

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to introduce about the highlight discussion of the thesis. At the beginning, this chapter will discuss about the background of the case that become the discussion topic in this thesis. After discussing the background, this chapter will discuss about the research question that used by writer in this thesis. Then, there will be a theoretical framework which contain theory or concept that will be the tool for the writer in order to analyze the issue. Furthermore, this chapter will also discuss the hypothesis which is the temporary answer of the research question. In the end, this chapter will provide the research methodology of the thesis following by the writing structure of the thesis.

A. **Background**

Russia is the largest country with the total area approximately seventeen million square kilometers and covering eastern part of Europe and northern part of Asia. Russia has boundaries with many countries, such as Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, China, and North Korea. Before December 26th, 1991, Russia were known as Soviet Union. The collapse of Soviet Union was because they lose to the United State and the allies in cold war. Soviet Union used to have a big influence towards neighboring countries, for example some Central Asian state.

Russia's first interaction with Central Asia was around 16th century. To prepare for further expansion, Moscow sent its

legations to the local khanates¹ in order to conduct trade contacts and collect some information about the local political system, economic situations, and ethnic relations. The first territories were conquered in the 1730s when Russia annexed what is now known as northwestern Kazakhstan, which controlled by the Junior Juz (one of the three Kazakh hordes) and bordered with Khwarezm (the Khanate of Khiva). In the 1740s, Saint Petersburg extended its protectorate over the Middle Juz, which bordered on the lands of Bukhara, the region's strongest state formation at that time. In the first decades of the 19th century, Russia annexed the lands of the Senior Juz what is now known as south-eastern Kazakhstan, and then was a periphery of the Khanate of Kokand.²

The permanent conquest of Central Asia began in the mid-19th century. Within decades, Russia annexed a large area stretching from the Caspian Sea to China and from Siberia to India and Persia. At that time it was known to as Western Turkestan (to distinct between Eastern Turkestan, which was part of China). Turkic peoples were dominant there, just like nowadays. The rest are Indo-European Tajiks (and also the Yaghnoibi people, and the Pamir peoples), and the Chinese Dungans. The northern part of the region which is a large area of steppe, was traditionally a land of nomads. While the southern part, where dominated by the deserts and mountains, had more permanent human settlements, concentrated in oases.³

The excuse of Russia conquest Central Asian Countries was cultural mission. Russia intended to civilize the primitive people in the region and to create a peace among them. Russia also wanted to give guarantee security to trade between Europe

¹ A political entity ruled by a Khan or Khagan. This political entity is typical for people from the Eurasian Steppe and it can be equivalent to tribal chiefdom, principality, kingdom or even empire.

² Górecki, Wojciech (2014). *Ever Further From Moscow: Russia's Stance on Central Asia*. OSW Studies (Warsaw; Poland), p.12

³ *Ibid.*

and Asia, and lastly Russia wanted to protect itself from being invaded by nomads. In economic terms, Russia was interested in cotton fields and silkworm farms of Central Asian Countries and the most important factor was the geopolitical factor. The expansion in Central Asia was a part of the Russian-British rivalry known as Great Game.⁴

Gained independence and sovereignty after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Central Asian Countries became full-fledged participants in international relations. However, they are still working to gain self-sufficiency in terms of socioeconomic, institutional development, and in maintaining internal political stability and also state integrity. This condition of Central Asian Countries has attract some interests from particular state, for example Russia, China, and the United States. The U.S. is most interested in how these issues play out in the global context, whereas Russia and China focus more on their regional significance and the potential problems that can extend across borders.⁵

Over 70 years of Soviet rule further consolidated domination from Moscow, and that continues to leave a strong mark today, such as Russian-oriented stakeholder, cultural similarities, media influence, and also in the economic and security sectors. In generational terms, two of the key leaders in the region, President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan and the President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan have held the authority of power continuously since the latter part of the Soviet period. In terms of migration, Central Asia is still home to under seven million Russians and approximately half a million Ukrainians. The number of migrant workers from Central Asia in Russia is recognized approximately to be over

⁴ *Ibid* p.12-13

⁵ Bordachev, Timofey; Qingsong, Wan; Small, Andrew (2016). *Russia, China, and USA in Central Asia: A Balance of Interests and Opportunities for Cooperation*. Valdai Discussion Club (Moscow; Russia), p.3-4

four million. This fact shown that the historical ties between Russia and Central Asia region was very close and tight.⁶

