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## Russia in a Changing World: Continued Priorities and New Opportunities

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We are witnessing a transformation of the geopolitical landscape, accompanied by increased global and regional turbulence. The pulse of international affairs is unprecedentedly accelerating, and the ongoing processes in international relations are becoming ever more complex and multidimensional.

Several aspects of the development of events cannot but arouse our concern. This

is mostly about the actions of external actors with regard to intra-state conflicts; it's about attempts to solve existing problems by force, bypassing international law and the established decision-making formats. Russia is going to strongly assert the rule of law in international affairs and to firmly uphold the central role of the United Nations and the fundamental principles of the Charter of the world body, which are the cornerstone of the entire system of international relations - above all, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and noninterference in their internal affairs. We are convinced that the rule of law and democratic principles must be respected not only within individual states but also in international relations. A dangerous amplification of the elements of chaos in world politics will be unavoidable otherwise.



## No Reasonable Alternative to the CIS Integration Formats

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It's been an absolute priority of Russian foreign policy to foster bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the states within the CIS space. The CIS countries are our closest, strategic partners. We have common objectives on promoting societal development, modernizing our economies, combating new threats and challenges, and achieving a more equitable world order.

By acting together the CIS states can more easily deal with their largely similar problems of socioeconomic development, and secure a worthy place for themselves in the new international landscape. And as international experience shows, a successful integration should primarily have a strong economic footing, which is well understood by our partners.

The CIS is realizing in practice the principle of "variable geometry" of cooperation, whereby states can freely choose the formats and areas of interaction according to their specificity, interests and foreign policy aspirations.

I would like to stress that Russia is keen to develop the closest possible relations with Ukraine in all areas without exception - in the economy and politics, humanitarian issues and international affairs.

We strive to develop variegated relations of strategic partnership and cooperation with the Central Asian states. We are interested in strengthening the social, political and economic stability in the region.

We are realists: the currently existing integration formats in the CIS space are not an ideal tool for interaction of our countries.

## Russia-EU Strategic Partnership: Euro Crisis No Cause for Delay

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Today, Russia and the EU are connected by a huge number of channels of dialogue and cooperation, firmly linking us together and enabling us to discuss different issues in substance - from nuclear security to phytosanitary measures.

For the first time since World War Two, Europe figures in news headlines not as an oasis of stability but in the unaccustomed role as the epicenter of global financial and economic turbulence.

European integration has already passed the "point of no return".

Russia is interested in the EU remaining as a powerful economic and political force.

Our actions along the visa track are consistent and direct, not subject to considerations of political expediency.

We are determined to continue stimulating this work, encouraging our partners to fortify it with solid and forward looking institutional formats of cooperation.

As for the existing "irritants" in our relations, this refers in particular to what we regard as a disturbing trend toward projecting changes in EU legislation onto cooperation with third countries, including Russia.

Overall, we positively assess dialog in this area. We build it on the basis of the Russian and EU obligations approved by the UN, Council of Europe and OSCE collective bodies.

A new item on the Russia-EU agenda is the joint development of optimal mechanisms for synchronizing Eurasian integration and interaction with the EU on a pan-European basis.

## Russia and China Need Each Other

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China in a historically short period of time made quite a "great leap forward" and became one of the leading powers.

We observe the natural result of a well-thought-out systemic policy of Chinese authorities and the hard work of hundreds of millions of PRC citizens over 30 years of reforms.

The experience of our relations with China over the last decades attests to the

crucial importance of constantly deepening mutual trust between our two countries at all levels, including state leadership, corporate and expert communities, and the general public.

It has taken both sides a considerable amount of painstaking joint work to establish a stable legal basis for Russian-Chinese cooperation, to ensure the practical implementation of the agreements reached and, as a result, to elevate bilateral relations to the present highest level in their history.

Trade between Russia and China in 2011 amounted to 83.5 billion dollars. China has become the largest foreign trade partner for Russia, and Russia has firmly taken its place among the top ten trading partners of China.

Cooperation continues between companies of both countries in oil exploration and production in Russia. Intense negotiations are under way for projects for the supply of Russian natural gas to China. There are good prospects for expanding cooperation in classical nuclear power.

Our two countries are cooperating in many projects in transport and communications, aircraft manufacturing and space exploration, and science and military technology.

Russia and China advocate creating a positive, unifying agenda in international relations, strengthening the rule of law, and multilateralism in world politics, and establishing equal conditions for all participants in the international process.

Bilateral cooperation will continue to gather momentum, and that Russia and China will go on realizing the enormous potential for mutually beneficial cooperation and enhancing coordination of actions in international affairs.

## Russia-India: The New "Chakras" of Cooperation

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Among our priorities is the unique in-depth military and technical cooperation, including joint production of modern types of weapon and technology transfer. In today's world there are no two other countries that could pride themselves on such a high level of relationship.

