

## **A Comparison Study of Russia's Foreign Policy and Strategies Toward Southeast Asia During and Post the Soviet Union Era**

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### **Abstract**

This article deals with the study discusses Soviet's relations with Southeast Asia until 1990 and Russia's relations with Southeast Asia after 1990 and provides an analysis of the factors influencing the change in Russia's relations with Southeast Asia. The study showed that historical changes in bilateral relations between Russia and Southeast Asia are one of the main factors affecting the international system. The researcher argues that Soviet behavior, leadership, and the ability to influence Southeast Asia through Communist revolutionary ideology were the reasons behind Russia's attempts to be closer to Southeast Asia in the past. During the period of the Soviet Union and after the establishment of the Russian Federation, the policy of influence on the world states and the states of Southeast Asia continued, but the elements of the strategy have changed from political and ideologically sound. After the formation of the Russian Federation, the strategy became more pragmatic and less ideological. It was more based on maintaining stability and cooperation with Southeast Asian countries and maintaining Russian influence, focusing on the balance of power between China and the United States. The emphasis was placed on cooperation not only with individual countries but also with a regional organization like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Russia has started to turn its policy towards Asia as "Turn to the East" to support Russia's Far East Development Strategy. New forms of cooperation are occurring such as a new focus on geographical, climatic, human point, defense security cooperation, and arms trade economy. The new situation will create opportunities for Russia to support the losing hope for the success of multilateral security institutions around ASEAN. At a time when the United States and China will pull apart, the region and influence in ASEAN formed a request for (albeit old-fashioned) multilateralism,

which refers to an alliance of multiple countries pursuing a common goal in international relations. Its activity in ASEAN and in its countries will only grow and this creates additional opportunities for Russia's relatively easy influence on the elite of Southeast Asian countries.

### **Keywords**

Soviet Union, Russia, Southeast Asia, Foreign Policy and Strategies

### **Introduction**

This paper is based on documentary research and the purpose of this work was to study Russia's strategies and foreign policy towards Southeast Asia. The author considered the role of Russia that is now known to be one of the major powers, along with the United States and China. Russia itself is a country of influence with regards to its politics, military, and security and in the terms of economy, which this is an important to relate Russia's strategy.

During the Soviet Union Era the communist influence was important to many regions, which affected relations with Southeast Asia during the Cold War, the relationship of the Soviet Union with Southeast Asia are related to political ideology. The Soviet Union had supported the communist revolutionary movements in virtually every state in the region. In the late 80's Soviet roles recognized the value of expanding relations with Southeast Asia and it helped make the foreign policy in this region change in tone and content.

Firstly, the author wants to explain the foreign policy strategies of the Soviet Union (during the 1950s to 1980s), which are mentioned means the foreign policy strategies of the Soviet Union during the cold war and after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation (after 1991), which the official and conventional short name of the Russian Federation is Russia (in Russian: Rossiyskaya Federatsiya, Rossiya). There is something different and important to study, because the strategy formulates the policy.

The foreign policy strategies of the Soviet Union during the cold war was the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the postwar years, which were marked by the transition to the policy of the Cold War and the formation of the socialist bloc of States. The actions of the Soviet Union to create a socialist bloc of States were adequate measures taken by the United States. The Soviet Union at the end of the war contributed to the establishment of a socialist order in East Europe such as in Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia (although it got out of control of the Soviet Union in 1948 thanks to its leader Joseph Broz Tito), Albania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, East Germany and supported communist regimes in Asia such as North Vietnam, North Korea, and China. It provided large-scale assistance to the countries of the People's Democracy, for which the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) was established in 1949. The Soviets actively helped the Communist

parties in capitalist countries, contributed to the growth of the national liberation movement and the creation of countries of Socialist Orientation.

The foreign policy strategies of the Russian Federation (RF) were approved by the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on 30 November 2016 № 605 focused on the measures to implement the foreign policy of the Russian Federation (МИД Концепция внешней политики, 2016). The concept of the Russian foreign policy strategies is demonstrated in the international arena through its own national interests, ambitions, approaches, initiatives, multi-vector foreign policy, and the rejection of ideological confrontation in international Affairs. In search of its place in the globalizing world, it is on the way to expand its participation in international organizations, the creation of new interstate associations, coalitions, intensification of bilateral and multilateral relations with foreign countries, also deepening the process of involvement of subjects (regions) of the Federation in international cooperation.

According to Vienna Convention on succession of States in respect of treaties the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991, the Russian Federation has declared itself to be the continuator state of the Soviet Union on the grounds that it contained 51% of the population of the Soviet Union and 77% of its territory (Economy & Finance, 2017; ООН, 1969), which since the end of the Cold War, the international Convention has distinguished between two different circumstances in which such privileges are claimed by such a successor state. The Soviet Union that only in the former can such successor states accept the name or privileged international position of their predecessor. The first set of circumstances arose during the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The end of the Cold War accelerated trends in Southeast Asian Foreign policy. It shifted to developmental imperative and for Russia international factors have made it possible to expand economic relations with ASEAN countries. This work noticed that Russia was launched with ASEAN, which took shape in the 1970s on the system of dialogues in the countries of Southeast Asia with leading world powers (ASEAN-Russia Summit Sochi, 2016). If we look at the 10 ASEAN member countries, which were established in 1967, we see that there are two groups involved in this ideology. The group non-connected with the ideologies of communism, which include Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Burma and the group connected the ideologies of communism which include Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and the Philippines.

