

Global Supply Chain Strategy in the Cooperation of Russia and Tajikistan in the Field of Security in the Early 21st Century

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Abstract— The article is devoted to the cooperation of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan in the sphere of security in the period from 2000 to 2017. It explores the relations of the two states in the political and military-technical spheres in the context of Eurasian integration processes. Some economic, cultural and humanitarian aspects of cooperation are also considered, complementing the security policy with elements of "soft power". Particular attention is paid to bilateral meetings and political decisions of the presidents of Russia and Tajikistan. In addition, the influence of the Afghan factor on the situation in Tajikistan is revealed and Russia's policy on its neutralization is disclosed to ensure regional security.

Keywords— *Foreign affairs, history, politics, Russia, Central Asia, Tajikistan, global supply chain, Afghanistan, international security, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, The Collective Security Treaty Organization.*

1. The Problem of Research

Tajikistan is the smallest and one of the poorest countries in Central Asia. According to Martha Brill Olcott, this is generally the poorest of all post-Soviet states[1]. In the CIS, Tajikistan is the most remote state from Russia, the only one to which it is necessary to get through the territories of the other two. However, it draws close attention of both Russian and the world community, because at the end of the XX century civil war erupted in it, and at the beginning of the 21st century it became the guide and source of a whole series of new challenges and threats to the security of both Central Asia and the Russian Federation. These are first of all, drug trafficking, illegal migration, terrorism and extremism of radical Islamists. In addition, the location of Tajikistan on the southern borders of the CIS, at the junction of Central Asia and the Middle East, the longest border with Afghanistan from all countries of the Commonwealth, and the high altitude location in the Pamir make it an important outpost for regional security. Therefore, one of the most important tasks of Russian policy in Central Asia is to stabilize the situation in Tajikistan and ensure its security. The article is devoted to the analysis of all these factors.

2. Global Supply Chain

The goal of the research is to identify the specific features of the Tajik vector of Russia's policy in Central Asia at the beginning of the 21st century, and outline ways to optimize it in order to stabilize the situation in the country, and ensure the security of both Tajikistan and the region as a whole.

3. Method

A systematic analysis of Russia's relations with Tajikistan, primarily in the political and military-technical spheres in the context of Eurasian integration processes was used. Particular attention is paid to bilateral meetings and political decisions of the presidents of Russia and Tajikistan, since, according to the constitutions of both states, the presidents are responsible for foreign policy and security. For a full analysis, the explored period is divided into four chronological stages with their own characteristic features.

4. Results

By the end of the 20th century, the political crisis in Tajikistan was largely overcome [2]. In 1999, after the regular election, Emomali Rahmonov became the president again. His powers were renewed from five to seven years according to the results of the referendum of the same year. The 2003 referendum allowed him to be re-elected for another two seven-year terms[3-5]. It was important to ensure the country's stability and the possibility of peaceful development, what became a systemic task for Russia at the beginning of the 21st century. In the 1990s, the contractual base for international cooperation between Russia and Tajikistan was basically formed, regulating practically all the key positions of their cooperation. During the explored period, in bilateral relations, they were guided by the Treaty on Allied Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan of April 16, 1999, oriented to the 21st century.

4.2 The first stage: 2000-2004

At this stage, Russia focused on political cooperation. This was due to two interrelated factors – the beginning of Eurasian integration processes and the situation in neighboring Afghanistan.

After the election of V.V. Putin as President of the Russian Federation in 2000, Russia set a course for Eurasian integration. Every year of the first stage brought a visual and tangible result. At this stage, Russia focused on political cooperation. This was due to two interrelated factors: the beginning of Eurasian integration processes and the situation in neighboring Afghanistan.

