

# International Affairs: Summary №1, 2011



## Russia and India: A Decade of Strategic Partnership

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INDIA HAS ALWAYS BEEN and remains our country's reliable friend and promising partner.

Our strategic partnership involves not only an extremely high level of mutual trust, the compatibility of fundamental national interests, the coincidence of national development goals and tasks, and the similarity of approaches toward the majority of current issues, but also large-scale and diverse cooperation of a long-term nature. We believe that Russian-Indian relations have a special, privileged character, including active cooperation on international issues, intensive

trade and economic cooperation and diversified ties in many other areas. Over the past 10 years, more than 110 bilateral documents have been signed, regulating interaction between our countries in a very broad range.

Interstate cooperation as a key to the successful development of Russian-Indian relations.

We are pinning high hopes on President D.A. Medvedev's official visit to India scheduled for late December. Work is in progress to finalize an extensive set of Russian-Indian documents on a broad range of areas of bilateral cooperation that are to be signed during the course of that visit.

Annual summits are supplemented by an active dialogue between the two countries' security councils, foreign ministries and other ministries and government agencies.

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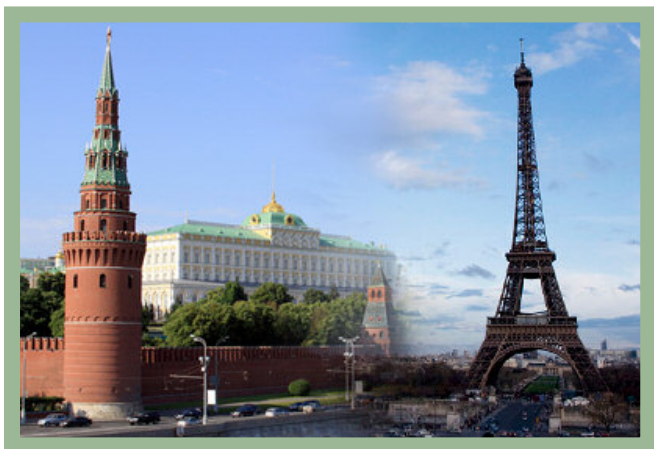
We give high priority to interaction with India within the Russia-India-China (RIC) format. This format features a unique stability due to the concurrence of the fundamental interests of the three large Eurasian powers and their focus on active coordination of action in the interest of promoting multilateral elements in international affairs.

India is interested in joining the activity of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) where it currently has observer status. We would welcome its admission to the organization as a full-fledged member.

Russian-Indian cooperation priorities include the intensification of anti-terrorism efforts. We remember very well the barbarous terrorist attack on Mumbai in November 2008 that took a heavy toll on human lives.

TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION is the most important component of Russian-Indian partnership. Russia and India have everything that is needed to further expand their economic ties.

## International Roundtable "Russia and France: A New Quality of Relations"



FRANCE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A SPECIAL COUNTRY for Russia. French philosophers and thinkers have agitated the minds of Russian intellectuals. After the "cursed days " France became a repository of Russian spirituality. Our countries have passed through the two most devastating wars of the 20th century fighting against a common enemy.

Needless to say there were also other times - the Russian-French confrontation. But they only confirm the constant, invariable element in the evolution of our relations. The year 2010 was declared The Russia-France, France-Russia Year. As part of this major interstate program, the International Affairs magazine, in conjunction with the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation, conducted a Russian-French roundtable entitled "Russia and France: A New Quality of Relations. "

The French guests were received by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister A. V. Grushko. Matters of mutual interest were brought up during the meeting. In the guests ' opinion, the perception of modern Russia in France is distorted by the ingrained stereotypes that developed in the 1990s following the breakup of the Soviet Union. The Russian side heard proposals from persons concerned about the possible ways of rectifying the situation now prevailing.

The participants in the Russian-French roundtable came up with the initiative to continue the practice of such discussions on a regular basis. To this end they proposed establishing an informal club sponsored by International Affairs. This club will consist of public and government figures from European countries, as well as scholars, political analysts and journalists, and will be called "Vstrechnoe dvizhenie " (movement toward each other).

## The War in Afghanistan: How Long Will It Last?

*Author: Armen Oganessian*

*Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs*



IN HIS NOBEL PRIZE SPEECH in Oslo, President Obama called on the world to contemplate possible repercussions of America's defeat in Afghanistan if Washington was left on its own. His country, however, is not alone: it acts together with its NATO allies and is supported by Russia and some regional countries. The mere sizing up of the forces of the Taliban and the U.S.-headed counterterrorist coalition brings to mind Ivan Krylov's fable about the Elephant and the Pug. Today, after nine

years of fighting, the main goal - exclusion of a possibility of terrorist attacks in the United States and other regions from the Afghan territory - remains as distant as ever. Again, we are witnessing the shocking impotence of force.

The operation in Afghanistan has been recognized as a historic mistake made by the Kremlin; it was at that time also that Washington made its historic mistake by allying with the most radical Islamist sects. Today "the international community should fight them."

There is an opinion that in Afghanistan the United States repeats Soviet errors. This is not completely true, or rather, this is completely wrong. Americans are making their own mistakes, many of them rooted in their past collaboration with the Taliban; so far, they have not left this road.

The second mistake: many Russian and European experts rightly believe that the armed extremists in Afghanistan cannot be defeated without an effective opposition to drug production, which has increased 40 times over since the beginning of the counterterrorist operation.

The joint Russian-NATO raid, which destroyed two heroin labs, helped set up a mechanism of cooperation in field conditions.

Determined and uncompromising anti-drug operations do much more than deprive terrorists of money: they split the Taliban from inside and, most important, improve the country's economic and political health.

The third mistake: brainstorming is an amazing American invention; in some cases, however, they are advisable when the fortress has been captured. The fortress "Taliban" has not been destroyed; according to European experts "the armed groups have achieved unprecedented might" which complicates negotiations.

Afghanistan is called the "graveyard of empires"; today it has moved beyond this description to become a graveyard of hundreds of thousands of people, shattered hopes and lives all over the world. The number of those who died of Afghan narcotics is much greater than the number of those who perished in terrorist attacks, including the 09/11 tragedy.

## Quo Vadis, NATO? A Glance from Lisbon

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WHERE IS NATO going? Recently the question has moved to the center of attention of the analytical, academic and diplomatic communities in Russia and abroad. The Portuguese are as concerned as the rest of the world. Indeed, the disappearance of the Soviet Union left its ideological adversary, the North Atlantic Alliance, a Cold War product, at a crossroads.