The ideology of Russia in Southeast Asia is significant. The Southeast Asia regional cooperation model first of all proved to be aimed at shaping and maintaining common values of functional great integration, which is also paid to the major power's attempts to intensify its influence in Southeast Asia (Юро-Восточная Азия, 2008).

The concept of political ideology and the Asian influence of Russia and China decreased at the end of the Cold War. The United States became the single superpower and they influenced countries or regions around the world. At that time the United States, China, and Russia played their role in relation to security issues in Southeast Asia. The expression of the state through foreign policy is considered as a state activity in the international arena to support the benefits and goals of the state.

Russia's current foreign policy can be summarized after the Soviet Union that still retains their pragmatism, which includes the principles of philosophy that focus on the practice, which is supporting a strategy of stability. Thus, their pragmatism maintains an influence in the area of the former Soviet Union with the new forms of cooperation in various frameworks such as the cooperation on the economy. Obviously, with different regional organizations, Russia has a policy of collaborating clearly. In Southeast Asia – ASEAN that is a key factor that Russia expresses and integrates its foreign policies and strategies to build relationships and cooperation in the term of bilateral and multilateral network. Despite its current status, Russia still plays an important role in influencing the relationship with China and the United States in the Southeast Asian region. For example, the issue of superpowers that has arisen in the South China Sea and regarding the conflict between China and other countries in Asia. The liberalization of these countries has made Russia need to maintain the balance of its policies more in the Asia-Pacific region and Southeast Asia. In the post-Soviet period, Russian state affairs were necessary to maintain the status of a superpower for regional and national interests, including the interests of Southeast Asian countries.

When considering the strategic relationship between superpowers and Southeast Asian states, there is more research on The United States and China than on the Russian perspective. The information that will be used in this research paper comes from Russian, English and Thai sources, which the researcher uses the opportunity in the relationship and its benefits on this perspectives, because it is an insignificant.

This study analyses foreign policy strategies during and post the Soviet Union Era. Previous researchers have used two key concepts: “Vital national interest” and “Action theory” (Шытров А.Ю, 2013).

**1) Vital National Interest** is an important factor and a permanent factor in conducting international relations. It is preservation of Russian current political regime and minimizing chances of Western interference in Russia's domestic affairs in the period before and after the Soviet Union. Russia considers itself as an eternal great power and traditional understanding of great power status involves dominance in one's neighborhood/region and maintain pragmatic partnership on the basis of shared interests.

**2) Action Theory** helps to visualize the need for a strategic response and what the meaning of its policies are. Whether during the Soviet Union or the present Russian period, there is a difference in the national interest during each period.

The concept of the Soviet foreign policy strategies toward Southeast Asia and its relations during the 1950s to 1990s. Since the great revolution of Russia in 1917 with the history of the state originated from the political ideology of communism and the concept or ideology that arises in Russia was not purely Marxist. It is Marxism that has evolved into the Russian state after the Bolsheviks revolutionized and led the ruling Vladimir Lenin. After the revolution in 1917 Russia was changed in to the Soviet Union, officially the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was a state in Eurasia that existed from 1922 to 1991. The Communist ideology in the Soviet Union was called Marxism-Leninism early in the revolution and it is also recognized in the idea of revolution around the world, which has been around since the days of Lenin and Stalin. The following factors were a guide to understand the concept of the foreign policy in the Soviet Union during that period. They wanted the way to establish the Communist Party and the Alliance to the whole world. They were concerned about the extending the rule and power of the Soviet Communist Party to the world society.

The factors above are based on the viewpoint of the idea of Realpolitik, which is a concept of national power and interests, is an important determinant of foreign policy. The Ideology of Marxism and Leninism Combined with the internal political mechanisms of the Soviet Union. The foundation of the Marxist-Leninist ideology is seen as a specific concept used for communist countries only. Communist ideology is a very important factor for the implementation of state policies. The analysis of the Soviet's role in the conduct of foreign policy depends on the policy makers or leaders and the Soviet foreign policy had an operational direction to connect sub-operations together. It is the goal for communist leadership and to achieve communist ideology.

The Soviet Union began to interact with Southeast Asia during the Cold War (from the 1950s to 1970s), when Moscow made an influential attempt in Southeast Asia to take the expressions to the countries in Southeast Asia in the role of the military and economic assistance evidence, because it was the beginning of expression as a third superpower in a region where two powers dominated. China and the United States gave rise to a view of the Soviet's influence in the 1950s (Хмылёв В.Л, 2010). It can refer the early Soviet foreign policy that appeared between 1917 and 1945 during the end of World War I and the end of World War II. That was an era when the Soviet Union tried to form a Communist-style state under the Marxist-Leninist regime. The early Soviet policy, during this period was in the days of Vladimir Lenin (1917-1924), changed Russia from a peasant state into a socialist state. In the period of Joseph Stalin (1924-1953) Stalin's foreign policy

became more based on the Soviet military and economy and had a system of spreading communism to other countries.

