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Southeast Asia in Russian's Foreign Policy: New Player in the ASEAN countries.

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Abstract

The article examines the foreign policy of Russia in the Southeast Asia which developed according to dynamics of the international processes, with the purpose to strengthen political stability and to expand influence of Russia on the modern world. The developments of the foreign policy doctrine attended to the regions important for Russia from the point of view of cooperation for development, and also political, economic and social efficiency is characteristic. Especially multilateral diplomacy is one of effective methods of protection of national interests of Russia. This paper focuses on the concept of foreign policy of Russia in Southeast Asia in the framework is ASEAN organization and the analysis interaction of the member of ASEAN countries are developed by structures of cooperation that occurs at the different levels. The result is discovered and suggestions are made.

Keywords: Foreign policy; Russia; Southeast Asia; ASEAN

1. INTRODUCTION

The foreign policy' s Russia focused on the new domestic and international realities, expecially, in the Southeast Asia region base on the national interests. The main directions of the president's Russian Federation created the policy toward Southeast Asia since the 2000s, under presidents Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev, the country has embraced an "Asian" or "Eastern" foreign policy focused on strengthening diplomatic and economic ties with East and Southeast Asia [1].

In addition, Russia had expended policy in the Soviet Union period, and its alliance with Vietnam, was viewed by ASEAN members to varying degrees as a threat, increasingly so in the wake of Vietnamese expansion into Laos and Cambodia. During the early post-Soviet years, the Asia-Pacific region again became peripheral to Russian foreign policy and interests as the Westernizers who dominated foreign policy making, namely Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev and his deputy, Georgii Kunadze, assigned more importance to relations with the West [2]. By 1993, amid internal criticisms of Russian neglect of Asia and the lack of expected full-scale assistance from the West, Russia was striving to pursue a more balanced policy between East and West, as befit its status as a Eurasian power.

Russia was no longer regarded as a threat by ASEAN. The organization's "economic tigers," namely, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand, were seen as potentially significant trading partners as well as economic models that Russia could emulate. Furthermore, ASEAN's political weight and utility increased in Russian eyes as the organization expanded from the mid-1990s to include all Southeast Asian states [3]. The terms ASEAN and Southeast Asia are thus used interchangeably here.

This article examines the Russia's new role in Southeast Asia which is regarded as an indicator of the new system of international relations. The new policy and national interests of Russia and ASEAN through the ASEAN member countries to access, which is regarded as an excellent opportunity to acquire national interests of Russia and ASEAN.

Moreover, Russia perceives Southeast Asia and how this relates to the realization of Russian aspirations to be a great power and to be perceived as such. This aim has been increasingly focused under President Vladimir Putin and is reinforced by rising fuel prices that bolster the country's relentless economic growth and increasingly confident, self-assertive foreign policy. Putin's great-power aim was based on a pragmatism designed to transform Russia into a "normal" great power through economic modernization and development. These would form the foundation for restoring Russia's greatness and relevance to world affairs and to neighboring regions, including East Asia [4].

The reasons for creating the new role like the new player in the ASEAN countries including; First, ASEAN plays a leading role in East Asian regionalism. Therefore, securing its acceptance of Russian participation in regional institutions is essential for Russia as a testament to the country's importance. Second, ASEAN is seen as a rising center of power in Asia. A solid relationship could provide a greater balance in Russia's Asia policy, bolstering the multipolarity that ensures continuing Russian influence in world affairs in the face of American predominance. Third, the ASEAN market holds much potential for Russia to project influence through its primary economic assets-arms and energy and for further expansion and diversification of economic ties. Lastly, ASEAN is a diversified entity whose members Russia assigns different layers of priority to. Each country carries its own significance in Russia's quest for regional influence, so Russian considers that Southeast Asia is the region for developing policy such "New Player" in this region and with the ASEAN members.