It turned up at the dawn of the 21st century: 09/11 was followed by new challenges and threats,

a life-buoy for NATO. On 20 November 2010, the NATO leaders headed by Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen who gathered in Lisbon confirmed their resolution to fight the new threats and challenges - international terrorism, proliferation of WMD and missile technologies, piracy, cyberattacks, drug trafficking and natural calamities. They adopted a new Strategic Concept which said that it "will guide the next phase in NATO's evolution, so that it continues to be effective in a changing world, against new threats, with new capabilities and new partners." The allies could not stop at theories; they needed practical confirmation that the course they had chosen was a correct and realistic one. Very much as usual, the Americans moved forward with a stunning initiative of an MD umbrella for the NATO countries to protect them against the attacks from the East.

Today, it seems that Russia has been offered a restricted role of a supplier of MD-related data about hostile missile launches without the right to intercept them.

Russia's consent to attend the Lisbon NRC Summit was of fundamental importance for NATO: Russia gave the "green light" to a qualitatively new stage of its cooperation with the Alliance. The fact that true strategic partnership was seen as a goal to be achieved merely confirms the fact that so far this cooperation can hardly be described as strategic. Indeed, the NRC failed to meet because of an opposition of "one state" at the critical moment of Georgia's aggression against South Ossetia followed by NATO-initiated "freezing" of cooperation with Russia.

Russia had repeatedly invited to NATO-CSTO cooperation on both sides of the border; it had relied on positive experience of the CSTO-led anti-narcotics Operation Channel in the border areas of Afghanistan. Recently, Russia was finally heard: late in October 2010, Russia and the United States working together with ISAF and the Afghan army carried out the first joint operation in the course of which they liquidated four drug labs and 932 kg of heroin. Indeed, better late, than never.

It has become clear that multisided cooperation with Russia is the only guarantee that the Lisbon Strategic Concept can be realized in the part dealing with new challenges and threats.

## OSCE: The Military-Political Dimension, Status, Trends

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THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, on August 1, 1975, the famous Helsinki agreements on security and cooperation in Europe were signed, ushering in a new era of cooperation between the European countries with different social systems. In particular, the text of the Helsinki Final Act incorporated documents on advance notice of major military exercises and other confidence-building measures, which subsequently played a key role in the evolution of the European

security system.

The idea of collective security for Europe, which the Soviet Union had put forward at the end of World War II, at first appealed neither to the United States nor to Western Europe.

Many Russian politicians, diplomats and experts regard the European security pact initiative as the continuation of the Helsinki process and the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

There was a mixed reaction from CSCE participating States to the confidence-building measures and principles of relations between States that were recorded in the Helsinki Act. According to Russian expert A. Zagorsky, the West mainly expressed satisfaction in connection with the human rights accords, attaching less importance to trade, science and technology cooperation, as well as principles of non-intervention, sovereign equality and the inviolability of frontiers.<sup>2</sup>

The Vienna meeting of foreign ministers from 35 CSCE member states (1986-89) expanded the format of the Stockholm accords, especially on confidence-building and military security measures, as well as on the limitation of conventional forces in Europe (the so-called Group 23 negotiations) and on the Open Skies Treaty.

THE YEAR 1991 was marked by a large number of landmark military-political changes in Europe.

At the same time, the importance of the CSCE during that era, crucial for European history, had obviously grown, as was evident from the substantial increase in the number of participating States.

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## Twenty Years of German Unity

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The 20-year time span in the history of Russia and Germany - two countries that have been shaken, to a greater degree than other countries, by the effects of contrasting and large-scale crises of their state systems - makes one accept the fact that the processes of globalization largely accelerate historical processes.

The unification of the FRG with the GDR 20 years ago is unquestionably an epoch-making event of the past century. In the first place, the signing and the coming into effect of the treaty on the final settlement

with regard to Germany (an analogue of a peace treaty) closed the books on the so-called "German issue" which in many of its aspects - elimination of the military threat from German soil, the recognition of inalterability of territorial changes on the European continent under international law, the construction of an entirely new security architecture in Europe - was having the most immediate effect on the state of affairs in Europe and the rest of the world for more than four decades. Solving this issue under the new historical conditions took a mere seven months.

In the second place, there took place a reunification of the German nation which for 45 years, to put it bluntly, existed in an unnatural divided state which harbored a considerable potential of conflict.

The unification of Germany has radically changed the foundations of its internal politics. There is an ongoing painful process of coalescing the two parts of a nation that was divided not long ago.

The "critical assessment of the past," however, has the reverse side. Thousands of East Germans, most of whom are honest and decent, lost their jobs during the purges without the right to being reinstated and denied pensions only because they had worked for "the system."

West German society would not get them integrated. Question: is this fair in conditions of democracy and social justice?

Furthermore, German experts see Russia as a highly important connecting link and a keystone to successfully entering the markets of the former Soviet Union. This is why the Federal Republic is setting itself a two-pronged politico-economic task to facilitate the building of the Russian economy into the European economic area as a component part of the strong future European security architecture.

## Turkey: New Policies in the Middle East

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THE CHANGES of the late 20th century and the more recent geopolitical shifts have offered new possibilities and broadened the prospects of trade and economic cooperation with Turkey (which was out of the Middle East after World War I) as the most important factor behind these developments. There is a widely accepted opinion that Ankara's policies (which the Turkish leaders compare with Ottoman policies 2) are changing the balance of regional forces which are thus inspired to seek additional measures to strengthen regional confidence and push forward the relations across the Arabic Muslim world.

Turkey's regional political initiatives of the last couple of years are well-known: looking for the ways to address the Iranian nuclear file; brokerage between Syria and Israel; a dialogue with HAMAS; active involvement in the Iraqi and Libyan developments, etc.

A poor and backward country in the 1970s pestered with numerous grave social ills, Turkey has become one of the most dynamically developing states with the GDP moving fast toward \$1 trillion.

In the last decade, Turkey demonstrated impressive progress in its relations with the Arab countries of the Middle East and Iran.

An analysis of trade and economic ties reveals that the bulk of the money comes from large projects rather than trade.

The strategic nature of Turkey's involvement in the Middle East and Ankara's multivectoral efforts to consolidate its position at the crossroads of Europe and the Arab-Muslim world are conducive to a new geopolitical reality in the system of international relations.

There is another important, or even central, aspect of Turkey's trade and monetary strategy: it moves to the untapped markets with high military-political risks.

THERE ARE ENOUGH INDICATIONS that Turkey does not limit itself to bilateral dividends; it is out for a much wider cooperation with the region. The Turkish leaders moved fast from impromptu and declarations to the press to concrete steps; they described an economic alliance of the Middle East as their aim.