The post-World War II foreign policy was of prime importance under Stalin's foreign policy. And during the Cold War, the administration of the Stalinist period is a dictatorship. Many people see Stalin and his dictatorship as more superior than Vladimir Lenin because he developed the country from agriculture to modern industry. Stalin played a leading role in the Soviet defeat of Nazi Germany in the Second World War. Joseph Stalin inherited power from Vladimir Lenin and led the Soviet Union to become the world's superpower. After World War II, it was one of the poles in the Cold War with the United States. By the end of World War II in 1945, the Soviet Union had a stronger, more political, economic, and military presence, which is due to the good results of the five-year economic plan, although at the beginning the Soviet Union was still inferior when compared with the United States. After that, Stalin changed the policy to be more oppressive to their opponents. And he had a tough policy against the United States, which the Soviet Union saw as their number one enemy.

Stalin established the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) in September 1947 to use the office as a tool to control the Communist Party, other countries followed his example and stayed in strict discipline. Joseph Stalin would have held a peaceful co-existence only temporarily while it produced benefits and spread his ideology into many countries. He saw that a war, the clash between capitalism and socialism, was inevitable. Stalin's policies at this time were so violent and aggressive that they tried to separate nations in Europe. It can be said that the Soviet Union initiated the Cold War between the Western world and the free world, which the United States was leading. Communists of the Soviet Union led the world in a state of extreme power. Stalin had a policy of consolidating the communist side. Under the Soviet mandate, there were strict rules of military use and other oppression, for example, in economics, the socialist countries in Eastern Europe were dubbed as the Soviet satellite (Soviet Bloc), which was called Stalinism, the political interference in other countries.

Foreign policy of the Soviet Union during the Cold War was important in the era of Soviet leaders after Joseph Stalin, namely Nikita Khrushchev (14 September 1953 – 14 October 1964), Leonid Brezhnev (14 October 1964 – 10 November 1982), and even Mikhail Gorbachev (11 March 1985 – 24 August 1991). The Cold War was formed by major developments in the field of superpower competition between the United States and the Soviet Union and transnational ideological conflict divided the world into two extremes, the politics and the military.

### **Why Did the Soviet Union Turn to Asian Strategies?**

The influence of the Soviet Union in Asia is acknowledged that the implementation of strategic relations is more important in Europe than in Asia. At first before the Cold War

Southeast Asia was not an important strategic strategy. As a result, the Asian region has become a major part of China's support for the various communist movements in the region. The Soviet Union did not pay much attention to the Viet Minh liberation movement, until the peace talks at the 1945 Geneva Conference which took place in Geneva. The Soviet Union, for its part, seems to have played a lesser role for the following reasons:

- 1) The Soviets had the aim to preserve their interests in Eastern Europe.
- 2) The Soviets did not have any knowledge of Southeast Asia.
- 3) The Soviet Union had the politics and political enrichment towards the newly independent countries after the World War II conflict.

The third reason is a problem because the Soviet Union was trying to convince the new countries against Western imperialism. It made the Soviet Union to seek friendship by the support the government or support the Communist Party in those countries to win the Communist leanings.

The text above influenced Asia and the creation of Soviet policy in the region. Relations with China are the most important issue in the Cold War, especially before 1964. However, during the creation of the Soviet Union, there was an attempt to create a political role which included diplomatic, military and cultural diplomas in various regions of the world, especially the third world. Post-World War II, the Soviet Union spread its influence on the communist area itself or to prevent the influence of the United States in Southeast Asia and in another region. This is illustrated in the quote below about the Soviet Union, Southeast Asia, and Thailand from the 1970s to the 1980s. According to the CREST (CIA Records Search Tool):

*"... He rapid expansion of communism in Southeast Asia, especially in the Indochinese Peninsula, has been a panacea for Thailand. It is a catalyst for Thailand's reliance on US security. However, Thailand wants to maintain good relations with the United States, especially as an economic partner and military aid..." (Somchot Wirbatarvet, 2560).*

When compared with the United States, the Soviet Union seems to play a role in economic investment in Southeast Asia or other regions, which is less than political. At the very least, what the Soviet Union has done is to achieve its purpose is to take on the role and show the expanded position of the Soviet Union. But that does not mean that Soviet's influence will extend to all Southeast Asia.

When the Soviet Union was more influential during the Stalin era (1928–1953), the United States had a relationship with China and there was support for China after the leader Mao Zedong (1943-1976). The Soviet Union itself wanted to overwhelm China as a

strategic alliance. In the meantime, the Soviet Union was friendly towards China until around 1950. After that, the expression was reflected that the Soviet Union was not sincere towards China. As seen in the case of the Soviet Union supporting North Korea's invasion of Korea in the Korean War in 1950 and their support for Viet Minh under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh.