After the inauguration of V.V. Putin, both issues were regularly discussed at the Russian-Tajik summit meetings. The first of them took place on July 3-5, 2000, in Dushanbe at the summit of the "Shanghai Five" states [6], where the issue of transforming it into a full-fledged organization was decided. On October 10 of the same year in Astana, together with V. V. Putin, A.G. Lukashenko, N.A. Nazarbayev and A.A. Akayev, E.Sh. Rakhmonov signed an agreement on the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Community. In such manner he showed that he was ready for closer economic integration with Russia.

In April 2001, E.Sh. Rakhmonov paid a two-day working visit to Moscow. The main topic of the talks was the threat of aggravation of the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and the situation at the southern borders of the Commonwealth. Security and counteraction to terrorism threats were a focus of attention of Russia and Tajikistan and at the Presidents' meeting "on the margins" of the informal summit of CIS leaders in Sochi in August 2001. E.Sh. Rakhmonov discussed with V.V. Putin situation in Tajikistan, the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border, countering the threats of terrorism and attempts of drug dealers to use the territory of Tajikistan for their own purposes. On the Russian side, support was expressed for all the efforts of the Tajik leadership to ensure security[6-8].

Thus, despite the activity of the NATO countries, Tajikistan determined the course of its military-political cooperation to be aimed at Russia and CIS countries, which allowed strengthening the Eurasian integration tendencies and overcoming the cooling of Russian-Tajik relations. This was also evidenced by the solemn opening of a new building of the Russian Embassy in Dushanbe on November 2, 2002. In addition, the Russian Consulate General in Khujand functioned in the Republic[9].

At the end of January 2003, V.V. Putin and E.Sh. Rakhmonov met in Kiev at an informal CIS summit. The main theme of this bilateral meeting was drug trafficking from Afghanistan. V.V. Putin expressed himself in favour of the need to strengthen the coordination of the special services of the two countries. Discussion of this topic was continued

during the visit of V.V. Putin to Tajikistan on April 26, 2003.

A major role in this interaction was played by Russian border guards and servicemen of the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division, whom the Russian president met during the visit. At the end of the first stage, Russia began to transfer part of the weapons and equipment of the division to the army of Tajikistan to strengthen it. Also during this period, more than 500 future officers for the Tajik army were trained in Russian military schools. In addition, the Russian and Tajik armies took part in the joint command and staff exercises «Yuzhnyy shchit Sodruzhestva» every year during this period.

Thus, Russia's political and military-technical cooperation with Tajikistan developed with gathering force, which was an important factor of international security in the region.

4.3 The second stage: 2004-2008

On March 9, 2004, Sergey Lavrov was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, and five days later, on March 14, 2004, V.V. Putin was elected president for a second term. Thus, a new phase of Russia's policy in Central Asia in general and the development of its Tajikistan vector in particular began in March 2004.

During this period, Russia's political relations with Tajikistan were further intensified. In June 2004, E.Sh. Rakhmonov visited Russia. V.V. Putin met with him in Sochi, where they discussed key issues of Russian-Tajik cooperation in the military and border areas, as well as in protecting the border with Afghanistan. During this meeting, the Russian president said that Russia treated Tajikistan as its strategic partner and ally.

Despite this, there were some disagreements between the parties related to the protection of Tajikistan's borders and the status of Russian servicemen on its territory. At the same time, the leadership of the republic was under severe pressure from Western countries, who demanded a break or lowering of the level of cooperation with Russia. The meeting in Sochi helped to overcome certain difficulties accumulated in bilateral cooperation. According to the Russian ambassador in Tajikistan, "during the meeting, the leaders of the two countries reached a number of important agreements that will undoubtedly give a powerful and effective impetus to the course of our further integration"[10-12].

In addition, in January and May 2006, two working meetings of the presidents took place in St. Petersburg and Sochi. At a meeting in Sochi on May 26, 2006, V.V. Putin and E.Sh. Rakhmonov also paid special attention to the problem of protecting the southern borders of the CIS and

developing measures to stop drug trafficking from Afghanistan [13-20].

