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Strengthening the Moral Foundations of International Relations

Author: Sergei Lavrov

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia



YOUR HOLINESS,

Esteemed guests.

Dear friends.

We have agreed to meet here in this format to discuss the role of religion as a factor in international relations and its impact on the realization of our foreign policy. I am sincerely grateful to the Holy Patriarch for his personal participation in our meeting.

The tradition of cooperation between Russia's diplomatic service and the Russian Orthodox Church

(ROC) goes back centuries. In recent history, following the breakup of the Soviet Union, when the state did not have an effective way of staying in touch with those who had ended up abroad virtually overnight, the Russian Orthodox Church assumed the role as a link and the custodian of spiritual and cultural values, providing a lifeline to our compatriots abroad.

Today we have a very broad field for interaction: Objectively, the interests of the Russian Church harmoniously complement the Russian Foreign Ministry's work with our compatriots abroad and our peacekeeping efforts in the CIS and other regions, facilitating the invigoration of interstate ties. A good case in point are the steps that the ROC leadership took in promoting an atmosphere of empathy with the Polish people

Together, we oppose any manifestations of racism, xenophobia, and intolerance, as well as any attempts to divide the world along religious, ethnic, or cultural lines. We have a common understanding of the importance of interreligious, intercultural dialogue. The Foreign Ministry's priorities include the promotion of the initiative to establish a consultative religious council under the aegis of the UN, as well as the launch of a full-fledged mechanism for religious "dialogue" at UNESCO, where some progress has been made, although things are moving very slowly.

I would like to assure you, Your Holiness, that the Foreign Ministry will continue to provide the Russian Orthodox Church every assistance in strengthening its positions abroad and restoring its property rights to land plots and churches that historically belonged to Russia, as well as render legal, consular, and information support on all matters of interest to you.

Needless to say, the religious factor in global politics is a complex, diverse subject requiring an especially well balanced approach.

We regard the consolidation of the moral basis of international relations as part of big time politics.

Russia's Spiritual Mission

Author: Patriarch Kirill

His Holiness, Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Russia



ESTEEMED SERGEI VIKTOROVICH,
Esteemed members of the Collegium of the
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia.

By positing the prospect of eternity, religion can bring stability and predictability to a situation of uncertainty and conflict. The world economic crisis has demonstrated graphically that stable material prosperity is impossible without reliance on such fundamental concepts as spiritu-

ality, morality and goodness. Faith is a powerful source of spiritual values. It opens to the people the supreme meaning of existence, gives them hope for the victory of good, and endows them with energy for living.

At the same time, religious faith can be directed either at creative or destructive purposes. Unfortunately, religion as a factor in the modern world is generally associated with problems of religious extremism and terrorism. Less attention is given to the positive potential of religion in the life of society.

Russia has declared its course toward modernization. It is especially important, while borrowing the best from other countries but at the same time relying on its own identity, to find a model of development that would put it in the same league with stable and prosperous states.

When the Russian Orthodox Church speaks about the Russian World, it means a common value space, not simply the Russian-speaking world or the circle of Russia's friends.

Russia needs to have a clear understanding of its mission as it addresses the rest of the world. Russia's predominant mission could be defined as upholding the truth in the world.

The Russian World will exist not as a fine abstraction but as a real factor in international relations when close ties are maintained between the countries that are the direct descendants of Kievan Rus - Russia, Ukraine and Belarus.

It is also important to maintain church contacts with ancient Orthodox patriarchates in the Middle East that are in a difficult ethnic-religious situation. The programs of my visits to brotherly ancient patriarchates include meetings with leaders of non-Orthodox and Muslim communities, as well as the political leadership of these countries.

In the global world today there is not only the problem of relations with other civilizations and cultures but also a pressing need to lay down rules and regulations for international contacts.

Wrapping up my presentation, I would like to note that the religious factor today plays an important role in foreign policy, as well as in international relations.

Author: S. Ryabkov

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation



Consideration of the treaty in the Senate took a long time and that did not come as a surprise. There was only a certain measure of concern when some U.S. politicians, including current senators, sought not only to interpret anew some of the treaty provisions but also to amend its text. Fortunately, that did not happen and one should give credit to the Obama administration that had mobilized its entire political resources to convince those in doubt and opponents about the importance of the document

and its necessity from the point of view of U.S. national security interests. Significant forces were involved in that work: former U.S. state secretaries, secretaries of defense, and national security advisers. Moreover, not only from Democratic but also from Republican administrations.

This is a serious result that enabled the Russian side - at the level of the Russian president and foreign minister - to make a positive assessment of the U.S. senators' decision immediately after the Senate passed its ratification resolution. Now it is the matter of interpretation because the text contains some wording that is open to interpretation. But it is precisely the essence of diplomacy to move further on the basis of what has been achieved. There can be different interpretations but it is important simply to search for a common denominator on these disputable matters. Amid the qualitative and quantitative buildup of U.S. missile defense systems, the future of the START-IN treaty as such could be uncertain.

This year we have some serious tasks related to Russia's accession to the WTO. Incidentally, the U.S. administration approaches this task in a very responsible manner, understanding its importance and trying to help us. The ratification by the U.S. Congress last year of an agreement on cooperation with Russia in the peaceful use of atomic energy went almost unnoticed. We have already completed the process of putting this document into force through an exchange of official notes. For many years, the absence of such a treaty has prevented us from establishing ties in this area of cooperation with the United States that is so important in all respects, including the innovative one.

Last year, a new economic agenda was introduced in bilateral ties; there were numerous visits and contacts between U.S. venture firms and our innovation companies.

