

The application of this experience in Kazakhstan will make it possible, using the best international experience, to form the sector of air transportation services. So in the industry program one of the tasks is the development of the terrestrial service sector that will improve the management efficiency in the industry and create conditions for attracting international transit carriers to the Kazakhstan market.

Thus, the domestic air transportation market and the civil aviation industry in Kazakhstan have good prospects for development. To implement these prospects, it is necessary to use existing in international practice methods of regulation and management of industry development, including infrastructure improvement, development of the route network and improvement of service quality.

References:

- 1 Global Airline Industry Program.
- 2 The International Air Transport Association (IATA).
- 3 Nason, S.D. The six C's of modern airline competition // In the Journal of revenue and pricing Management. – 2009. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY, USA. – P. 291-294
- 4 Kazakhstan Civil Aviation Committee: <http://aviation.mid.gov.kz/>
- 5 Авиационный рынок Казахстана. Инфографика: <https://ism.kz/kto-i-kuda-priletaet-v-kazahstane-v-2016-godu-infografika>.
- 6 Названы самые убыточные аэропорты Казахстана: http://bnews.kz/ru/redesign/news/nazvani_samie_ubitochnie_aeroporti_Kazahstana
- 7 Sky Magazine, November-December/2016/№5. – P. 142-148

IRSTI 11.25

M.B. Assanbayev¹

¹Suleyman Demirel University
Almaty, Kazakhstan

REFLECTIONS ON RUSSIAN COMPATRIOT POLICY IN COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES

Abstract. The last year marked the 25 years of the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Despite the existence of criticism in certain media and analytical circles in respect to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) activity, the organization has firmly established itself as an essential format for further cooperation of the participating countries. No doubt the main positive outcome in creating CIS has been peaceful divorce of

post-Soviet states (unlike former Yugoslavia). Today, each post-soviet republic has been recognized to be an integral part of international relations.

However, there have been also serious challenges and crucial political developments within the framework of the CIS. In August 18, 2009, a year after the Russian-Georgian war in South Ossetia, Georgia officially left the CIS. In the same vein after the annexation of the Crimea into Russia in 2014, Kyiv has limited its participation in CIS to a lesser extent. At the same time the ongoing armed conflict between the Ukrainian government and pro-Russian separatist forces of the self-declared Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics in South-Eastern regions of Ukraine has entirely divided the nation. Unfortunately, this split is going to last for a few generations further. The 1993 Charter of the CIS stresses, in Article 3, the principle of «inviolability of state frontiers, recognition of existing frontiers and renouncement of illegal acquisition of territories». However, this fundamental agreement did not prevent the emergence of political and territorial claims between Russia and some CIS-member-states. The post-soviet space is still considered to be a conflict-prone area, where the potential challenges and threats still exist in regard to territorial integrity and stability of some post-soviet states despite the fact that the present state frontiers of these states have been recognized internationally. One of the reasons that resulted in the emergence of this kind of challenge was incubated in the contemporary Russian foreign policy towards its «compatriots» residing in the post-soviet states. In this regard, understanding the Russia's compatriot policy toward ethnic Russians, Russian speakers and others in post soviet states has become significant part of contemporary Russian foreign policy.

Key words: Commonwealth of Independent States, Russia, Russian compatriot policy, Russian-speaking population, Diaspora, Russian Compatriot Policy.

Аңдатпа. Аталмыш мақала Ресей Федерациясының Тәуелсіз Мемлекеттер Достастығы (ТМД) елдеріндегі отандастар саясатын сараптап, зерттеуге арналған. Биылғы жылы ТМД ұйымының құрылғанына осымен ширек ғасырдан астам уақыт өтті. Бұл арад пост-кеңестік республикалардың бір-бірімен қарым-қатынастарына оңтайлы септігін кіргізген бұл ұйым өзінің маңыздылығын, қажеттілігі мен өзектілігін ақтады деуге көптеген сараптама дәлел бола алады. Дегенмен, оңтайлы өзгерістермен қатар ТМД елдері арасында саяси жанжалдардың да бар екендігін атап өту абзал. Бұл жанжалдардың туындауына әкеліп отырған көп себептің бірі – Ресейдің ТМД елдеріндегі орыс тілді халыққа қатысты жүргізе бастаған отандастар саясатына байланысты. Ресей Федерациясының саяси басшылығы бұл саясатты 1991 жылдан бастап қолға алғанымен, оның қарқынды дамып, сыртқы саясат бағдарына айналуы 2000-шы ғасырдың бірінші жартысынан кейін ғана айқындала