During the era of Khrushchev (1953 – 1964), Soviet policy focused on developing countries. The Soviet Union used a variety of methods, such as economic and military ideology, which was the point of the cause of the conflict in Asia. The Soviet Union and China started to be the cause of the conflict and the mistrust of the communist world because the Chinese Communist Party has played an important role in Asia. At that time Chinese communists wanted to be leaders of these developing countries, such as Vietnam, in Southeast Asia. The change in the relationship over time has resulted in a competitive third world leader. The Soviet Union and China are influential, although the main Soviet strategy is Europe and little attention is paid to developing countries. China has the advantage that it is more popular with the Third World than the Soviet Union. Therefore, the Soviet Union should improve its contact and relations with the countries in the Third World. From this point on, the Soviet Union took on a greater role in Southeast Asia.

The beginning of Soviet influence in Southeast Asia (before the collapse), the characteristics of international relations began to change. The state's relationships changed from the Second World War, when the roles of those characters in the war were defeated, the winners are allies and not allies. The impact of war, especially in the 20th century, occurred on every side and impacted the political security, economy, and society. As a result, the global community tried to show a common purpose to preserve world peace. It is a historical expression that the international relations system after the Cold War was a period of international revolution. The Soviet occupation began in 1945 or after the end of World War II, which would have resulted in Soviet-occupied Soviet relations with Eastern Europeans and other countries, but in Southeast Asia, it has been affected by the Cold War. Especially when the United States was determined to block communism in Asia during the Cold War. After the victory of Chinese communist in 1949 and the Korean War in 1950, the United States saw China and the Soviet Union as partners between them leading the spread of communism in Asian territories and then the threat to Indochina. If Indochina became communist, it would have affected Southeast Asia, according to the concept of the domino theory. The United States played a major role in this region to combat communism and they were more the role after the French withdrew from Indochina in 1954.

For the next, it is can to conclude and analyze why did Soviet need to keep a role or relationship with countries in Southeast Asia. We can summarize the following three issues:



**1) Relevance to the dissemination of communist ideology and interaction with Vietnam.**

The Soviet's relations with the Indochinese Communist Party were a communist movement in Southeast Asia and the general nature of communism has intensified. In Southeast Asia Soviet interests more focused on Indochina than the rest of the region (Fedor Mediansky, 1984, 5-6). This region was characterized by the significance of the early Vietnamese movement, which was based on a few complex factors. Ho Chi Minh was a key figure in the work of the Comintern link. In 1925, he created a revolutionary organization of Marxism and sting in Vietnam. At this point, Vietnam had a clearer relationship with the Soviet Communist ideology, which was based on the Communist Party and the Communist party being formed by that Comintern link. Example for their activity that was the one for special political training courses for the Vietnam Revolution. The Soviet-Vietnamese relations bounded to remain close while the two continue to regard China as endangering their security so long as Vietnam remains isolated.

**2) Relevant interests in Southeast Asia.**

According to the first, which is the emergence of communist Vietnam as a link for military and economic interests in Southeast Asia and the benefits are between them. The Soviet Union considered using Vietnam in terms of the formation of the North Vietnamese Military Potential Fighting in South Vietnam that could help maintain strategy and influence in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. In Southeast Asia it was difficult to generalize about Soviet interests. The Soviet interests in Southeast Asia have been constrained by a complex number of factors which include the region's remoteness and the consequent difficulties of projecting conventional military force, as well as by the sizeable military deployments of the United State and its allies in the Region (Mediansky, 1984, 9).

**3) The connection with the balance of power between the two powers China and the United States.**

During the first Indochina War, there was a limit to the amount of external support for anti-colonial Vietnamese. The principle of support came from China. However, during the Second Indochina War, the Soviet Union had a significant increase in material possessions for the North Vietnamese, but in the early part of the 1960s, the support changed. As a result of Khrushchev's foreign policy approach, changes in the role of the Soviet Relations with communist China and the demand fell out of North Vietnam. In this regard, the Soviet Union wanted to compete for China's support for communism in the region and the Soviet Union

had to balance the relations with the United States, which was an important to be different from the political ideology.

From all three issues we can conclude that the Soviet Union had trended to regard Southeast Asia as a region of secondary strategic interests for the reason of geography and politics. The Soviet Union and Vietnam can largely be explained in terms of the opportunities from Hanoi's relations with France, the United State and China. The interest and the policies of the Soviet Union in Southeast Asia have been governed by the relations with its principle adversaries to focus on other regions, which were related with Soviet influences.

### **Russia's relations with Southeast Asia after the 1990s Soviet Union era .**

When the Cold War ended, the two polarities ended. The Soviet Union split into fifteen states, and the Soviet Russia became the Russian Federation, which was the successor state of the Soviet Union, resulting in a political ideology. World regulations have changed and affected many regions, including Southeast Asia, and the influence of Russia and China has decreased. The United States has become the sole hegemony that has influenced countries and regions around the world. However, during the 21<sup>st</sup> century in Southeast Asia, the United States, China, and Russia have also played a role and are associated with security issues of Southeast Asian nations. The changes in Russia's relations with Southeast Asia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century were caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Russia has started to turn its policy towards Asia in a "Turn to the East." This has implications for Southeast Asia. There are three important aspects that have changed since the Post-Cold War.

1) Following the Soviet Union collapse, problems with Eastern European states have led to changes in Russia's economic and political policies.