A key role in furthering our bilateral trade and economic partnership is played by the Russian-Indian Inter-Governmental Commission on Trade, Economic, Scientific, Technological and Cultural Cooperation.

Reflecting the emerging trends, we give emphasis to such areas as energy, metals, pharmaceuticals and bio-engineering, information and communication technolo-

gies, transport, and agriculture.

Truly a milestone, symbolizing Russian subway builders' return to India after a long hiatus, was the victory won by Mosmetrostroy and Transtonnelstroy in a big tender for the design and construction of underground stations and tunnels in the city of Chennai.

It is of great importance to us that economic cooperation is not limited to bilateral projects. Russia and India are among the initiators and most active participants of the creation of the International North-South Transport Corridor.

One of the strongest pillars of our partnership with India has been and remains military and military-technical cooperation.

India actively promotes the influence of BRICS and RIC in world affairs. In no small measure, this approach of New Delhi accounts for the fact that discussion on key global developments has become a first-order issue on the two dialogue forums' agenda

Normalization of relations with Islamabad will open a historic "window of opportunity" to carry out a number of large-scale projects for the deployment of transport and energy networks between Central and South Asia, designed to stabilize the regional situation and turn Afghanistan into a strong and thriving transit hub.



## Russia and Germany: A Millennium-Long History

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Today on the majority of issues related to Russia-EU relations many EU countries to some degree or other orient themselves toward Germany's position. This may open additional opportunities within the framework of the Russia-EU dialog.

Germany's position on the visa issue has undergone significant transformation toward greater understanding that failure to resolve it is becoming one of the main irritants in Russia-EU rela-

tions.

Our German partners demonstrate their readiness to facilitate the search for mutually acceptable solutions to the issue of building the architecture of a future missile defense system in Europe. The German foreign policy strategy in respect to Russia has been aptly summed up by German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle, who said that European security can only be ensured together with Russia, not against it.

The launch of the first section of Nord Stream, to the city of Lubmin, on November 8, 2011, in the presence of the Russian president and the German chancellor, without exaggeration opens a new chapter in Russian-German energy cooperation.

We put a special emphasis on facilitating the consolidation of our expatriates, the preservation of their ethnic and cultural identity, including, first and foremost, Russian language skills.

We are constantly in contact with the German authorities on the aforementioned range of issues that are of concern to the Russian speaking community. At present, bilateral consultations are under way on a draft agreement on cooperation in the facilitation of the ethnic and cultural development of Germans living in the Russian Federation, as well as of our expatriates in Germany.

Generally, the Russians and Germans are tied by a long common history of relations, which can truly be called unprecedented, not only by the intensity of its tragic nature in the past but also by the depth and width of cooperation in peaceful historical periods and in the modern era.

Aware of that, peoples of Russia and Germany, despite the heavy traumas caused by the last war, have mustered enough strength to find a path to historical reconciliation, cooperation and partnership.

## The British "Slice" of the Foreign Policy of Modern Russia

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The article is based on a summary of Ambassador Yakovenko's speech at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) in London on May 4, 2012.

In the first place, we are talking about establishing a hospitable environment for the modernization of our economy and social life generally - in essence, the chief objective of Dmitry Medvedev's presidency, which retains its importance also under President Vladimir Putin. It is about enhancing the nation's competitiveness, moving from the depend-

ence on natural resource exports, and building up a truly modern, smart economy that works for the good of the whole country and the individual.

It is an open secret that Russia has a plateful of problems. It is corruption, and unfair business practices, and crime. The main thing is that we honestly talk about them.

We are convinced that it is time in international relations to draw a line both under the period after the Cold War, as well as within the country under the post-Soviet phase of our development. A polycentric world system is emerging before our eyes. Those countries that cannot fit into its operation and go on living by past stereotypes will find themselves on the sidelines of world development.

Of course there are serious disagreements between us, among them how we approach the transformation processes in the Arab world. Russia is fully supportive of peoples' desire for a better life and democratization of the political system. But profound changes rarely go smoothly and seamlessly.

The thing that bothers us most, however, is the U.S. and NATO's stubborn refusal to give legal and technical guarantees that the future missile defense system will not target Russia's nuclear potential, guarantees which would be subject to verification on the basis of clear military-technical criteria.

By now, Moscow and London have done a considerable amount of work to restore our political dialogue and improve the whole range of our relations.

The visa question has been a serious constraint on the entire spectrum of our bilateral relations. The British side has still been unwilling at this point to modernize and bring the existing visa regime between our two countries into conformity with present-day requirements.

Despite the long-running experience of rivalry in international affairs, which gave rise to persistent stereotypes and prejudices, our countries were allied in the turning points of development in Europe and the world. So it was in the struggle against the dictatorship of Napoleonic France; so it was in both world wars in the twentieth century. Perhaps this speaks volumes.



