonial ambitions in Eurasia exist — and matter. Reintegration — at least of the Eurasian parts — of the Soviet Union still moves the hearts, souls and minds of foreign policy decision-makers and intellectuals, be it Realists who sign treaties with Ukraine overcoming a five-year-period of threats, be it Eurasianists who stress the brotherhood of peoples between Russia and Belarus. It has to be kept in mind, that Russian hegemony in Eurasia might still be the pay, Russia will claim for ist — elsewhere, otherwise — global cooperation.

Ideal-types of Foreign and Security Policies in the Russian Federation

[Fischer, J. (1997): Eurasismus – Eine Option russischer Außenpolitik, Berlin (BWV), P. 87]

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Decision-Making Processes and Key-Factors of Political Communication in the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation [Fischer, J. (1997): Eurasismus – Eine Option russischer Außenpolitik, Berlin (BWV), P. 195]



- Schwache politische Einwirkung
- Politische Einwirkung
- Starke politische Einwirkung