## Russia and Saudi Arabia: Twenty Years of Renewed Relations

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SEPTEMBER 17, 2010 marks 20 years of the reopening of the diplomatic missions of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) and the Russian Federation (RF) on the ambassadorial level. People in today's Saudi Arabia still remember and value the fact that the Soviet Union was the first country to recognize in 1926 what was at then the Kingdom of Nejd and Hejaz. The foundations of business cooperation were laid in those distant times.

Improvements in the Russian-Saudi relations became especially discernible at the start of the new millennium. They were hastened by the serious changes in the international arena and the emerging common challenges and threats to which both countries had to find responses.

Changes also began in the economy. In the early 2000s, Saudi Arabia made a decision that Russian oil and gas companies could take part in tenders for developing oil and gas fields in the Kingdom.

A real positive movement in Russian-Saudi relations, however, actually began in 2005. It was made possible through contacts at the highest state level when, in September 2003, King of Saudi Arabia Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al Saud (Crown Prince at that time) paid a visit to Moscow.

Admittedly, much of the credit for creating the favorable climate for expanding Russian-Saudi relations also goes to King of Saudi Arabia Abdullah bin Abdulaziz, Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques. He is clearly one of the most dynamic Arab leaders who leads his country along the path of progress and prosperity.

We can speak with confidence today about the coincidence or closeness of the positions of Russia and Saudi Arabia on a majority of international and regional issues like proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, drug trafficking, conflicts in the Middle East and in other regions of the world.

Russia and Saudi Arabia cooperate with other major nations in coping with the aftermath of the world financial and economic crisis and rely on G20 as the principal mechanism for harmonizing their approaches to global macroeconomic issues, reform the international financial architecture and raise the efficiency of regulating the financial sector.

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When the Cold War ended, adversaries of not long ago began turning to the Association, and they were not spurned at all. In 1995, Vietnam became full member of ASEAN with Laos and Myanmar following suit in 1997. When Cambodia joined in 1999, ASEAN had ten members thus fulfilling the dream of its founding fathers of full regional unity.

WITHOUT A DOUBT, the countries of Eastern Indochina and Myanmar, which were ASEAN members in the 1990s, were impressed by the principles of sovereign equality, mutual respect and noninterference in internal af-

airs proclaimed in the fundamental documents of the Association. At the time of admitting new members, no one asked anyone to get their politics in line with a certain common standard, divided the regimes into more or less acceptable with regard to the observance of human rights, or insisted on accelerated democratization.

The first test for the ten-member Association was the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997-1998. Many analysts hastened to claim that ASEAN solidarity had failed and predicted its disbandment. The Big Ten, in the meantime rallied and, without assistance from their powerful neighbors in the northeast - China, Japan and South Korea, - extricated themselves from the financial turmoil.

It was proposed that the next step would be the adoption of an ASEAN Charter to make for a more consistent albeit cautious (as is the way in Asia) progress towards regional integration while keeping in mind the experience of the European Union, but not copying it blindly. As consultations began on a draft of the Charter, differences of opinion, however, emerged between the association's old-timers and newcomers. THE ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is supposed to take definite shape by 2015.

The task before Russia and ASEAN today and in the years to come is to promote commercial and economic relations under the Comprehensive Program of Action to Promote Cooperation for 2005-2015.

## Russia and Israel: Strategic Partners that Sing the Same Folk Songs

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After I was appointed Israel's ambassador to Russia, since I am not a career diplomat, I took a special course of training. At the end of the course each of us was to present his vision of the mission he is to perform. And it was not an easy task. Because our world is changing. Times are changing. Countries to which diplomats are sent are changing.

Everything that happens between our countries is a process. Twenty years of diplomatic relations is a symbolic figure, a period of time that has borne fruit. It seems to me that it took Russia and Israel a great deal of patience in moving along this path. Over the past several years the relations between our countries have consolidated considerably. And it seems to me, the fact that they speak the same language with the Russian leadership has played a significant role because communication at the level of dialogue, in my understanding, is the most important thing that can be achieved in relations between countries.

As for the Israeli establishment's attitude to Russia, I believe that the integration of immigrants from the Soviet Union into our political and public life led to the growing realization of the importance of cooperation between Russia and Israel.

I think that the agreement on the lifting of guest and tourist visa requirements that was signed in 2008 is one of the greatest achievements in our relations.

A good example of successful bilateral ties is the meeting of a Russian-Israeli intergovernmental commission and the business forum, which took place in Israel recently. A large group of representatives of the Russian political establishment and business community visited Israel and studied our achievements in different fields, from agriculture to space.

At the end of our conversation I would also like to talk about the cultural legacy that unites our peoples. This is linked not only to the language but primarily culture. Russian immigrants have created a layer of Israeli culture, Israeli songs that are based on Russian folk songs. It is a striking phenomenon that amazes all Russian-speaking people who come to Israel and who are familiar with Russian folklore.

## Russia-Ukraine: There Are no Easy Ways yet...

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*Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs*



The ice is breaking after all, to borrow a quote from a classic while the "jurors" of the Russian-Ukrainian relations having safely landed in the Crimea began their preparations for a conference organized by the International Affairs journal with the support of the Foreign Ministry of Russia.

The conference level was high and the range of problems to be discussed

wide and varied. The first session was invited to discuss the priority and resources of the new Russia-Ukraine relationships; the second was expected to put the new policy into the context of the Russia-Ukraine-EU triangle; the third was confronted with the eternal question: Russia-Ukraine: a dialogue of cultures or a common cultural expanse? Seen from Europe and the United States, Ukraine, outside the context of its relations with Russia, does not look as a political goal on its own right.

For Russia and Ukraine, on the other hand, their relations are much more than politics: closely related to the question of East Slavic civilization and self-identity they disprove Brzezinski's narrow pragmatic: "Without Ukraine Russia ceases to be an empire." Indeed, the questions of their self-identities are closely related and cannot be resolved separately.

Our homespun economic egoism, which rarely sees beyond its nose, plays into the hands of those political technologists in the West who want nothing more than to bury the friendship between Russian and Ukrainian peoples. Both the Ukrainian and Russian delegations at the conference agreed that this issue required political will.

We were ashamed to learn from Vladimir Kazarin that the Black Sea Fleet of the Russian Federation had the largest wage arrears in Sevastopol and the largest debt to the Pension Fund of Sevastopol; there had been hunger strikes. The city, said he, had been very much disturbed and disappointed with the news about the planned large-scale reduction of the number of officers: no wonder, the Black Sea Fleet is the heart and soul of Sevastopol and our common glorious past.