2. RUSSIA AND ASEAN CAN ACHIEVE A GREAT DEAL TOGETHER: THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF RUSSIA IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

The direction and form that such a strategy takes is seen as among Russia's key geopolitical tasks of the century, linked to the sustainability of a continued Russian presence in Siberia and the Far East [5]. Under Putin's policy, Russia has started re-engaging with Southeast Asian countries with low publicity. The started by 2005, Russia and ASEAN sign the Joint Declaration on Progressive and Comprehensive Partnership, engaging to promote political, security, economic and development cooperation under the Framework of the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) from 2005 to 2015.

The foreign policy of Russia after the Cold War was change in the concept of the "multipolar world" in system of the international relations is determined by three common foreign policy goals which are multipolarity as an equilibration of global processes, regional security and economic interests. Foreign policy under presidents of Russia of Vladimir Putin -

one of the most important aspects of the current foreign policy of Russia - shall protect national interests of the country, especially national interests in Asia and in Southeast Asia. After the president Putin was elected the president of Russia in 2000 the reviewed concept of “homeland security” and a new concept of “foreign policy” were accepted by him. In both from these documents economic problems were placed in the center of the long-term national development strategy. The concept of “foreign policy” declared in particular it to guarantee a homeland security of Russia and to increase its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Within the first decade of the 21st century Russia continued to show the steady intention to support the size of its regular forces in east part of the country at the level of the minimum sufficient safety. Also considered quite important to emphasize that the Russian national interests in Asia and Southeast Asia were regarding national interests of the regional countries.

In addition the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, adopted in 2009 after the entry of President Medvedev into office, explicitly sets the focus on Asia-Pacific as the top priority of Russian foreign policy [6]. Further strengthening and deepening of the partnership was agreed upon in 2010 during the Second Russia–ASEAN Summit, which underlined the need to “work closely together in the evolving regional architecture in the Asia Pacific”, and in which top Russian officials expressed to have “great strategic benefits” for both sides. Relations evolved especially in terms of economic exchanges, energy security and infrastructure development, innovation and technology cooperation (sciences, space technologies), “people-to-people” exchanges (tourism, education, culture) and through establishing visa-free or “relaxed visa” relations with most Southeast Asia countries [7].

Besides, the Russian leaders told that benefit will bring them Russia into a superpower in political, economic, social spheres. The national interests of Russia is a method of Russia to play more and more important role on the world scene and in quality the concept “superpowers”, and probabilities of establishment of the multipolar world.

3. ASEAN AS A MAIN DIRECTION OF REGIONAL ORDER: STRONG ROOTS MEAN FUTURE GROWTH:

ASEAN is in many ways a unique phenomenon. It was established in 1967 to incorporate Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and the Philippines. In 1984 it was joined by Brunei-Darussalam, and in 1995 the Association took a truly landmark decision to admit Vietnam, which was followed by Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia. That made ASEAN a Group of Ten, and today it is one of the most authoritative regional organizations [8].

In more than four decades of its activities ASEAN has accumulated considerable experience of working out collective approaches towards the vital regional issues and has created a broad, well-balanced system of dialogue partnerships with the world’s major powers, including Russia, the USA, China, India, Japan, Australia, and the EU. Nowadays the Association with the population of 580 million, total GDP of \$1.5 trillion, foreign trade of \$1.7 trillion and a developed system of free trade areas with key economic partners has actually established itself as a strong center of gravity for the region [9].

It is the ASEAN format that enables Southeast Asian countries to efficiently protect their common interests and conduct dialogue with international partners on an equal footing. The Association acts as a core element for such influential mechanisms as the ASEAN Regional

Forum (ARF), the Asia-Europe Meetings (ASEM), ASEAN plus 3 (China, Republic of Korea and Japan), and East Asia Summits (ASEAN plus China, the Republic of Korea, Japan, India, Australia and New Zealand) [10].

Nowadays ASEAN is facing the task of searching for a new identity in the emerging multi-polar world and consolidating its role in regional integration processes as new power centers emerge in the Asia-Pacific. In this regard the entry into force of the ASEAN Charter in 2008 and the goal of building up a highly integrated ASEAN Community by 2015 turn up to be very significant for the Association.

Moving forward the Russia-ASEAN dialogue partnership is a priority of our policy in the Asia-Pacific. This is our deliberate line free from situational fluctuations. We have made together a long way for almost 15 years since Russia established the relations of dialogue partnership with ASEAN. But it had all begun much earlier; links between ASEAN countries root deeply in history.