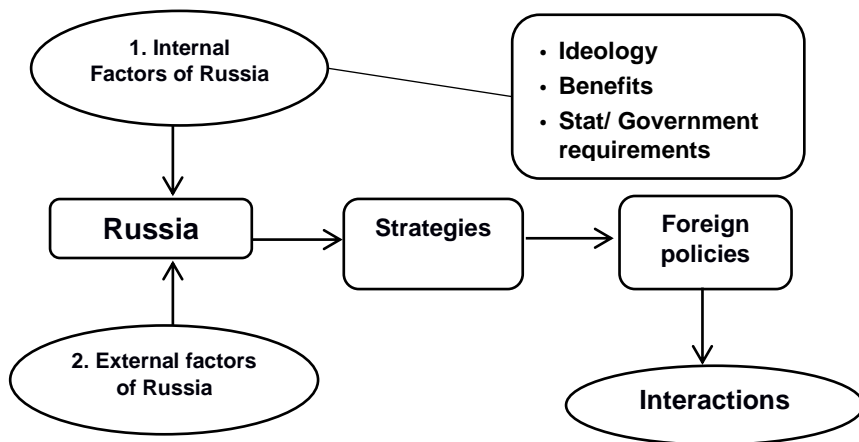
2) Changing the relationship of the two powers, like the Soviet Union and the United States, reduced the competitive role. As a result, the power poles have run out.

3) The regional organizations of Southeast Asia as ASEAN have become important in the melting ice age (Cold War) or the end of dissemination of political ideology. Conflicts in the region have disappeared. This has led to a larger expansion of regional organizations. It can create more multidimensional relationships, which is not just politics. It also includes the economy of society and culture.

From the above three clauses, the importance of the first is that after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the importance of post-Cold War lies in the rise of relations between Russia and ASEAN to Southeast Asia. During the Vietnam War, around 1975, the researcher studied through the Russian perspective, which has a specific policy towards Southeast Asia,

also known as East Asian Strategy in the new period. President Vladimir Putin, who adopted it from 2000 to 2008 (Осинцева Наталья Сергеевна, 2012), sees the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century Russia's regional encroachment is an important factor in choosing to establish relations with the Asia-Pacific region in the terms of Industrial investment and increasing importance of information technology. The policy of "East Asia Strategy" is to support and stabilize the economy, not only in Russia but also among ASEAN member countries and includes alignment with Russia's internal strategy "Russia's Far East Development Strategy" is also important. Russia's Far East Development Strategy is the development of the Russian Far East region and the domestic dimension. Vladimir Putin has declared the development of Far East "a national priority for the entire 21<sup>st</sup> century" (Kremlin.ru., 2013) for the new mechanisms to contribute to giving the regional economy the boots it so desperately needs the Far East to function as a gateway to the Asia-Pacific. The Putin era approach to the Far East has marked a significant departure. The post-Crimean crisis in relations with the West may have added a sense of greater urgency to pivot. Russia wants to open the region as a gateway for exports to the Asia-Pacific, predated the introduction of Western sanction. The new interest in turning the Far East into an Asia-Pacific gateway many still have the side-effect of integrating Russian Far Eastern federal subjects for more balanced development through the Federation.

For the strategic analysis on the factors affecting change in relations of the Soviet Union and Russia. The author considers that Russia is a successor state of the Soviet Union. This means that, from the international legal point of view, Russia and the Soviet Union are the same states which in contrast to the concept of "successor," implying the change of one state to another. Due to this, Russia continues to exercise all international rights and fulfill the international obligations of the Soviet Union. But it is important to Russia's strategic analysis and foreign policy towards Southeast Asia, which is the factors that affect something change. In practice, we can look at the concept of action (Action Theory) as shown in the concept of Action Theory in the term of Russian interaction in Diagram 1. the concept of Action Theory in the term of Russian interaction.



**Figure 1** The concept of Action Theory in the term of Russian interaction

Analysis of the Soviet and Russian foreign policy and strategy can relate with the concept of Action Theory. In the interaction of Russia in table 1: Analysis of current Soviet and Russian foreign policy and strategy, which we can see in the part 1 about Russia's internal factors, it shows the same things of Russian foreign policies and strategies before and after the Soviet Union. In part 2, it shows the external factors during the Soviet Union and after. Because it made the policies and strategies move into the difference interactions between the Soviet Union and Russia.

**Table 1** Analysis of current Soviet and Russian foreign policy and strategy.

<b>Part. 1 The similar things of the foreign policies and strategies during and after the Soviet Union. (Internal factors)</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Maintaining the strategic approach based on the pragmatism of beliefs in terms of the success of the practical application.</li> <li>- Maintaining the balance between Chinese and American superpowers.</li> <li>- Maintaining any treatment of the Soviet influence zone.</li> <li>- Maintaining the stability strategy in the many regions.</li> </ul>	
<b>Part 2. During the Soviet Union (External factors)</b>	<b>Part 2. After the Soviet Union (External factors)</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- During the Soviet Union, Russia deeply wanted to disseminate political ideology or the Communist ideology.</li> <li>- They had the policy to opponent the West and support the Communist camps.</li> <li>- They primarily intended and to provide military aid for revolutionary movements in the third world.</li> <li>- They had more taken the policy on Self – Defense System with Superpowers – the United State and China.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- After the collapse of the Soviet Union, emphasis was placed on cooperation with the regional organizations as Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO).</li> <li>- Not just politics and security. It also focuses on geographical, climatic, human point, defense security cooperation, arms trade and (the most important) economy and investment.</li> </ul>

### **1. Foreign Policy and Strategies during the Soviet Union.**

- The military power of the Soviet Union and the block of socialist States created as a result of the Second World War. Europe lay in ruins and the US undertook the restoration of its Western regions. They became the natural leader of the Western world in the new world configuration.