To paraphrase Leo Tolstoy, successful conferences are all successful alike... yet this time many of the conference participants detected new and unexpected things.

## Reforming the Bundeswehr

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Renovation, optimization and modernization are processes that must be taking place constantly in the system of armed forces, otherwise this system is doomed to stagnation and lagging behind which is difficult and costly to end. Germany is currently trying to make up for precisely this kind of lagging behind.

The discussion about the need to reform the armed forces and optimize their employment has been on in the FRG for several years now and it is being periodically spurred on thanks to the close attention shown by the political, expert and public quarters to the involvement of German soldiers in combat missions in Afghanistan and spikes in pirate activity off the coast

of Somalia.

It stands to reason that it is not a case of any "imperial ambitions," militarization and other fears usually associated with Germany. Theoretical foundations of similar discussions are simple and common knowledge.

The bi-polar order has been replaced with the idea of today's multi-polar world. Its further evolution is not driven by confrontation between two precisely defined poles, but by centralization and relatively free competition between the motive forces.

The process of globalization erodes the former borders or makes them transparent through advances in information and communications technology which compress time and space. The essential resources - economic, material-technical and innovation - used to be owned exclusively by the superpowers - are now becoming accessible to new players.

The political and military quarters give a very tough assessment of the present state of the Bundeswehr, describing it as a cumbersome system with fragmented spheres of responsibility.

Most countries today find it to be a better plan to realize their interests using political and economic rather than military methods.

Cosmetic changes would not do. In order to end the lag, it is necessary to change the initial concept.

There should be changes made to the organizational structure of the German military.

This is a formidable task. To cope with it would take, in addition to detailed analysis of contemporary threats to national security, due regard to economic, social and demographic factors and also the political will and certain daring. Members of today's government led by Angela Merkel have all these things. Time will show how they are going to use them.

## Russia-Kazakhstan: Cross-Border and Interregional Cooperation

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TODAY IT IS COMMON for regions throughout the world, especially border regions, to make an increasing contribution to the development of interstate ties. Relations between Russia and Kazakhstan can serve as a model in this respect. The 7th Russia-Kazakhstan Interregional Cooperation Forum, held in Ust-Kamenogorsk (Kazakhstan) on 6-7 September 2010, is a good occasion for assessing the state and prospects of this cooperation format. The speeches of the heads of state were naturally a

major focus of attention and set the right tone for the general discussion. Their assessments of the current situation and ideas for the future often went far beyond the topic of interregional cooperation. They can be summarized as follows.

THE ECONOMIES OF RUSSIA and Kazakhstan, closely connected with foreign markets, continue to feel the effects of the global financial crisis. In post-crisis conditions, the focus shifts to the need to overcome the natural resource orientation of production in both countries. The way to achieve this is to modernize the economy. This is an urgent task for both Russia and Kazakhstan. It can only be accomplished by implementing innovations on a large scale.

Kazakhstan is the main trading partner for Russian regions such as Krasnoyarsk Krai or the Novosibirsk and Orenburg regions. The exhibition shows that today we already have real examples of bilateral cooperation, and not on paper but actually working.

Cooperation to develop high technologies by tapping the huge potential of Russian and Kazakh research institutes and advanced enterprises is a sure way to improve life in the regions and raise living standards in Russia and Kazakhstan.

In summary, one can say without exaggeration that the regions of Russia and Kazakhstan are playing an increasing role in the development of interstate relations. Research institutions, business entities and social and youth organizations have been drawn into the orbit of interregional cooperation.

The current state of cross-border and interregional ties between Russia and Kazakhstan gives reason to believe that in the near future they will be further expanded and diversified. The achievement of this goal naturally requires a well-coordinated effort by central and regional legislative and executive bodies, as well as by the business communities of Russia and Kazakhstan.

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SECRETS of the Belavezhskaya Pushcha: Viskuli - the Last Day of the USSR is the name of my new book that was published in June 2010 in Belgrade, Serbia. When I gave a copy of the book to Boris Piadyshev, he asked me to write a story about it. Although I know how difficult it is to write about one's own work, I accepted his request for the simple reason that it was Boris who entreated me five years ago to write this book.

The book's fairly long title already says a lot about its approach, content, and main subject matter. Yet let me describe everything in order briefly.

I have tried, from a considerable distance (almost 20 years), to reconstruct this fateful "Day X" of the destruction of the Soviet Empire. One can say that this event is the greatest diplomatic mystery of the 20th century.

Nevertheless, the question of the disintegration of the Soviet Union has not been exhausted and remains open.

As one person said, every author writes the book that he had sought to read in vain. This thesis fully applies to the writer of this book, too. The literature about the Soviet Empire is extremely vast, to be sure. And people can find answers to many questions that interest them in this vast library. Nevertheless, different questions about the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the mysteries of the Belavezha Accords, and the "blank spots" of Viskuli remain.

The great Soviet drama described in the book presents my understanding as a diplomat and, in a certain sense, as a writer of the last day of the USSR. It is my conviction that the event in the Belavezhskaya Pushcha had its prologue, action, and epilogue.

In the prologue, I consider the dramatic disintegration of the USSR and the events that preceded and motivated it. The Belavezha action is the concluding part of the Soviet drama with its main and secondary actors.

Without a doubt, this "forest drama" is only beginning to interest historians and writers deeply, and I am convinced that they will focus on this key date in the history of the breakup of the USSR.

## Russia's Justice Ministry: An International Actor

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THE CURRENT PROJECT to modernize Russia, RF President Dmitry Medvedev told the Conference at the RF Foreign Ministry on 12 July 2010, calls for effective use of its foreign policy, diplomatic and international law resources. Members of the legislative, executive and judicial branches are involved in international contacts as they tackle the questions of national reforming and national identity in today's world.

In the given process, the Justice Ministry is guided by the normative postulate on coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in regard to foreign policy activities carried out by federal executive agencies.

The current international practice of the RF Justice Ministry and of the agencies affiliated with it is distinguished by a number of important features. All this promotes the image of Russia as an international actor, its international legal personality.

The international relations mechanism of the RF Ministry of Justice is systemic and multifunctional, and its aggregated experience helps the Ministry to have its own specific role in implementing the foreign policy and diplomacy of the Russian Federation.

The RF government agencies are not competing against each other in practical international politics; they work in concert on the basis of the political will, official guidelines and their terms of reference. This approach is of great practical value. This is precisely why each Russian agency is given a clear-cut "personalized" status.

The RF Justice Ministry's rather varied contacts with other countries in 2010 were aimed at forming permanently operating diplomatic mechanisms.