The new Russia is building its relations with the countries of Southeast Asia on a fundamentally different, ideology-free basis. As a vivid evidence of that Russia acquired official status of full-fledged Dialogue Partner of ASEAN in 1996. The positive achievements in our relations include the Joint Declaration on Partnership for Peace and Security, and Prosperity and Development in the Asia-Pacific, the Joint Declaration on Progressive and Comprehensive Partnership, the Comprehensive Program of Action to Promote Cooperation for 2005-2015, the Agreement on Economic and Development Cooperation, and other documents [11].

The structure of the Russia-ASEAN dialogue partnership mechanisms has been actively expanding. At present it comprises annual Ministerial Conferences of Russia and ASEAN Member States, Senior Officials' Meetings (at the Deputy Foreign Ministers level), Senior Economic Officials' Meetings and Senior Officials' Meetings on Energy, Russia-ASEAN working groups on trade and economy cooperation, on science and technology cooperation and on counter terrorism and transnational crime. The principal bodies coordinating practical interaction are the Joint Cooperation Committee and the Joint Planning and Management Committee. The First Russia-ASEAN Summit in Kuala Lumpur on 13 December 2005 was a landmark event in our relations with the Association. That meeting defined the priority areas of our interaction and kick-started practical work on a broad range of issues [12].

It should be acknowledged that for various objective and subjective reasons Russia's economic cooperation with the Association had been for a long time mostly skin deep, and even today it fails to keep up with the pace of our political dialogue. The volume of the Russia-ASEAN trade, for instance, remains quite modest - about \$10 billion. But things are starting to change. No wonder – the potential of our collaboration is so vast that it is attracting the attention of both governments and business communities.

A fundamentally important step in fostering practical interaction was the establishment of the Russia-ASEAN Dialogue Partnership Financial Fund to which we contributed \$1.75 million in 2007-2009. The amount is not big, especially in comparison to the multi-million ASEAN cooperation funds set up by China, Japan, India and other dialogue partners. Still, it has allowed us to start cooperation projects at the governmental level. Joint activities in the spheres of renewable energy, small and medium enterprises, Russian language learning, tourism and health care have already been implemented. Project proposals in the area of disaster management and

modern biotechnologies are on the way. One of our main tasks in the short term is to move on from single projects to larger-scale, long-term, and mutually beneficial cooperation in sectors of mutual interest [13].

4. RUSSIA'S SEARCH FOR INFLUENCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE COOPERATION WITH ASEAN COUNTRIES.

The cooperation of Russia and Southeast Asia continue for a long time in shape development of the relation in structure of stability and safety, economic, and also social and cultural cooperation. Attraction with an ASEAN is the main cooperation in development of the Russian foreign policy presently because the ASEAN is “a backbone element of a regional order” [11], which main role in the Pacific Rim and Southeast Asia which satisfies the developing requirements of the Russian foreign policy in relation to Asia which represent the interests in many countries in the world. It is possible to presented that an ASEAN - one of the most influential regional organizations in Southeast Asia.

The form of the ASEAN organization allows the countries of Southeast Asia to advocate effectively the collective interests, to conduct equal dialogue with the international partners. The association acts as some kind of kernel of such influential associations including, the Regional forum of an ASEAN on safety (HARPS), the forum “Asia - Europe” (ASEM), ACEAH+3 mechanisms, an ASEAN of +6, ASEAN+8 and East Asian summits, etc [14].

The ASEAN is created today by a task of new identity in the appearing multipolar world and unites the role in regional process of integration of emergence of the new centers of the power in the Pacific Rim. In this respect, for tens very important purchased entry into force in the Charter of ASEAN 2007 and creations of a task in highly integrated Community ASEAN 2015. Especially development of a cooperation of dialogue with an ASEAN and Russia which one of priorities of the Russian policy in the Pacific Rim and Southeast Asia.