- The Soviet Union restored its economy and helped to restore the countries of Eastern Europe, which were part of the socialist bloc. He became the leader of the socialist world. So, at the end of the Second World War a bipolar world was formed. In fact, it was a confrontation between two superpowers – the Soviet Union and the United States, with comparable military power.
- The confrontation defined the world architecture for the whole second half of the 20th century and continues to affect today, almost a quarter of a century after the fall of the Soviet Union. Therefore, today it is important to consider the geopolitics of the Soviet Union in the postwar period.
- The geopolitical strategy of the Soviet Union was to repel attempts to break up the Soviet bloc, restore economic potential, minimize the possibility of direct military aggression by NATO, and under favorable conditions, local geopolitical counterattacks to ease the pressure of the American "Anaconda loop" around the Soviet or "Loop of Anaconda," which means the policy of encirclement of Soviet Russia.

## **2. Foreign Policy and Strategies Post the Soviet Union Era.**

The priority vectors of Russian geopolitics, which are the influence in the Foreign Policy and Strategies will be:

- The West, focused on the development of equal relations with European countries and the normalization of relations with the United States, in order to prevent the slide into a new "cold war."
- The South, covering the Caucasus, the Middle East and North Africa, where Russia will seek to normalize the military and political situation, to stop military conflicts, especially the Syrian conflict, to restore mutually beneficial economic and political relations with friendly countries in the region.
- The South American, where Russian interests consist of the development of mutually beneficial economic relations with the leading countries of the region.
- The East, the most important today for Russia, where it will seek to further strengthen good-neighborly relations with its great neighbor China, as well as India, Vietnam, both Korean States, as well as the normalization of relations with Japan.
- This will allow, in combination with the restoration of economic and strengthening of Russia's military potential, the security of the country and its progressive development.

In the case of analysis on the theories to improve the strategies of Russian foreign policy during the 21st centuries through the theoretical lens. The theories can focus on that it has been a complex phenomenon because of globalization and integration can be anchored

in the Soviet Union heritage hegemony during the cold war. Russia is the biggest country in the world and has a significant influence in the international system from the Cold War as in part 2 of the table to show that during the Soviet Union they wanted to disseminate the Communist ideology, because communism was perceived as a threat to a democratic state. International affairs theories can further improve the case analysis of Russian foreign policy toward Southeast Asia as the realism and the theory of hegemonic stability. The point of view of the researcher's analysis in the strategy on the Russian foreign affairs consider is that:

In the international relations realism emphasizes the role of the state, national interest, military power in world politics and the main determinant of the state's behavior on the international scene. In the same time realism can contribute to the debate between defensive and offensive activities. For the question, "How did the fall of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the bipolar order influence the international system?", the Soviet Union is the most important unit in analysis. The collapse of the Soviet Union failed the internal determinants of the disintegration of the Soviet Union because it was not only a result of the decline in the Soviet relative power but also a perception of this decline by the Soviet elites.

In classical realism the interests of Russia are a strong link between the export of raw materials and the political goals of the country, as well as a constant reluctance to the activities of foreign transnational companies in Russia. The hegemonic rivalry remains an interesting reference point in the analysis of the place and role of Russia in modern international relations. It was an adaptation of its foreign policy instruments to the realities of the second decade of the 21st century. In the international system, it reflects the nature of Russia's external activity. In the analysis of Russian foreign policy today the factors of globalization and the processes of regional integration analysis of the Russian external activities should not be based on the prospects of classical realism. Reluctantly and slowly, it was necessary to consider the restrictions imposed on the state by the new distribution of power in the international system after the Cold War, since Russia lost many of the former dominant global positions of the Soviet Union in the international system so that is why in part 1 and 2 to show that Russia after the Soviet Union emphasis was placed on the cooperation not only in the field of politics and security but also in the economy and investment. Russia has tried to keep its strategies and foreign policies balanced between the superpowers, China and the United States. It also keeps any treatment of the Soviet influence zone and the stability strategy in the regions as in European, Asian or Asia-Pacific and Southeast Asian continents.

It is a sign of the international system and the international relations to remain stable when a single nation-state is the dominant world power or hegemon. The bipolar relations between the United States and the Soviet Union during the cold war were clearly a reflection of the hegemonic rivalry. But today the problems of Russia's economic transformation that

worry Russia cannot be a candidate for competition with the United States for global hegemony. Regional hegemony in the post-Soviet space has become a regional strategy of Russian foreign policy and can take the position after the Soviet Union in the international system. The theories of hegemony and rivalry to the Russian position in Southeast Asia or the world relate with a wide range of political, military, demographic, economic and technological processes. Russia has long played a role as an international power, but when there was a collapse of the Soviet Union its economic influence weakened, which contributed to the loss of Russian military potential and its nuclear capabilities to compete with the United States, China, and European countries.