This year is remarkable for constructive work of the RF Justice Ministry related to international agreements. This work is going on in several interrelated directions.

Thus, the 2010 international season shows that the RF Justice Ministry accounts for a considerable proportion of intellectual and organizational work to implement Russia's foreign policy. Objectively speaking, this role will be growing. This conclusion is based on what is required under the government modernization policy which definitely calls for improving the performance of Russia's government agencies at home and abroad.



## The Economic Crisis and the Future of the Gas Sector

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WE ARE GOING THROUGH a difficult period both for the world economy and for the world energy sector, including the gas industry. That is why a constructive dialogue between all gas market players, as well as regulators and politicians, is of exceptional importance. Today it is hard to find a gas market player not in search of an answer to the question of how long the financial and economic crisis will last and how it

will affect the gas industry's future structure and activity.

I will try to outline the position of Gazprom on these questions. Clearly, the dialogue should start with an objective, dispassionate analysis of the current situation. Before drawing any conclusions on the consequences of the crisis for the gas sector, we must get the right diagnosis.

The current change in the balance between demand and supply in favor of the latter is no reason to make fundamental changes in the institution of long-term contracts. The crisis, though unprecedented in scale, is a transient process. Take-or-pay terms as a guarantee of demand security were not introduced into long-term contracts to be cast aside simply because the lower off-take of Russian gas has for the first time reached significant proportions. Similarly, there is no reason to abandon oil indexation because the market is moving towards parity of contract and spot prices.

I would like to mention another aspect that causes both surprise and concern. Under the currently popular concept of a "carbon-free world," natural gas is seen as a conventional fossil fuel except that it burns more cleanly, with fewer pollutant emissions.

Finally, we must take into account the energy security factor. In our understanding, security of energy supply means the capacity to meet peak demand in a predictable and cost-effective manner.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that we in Gazprom are geared to long-term mutually beneficial cooperation with our foreign partners. And we are confident that this cooperation will not only be successful for its individual participants, but will also help to achieve the main goal: increased energy security.

## Economic Security: Essence and Manifestations

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INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SECURITY is a mode of operation and maintenance of international economic relations in a normal and effective condition that is acceptable to their subjects and rules out deliberate harm to the economic interests of any country.

Since the end of the division of the world into two systems and the onset of globalization at the beginning of the 1990s, this problem, as noted above, has lost its confrontational overtones and assumed a global character. At the same time, it manifests itself differently and in different de-

grees along various IES "axes."

While the IES problem is not acute for the West-West and South-South axes, it is clearly manifest in West-South relations.

The least developed countries, in effect, constantly lack economic security, balancing on the brink of survival and relying on humanitarian aid from the world community. The more developed countries of the South look much better in the context of their ES, but they too face serious threats in this respect if such restrictions come from the West.

IES IS CLOSELY INTERRELATED with the NES of all countries in the world.

The developed countries, especially the largest ones with diversified economies and national innovation systems, ensure their NES to the maximum extent.

A threat to NES in any country can arise at any time not only from the above-mentioned exogenous (international economic) circumstances working against IES, but also from a whole range of endogenous, internal factors, especially when they coincide in time and intertwine.

All these threats to NES apply in varying degrees to Russia as well. Each of them requires detailed analysis and preparation of appropriate proposals addressed to the state and the business community, which is naturally far beyond the scope of this article.

## The World Economic Crisis and the Outlook for Infrastructure Projects

*Author: V. Varnavsky*

*Chief Research Fellow at World Economics and International Relations Institute (MEMO) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Sciences (Economics)*



EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD is currently facing the serious problems of imbalance between the development level of production sector infrastructure and today's requirements of the economy and society.

The number of new infrastructure projects in many EU countries was growing every year before the crisis because of the lack of infrastructure systems. This was especially true of countries in the east and south of Europe. Their infrastructure is in a much worse condition than infrastructure in countries of western and northern Europe, and it is a serious drag on their economic growth.

The rapidly developing countries in East Asia have an especially high demand for new infrastructure.

Russia's demand for production infrastructure investments is too enormous to put an accurate figure on.

THE CRISIS IN PRODUCTION infrastructure sectors began in the middle of 2008. The crash of stock exchange markets, difficulties in capital markets and the worsening general economic conditions compelled the governments and investors to reappraise the entire array of infrastructure projects. As a result, some of the planned projects were shelved, and those launched were suspended, restructured or canceled.

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT in overcoming the crisis in infrastructure sectors is of key importance.

THE WORLD FINANCIAL and economic crisis wreaked havoc on Russia's export-oriented sectors of industry, leaving the government without funds not only for extended reproduction but also simple reproduction in infrastructure sectors. The worst-hit by the crisis are the major transport infrastructure investment projects.

Far from increasing investments in infrastructure, the government of Russia, unlike the governments of the world's leading countries, is cutting back public funds for this sphere. At any rate, the Russian government is trying to provide funds for projects of strategic importance for the country's future. It honors its commitments to private companies with respect to nearly all projects.



*Yuri Shafranik, President of the Supreme Mining Council of Russia, Chairman of the Board of the Union of Oil and Gas Producers of Russia, Head of the Committee for Energy Strategy and the Development of the Fuel and Energy Sector at the Russian Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Russian Federation:* As a representative of the mining community I would like to note that our production facilities are not as environmentally

hazardous as they are sometimes said to be. Needless to say, the environment is the basis of life on Earth. It is an open secret that industrial enterprises often violate environmental standards while the ecosystem is regarded as a philosophical concept.

Technical, technological and professional reliability are factors that are very important for us.

*Oleg Shamanov, Head of Division of Multilateral Environment Cooperation, International Organizations Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation:* We are now conducting multilateral negotiations on a new climate regime through 2012 when the Kyoto Protocol expires. This document contains concrete obligations for the developed countries. The agenda of the negotiations includes the question of what is to replace the Kyoto Protocol.

*Gennady Shmal, President of the Union of Oil and Gas Producers of Russia:* This past summer has revealed the low economic and social management standards in our country. Another point. I believe that all our troubles are due to the lack of a serious approach to matters of technical standardization.

*Vladimir Gorbanev, Associate Professor, World Economics Department, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Candidate of Sciences (History):* There is no getting away from climate change. Some scientists, both in Russia and abroad, believe that climate change is linked to long-term climate fluctuations.

*A. Oganesyan, Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs:* I would like to make one humanitarian point. This is highly anthropogenic for man, who is part of the environment which he feels, inhales. We understand this. An anthropogenic perception affects human thinking and writing; it leads to conflicts and stresses. The environment is affected by technology. On the intuitive level, every speaker here, of course, refers to this factor. It is impossible, for example, to separate climate change from ecology - everything is interconnected.