## Italy-Russia: 150 Years of Diplomatic Ties

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Official diplomatic relations between Venice and the Russian Empire were established as late as May 1782. In 1781, Catherine II unilaterally signed a decree appointing Russia's chargé d'affaires to Genoa. In 1776-1778, diplomatic relations were established also with the Kingdom of Naples, and they were much closer than Russia's relations with the other Italian states.

At all times, Russians have been charmed by Italy, its arts, literature, the Italian people, and their way of life. The Italians, for their part, have long felt

affection for Russia and its people regardless of the military-political choices the country's leaders made at the critical junctions in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Cooperation in the sphere of energy is still propelling economic cooperation between Russia and Italy. The South Stream gas pipeline project is an initiative of a pan-European scale.

In general and despite the global economic recession, trade between our two countries in 2011 reached \$46 billion coming close to the pre-crisis level.

As we know the basis of Italy's economy is formed by its small and medium-sized operations, often run by families, which supplement each other. Interested in the Russian market, they of course realize that it is hard to enter this vast market singlehandedly. Russia is also very much interested in Italian agricultural technologies which traditionally hold leading positions in the world.

Apart from economic interests, one should stress that amicable relations between Russia and Italy are largely founded on common cultural sources.

In the 20th century, bilateral cooperation in science and education also was at a remarkably high level. Italian scientists strongly contributed to the development of science in Russia.

In recent years, there has been a qualitative improvement in the level of the cultural dialogue. Held in 2011, were a Year of Russian Culture and the Russian Language in Italy and a Year of Italian Culture and the Italian Language in Russia.

Yet another signal event in 2011 was the opening in Rome of the first ever official full-format Russian Science and Culture Center. It is purported to become the leading organization to support Russia's cultural and scientific presence in Italy.

## The Arab Spring Amid Globalization, or the Matrix Reloaded

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On May 21, 2012, President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin warned the new RF Cabinet that "the situation in the global economy is unclear; there are quite a lot of factors that make it opaque."

Today, natural, technogenic and ecological catastrophes, terrorist acts, revolutions and financial and economic crises have become part of our way of life which distorts the true dimensions of looming catastrophes and, therefore, makes it hard to decide on responses. The bitter truth is that time is getting short: adequate responses to numerous challenges should be found today or never.

The UN has a unique legitimacy and necessary authority to respond adequately to the variety of contemporary risks and threats.

Russia and NATO do cooperate in a constructive way on several issues, including the problem of Afghanistan as one of the hottest of international issues.

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), until 2011, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, potentially a strong understudy of LAS, is currently occupied with its own growth. Unlike the LAS, it refrained from any dramatic moves to remain in contact with the Syrian authorities and continue talking with them. All its decisions remained strictly within the lines drawn by the UN SC.

Today the contradiction between the international structures set up in the unipolar world and those set up later in the emerging and rapidly developing polycentric world, which insist on equitable cooperation and reject "orders from above," has come to the fore.

The Arab Spring brought up to the surface the problems and ailments of the globalization model born in the early 1990s; it can be called globalization 1.0.

The Westphalian system which insisted on the priority of state sovereignty is on the way to be replaced with a humanitarian interventions concept realized under the slogan of human rights protection.

People in the Arab world rose not only against the presidents who aspired to become monarchs to perpetuate their rule; the Arab revolutions were triggered by superficial reforms which introduced the neoliberal model and shattered the foundations of the traditional Arab societies.

The West should abandon its didactic tone it has been using to lecture on the rest of the world; it should become aware that the new international alliances on the international arena (BRICS, SCO, CSTO, etc.) are not an aberration or a zigzag of history but products of a logical process leading to a polycentric and multilayered world in which countries will settle their problems without infringing on the rights and interests of others and in which cooperation will unfold on an equitable basis.

## Africa and the World: A View From the African South

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FOR MANY DECADES, Africa was and still largely is a continent "full of problems."

The structure of African economies is improving, and the greatest business opportunities are offered in the sphere of consumer goods and services, followed by extraction and processing of natural resources, farming and infrastructure.

The demographic outlook is very favorable. By 2050, Africa is expected to have the largest workforce numbering 1.2 billion; that is, one in four workers in the world will be African. Among other factors being mentioned is the high rate of urbanization, leading to a growing middle class, as well as the

spread of high technologies and the Internet.

Negative factors include an underdeveloped infrastructure, narrow and fragmented internal markets, a lack of trade diversification, and the low level of intra-African trade which, at 10 percent, is the lowest compared with emerging markets elsewhere.

It is obvious that South Africans will especially focus on all these problems during their BRICS presidency in 2013.

An important factor to ensure further advances in Africa and stabilization of the world economy, in South Africans' view, is to achieve a balance in economic development between the industrial North and developing South.

In terms of South African foreign policy thinking, contemporary international relations need a change of philosophical paradigm, which presupposes partnership not dominance.