On October 5, 2007, on the sidelines of the meeting of the Council of CIS State Leaders in Dushanbe, another meeting was held, at which both military-political and energy security was discussed. Since at the end of 2007, because of unprecedented cold weather in Tajikistan, the economic situation sharply worsened, Russia responded to Tajikistan's requests for early start-up of the first stage of the Sanktudinskaya HPP-1. On January 20, 2008, the official ceremony of launching the first unit of a hydroelectric power station was held, to which Russia invested more than \$ 500 million [7, 21-26]. Thus, during this period, Russia managed to keep the situation in Tajikistan under control, assisting it both politico-military and economic, which allowed ensuring security on the southern borders of the CIS.

4.4 The third stage: 2008-2012 r

On March 3, 2008, Dmitry Medvedev was elected President of Russia, and on May 7 he took office. From this time a new stage of Russian policy towards Tajikistan begins. At the beginning of this stage there was a global financial crisis, which caused economic difficulties in Tajikistan.

The first meeting of D. A. Medvedev and E.Sh. Rahmon was held on June 7, 2008, in the fields of the St. Petersburg Economic Forum. However, a detailed discussion of further steps of cooperation was held on August 29, 2008, during the participation of D.A. Medvedev in the SCO summit in Dushanbe [27-30].

Priority attention was paid to the interaction in the hydropower sector, in particular, the construction of Sangtuda HPP-1. Less than a year after this, in May 2009, its construction was completed. And in July 2009, HPP was solemnly opened in the presence of D.A. Medvedev and E.Sh. Rakhmon, and became the largest hydroelectric power facility in Tajikistan, ensuring its energy security.

In the humanitarian sphere, the heads of States considered issues of interaction in the field of education. It was about opening branches of leading Russian Universities in Dushanbe [15, 31-35].

Simultaneously with the strengthening of the economic and cultural-humanitarian component, political steps to ensure security continued. So, on February 4, 2009, in Moscow, the leaders of the CSTO countries approved the creation of the Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF), which was planned to be used to repel military aggression, conduct special operations to combat international terrorism and extremism, transnational organized crime, drug trafficking, and for liquidation consequences of emergency situations [16].

In October 2009, during a state visit to Russia, E.Sh. Rahmon adopted a special statement by the

Presidents, which contained a decision to "strengthen cooperation in the military and military-technical fields in the interests of ensuring national and regional security" [19]. And during the official visit of D.A. Medvedev to Tajikistan in September 2011, the presidents not only confirmed the importance of further cooperation in the military and military-technical fields, but also noted the importance of such interaction as a security factor in Central Asia [20].

In addition, during this visit, in the presence of the presidents, a protocol was signed between the Federal Security Service of Russia and the State Committee for National Security of Tajikistan on cross-border cooperation.

Thus, despite the objective difficulties of the period, Russia and Tajikistan not only continued cooperation in the security sphere, but also supplemented it with elements of energy and cultural-humanitarian cooperation, which can be perceived as adding elements of "soft power" to the regional Russian policy aimed at ensuring security.

4.5 The fourth stage: 2012-2017

The fourth stage began on May 7, 2012, after the return of V.V. Putin to the presidency of the Russian Federation, and it continues to this day. The increased threats to the security of Central Asia in general and Tajikistan in particular during and after the withdrawal of coalition forces from Afghanistan in 2014 have become the main problem of this stage. In parallel, a strong destructive impact on Tajikistan was provided by radical Islamist organizations that launched full-scale fighting in the Middle East. Many citizens of the country accepted a commission of the organization, including the head of the Special Purpose Police Unit (OMON) of Tajikistan, Colonel Gulmurod Halimov. In addition, the period has been characterized by increased pressure on Russia from the United States and its NATO allies, which made it more difficult to operate.

In addition, during the October visit of V.V. Putin the other documents related to the security sphere also were signed, in particular, the Memorandum on Cooperation in the military field and the Agreement on assistance in the sphere of countering the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs, psychotropic substances and their precursors [36].