The legacy of Russia in Central Asia has its positive and negative aspects. The positive aspect was its involvement in terms of the long period of Russian-Central Asian cohabitation that rise the common sense of belonging towards the same civilization. The negative aspect was it triggered the political resentment and cultural misinterpretations between the Russian and Central Asian. The relations between Russia and Central Asia was a complex relations, with each of the actors have its own high emotional perception towards their relations.⁷

Since they gained independence in 1991, Central Asian states have been dependent on Russia, not only in economic and energy terms, but also militarily and politically. In the years after the Central Asian states gained independence, the Russians massively ignored them, showing not only the financial realities of Russia at the time but also the lack of Russia's interest in its former colonies. However, there has always been a huge degree of reliance by these countries on Moscow due the large lack of alternatives and the long-established linkages. Russia went back into the region under Putin's leadership. However, since 1991 a relative decline in Russian influence had already become clearly visible.⁸

The exact reason of Russia in maintaining its position in Central Asia was because Central Asia is very significant due to its area knowing as the pivot area within the larger Eurasian continent. Adapting Halford Mackinder's summation in the early 20th century, he stated that whoever rules Central Asia

⁶ Oliphant, Craig (2013). *Russia's Role and Interests in Central Asia*. Saferworld (UK; London), p.1

⁷ Laruelle, Marlène (2009). *Russia in Central Asia: Old History, New Challenges?*. EUCAM, p.4

⁸ Swanström, Niklas (2012). *Central Asia and Russian Relations: Breaking Out of The Russian Orbit?*. Brown Journal of World Affairs, p.101

rules the Heartland. This fact has continue to shape Kremlin thinking about regional geopolitics and the larger international system.⁹

Russia's role in Central Asia still a sensitive issue for the Central Asian states because of Russia's prolonged history as a colonizer in the region. Russia first took control of Central Asia by force in the beginning of the 18th century. Today the Russian language and culture are rooted in each Central Asian state. There was also a big distrust and fear of Central Asia towards China due to a conflict between China and the particular nomadic tribes in the region that made Russia became the powerhouse in the region. The connections at a cultural and linguistic level cannot be overestimated, even if both the Chinese and English languages are rapidly spread over the region, their level of penetration does competing the dominance of the Russian language. It is clear that the elite in Central Asia have a Russian bias culturally, but more importantly, the relation goes much deeper and affects the Central Asian society in a large scale with strong cultural, linguistic, and historical relation among all parts of life.¹⁰

The attempts of Central Asian states to extend their political and economic relations beyond Russia and China seems like become more difficult due to some problems in infrastructure, geographical location, and history, the failures of other actors such as Europe and the United States to act in Central Asia also became the cause of Central Asian states difficulties to extend the relations beyond Russia and China. The competition between Russia and China somehow created some space for Central Asian states to decrease its reliance on those two states and started to open relations with other states. In eff ect, the failure of Russia and China cooperation in Central

⁹ LO, Bobo (2015). *Frontiers New and Old: Russia's Policy in Central Asia*. Ifri (Paris; France), p.7-8

¹⁰ Swanström, Niklas, op. cit. p.103

Asia has opened up a space for other actors to play a role in Central Asia.¹¹

After the collapse of Soviet Union, Russia has found it hard when it come to terms with its role and also the diminished of its influence towards the neighboring countries that were part of the USSR. One of those neighboring countries is Central Asia region which has a fluctuated situation after the collapsed of Soviet Union. The demise of Russia's role in the Central Asia region would seem to be premature. On the one hand, Russia's desire to strengthen its role in Central Asia is again intensifying in a selective way. But on the other, it is hard to say what the longer term picture holds and how viable these plans will prove, not least against the backcloth of leadership change that will inevitably and eventually come to the countries in the region and the implications stemming from those changes.¹²

B. Research Question

Based on the background that has been written above, the writer proposed a research question in order to describe and explain more about the issue: *"How Russia maintain the relation with Central Asian Countries after the collapse of Soviet Union?"*.

C. Theoretical Framework

1. Hegemonic Stability Theory

Hegemonic stability theory is an important theory to understand the role that played by the hegemonic power and the relations with the economic development and political stability in the international structure. A hegemonic power has an ability to facilitate orderly exchanges amongst countries and could punish

¹¹ *Ibid.* p.102

¹² Oliphant, Craig (2013). *Russia's Role and Interests in Central Asia*. Saferworld (UK; London), p.1

transgressors with predictable penalties because they might threaten the hegemony power.¹³

In the case of Russia and Central Asian Countries, Russia did some actions in order to maintain its control or power towards Central Asian Countries. According to the hegemonic stability theory, the hegemonic power giving many things to the other countries to maintain the power. In the case of Russia, they gave some assist in particular fields to the Central Asian Countries which clearly needed by the Central Asian Countries as a newly independent countries. This actions of that done by Russia towards Central Asian Countries will be explained more detail in the chapter IV.