It can be noticed that the evolution of Russian foreign policy in the new doctrine began during the presidency of Vladimir Putin. It was about economic measures to strengthen Russia's international influence, primarily for the export of Russian oil and gas and European dependence on Russian supplies. Russian foreign policy clearly reflects the assumptions of hegemonic theories about the broader sources of state power in international relations than the military. Russia also attaches an importance to the state and internal and external security.

The lack of effectiveness of the unrealistic hegemonic theory of rivalry seems to be a useful tool for analysis, since it reflects the changing nature of state power and the flexible attitude of the international system. In addition, neoclassical realism becomes an interesting and valuable approach, as it proposes to focus on the internal political determinants of Russian foreign policy, including the play of different groups of internal interests and the specifics of the Russian political system. Therefore, both neo-realism and neoclassical realism can be useful tools, but when analyzing the foreign policy of the Russian Federation, we should not forget that it is still deeply rooted in the classical realistic tradition. Russia attaches an importance to the state and internal and external security.

Through looking at the relations with Southeast Asia from the past into the current the researcher notices that the theory of realism, which has made Russian strategies toward the notions of geopolitics, national securities and hegemony. Russia today still explores ways to understand interventions in Southeast Asia and how they could affect the future of the United States and the current policies of other superpowers in the region. In this type of neo-realism Russia is contributing to the idea of power balancing and adding to the realist paradigm which creates a balance of power dimension, where Russia should build-up their own power and internal balancing from 1991. Russia has tried to integrate regional organization in the Asia Pacific Region (APR), such as ASEAN and APEC. Russia is more interested in being strong and economically stable and Russia has independent in the political activities with Southeast Asia to a more multipolar world. Regarding regional affairs, ASEAN is the one of the Regional Strategies of Russia, which can be considered through the



theory of institutional realism, which is an important on an institutional balancing strategy and dealing with intra-regional security problems.

In addition, the researcher focused on factors which contributed to the change that Russia's foreign policy had on Southeast Asia during the Cold War and after that period which were the following:

**1) The factor of the change in the regime was the end of the Cold War at the end of the 1980s:**

In the history we can see that the end of the 1980s, when Mikhail Gorbachev assumed the reins of power in the Soviet Union in 1985, that was the end of the Cold War era, it was a change of world society between 1989 and 1990, affecting the global power and regional relations. For more than half a century after World War II in Southeast Asia the Soviet Union ends support for Vietnam and it changed the situation that has taken place since 1995. After that Vietnam became an ASEAN member and the new standpoint of the regional integration was a manifestation of the dissemination of ideologies and the region dissolved the group's relationship under Communist influence or political ideology. It changed the balance of relations between the Soviet Union and the countries of ASEAN also the countries of Indochina. At first, The Soviet Union played the role in ensuring regional security in Southeast Asia across scales into the factor of creating security in the Asia Pacific region, but after the collapse of the Soviet Union the capitalist system of America and the West dramatically outperformed them. The fundamental weakness of the Soviet economy and the failure of leadership of the Communist Party was that they did not find a way to make the system function at some minimally effective level.

**2) The factors of the changing economy are the changes that have taken place in the system:**

The biggest impulse for ending the Cold War was an ideological bankruptcy of the communist ideology. The collapse of Communist Socialism reflexed on the social and economic system which before the Communists emphasized government control and management. All kinds of economic production in private ownership, price mechanism do not play a role. Modifications are usually made in the form of centralized planning of the communist economies, which is a distortion of marketing. Russia's energy resources travel through the waters of the South China Sea. Russia has some reach or need to participate in regional ties and has some major economic interests to protect there. The economic relations of the nations in Southeast Asia are more independent, which relates with the militarizing its ties and Russia wants expand for influence in Southeast Asia, has great implications for regional and international security. So, they have tried to export defense security cooperation,

arms trade with Southeast Asia countries, especially Vietnam and Myanmar, for the strategies of Russian Far East.

### **3) The factors of China and the United States influential states in Southeast Asia:**

The United States has influence in Southeast Asia and helps protect the region in the past. After the end of World War II, the United States began building security systems in the Asia-Pacific and Southeast Asia regions. It was aimed at the Sino-Soviet group, which created a bilateral alliance. Parties and multilateral Should emphasize that the implicit Soviet anti-security structure originated from the United States, China and Japan, which reinforced the structure of the North Atlantic alliance of the United States (Kolotov, 2012)

However, for China, we can consider that it is undeniably close to China in the economic growth that links between countries on a global scale (David B.H., 2015). The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) will benefit the Chinese and Russian economy. It is aimed at developing infrastructure and strengthening ties between Eurasian countries, focusing on the land-based Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road (Russia to Support China's One Belt, 2017). Eurasian countries are a zone of the Soviet Union influence, and today Russia wants to integrate the efforts of the Eurasian Economic Union and the Silk Road.