In 2013, V.V. Putin and E.Sh. Rakhmon met twice at the CSTO summits, on May 28 in Kyrgyzstan and on September 23, 2013, in Sochi. The main theme was the opposition to the challenges and threats coming from Afghanistan, as well as assistance to Tajikistan in strengthening the Tajik-Afghan border [22].

After this, Russia's assistance to various departments of Tajikistan dealing with security issues has increased. For example, on December 29, 2014, as a part of the implementation of the

Agreement on assistance to the Drug Control Agency under the President of Tajikistan, a ceremony was held to transfer vehicles, equipment, uniforms and equipment on behalf of the Federal Drug Control Service of the Russian Federation.

And at the CSTO summit in Tajikistan the situation in Afghanistan, where the militants of the so-called "Islamic state" active movement began to penetrate was called as the main problem. Meanwhile, near the borders of the states of the CIS, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan, by that time, two bridgeheads of Islamists were created. Therefore, the leaders of the organization have paid special attention to "problems of an effective response to the most urgent military and political challenges, including the intensification of terrorist and extremist groups to destabilize the situation in the CSTO borders» [27, 33, 34].

At the same time, radical Islamists of Tajikistan, on the eve of the summit, tried to complicate the government its organization as much as possible. Shortly before the event, and even during the meeting there were anti-government protests led by former Deputy Minister of Defense Abdukhalimov Nazarzoda, a member of the banned in August 2015 the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan.

On the morning of September 4, 2015, his supporters in Dushanbe and Vakhdat launched a series of attacks on Tajik police officers, during which nine policemen were killed. After that, General A. Nazarzoda and his closest ally, Colonel of the Tajik Ministry of Defense, Dzhunaydullo Umarov, with their supporters seized large quantities of weapons and ammunition in three military units and, after an unsuccessful attempt to capture the airport, disappeared in the Ramit gorge. Consequently, after the summit, the strengthening of Russian-Tajik cooperation in the field of security has become particularly relevant. Despite the few bilateral summits at the highest levels in 2016, there were, Russia promoted cooperation under difficult conditions of reduction of the economic ties. For example, Tajikistan's security issues were discussed at CSTO summits on October 14 in Yerevan and on December 29 in St. Petersburg. At the Yerevan summit the CSTO Collective Security Strategy was adopted for the period up to 2025 as well as the decision to strengthen the Tajik-Afghan border.

The last of the Russian-Tajik summits at the highest level of the period was held in the Sochi residence of V. V. Putin Bocharov Ruchei on October 10, 2017. It passed without the presence of the press, and her transcript was not published. However, the composition of the negotiators from the Russian side (Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, First Deputy Prime Minister, Chairman of the Russian part of the intergovernmental commission on economic cooperation between Russia and Tajikistan Igor Shuvalov, presidential aide Yuri Ushakov) [29-32] it is possible to assume that it was

a question both of questions of safety in the light of complication of a situation in Afghanistan, and about settlement of problems of economic character, and also about accession of Tajikistan to EAEU.

Despite the fact that the fourth stage has not finished yet, it can be stated that Russia's efforts aimed at preserving the security and stability of Tajikistan in the face of aggravation of many threats to regional security have been crowned with success.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

Summarizing all four stages in general, it can be noted that Russia's contribution to ensuring Tajikistan's security in the 21st century is very significant. During this time, Tajikistan has become an active participant in two integration associations actively working to ensure collective security in the region - the SCO and the CSTO. Practically every summit of these organizations specifically considered the security of Tajikistan, after which measures were taken to strengthen it.

However, to further intensify joint efforts in this direction, Tajikistan must be admitted to the Eurasian Economic Union. This will stabilize the social and economic situation in the republic, further bring Tajikistan closer to Russia and its allies and facilitate the provision of not only national but also regional security.

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