4.1 Cooperation of Russia and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The political relations between Russia and ASEAN ascend to 1991 when the deputy prime minister of Russia visited opening of the 24th a meeting of ministers of the countries of ASEAN (AMM) in Indonesia. Since 1996, Russia was a full-fledged official partner of an ASEAN. List of agreements and agreements quite impressive: The mutual declaration about partnership in the world and safety, and also prosperity and development in the Pacific Rim of 2003, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, the Mutual declaration Russia ASEAN about a cooperation in fight against the international terrorism of 2004, Jakarta, Indonesia and when on the first the summit of Russia ASEAN it was carried out by participation of the president Vladimir Putin in 2005, in Indonesia. They were solved many important documents:

- The declarations on comprehensive partnership between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and Russia.
- The Agreement on a cooperation in economy and development; The Comprehensive action program to promote a cooperation between Russia and an ASEAN for 2005-2015.

On the second ASEAN summit in October, 2010 when the president Dmitry Medvedev visited Vietnam for creation of policy within safety and a cooperation in the Pacific Rim and the strategy of development of dialogue of Russia ASEAN and they also created fixed mechanisms of partnership include:

- Joint committee on a cooperation;
- The charter the planning and managing committee;
- A working group on trade and economic cooperation;
- A working group on a cooperation in science and technology;
- The Moscow Committee of an ASEAN, inclusion from all ambassadors of the countries of an ASEAN in Russia [15].

In 2011 celebrates fifteen years of partnership of dialogue of ASEAN Russia. Russia - today the self-assured actor on the international scene. The ASEAN meanwhile is now in process of creation of Community ASEAN by 2015 consists of three pillars, namely: communities of political safety of an ASEAN, economic community ASEAN and welfare community ASEAN.

Russia is ready to accept a new role in a cooperation of an ASEAN. The proceeding liability of Russia with an ASEAN and its state members reflects open and balanced approach of foreign policy in case of V. Putin and D. Medvedev. This pragmatic and not ideological, the main on economic and trade opportunities, and aimed at creation of the favorable external environment to keep internal development of Russia and to enlarge its international image. The ASEAN and its state members meanwhile welcome partnership of ASEAN Russia as it helps to keep area open, and allows them to enjoy force of Russia in areas of high technology, chemical handling and products, an energy resource and richness of minerals and productions.

Russia and ASEAN already work such mechanisms of dialogue as:

- Joint Committee of a Cooperation (JCC);
- Joint Planned and Administrative Committee (JPAC);
- Working group on a trade and economic cooperation;
- Working group SKS on scientific technologically cooperation;
- Fund of a cooperation Russia ASEAN for financing of joint projects;
- Institute of regular meetings of the senior officials (at the level of deputy ministers of foreign affairs) on political affairs;
- Regular meetings of a management the MFA of Russia with members of the Moscow Committee of an ASEAN (MCA) uniting the ASEAN ambassadors in the Russian Federation;

Besides, Russia participated at a conference made the decision to develop “road map” on implementation of the Agreement on cooperation in the field of economy and development and the Comprehensive program of actions for 2005-2015 [16].

Russia and the Southeast Asian countries confirmed their arrangement again to deepen and develop mutually beneficial cooperation which is an important factor in creation of the safe and stable relations of architecture in Asia. So, the second half of the twentieth century noted by emergence of the Southeast Asian countries to one of their successful regional integration – an ASEAN. This political, economic and cultural regional interstate organization unites the countries which are located in Southeast Asia. Even, it is an element of regional and global political architecture of development in Southeast Asia at the present stage.

The interaction with Russia concerning political development is one of the important directions of a cooperation of an ASEAN with other states. Within an ASEAN in the sphere of safety and stability the direction of cooperation is oriented on a basis to fight against terrorism, extremism and separatism, at the same time, can develop on a situation. Now in the field the ASEAN determined three important points: fight against terrorism, drugs and transnational organized crime. Moreover, Russia plays a role in a political framework because the Concept of foreign policy of Russia attaches great value to a relationship with Asia-Pacific structures of multilateral diplomacy in international the state, such the image, The ASEAN - one of priorities of Russia policy in the Pacific Rim and Southeast Asia.