Russia and South Africa are engaged in an active and fruitful collaboration within the UN Security Council, on which South Africa serves as a non-permanent member for the period 2011-2012. Another key format for both countries is BRICS.

Of particular interest to South Africa are investments in infrastructure projects, as well as energy, for which the government is prepared to allocate tens of billions of dollars in the coming years. Of course, development of mineral deposits retains its importance.

A special area of cooperation is the nuclear power industry.

Thus, for the Russian policy on the African continent South Africa is a particularly important and attractive partner with high potential for bilateral ties and cooperation in the international arena on a broad range of topical issues.



## UNESCO's Mandate: Relevant as Never Before

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The 36th session of the UNESCO General Conference was a milestone event defining the main areas of activities in 2012-2013 and approving the Organization's program and budget. Dialogue with the new leaders of the Organization has moved to the highest level after the meeting of the Russian president with UNESCO Director-General Bokova during the Third World Political Forum in Yaroslavl.

Major attention was paid to the high efficiency of Russia's chairmanship in the UNESCO Executive Council during the final year of the two-year period.

It is for the first time ever that Russia chairs the UNESCO World Heritage Committee which, I must say, is an important working body of one of the most successful international legal

instruments.

We are determined to make a go of it and we are developing some new approaches which we will propose to the Committee members.

Russia is now one of the five nations with the most intensively developing economies. It is of course impossible in this connection to avoid conflict of interest between the commercial and industrial parties, on the one hand, and those who protect natural and cultural property, on the other.

During 50 years of its existence, the UNESCO Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission has indeed appreciably enhanced its image as a leading agency of the UN in the field of marine research and transfer of related technologies.

Russia is actively involved in UNESCO's efforts to support all phases of education and in many instances it acts as a catalyst for international cooperation in this sphere.

As regards communications and information, UNESCO's emerging prime objective today is the management of the information environment and the building of a knowledge society. This calls for pooling efforts of governments, civil society, businesses, and the users.

We are looking ahead with optimism despite all the difficulties because the Organization's mandate is relevant as never before. All of UNESCO's priorities are relevant in the presence of conflicts and crises.

## "The World Is Beautiful, but It Should Be Viewed From Peru"

*Author: N. Sofinsky*

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Russia and Peru have mechanisms for political dialog at different levels, including at the UN and other international organizations, and there are interparliamentary contacts and working contacts between the relevant ministries and government agencies.

In short, I will say that from my perspective, Russian-Peruvian relations have everything that is needed to ensure their

dynamic development. There is an infrastructure of contacts, political will, identical economic interests, and established traditions.

We had considerable experience in developed trade relations in the 1970s. Today, too, all the prerequisites are in place for that. Peru is one of the most stable economies in South America, as well as in the world.

The most intensive period in the development of military-technical ties between our countries occurred in the 1970s. I quite agree with those who believe that this cooperation to a very large extent laid the groundwork for the organizational development of the Peruvian armed forces at the time.

Military-technical cooperation remains a highly promising area of Russian-Peruvian relations, and we are ready for such cooperation across the entire range of possibilities that is of interest to Peru.

Education remains a promising area of cooperation. Unfortunately, the scope that existed here in Soviet days has seriously narrowed.

Our experience shows that despite the ups and downs, Russian-Peruvian relations have always been built on the objective interests of the two countries.

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The IAEA founding fathers felt that this challenging and delicate task in conditions where nuclear power engineering is (and, we believe, will remain for many years to come) one of the strongest factors of international economic and political development and could be handled exclusively by a highly professional and prestigious, but at the same unbiased and politically neutral organization.

One must, unfortunately, note that the IAEA's work at times takes on political hue whereas technical impartiality gets compromised. This tendency shows more distinctly concerning the so-called regional problems of the non-proliferation regime.

Russia is on record to say that the hasty disclosure to the broad public of the unverified information available to the IAEA was an unjustified step especially when certain prospects began to emerge of resuming dialogue between Iran and the international community and the six negotiators on Iran's nuclear program.

It is therefore important for the IAEA to display the maximum of will and impartiality with regard to Syria. If Damascus gives exhaustive answers to questions that interest the Agency and no violations of the Safeguards Agreement signed by Syria are found, the Syrian dossier should be closed and the former IAEA conclusions be found untenable. A good deal of attention has been paid of late to the nuclear issue of the Korean Peninsula and the emerging possibilities for the IAEA inspectors to come back to the DPRK. The IAEA's duty is to safeguard the nuclear non-proliferation regime and strictly fulfill its duties in line with its charter.

It is important to remember that relationship between Russia and the IAEA is a two-way street. The Agency needs us as much as we need the Agency. Today, the IAEA is a platform for Russia where it implements directives built into the conceptual documents and dealing with national security and the country's foreign policy. The Agency offers great opportunities for helping modernize Russia's economy and consolidate its positions as an equal partner on world markets.