2. Regional Security Complex Theory (Barry Buzan)

This theory comes up from Barry Buzan in order to fulfill the need of security analysts when researching the complicated world which created after the era of cold war. Buzan's main objective is to include as many different types of threats and actors in the security studies. He also has an assumption that after the cold war, international relations will take on a more regional character.¹⁴

Buzan defines the security complex by its regional terms according to some characteristics. He has a basic assumption that the security interdependence is more intense among the states inside than with states outside them. In this term, security complexes are about the relative intensity of interstate security relations. These relations brings to regional patterns that established by the differences among the units of the complex, patterns of

¹³ Mat Yazid, Noor (2015). *The Theory of Hegemonic Stability, Hegemonic Power and International Political Economic Stability*. Global Journal of Political Science and Administration (London; UK), p.68

¹⁴ Yandaş, Osman (2005). *Emerging Regional Security Complex in Central Asia: Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and Challenges of The Post 9/11 World*. Middle East Technical University (Ankara; Turkey), p.15

enmity and amity among these units which resulted the distribution of power. The structure of a security complex is generated by the states inside that complex by their security perceptions and interactions with each other.¹⁵

Buzan also sets out the analysis layers as the relations between domestic security environment of countries and societies, regional security complexes and at the system level the great powers piercing into business of local complexes. In more simple sentence, the level of order and security at the regional level is vitally influenced by variables operating at the global and domestic levels.¹⁶

Regional security complex is a set of units whose include processes of securitization, de-securitization, or both. They are so interlinked knowing that their security problems cannot be analyzed or resolved separate from each other. Its units basically produce the formative dynamics and structure of a security complex, because of the threats travel in short distances in a shorter period, but they could also develop from collective securitizations of outside influences. From those condition, the whole configuration of the Regional Security Complex Theory contains four layers, those are domestic, regional, interregional and global.¹⁷

In the case of Russia and Central Asia, Central Asia can be considered as a regional security complex because of this region went through the chaotic transition after the collapse of Soviet Union. After those five states got their independence, no doubt despite of the common heritage and culture will contribute to the formation of the Central Asia as a regional security complex. Then, Central Asia could also considered as the stage for the interplay of internal and external actors. One of those external actors is Russia which will be the subject of this thesis.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.16

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p.17

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.21

D. Hypothesis

In order to answer the research question, the writer provide temporary answer or framework to understand the topic will be discuss in this thesis. This thesis will provide three hypothesis on how Russia maintain the relation with Central Asian Countries after the collapse of Soviet Union:

1. Russia comes up offering Central Asian Countries to maximize the economic potential of Central Asian Countries which may bring benefit for Russia also. In fact, nowadays many big states are interested to Central Asian countries because of the economic potential, for example USA and China.
2. Russia comes up and offer Central Asian Countries to assist in security field especially in preventing the spread of radical movement came from Afghanistan. Russia also wanted to prevent its Country from those radical movement.

E. Research Methodology

This thesis will use qualitative research method by data collecting. Collecting data method will conducted through literature research. The source could be printed and electronic literature, such as printed or online newspaper, internet sources, journals, articles, and some books.

F. Scope of Research

In order to keep the focus of explanation of the thesis, writer will give a border for this research. This thesis will be focus on the relations or cooperation and strategy that done by Russia to maintain the relations with Central Asian Countries after the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 until nowadays.

G. Structure of Writing

Chapter I, explain about the basic information of this thesis. This chapter will contains background of this thesis, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research methodology, scope of research, and structure of writing.

Chapter II, will explain more about the history of relations between Russia and Central Asian Countries before the collapse of Soviet Union. Before explaining the history of relations between Russia and Central Asia, this chapter will also explain the history of civilization in Central Asia. The history of relations between two actors will be explain in two different era, Russian era and Soviet Union era.

Chapter III, will explain about the difficulties of Russia in maintaining its relations with Central Asian Countries after the collapse of Soviet Union.

Chapter IV, will explain about the strategy of Russia in maintaining its relations with Central Asian Countries. The explanation will be divided into two terms or fields, those terms or fields are economic and security field.

Chapter V, after all explanation in four chapters above, this chapter will explain about the conclusion of the thesis. This chapter will explain the points of the thesis in simple way.