*Author: L. Zeleny*

*Director of the Space Research Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences*



The American president set two goals for NASA: by 2025, to implement a manned space mission to an asteroid and by 2035, to bring astronauts to a Mars orbit and return them to Earth. However, this version of the space program did not satisfy the US Congress.

Yet the U.S. space program is more than just manned flights. Its research part calls for active studies in both near and deep space.

Unfortunately, the Russian space program has been in hibernation of sorts for the last two decades, and positive developments have begun to appear only recently. Despite the collapse of the 1990s in the Russian space program and the ongoing economic problems in the country, Russia continues to be a major space superpower and is gradually consolidating its position in international astronautics.

For the last several years, Russia has been the leader in the number of space launches. Nevertheless, most of them are commercial projects or launches for supporting the International Space Station. Russian space science is the worst off. In the last ten years, only one research satellite has been launched. Instead of the planned three years, it fully functioned less than ten months in space.

Unfortunately, our industry has lost a lot of technologies.

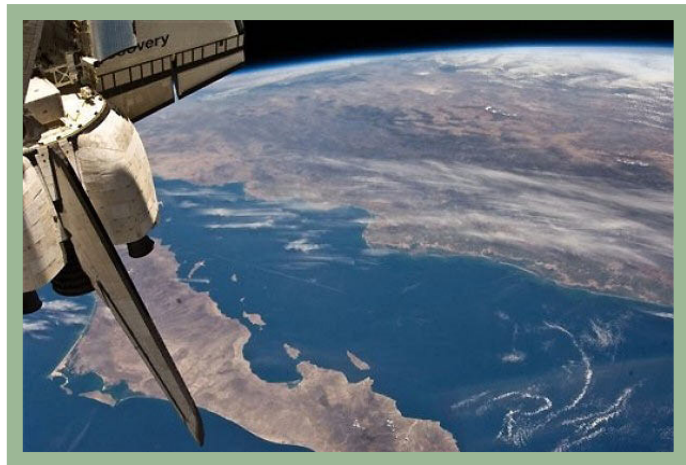
We are always open to cooperation, yet every partnership project has a leader. It's the principle of "the horse and the rider." NASA frequently invites us to cooperate, combining American high technologies with Russian launchers and "brute force." This is naturally unacceptable to us. Russia needs a clearly defined and important role in joint projects. Otherwise, it will look like we are simply launching foreign spacecraft at our own expense.

It is important for us today to define a clear research niche and choose strategic areas that we can focus on. I believe that we should select projects that have no counterparts in the programs of other countries - especially, the U.S., Europe, and Japan.

## Russia-U.S. Space Partnership

*Author: S. Pouzanov*

*Scientific Consultant to the Russian Mission Control Center, Candidate of Sciences (History)*



THE SOVIET UNION and the United States began to cooperate in the exploration of space at the very beginning of their manned space programs. Space turned out to be a very convenient area of cooperation that is not connected to political problems. The American and Russian civilian space programs would have been a lot less successful without the help of the defense industry. Manned spaceflight has become so expensive

that parallel development is simply a waste of money today. International cooperation makes it possible to avoid duplication and use the best from each side.

Due to different approaches to the creation of manned spacecraft, a lot of work was needed to implement the project of docking space vehicles from different countries. This provided valuable experience that turned out to be useful later for the implementation of larger-scale programs. Naturally, the main technical task was the creation of a new docking system, as no universal docking mechanism existed at the moment.

After the Apollo-Soyuz project, U.S.-Russian space partnership was mostly limited to biological experiments. Despite several attempts to continue joint space flights, the ASTP did not have a successor. The time had not yet come when space flights would be too expensive for any one country, and there was no common interest in partnership. Such an interest began to emerge only in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

At this time, only the Soviet Union was able to make long-term flights with the Mir Orbital Station. In the USA, plans for building the Freedom Orbital Station did not get the support of the administration on account of its enormous construction cost.

The joint program gave both sides just what they needed: NASA got invaluable experience in long-term flights that is essential for planning missions to other planets and asteroids, while Russia got the additional financing that it needed and could prolong the life of the orbital station.

It is difficult to say in which direction space cooperation will develop, yet one can expect the appearance of totally new configurations with the rapid emergence of a new participant in manned space programs - China.

*Author: V. Sibilev*

*Deputy Director of the Department for Work with Compatriots Living Abroad, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation*



ON 7-8 OCTOBER, 2010, the World Thematic Conference "On the Contribution by Compatriots to Russia's Modernization: Opportunities for the Development of Partner Relations" was held in Moscow under the aegis and with the support of the Government Commission on Compatriots Living Abroad and the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

More than 140 compatriots from 76 countries of the world, as well as representatives of the fed-

eral legislative and executive power bodies, business structures, scientific and medical institutions and associations, publishers, the media, and nongovernmental organizations took part in the conference.

It was convened and held to look for ways to tap the intellectual and professional potential of compatriots living abroad and make use of their ideas and proposals based on the experience of the countries in which they live to promote Russia's modernization. In one way or another, many of the speakers at the conference raised the question of the need to pull Russian standards up to world level and create favorable working conditions and an innovation environment that will draw the scientific and business elite back to Russia and encourage talented young people from among our compatriots abroad to come here and work.

The idea that we need to not only "cultivate" our own Kulibins - inventors, designers, and innovators, but also Edisons - people who know how to implement and commercialize joint advanced developments ran as the main theme throughout the conference and its workshops.

All the most important proposals were summarized in the recommendations of the workshops and conference resolutions and posted on the website of the RF Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

It appears that the conference's success, which all the participants testified to, was a new significant step on the way to building a partnership model of relations between Russia and its diaspora abroad to replace the paternalistic model that has dominated until recently.

## The Gift of Life, or Going to America to Get a Heart

*Author: M. Antosbkina*

*Staff editor of International Affairs*



There is a charity organization in the U.S. called The Russian Gift of Life, founded by Russian Americans to help Russian children who have congenital heart defects. This organization cooperates with several Russian cities, primarily with Moscow and the Bakulev Scientific Research Center of Cardiovascular Surgery where Volodya has been under observation. As an orphan, Volodya was chosen from the list of children at Bakulev to go to the U.S. for surgery.

Not only does it pay for the surgery, The Gift of Life also pays the travel and living expenses of both Volodya and his escort for the entire trip.