## Paying Tribute to Fallen Heroes

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Tens of thousands of our compatriots lie buried in Austrian soil. They are not only combatants but also people the Nazis forcibly brought here as slaves. Both we and our Austrian counterparts wish that new generations should remember about the causes of the most devastating war in history - the Second World War.

It is true that Austria played a special role in the war. There is an earnest discussion of this subject in Austrian society with no so-called "awkward topics" barred.

We are convinced that Austria scrupulously honors its obligations under the State Treaty on the re-establishment of an independent and democratic Austria

signed on May 15, 1955 and that part of it which deals with preserving and maintaining the graves of soldiers.

According to what we observe, the interest in commemoration events is growing every year among Soviet Union's and Russia's expats in Austria. It's no secret that the Victory Day is an important factor that brings together by virtue of shared history and heroism of the fathers and grandfathers of ex-Soviet citizens who by the will of fate ended up here.

The preserving and maintaining military graves and cemeteries, looking for more graves and the collection of information on Soviets who died and were buried in Austria constitute one of the main areas of the embassy's work and a topic we constantly discuss with our counterparts in the embassies of the other CIS countries.

We regard this project as an important element of the efforts against the falsification of history and for patriotic education of the young people.

## Central Asia Under the SCO's "Impermeable Umbrella"

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Today, it is a region actively involved in world politics and economics and in regional affairs. It's a busy intersection where the most diverse political and economic interests cross one another, through which strategically important transport communications pass and where the contact and inter-influence of cultures and religions, of modern ideas and ancient traditions take place.

The Central Asian states are conducting an active, multi-vector foreign policy, developing relations with both neighbors and non-regional countries, and realizing their national interests through participation in various multi-lateral regional associations.

THE SITUATION IN CENTRAL ASIA is closely linked to what is happening in Afghanistan. That is why countering threats of terrorism and drug trafficking that, alas, emanate mainly from territory not controlled by the Afghan government and ISAF still tops the SCO's list of priorities.

The fight against terrorism within the framework of the Shanghai Six has come up, as the saying goes, to full capacity.

The SCO member countries put transport infrastructure development at the top of the work in the economic sector. Having started off with motor roads, they are currently completing the construction of individual sections of through highways as pilot projects and have finished preparing an intergovernmental Agreement on the Facilitation of International Road Transport.

The EU is attaching great importance to this area. Brussels adopted a special document entitled "The European Union and Central Asia: Strategy for a New Partnership (2007-2012)".<sup>9</sup> Now its remake is being prepared for the next five-year period.

For us, the summit will be of particular importance also because it will be attended by Russian President Vladimir Putin, who stood at the origins of the SCO.

## The CSTO as a Guarantor of Eurasian Security

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The Collective Security Treaty appeared in a rather complex and conflicting situation, brought about by the disintegration of the USSR and the creation of the CIS. The main tasks were defined as follows: to cushion the effects from the breakup of the USSR, preserve a certain degree of commonality and cooperation between the former republics and at the same time minimize the possible negative

international consequences for security and stability in the post-Soviet area.

In the sphere of military cooperation, priority is given to such practical matters as the preparation and training of collective security manpower and resources, provision of CRRF with modern weapons, military and special equipment and special facilities, formation and normative regulation of Collective Security Forces, and systemic planning of military-technical and military-economic cooperation.

We are pleased with the level of combat readiness demonstrated by the CRRF in the course of exercises. In our opinion, they are in a position to successfully fulfill the tasks that are set to them.

In the foreign policy coordination sphere we have a reliable mechanism for setting guidelines for our joint activities.

However, this is not only about the harmonization of positions on different issues of the global agenda. It is also important that the member states have an understanding and a coincidence of positions on fundamental matters of the Organization's development.

The CSTO has a special place on the scale of Russian foreign policy priorities. The RF leadership gives special attention to the development and strengthening of military-political cooperation with Russia's CSTO partners.



## France: Results of the Presidential Election and a Future Foreign Policy Course

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THE 2012 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION in France brought socialist François Hollande to the highest state post. His ambitious election program was geared at economic growth and trimming social inequality. The new president is resolved to resort to anti-crisis measures, improve relations with the EU partners, carry on the dialogue with the United States, and defend France's interests in NATO. The relations

with the countries of the Southern Mediterranean, Africa and the Middle East figure prominently in his agenda; it is expected that he will pay more attention to the BRICS countries, China in the first place.

Throughout the election campaign the media was apprehensive of Hollande's new approaches to eurocrisis; there were fears that they would push the European consensus aside, slow down financial recovery in the Eurozone, and even worsen Barack Obama's reelection chances. The socialist president hastened to reassure the allies. Today France, the EU,

America, and NATO are growing increasingly interdependent which excludes damaging crises. One can expect that the French leaders will concentrate at anti-crisis measures and the social-economic situation inside the country; their foreign policy, albeit slightly readjusted, will remain pragmatic and demonstrate continuity.