бастады. Пост-кеңестік республикалардағы орыс тілді халыққа қатысты өз мүддесін ашық түрде жариялаған Ресей саяси басшылығы ендігі кезде өзінің отандастар саясатын сыртқы саясат мақсаты ретінде қарастыра бастайды.

Кілт сөздер: ТМД, Ресей, орыс тілді халық, диаспора, ресейлік отандастар саясаты.

Аннотация. В данной статье описывается процесс трансформации политики Российской Федерации по отношению к соотечественникам в странах Содружества Независимых Государств (СНГ). За более чем четверть века своего существования СНГ оправдало свою актуальность и необходимость в качестве основного формата взаимодействия бывших советских республик. Однако наряду с успехами, следует также отметить и существование ряда политических противоречий между странами-членами СНГ. Одна из причин, способствующая возникновению политических противоречий, связана с российской политикой по отношению к соотечественниками в ряде стран СНГ. И хотя политическое руководство Российской Федерации стало рассматривать эту политику сразу же после 1991 года, контуры этой политики, как неотъемлемой части собственно российской внешней политики, стали проявляться в начале 2000-х годов. Именно с этого периода политическое руководство Российской Федерации стало рассматривать русскоязычное население пост-советских республик как неотъемлемую часть российской внешней политики «соотечественников».

Ключевые слова: СНГ, Россия, русскоязычное население, диаспора, российская политика соотечественников.

The issue of Russian compatriots in post-soviet states appeared right after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, when approximately 20-25 million of ethnic Russians just overnight found themselves living in almost every post-soviet republic.

By the middle of 2000s this simple issue of Russian compatriots in post-soviet states transformed into the Russian compatriot policy. This process has gradually developed into what it is known today as Russian «compatriot policy» since the conflict in Georgia in 2008 and the fall of the Pro-Russian regime of Viktor Yanukovich in Ukraine during the so-called European Maidan uprising in the end of 2013-beginning of 2014. The latter event has significantly accelerated this process.

At the same time we should always bear in mind the existence of the so-called culturally Russified population holding strong ties and affiliation to Russian Federation. Pilkington and Flynn claim the existence of about 11 million of people to be classified as culturally Russified non-ethnic Russian

population in the post-soviet states [1]. However, strong connection and affiliation with Russian language and culture is not enough to draw a line between ethnic Russians and Russian speaking populations. As Zevelev states, existing differences among them significantly ranging from the degree of integration into the host country and economic welfare of an each particular family up to crucial differences in political participation, social life or expectation in regard to emigration and future perspectives [2].

In this regard, Smith and Wilson argue that Russia faces a difficult task of how to combine a diverse and multi-faceted understanding of the Russian-speaking population into a homogeneous cohesive group to follow shared identity of Russian Diaspora [3].

Today Russia considers the issue of Russian compatriots (ethnic Russians, Russian-speaking population or anyone else who feels sympathy or has close cultural and mental ties to Moscow) as significant in order to determine its strategy in relation to the in post-soviet republics.

But discussions and debates over the fate of Russian compatriots has transformed into vital interest of Russian Federation gradually. It has taken place long before Putin's speech of 1 July 2014, when he stated that «Russia will continue to defend the rights of Russian compatriots using the entire range of available means – from political and economic to operations under international humanitarian law and the right of self-defense» [4]. It was started by president Yeltsin during his first term presidency, when the official foreign policy concept approved by president Yeltsin in April 1993 reflected the new approach which was known as «pragmatic nationalist» stance. Yeltsin was the first politician who had emphasized Moscow's rights and responsibilities in the states of the former USSR as one of the foreign policy priority of Russia. It was him who started first to use the term Near Abroad in respect to the post-soviet republics officially, taking into account ethnic Russians and Russian speaking population. It is notable that «of the nine vitally important interests listed in the document, only the third pertained to the world outside the borders of the former USSR» [5].