In principle, in Southeast Asia and the South China Sea, such as the freedom of navigation and the interpretation. China doesn't have significant naval capabilities like Russia, and is more inclined to the United States interpretation of the fact that foreign military can and cannot do in the exclusive economic zones of other states. Russia has to involve in the South China Sea, while its policy in Asia is a full-scale shift and not just a minor change in bilateral relations. Nevertheless, while Russia is still taking an action against East Asia and are simply putting their step on the threshold, the main strategy will be to avoid taking sides and participating in another geopolitical difficulty similar for those what already abounds in the foreign policy of Russia (Tsvetov, 2016).

According to the pragmatism of Russia, which is a keyword why after the Soviet fall Russia still wants to maintain activities in Southeast Asia, it can be noticed that on the Geopolitical benefits for Russia after the Soviet Union in Southeast Asia deals with the strategies and policies on the balance of power. Russia wants to go against the United States and China, even though Russia and China have a close friendship. Russia wants to play the role as the one of the global players among the United States and China, because Russia want to maintain not only opportunity but also to prevent any new risks in Asia-Pacific region, which can be the reflection in Russian interests on Russia's Far East Development Strategy.

Policy implications of Russia's Foreign Policy and Strategies toward Southeast Asia are "On building a strategic partnership over the long term" and its much-discussed "turn to

the East” in a bid to avoid isolation and to circumvent Western sanctions. In its recent policy in the Middle East, it sought to expand relations with countries long considered the United States allies such as the Philippines, Malaysia, and Thailand. The pivot to Asia came to include three components:

- A civilizational alliance against Western universal values.
- A geopolitical effort to provide a regional alternative to the United States centered alliance system.
- A geo-economic push to integrate Russia into Asia’s dynamic economy.

At the regional level, Russia will continue to do just enough to maintain its role in regional policy through regional organizations such as APEC and ASEAN. Thus, it can be expected that Russia will continue to participate in ASEAN regional dialogues and ASEAN efforts to combat terrorism and transnational crime. However, Russia's recognition of ASEAN's limited ability to act collectively and its preference for bilateral relations will continue to prevail in its overall relations with the region, as its key objectives in the region, including increased arms sales and economic ties, are best achieved through bilateral rather than regional means. According to trade, economic and investment cooperation between Russia and ASEAN today is carried out in accordance with the intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in the field of economy and development of 2005, which entered into force in 2006, and the roadmap developed by the Ministers of the economy of Russia and the member countries of the Association in 2012. The volume of direct investments from Russia to the countries of the Association for 2012-2014 amounted to more than \$698 million. One of the most promising areas of cooperation is tourism.

According to many experts, the development of economic cooperation between Russia and ASEAN can serve as the liberalization of trade in the regional integration groupings, the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and Shanghai cooperation organization (SCO). Russia continues to try to put forward and to create a comprehensive free trade zone between ASEAN and the EAEU. The integration between the regional organizations, Southeast Asia and the Eurasian Union has a lot of potentials. The idea of China on the economic belt of Silk Road covers the Eurasian space. Russia considers a benefit on Free trade area (FTA) integration with the ASEAN, EAEU will be an impact better than individual actives. On the last Russia-ASEAN Summit at Sochi 2016, Russia and ASEAN member countries moved towards a new collaboration and do the action plan, moving towards a Strategic Partnership for more Mutual Benefit (RT, 2016) and more the practice for the new economic strategies of Russia, which includes the infrastructure, transport, renewable and clean energy sources, healthcare, agriculture, technology and innovation, e-commerce.

## **Conclusions**

From a historical perspective Russian foreign policy in Southeast Asia can be said to be a strategy that has relied on establishing long-standing relationships. Until the mid-1980s, the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Southeast Asia took place in the context of the cold war confrontational processes, and in the years of perestroika and after the collapse of the Soviet Union there was only a cautious probing of the possibilities of establishing official contacts. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war did not lead to a significant change in the geopolitical situation in the far Eastern region of the Russian Federation, unlike in the European part of the country. Russia was and remains an influential Asian power. Great geopolitical prospects remain for it in the Asia-Pacific region, which has become one of the leading centers of world development.

This is a fundamental expression of Russia's foreign policy. It continues previous strategies of maintaining stability and influence established during the era of the former Soviet Union. Russia has started to turn its policy towards Asia "Turn to the East." It also has implications for Southeast Asia. It is to support and stabilize the economy in the meaning of Russia's Far East Development Strategy. The interest and the policies in Southeast Asia have been governed by the relations with its principle adversaries, which have had their focus in other regions from the Soviet times. But the new forms of cooperation are occurring such as a new focus on geographical, climatic, human point, defense security cooperation, arms trade and the most important is economy and investment and economic and investment opportunities that are important to Russian interests on Russia's Far East Development Strategy as well as cooperation with different regional organizations. The Russian Federation now has a clear policy of collaborating with ASEAN to EAEU and SCO, which are in the regional integration, in addition to maintaining bilateral relationships with individual countries. The relationship with ASEAN is now a key factor that is integrated into the Russian Federation's foreign policy strategy in the Southeast Asia region. The situation will create opportunities for Russia to support the losing hope for success of multilateral security institutions around ASEAN.

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