## "Midterm Blues" or Has the Pendulum Swung?

*Author: E. Ananieva*

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At the last general elections in May 2010, none of the heavyweights reaped an absolute majority which created the so-called hung Parliament, a clear sign that the voters were disappointed and disaffected. Tired of Labour after their 13 years in power, the nation nevertheless did not turn to the Tory, the main opposition party, which made a one-party Cabinet impossible.

The Lib Dems, the third force, turned their back to Labour, their natural ally, to strike a deal with the Tories.

LATE IN APRIL, the ruling coalition received several rather painful blows.

The Public Administration Committee published its twenty-fourth report which stated that the government lacked "strategic thinking" and concentrated at "patch-and-mend."<sup>1</sup> The MPs warned that the chaos of long-term and short-term goals with lack of interagency coordination risked creating a vicious circle, where weak leadership led to bad policy, further undermining public trust in government.

It seems that the problem is much wider and deeper: society is not merely "broken" - it is fragmented and has no confidence in social institutions.

On the whole, the measures the coalition is taking to slash budget deficit will decrease real incomes of households to a much greater extent than in the 1970s; hundreds of thousands of families will find themselves below the poverty level. This is how the independent Institute for Fiscal Studies sees the future.

## Kingdom of Morocco: A State Which the Arab Spring Has Bypassed

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The stage of cooperation started with the time when Morocco regained independence. The first country to recognize its independence was the former USSR.

Bilateral cooperation continued after the Soviet collapse, resulting in increased political dialogue on many issues of mutual interest in politics, economy and culture.

Today, when security has become a critical issue throughout the region due to the terror threat and the various forms of illicit trade practiced here, particularly in areas south of the Sahara, the

Maghreb integration still remains a necessity.

Other fundamental issues that are priorities for Moroccan action in the Security Council are to promote peace, stability and security in Africa, to strengthen relations of solidarity between nations.

In February, two new agreements on cooperation in the military-technical sphere were signed. I think that there are good prospects, which fits into the overall strategic framework. This sphere, like the rest of our cooperation, serves the purpose of security across the board, including scientific, cultural, and technological fields. There is a joint will to continue military cooperation.



## Settlement of Ethnopolitical Conflicts: The Balkan Experience

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Today, the conflict potential of ethnicity has come to the fore to cause trouble practically in all countries: any of them has national minorities able to seek autonomy and claim political rights or even sovereignty.

The state of Kosovo and the so-called settlement of the Kosovo crisis are a result of a direct military intervention of NATO. Nowhere else - either in the

post-Yugoslavian or post-Soviet expanse - the West so openly sided with a self-proclaimed state.

So far, despite strong American and EU pressure Serbia has not recognized the sovereignty of Kosovo. Russia which declared that it would go together with Belgrade on this issue, likewise, has not yet recognized Kosovo's independence.

IN THE BALKANS the "external factor" assumed different forms: diplomatic activities, blockades, embargo, sanctions, mediation, and military intervention invariably realized in favor of one of the conflicting sides. Since 1991, the West has never sided with the Serbs.

The Balkan experience of settlement of ethnopolitical conflicts suggests several conclusions which can be treated as lessons of Western peacekeeping.

## Civil Society in the New Model of State Governance and Constitutional Law

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The worldwide crisis in social sciences has created a context in which the principles of state governance and law are nothing more than borrowed empirical artifacts, doctrines of wise men and guess-work of political consultants. Nations have to pay the bills with lives and property.

The nation is a cultural phenomenon in the first place, its ethnic and social dimensions coming second. It was the French Revolution which supplied the term "nation" with political undertones to replace the discarded "subjects of the French crown" with a new definition of a community of people. Civil society strives to restore the now absent feedback between society and power as the global principle of administration in living nature and in all man-made artifacts.

Active members of civil society do not seek personal leadership even though each of them wants recognition in their professional activities - this is the most striking feature of civil society.

CIVIL SOCIETY helps the state move faster to the constitutional aim by minimizing the losses incurred on society in the period of transfer to the law-governed social-oriented state.

When dealing with *socium* as a whole civil society should, first of all, teach the people to discern the cause-and-effect relationship as related to the past and present.

## Crisis of Multiculturalism and the Future of European Civilization

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*Commentator for International Affairs, Candidate of Science (Philosophy)*



Globalization and a new global culture created the phenomenon of multiculturalism as a special type of tolerance indispensable for a new society of postmodernity.