Meanwhile, an image of discriminated and prejudiced «Russian compatriots abroad» transformed the issue of ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking population in the former soviet republics into main debates of internal Russian politics in the middle of 1990th – beginning of 2000th. At that time it was normal to watch on Russian TV how the populist politicians like Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, Sergey Glazyev, Dmitry Rogozin, Konstantin Zatulin, Alexander Prohanov and others accused post-soviet leadership in violation of human rights and often tried to build their election campaign through simple slogans, such as Russia is the main protector and guarantor of the rights of its «compatriots» in post-soviet republics.

They aggressively pursued restoration of the nationalist and populist sentiments in contemporary Russian political discourse thus empowering

authorities to run new approach. As a result, this new approach led to new Russian Compatriots Policy which sought to strengthen the relationship of the ethnic Russians to its historical homeland and involve a large numbers of Russian speaking-population into Russia's orbit of influence and to evaluate its effectiveness as a foreign policy tool in many post-soviet republics, including Kazakhstan. Boris Yeltsin's successor Vladimir Putin prefers to call these groups in one word – compatriots.

Vladimir Putin held an imperial lexicon when he was only a candidate for his third-term presidency in 2012. We must recognize that the current Russian president has never hidden his intentions and goals. Once he described the collapse of the USSR as a geopolitical mistake of the 20th century. Having said this, President Vladimir Putin publicly stated about Russia's claims to dominate in the post-soviet space and made clear that this space was an area of vital interest and played primary importance to the national security of Russia (Mukhit B. Assanbayev¹²⁴). Not surprisingly with the beginning of Vladimir Putin's third term presidency Russia started its new approach towards its compatriot policy in post-soviet states. Russia's increased interest was its desire to assert a presence in areas in which Moscow had little involvement during Vladimir Putin's first and second presidency periods. The Russian political leadership has been always thinking of Central Asia as a sphere of Russian dominance. This perception has been firm in Russia since the beginning of the independence of the Central Asian states. But today, Russia's top priority is to persuade as many countries as possible to join the Customs Union.

Today Russia often tends to use an aggressive propaganda using invisible collaboration network amongst local expert community and mass media in post-soviet republics. Their strengthening has been crucial since Ukraine's refusal to join Russia-led Eurasian integration process in 2011.

However, a comprehensive understanding of Russian foreign policy toward ethnic and non-ethnic Russian compatriots in almost every post-soviet republic has become extremely important after Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 and Moscow's support for the pro-Russian separatist movement and paramilitary groups in Eastern Ukraine. These political and military developments have aroused much interest in academic and scientific circles in relation to Russian foreign policy toward Russian Compatriot Policy.

Thus, the contemporary Russian compatriot policy in Russian foreign policy has been evolving and has been advancing in dramatic fashion. There are two main dimensions of this policy: one directed towards all kind of Russian-speaking populations of the post-soviet republics, and one towards the Near Abroad states themselves. Despite the rhetoric of deep interest and high respect for Russian compatriots in the post-soviet republics, the Russian compatriot policy has evolved from the big-brother attitude on compatriots residing abroad to the Russian Motherland to the Russia's economic and

political claims used by the Kremlin to justify its regional and global aspirations.

References:

1 Hillary Pilkington, Moya Flynn. From «Refugee» to «Repatriate»: Russian repatriation discourse in the making // In R. Black and E. Koser (ed.), *The end of the refugee cycle? Refugee repatriation and reconstruction.* – Oxford: Berghahn, 1999. – P. 171-195

2 Zevelev, I. *Russia and its new Diasporas.* – Washington: Unites States Peace Institute, 2001. – P. 92

3 Graham Smith, Andrew Wilson. Rethinking Russia's Post-Soviet Diaspora: the potential for political mobilization in Eastern Ukraina and North-East Estonia // *Europe-Asia Studies.* – №49 (5), July 1997. – P. 845-864

4 Putin Vows to «Actively Defend» Russians Living Abroad. Retrieved at: 2 July, 2014. <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org>.

5 Donaldson, R. Boris Yeltsin's Foreign Policy Legacy. 9 September, 2016. Retrieved at: <http://www.personal.utulsa.edu>