4.2 The relation between Russia and the countries in Southeast Asia in international to the arena: efficiency and results of cooperation.

After the collapse of the USSR, Russia constantly tried to represent itself as "the Euroasian power", and also its participation in the regional organizations, especially, by ASEAN which was important the organizations for Russia. The ASEAN is the main political instrument in Asia-Pacific division into districts through its leading role in forming of regional institutions, such as the Regional forum of ASEAN (HARPS), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and participation in the East Asian summit [17] .

For Russia, its role and the place in Southeast Asia shows the Russian participation in such forums reflected regional recognition of importance of Russia and the status of the great power. For example, when Russia was lifted to the complete status of the partner in dialogue of an ASEAN in 1996, the Russian diplomats considered it as recognition of an ASEAN of a significant role of Russia in the Pacific Rim, full value of its presence in Southeast Asia and need of its participation in regional political and economic structures and for Southeast Asian affairs is wider.

For the countries of an ASEAN, Russia was noticed as main "balance of power" [18] to another of the regional power which was approved well with desire of Russia of regional acceptance and a bigger role. on the other hand, Russia participates in an ASEAN wasn't only a problem of receipt of regional acceptance, but also and authentic assessment of potential of the Forum to support regional security which was important for Russia also [19].

A variety of an ASEAN presented to Russia variable points of entry through which the Russian influence can be designed and expanded. The traditional proximity of Russia with new members of ASEAN opened new "window" for Russia to approve its influence in this organization and in Southeast Asia. Despite some major steps forward, especially on the political politician, besides, Russia wants to develop economic policy with an ASEAN and continues to undermine implementation of influence of Russia in Southeast Asia.

Strategic politicians of the president of Russia, Vladimir Putin, to Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim usually proceeded Dmitry Medvedev with considerable success in 2010 when Russia was invited to join at a meeting Asia-Europe and participated in the second Summit of ASEAN Russia in October, 2010. Many members at a meeting Asia-Europe would help to show a unique role of Russia between Europe and Asia which Russia tried to play for a long time.

Besides, now Russia shall be concentrated on a research and creation of the correct opportunities for more essential trade and investments, and also improvements of a cooperation in energy as the large player in Southeast Asia and Asia-Pacific the region.

Development of a cooperation of Russia in Southeast Asia infringes on interests of the world in wider structure for a cooperation in political and economic to the sphere. Southeast Asia became the largest center of foreign powers which are interested in creation of a stable and the flared markets and energy weapon and political balance between the states of China and USA. In such way, Russia will try to have a role in this region and will protect national interests of Russia and including implementation of the Russian foreign policy in relation to Asia to play a large role in Asia-Pacific the region in the future [20].

5. THE NEW STAGE IN RELATIONS: PERSPECTIVE AND INTERESTS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

The prospect of Russia in Southeast Asia will develop in the 21st century. The key factors determining harmony of these relations is national interest from Russia and national interest of each of members of ASEAN, perception that each party has other and mutual trust constructed by means of collateral actions in various areas.

Russia developed cooperation in technology; both creation of a capability of society and Russia also offers the additional help to Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam. Russia will continue by an important part of the liability of an ASEAN with the leading powers, including the USA and the People's Republic of China. The cooperation of ASEAN Russia shall be structured, thus, readiness of Russia for closer dialogue and development of joint approaches to cross-border problems and the regional priority stand in its advantage. It will also make for more structured partnership in agreement performance about a cooperation of ASEAN Russia.

Besides, the Countries of Southeast Asia play the leading role in the new alignment of forces developing there. Therefore the shift of focus of the Russian foreign policy in partnerships in the region - at least, in that part which assumes development of such strategic areas as a military and technical cooperation, nuclear power, space and nanotechnologies - a tendency quite natural. It is necessary to carry to number of such countries: Indonesia, Malaysia and, to a lesser extent, Thailand, especially Vietnam, it was over the past few years beaten out in number of key partners of Russia in the region of Southeast Asia [21]. It became possible thanks to a dense cooperation of two countries in such major areas as a military and technical cooperation and nuclear power. At the same time there are also prospects for further development; in a case with SEA is a further development of naval infrastructure, acquisition of anti-aircraft weapons by the Vietnamese side. So, the military and technical cooperation traditionally is strength of the Russian foreign policy [22]. Russia continues to hold a position of the second country in the world on amounts of military export and within VTS with the countries of the region of Southeast Asia tries to make use of the accumulated experience, communications and reputation, including for deduction of former amounts of military export which, in turn, is the important budget item of Russia. Thus, Russia will protect the national interests in Southeast Asia as “a window of opportunities” [23] to unite with the Pacific Rim on the global arena in the future.