The international charity organization The Gift of Life has existed for a long time. In 1989, two Russian children came to America under one of this organization's programs. IT MUST BE SAID that Volodiushka is a courageous boy. I, for example, felt rather at a loss on foreign soil, particularly when I had to speak English. But with Volodya it was the other way around, it was the Americans who were at a loss.

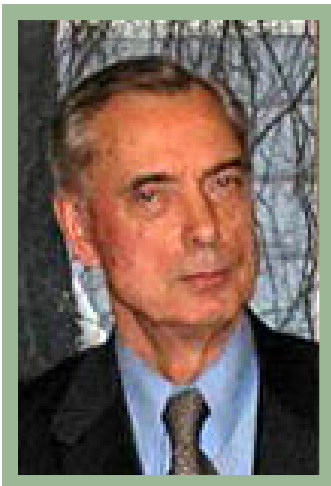
Volodya and I learned a lot during our month in America; and not only in the sense that we saw another country, but in the sense that we learned a lot about ourselves - how to overcome difficulties together, often we were impatient and argued, but then we made up again... And we also got to know people who generously and selflessly give their time and money to help suffering children, people who treated us with such patience and kindness.



## Triumphs and Tribulations of Nikita Khrushchev

*Author: B. Piadyshev*

*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Honored Worker of the Diplomatic Service of Russia, Doctor of Sciences (History), International Affairs ' Editor-in-Chief (1987-2009)*



SOVIET LEADER Nikita Khrushchev's promise "We'll bury you!" has remained unfulfilled, thank God: America the Beautiful lives on and prospers. His son, Sergei, who has become an American citizen, can now reap the benefits of American civilization. His three-volume reminiscences of his father have appeared in Russian not long ago. This is a herculean work:

S.N. Khrushchev. Trilogia ob ottse (The Trilogy of My Father). Moskva, Vremia, 2010.

Volume I: Nikita Khrushchev as a Reformer, 1080 pp.

Volume II: Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower, 576 pp.

Volume III: Nikita Khrushchev in Retirement, 320 pp.

This is a massive account about a dramatic period in the life of what used to be the mighty Soviet Union; about how important it is for the leaders to be wise and rational, for civil society to be strong, and about where to lack of wisdom at the top of government can lead. Everyone is supposed to learn from facts of history.

## Once More on the Role of the Individual in History

*Author: T. Zvereva*

*Senior Fellow at the Institute for Contemporary International Studies, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Candidate of Sciences (History)*



EXPERTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS and the history and culture of France as well as the reading public will be equally attracted by the definitive work *Rossia-Frantsia. 300 let osobykh otnosheniy (Russia-France: 300 Years of Special Relations)\** which summed up the results of an international conference convened in Paris as part of the Russia-France and France-Russia Year.

First, this is much more than a collection of articles and conference papers - it is an integral and scientifically substantiated survey of the 300-year-long history of the relationships between the two countries which offers little known yet very important information about foreign and domestic policies of both. Cultural contacts and the affinity and mutual influence of the two cultures with the common "European root" received their share of attention.

Second, all lovers of Russian history will be captivated by a gallery of royal portraits. The monograph offers a unique chance to plunge into 20th century Russian history, to witness the talks between Stalin and General de Gaulle; find out what the great French leader thought about the very contradictory personality of the Soviet ruler and ponder on the future of the relationships between Russia and France.

Third, the monograph stirs up an interest in international relations and their most burning issues as well as a desire to look behind the scenes to discover the concealed springs and identify the moving forces. Indeed, what is really important: geopolitical factors, the presence or absence of disputed territories or common stand on international issues? Is the economic development level that important? Are the world leaders, their personal qualities and convictions all-important? The monograph offers no answers yet it stirs up the desire to ponder on these questions; to search for answers in the past and come up with novel or even unexpected conclusions.

On the whole, the attempt of Russian and French historians at an integrated historical analysis of bilateral relations proved successful; the collection is supplied with well-organized and highly professional apparatus criticus (something which not many recent academic publications can boast of); the carefully checked name index at the end of the book is another pleasant surprise. Those who wrote the articles and those who brought them together between the two covers gave us a unique chance to trace back the 300 years of Franco-Russian relations, to appreciate all sorts of factors including the ways they influenced the relations between the two states and the role of individuals in history.

## A Russian Scholar's View of a Saudi King

*Author: S. Filatov*

*Political Scientist*



On 25 March, 1975, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, who was called "the most powerful Arab ruler in centuries," the monarch of a country holding a quarter of the planet's oil supplies and home to Mecca and Medina - the two main Muslim sacred places - was receiving a delegation from Kuwait in his palace before television cameras. His nephew Faisal bin Musaid suddenly walked up to him. As the king bent to kiss the young man, the latter pulled out a gun and fired three times. So did the

life of an outstanding Saudi monarch tragically end...

But who was this famous and all-powerful king of Arabia? What was his claim to fame? What legacy did he leave behind? What lessons were learned from his rule?

Well-known researcher and historian Alexei Vasiliev has written an extensive monograph on King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. The five-hundred page tome is called "King Faisal: His Personality, Times, and Faith."

The author tried to solve a difficult task - to write about the place and role of Faisal as a personality, man, and leader in the historical process. On the one hand, the book presents many details of the main character's biography, while on the other, the reader is immersed in a kaleidoscope of events that seem to lie beyond Saudi Arabia itself, but without which the motives and logic of King Faisal's decisions in domestic policy and international affairs cannot be understood.

Alexei Vasiliev reflects in his book on the origin and significance of such concepts as "fundamentalism" and "Wahhabism," which are related in one way or another to the Saudi kingdom. Alexei Vasiliev admits that if the reader of Faisal's life story is able, if not understand and accept, at least find some bearing with accounts that differ from the experience of our society and feel that it is impossible to transfer Western, or even Russian, stereotypes to the alien, desert soil of Arabia, task he set out to accomplish when writing his book has been fulfilled. Faisal's life path looks fantastic.

*Author: A. Dubina*

*Staff editor, International Affairs*



THE VERY TITLE of Roman Silantiev's book *Musulmanskaia diplomatiia v Rossii. Istorii i sovremennost* (Muslim Diplomacy in Russia: Past and Present) causes surprise or even an inner protest: it looks as if the author has moved away from diplomacy as a foreign policy instrument to look at it as an art of tactfulness. In anticipation, the author has introduced the book with his own interpretation of the trends of Muslim

diplomacy; he refers to the relationships with the Muslims in other countries and with followers of other Muslim trends and other religions as well as with political and public organizations. The second out of five types of relationships - "relationships with the authorities of their own (non-Islamic) state and with authorities of other countries" - intensifies the feeling of protest. This makes the book to look somehow undiplomatic on the domestic scene.