Marcuse did not limit himself to the calls to shatter the capitalist system; he was consistently destroying the basic values of the Western world: Christianity and the institutes of the family and morality rooted in it. The Frankfurt School undermined, in the literal

sense of the word, the immutable values of their time. For them, Christianity was the source of all troubles. The ideology of multiculturalism was aptly described as "presumptuous atheism."<sup>9</sup> "Multiculturalism treats Christianity as a hypocritical cover-up the white exploiters used and continue using in their interests."<sup>10</sup> Multiculturalism is the most powerful weapon of destruction of European culture; in this context it is no longer a challenge to the universal but an instrument of deliberate destruction of Western traditions.

With an advent of globalization, the European sociologists looked deeper into the phenomenon of multiculturalism. Today, this ideology is associated with what is known as "reverse globalization" when people from the backyard of the world are moving in huge numbers to large European cities. Nowadays, multiculturalism is part of neoliberal ideology. On the whole, the ideology of multiculturalism turned out to be a utopia; considerably altered it perfectly fitted the "supranational world" concept, the darling of neoliberal economists. The typically European idea that all people can and will abandon their cultural and ethnic specifics for the sake of a liberal tolerant society in which members of all cultures would enjoy equal rights failed ignominiously. In 2010, Angela Merkel had to admit that the policy of multiculturalism was a total failure.



## Theoretical Foundations of the American Concept of Nuclear Non-Proliferation

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Despite the international legal instruments restraining the spread of nuclear weapons, which are predicated on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), it is quite difficult to ensure effective functioning of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. After the nuclear tests by India and Pakistan in 1998 and by North Korea in 2009, the danger arose that the nuclear club

would grow.

To date, the need to strengthen the legal mechanism to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons is acknowledged by most countries.

In 1953, U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower came up with a program called Atoms for Peace. Its principal tenet was as follows: the more the atom is used for peaceful purposes, the less for military.<sup>7</sup> This program was designed to create the illusion of a reduction in military uses of atomic energy.

In the early 1960s, by the time John F. Kennedy came to power in the United States, the threat of a further increase in the number of countries possessing nuclear weapons had become so real that the problem of non-proliferation re-occupied a central place in U.S. foreign policy orientations, forcing the new American administration to reconsider its nuclear policy.

Thus, in the 1960s, U.S. policy on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in the 1960s was still distinguished by aggressiveness and the desire to dominate, which corresponded to its theoretical basis; that is, political realism.

The spread of nuclear weapons at the start of the 21st century has brought with it new challenges and threats, to which the American theorists and experts are still trying to give answers.

## Russia-Poland Treaty Is 20

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The work on the treaty started in the Soviet era and ended after the disintegration of the USSR and the formation of 15 sovereign and independent states in its place. A turning point indeed!

Radical changes sweeping Europe at that time could not but produce a change in relations between the USSR and the Republic of Poland.

The negotiating process coincided with preparations for parliamentary elections with the right-conservative forces looking for material to stir up anti-communist

and anti-Soviet attitudes.

What happened on August 19, 1991 had serious repercussions on the ending of talks on the political treaty. They were not immediate. Poland's reaction to the State Committee of the State of Emergency was apprehensive but reserved. The Soviet embassy insisted on holding the scheduled round of troop withdrawal talks.

The 1992 treaty born in so dramatic conditions formed a strong political and legal foundation for building relations between the former and now new partners - the Russian Federation and the Republic of Poland. While its duration was set at 15 years, it turns 20 this year. All its fundamental provisions remain as valid and important as before.

As an extension of the treaty, the government of the Russian Federation and the government of the Republic of Poland signed an agreement on navigation in the Kaliningrad/Vistula Bay (2009), which boosted cooperation in this region and stepped up the flow of goods.

## Mexico and Russia: The Open Door Policy

*Author: Pablo A. Lozano Lozano*

*Pablo A. Lozano Lozano, Chargé d'Affaires of the United Mexican States in the Russian Federation*



The concept of "visa diplomacy" is defined as "the use of visa issuance or denial at an individual, group, or inter-state level, to influence another state's policies."<sup>1</sup> Use of the exclusive right to issue migratory documents has become a diplomatic tool to express recognition of the sovereign rights of other states, or to bolster cooperation if in other areas of bilateral relations the conditions do not allow this.

If national security interests take precedence over business and lead to a border closure or an overly severe restriction on migration flows, they can become an obstacle to the growth of trade relations with the attendant negative consequences for the economy.

All the measures taken by the Mexican government in order to simplify the visa regime have made it possible to elevate economic and trade relations between the two countries to a qualitatively new level.

The growing numbers of Russian tourists to Mexico and the expanding commercial ties, from 2006 to the present, obviously confirm how restrained was the real potential for reciprocal trade. Thanks to the simplification of the visa regime and, accordingly, the rise in the number of Russians visiting Mexico, broad new vistas have opened up for two-way contacts, the restructuring of trade relations and more intensive export development.



## "We Triumphed Over an Enemy of Gruesome Strength"

*Author: Yu. Rubtsov*

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It was a war of extermination imposed on us by Hitler's Fascism, and we were forced to accept this war. It was a question of life or death.