6. CONCLUSION

The ASEAN is political, economic and cultural Regional Intergovernmental Organization, unites the countries located in Southeast Asia. Directly forming states were Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Philippines. Joined Brunei later - Darussalam (1984, after independence finding), Vietnam, (1995), Laos and Myanmar (1997), Cambodia (1999). The total area occupied by the countries of an ASEAN is equal to 4,5 mln sq.km of c the population in 570 million persons. Members of Association speak 14 official languages, practise, at least, 7 religions [24].

The concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation it was concentrated on a construction in the whole development of the country to stability and globalization in the political and economic sphere. In case of the president Vladimir Putin considers that, foreign policy - one of the most important tools to guarantee sustainable development of the country and to guarantee its competitiveness in the modern world. Foreign policy priorities of Russia it is concentrated on everyone the region in the world. As the foreign policy in case of the government of the president Vladimir Putin plans to develop Siberia and the Far East of Russia which have rich natural resources and importance for Russia. Russia aims to economic development in the region of Siberia. Moreover, Russia considers the mechanism the Summit of the countries of East Asia as the main platform for strategic dialogue between leaders in key problems of stability and safety. Thus, the new priorities of the Russian foreign policy in the region as the Pacific Rim and the Southeast Asia (SA) which represent the greatest interests and are considered the most dynamically developing geopolitical space and is considered as future center of worldwide policy and economy.

Southeast Asia is an important part in geopolitics of the Pacific Rim which becomes the significant center regional and international the relation. Now Southeast Asia represents the interests on the international scene. Russia was also concentrated on big threat and national interests in SEA in a political cooperation in the form of stability and safety and economic development through main the ASEAN organizations.

When Russia considers the place and a role of SEA which are important on the world scene therefore Russia wants to develop the relation with SEA to have influence in political the framework to stability and security, development of armed forces, trade in arms and energy and also development of society and culture. Russia considers that SEA- “window of opportunities”, leads to presence in the Pacific Rim and and the world scene through main the ASEAN organizations.

Therefore in the 21st century, Russia considered important to emphasize that the Russian national interests in SEA within safety and the new military structure in this region will be created. Russia declared that multi-polarity was one of the basic principles of its foreign policy, to protect national interests of Russia. Carrying out his politicians by the principles of multi-polarity helped Russia not only to advance the former friends in SEA but also and to modernize the relations with such important regional actors as the People's Republic of China and Japan. Specifics of national interests of the Russian Federation in Southeast Asia

Moreover, the expansion of institutional base of a partnership between Russia and ASEAN in the form of the summits with participation of Heads of States and Governments. The expansion of a role of Russia in SEA to make Russia more considerable partner for the states of an ASEAN, especially interaction of Russia and the states of Southeast Asia concerning stability

and safety such as participation of Russia in activities of the Regional forum of ASEAN (HARPS), the Meeting of Ministers of Defense (MMD) of ACEAH+8, the Mutual declaration about partnership in a cause of peace and safety and the mutual declaration Russian Federation and ASEAN about a cooperation in fight against the international terrorism.

At the present time, the development of a cooperation of Russia in Southeast Asia infringes on interests of the world in wider structure for the cooperation in political and economic to the sphere. Southeast Asia became the largest center of foreign powers such as the USA, the People's Republic of China, Japan, etc. They are interested in creation of a stable and the flared markets and energy weapon. Therefore, Russia will try to have influence in this region and will protect national interests of Russia and including implementation of the Russian foreign policy in relation to Asia to play a major role in Asia-Pacific the region and Southeast Asia in the future.

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