This impression recedes under an impact of the impressive body of information the author has gathered and presented to his readers. This is not a history of diplomacy pure and simple; it is a definitive work on the history of Islam in Russia starting with Prince Vladimir when this religion was seen in Russia as an external force and going on across the ages to our days when the Muslims form an integrated part of the population of Russia.

The author has analyzed and compared the stages of the relationships between Russia and the Muslims and their mutual penetration.

Integration was not plain sailing. Under Peter the Great who was Western-oriented, the Muslims were somehow discriminated yet it was under him and on his orders that the Koran was translated into Russian.

The author has paid particular attention to the post-October 1917 developments in the religious sphere. The Muslim community had its share of struggle between the left, the right and the center, etc which often developed into power struggle camouflaged by slogans of all types.

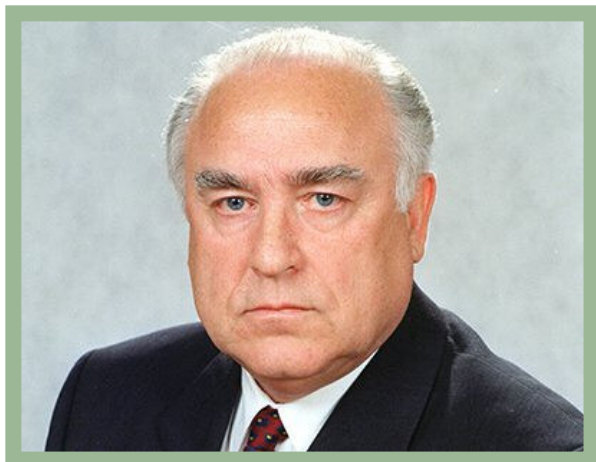
The author draws an intricate and fascinating picture of Islamic diplomacy inside the umma and of the relationships (read: power struggle) among its leaders who appealed to central power and the Communist Party.

The author has written a lot about the well-known role of the Muslim factor in the post-war Soviet diplomacy when Moscow was establishing and developing its ties with the Arab and other Islamic countries.

## In Memory of Viktor Chernomyrdin

*Author: A. Frolov*

*Commentator for International Affairs, Doctor of Sciences (History), in 2000-2004, Deputy Executive Director of the Russian Energy Club Nonprofit Organization, in 2004-2008, Vice President of the Public Foundation for Support and Development of the Middle Class*



ON 3 NOVEMBER, 2010, Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin - a man who made history, a strong manager, a "red director," a production organizer, a national minister, and a political heavyweight, just to give a few of the ways he was described - passed away. I would also add that a lifetime diplomat, skilled in negotiations and compromises, passed away. It is difficult to present a more or less complete picture of this man's activity within the scope of one article, so I will draw only a few lines

of his portrait based on my personal observations and contacts with him.

I believe he had two inborn traits - a striving to learn and, dare I say it, to work selflessly.

Viktor Stepanovich was always above settling accounts with people, including those who treated him dishonorably. He walked on through life, leaving these people to deal with their conscience on their own.

I think that Viktor Stepanovich was one of those people who were turned off from the very beginning by the attempts to rewrite history.

Let me say a few words about Chernomyrdin the orator.

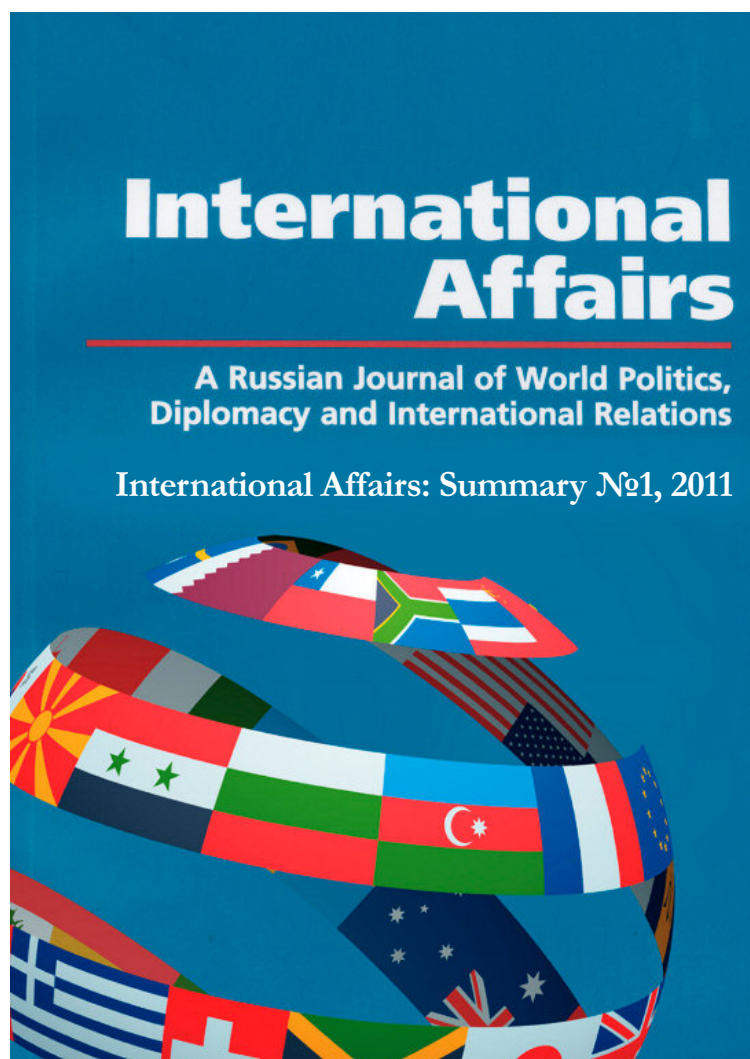
I remember a few of Chernomyrdin's utterly brilliant speeches at hearings in the State Duma. They showed his intelligence and far-sightedness as a politician, and his guile as a diplomat. I never saw Chernomyrdin shouting at anyone or even raising his voice. I am not talking about his emotional speeches from the rostrum when he came down on bad executives. Admittedly, there were times when Viktor Stepanovich's face became stormy, and you could see how well he was keeping control of his emotions.

Viktor Stepanovich was strict, even pedantic in official matters and neat in dress, and he inculcated these traits in his subordinates.

I was always amazed by the consistency with which Viktor Stepanovich approached any matter, avoiding hasty decisions. Some were not happy with the fact that he did not make them quickly.

May we always cherish the memory of this great Russian man.

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