For the West, the world war, as previous wars, meant a dispute among themselves. Look at how the Germans entered Paris and how they related to the resistance of Leningrad.

The liberating and fair nature of the Great Patriotic War is being downplayed. The term "Great Patriotic War" is being replaced with

"Soviet-Nazi war," war between the Soviet Union and Germany. These approaches cannot be ignored. There is a lot of propaganda. And most important, it is being incorporated into the learning process.

The most interesting thing is that it is the current leaders of the countries of the former anti-Hitler coalition that are trying to discredit the decisions of their predecessors.

Only 13% of the German prisoner-of-war did not return from Soviet camps; that is, they died, including natural deaths and not at all from back-breaking work. I think that according to the most approximate estimates, no more than 20% of Soviet prisoners returned from the Fascist camps.

According to the latest calculations, we can say that according to official historical science the Soviet Union's total losses during the war amounted to 27.6 million people.

## The Saga of Gold, Ships and "Baltic Diplomatic Phantoms"

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In diplomatic correspondence, the Soviet government repeatedly insisted, in no uncertain terms, that the Baltic countries were part of the USSR as per their Constitutions and the Constitution of the USSR, and that it did not think it possible to consider an exchange of the Baltic region for some foreign territory. In turn, official Washington and London formed an anti-Soviet united front on this "sensitive" question, opposing the "absorption" of the Baltic States.

Dealing with court cases pertaining to the return of Baltic property, including ships, to Morflot, the Merchant Fleet of the USSR, was the business of Charles Recht, who officially represented Soviet interests in the U.S. and thereafter actively worked with Soviet citizens and organizations. The arrest of the Estonian steamship *Maret* and of two Latvian steamers, *Hercogs Jēkabs* (Duke Jacob) in Peru and *Ever Elza*, were among the most high-profile investigations conducted.

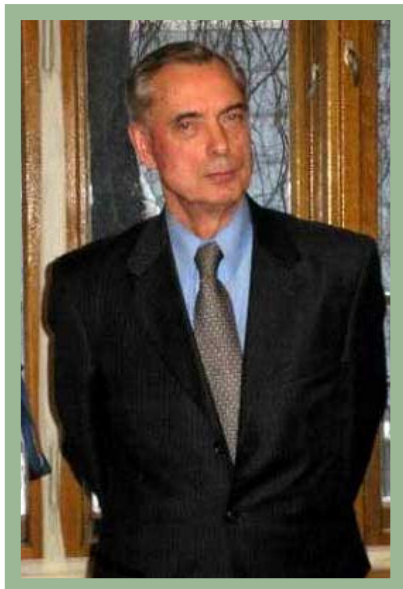
But the United States, like its ally United Kingdom, not only considered reviewing its claims, but continued to intensify its efforts to organize a single nucleus of resistance of all the Baits, with Sweden chosen as the base for it. Evacuation of Baltic population to "neutral" Sweden was agreed with the German occupation authorities and was supported by that country's government observing formal neutrality, as well as by the British Commonwealth and, of course, Washington.

During the "Soviet occupation," the missions of the Baltic republics in Washington were provided with full diplomatic recognition, which gave them ample opportunity to remind the world tirelessly of their juridical existence and to protect the interests of their citizens. The State Department held that position from 1940 to 1991, and the incorporation of the Baltic republics into the Soviet Union was never recognized by the United States either *de facto* or *de jure*.

## The Middle Eastern Horizons of Yevgeny Primakov

*Author: B. Piadyshev*

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The author, an unrivaled expert in the Mid-Eastern developments (equally versed in all other foreign policy issues), could not and would not pass the world-shattering and tragic events of Arab Spring in silence.

The new expanded edition of *Blizhniy Vostok na stsene i za kulisami* has been timed perfectly.

The massive rallies which swept, early in 2011, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Libya, Bahrain, and Syria are still fresh in our memory. In the first two they caused regime change; in Libya NATO was directly involved. Time will show how the Middle East has been affected by them. Today, we all know that the Arab Spring did affect the future of the Arab

world and will echo throughout the world.

Primakov demonstrates his usual exactitude and love of detail when he investigates the main problems and the repercussions of the Arab Spring. In Egypt and Tunisia, Islamist organizations snatched revolutionary initiative; this means that their future depends, to a great extent, on the relationships between moderate and radical Islamists. The United States is already working toward establishing official contacts with the former.

Author concludes his book by saying that world civilization is not limited to high technology: it is a sum-total of various cultural, religious and political flows which invariably remain specific while consistently bringing social-cultural communities closer together for a dialogue. Today, this dialogue is in a crisis caused, in the first place, by NATO's and the United States thoughtless determination to export democracy Western style to other (Muslim) countries; what is more, this is done with the use of force.

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