We believe that there is still a large number of untapped opportunities. At the same time our defense, security, law enforcement and other concerned agencies are working along these lines. There are matters related to the strengthening of borders and helping our allies improve their ability to control their own borders. Finally, it is a subject for direct dialogue with the United States and other ISAF participants.

Russia's Eastern Policy: Summing Up and Looking Forward

Author: A. Borodavkin

Deputy Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation



THE YEAR 2010 has become history. The Asia-Pacific Region (APR) which stretches from Iran to Japan and the South Pacific islands used it to leave the global financial and economic crisis behind; move to dynamic development; acquire and strengthen new poles of growth and influence and push forward multisided cooperation. Much of what was going on there, however, caused concern: repeated flare-ups of old disagreements and conflicts; the challenges and threats of the last few decades as well as the still very much obvious gap between the development levels of some of the states and sub-regions. In other words, very much as before the region scored up impressive achievements and was still grappling with numerous unresolved problems.

In 2010, Russia demonstrated a lot of foreign policy activity in the region which brought good results. Russia's diplomacy proceeded from a clear understanding that the future of Russia depended, to a great extent, on its cooperation with the Asia-Pacific countries and on an awareness that Russia had no other choice but to become part of the rapidly unfolding regional integration.

Our cooperation with the countries of the Middle East and South Asia on the anti-terrorist and anti-drug agenda consolidated; Russia was actively involved in defusing the tension built-up by the Iranian nuclear program and was working toward its greater transparency and greater controllability.

In 2010, Russia together with its APR neighbors was engaged in large-scale bilateral economic projects. The Skovorodino-Daqing oil pipeline was opened and started bringing Russian oil to China.

Direct investments of Asian states in Russia's economy have increased and continue to grow. Russia's cultural and humanitarian contacts in the region became much more varied, the Year of China in Russia which saw over 200 events being one of the pertinent examples.

On the whole, 2010 was a good year for Russia's foreign policy efforts in Asia; it added vigor to its Asian policies in line with the assignments President Dmitry Medvedev formulated at the conference on social and economic development of the Far East and strengthening Russia's positions in the APR which took place in Khabarovsk on July 2, 2010. The first practical results can be seen.

These active purposeful and consistent efforts will go on in 2011; they will involve the federal executive and legislative structures, Federation subjects, the Russian business community, the public and the expert community.

The OSCE Reinvigorated

*Author: Marc Perrin
de Brichambaut OSCE Secretary General*



I think the Astana Summit turned out to be a very positive summit. Twenty-five heads of state were there plus the others at a very high level. It was quite an achievement for our organization. It put back into the limelight the issues of pan-European security after a period where there was much doubt and problems. We managed to have an excellent declaration after many years in which we had problems. The fact is that it includes a very powerful recommitment to upholding the main values, standards and commitments of the

organization; the fact is that it is very forward-looking and spans a large spectrum of activities. That's really a big boost for the organization.

And then there's what you don't necessarily see with the naked eye. All that was made possible by a new quality of relationships, particularly between the Russian Federation, the United States and the EU.

Your Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov gave an interview right after the summit. It is an in-depth and high-caliber text which deserves being studied. In fact, I distributed this text at a recent meeting in Vienna because I thought that all the political scientists and analysts who were there could benefit from it. It is a very balanced and fair account of what happened in Astana.

The OSCE would not have survived and continued to function without the goodwill and attention of the Russian Federation in recent years. But it needs support from everybody else. And that's where things are more complicated.

Your minister contributed to overcoming the problem by his continued engagement with the OSCE. By the positive instructions he gave to try and reach consensus in Astana, and by promoting the summit with successful substance he greatly helped address this problem of identity.

We have very good informal relationship between the OSCE and the CSTO. Secretary General Bordyuzha visits Vienna often; he addressed the Permanent Council, I addressed the CSTO ambassadors. We recently were on the telephone when the new initiative on security in Kyrgyzstan was adopted. I informed him of what was going to happen so that he could have a good understanding of what we were trying to do, how soon and where, and so on. We are being regularly invited to the Kanal operation events of the CSTO.

We had difficult moments. One was in August of 2008. We also had some happy moments that brought me personal satisfaction. A few things I achieved personally, like convincing Australia to become an Asian partner in cooperation. And we have, for instance, a big *mélange* disposal project in Ukraine on which I worked very hard. And there is another project we managed to put together in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan to guard borders between Central Asian states and Afghanistan. These are the things I worked on quite hard and with great satisfaction. We worked closely and in harmony together with our Russian partners.

Russia and the International Organizations in Vienna

Author: A. Zmeyerovskiy

Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the International Organizations in Vienna, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary This interview was previously published by Novyy Vensky zhurnal (New Viennese Journal)



The international organizations in Vienna have significant expert potential and experience in implementing large innovative projects in the most diverse areas. They can also contribute to solving Russia's modernization tasks in the interests of our country's long-term development. Let us take, for example, atomic energy development programs, which constitute a separate vector within the framework of the modernization project. Progress in this area is impossible without extensive international cooperation, a

perceptible role in which is played by the IAEA.

A verification regime of unprecedented scope is currently being created for ensuring implementation of the treaty, which will include on-site inspections and comprise 337 facilities of the International Monitoring System (IMS) worldwide. It is designed to discover possible non-compliance with the basic obligations of the Treaty.

The information received from IMS facilities can also have the so-called dual use, that is, it can be used not only in the interests of the treaty, but also for the most diverse scientific and civilian purposes, including helping to resolve certain global problems.

Russia has become a sponsor of the Organization and now contributes \$2.6 million every year to UNIDO's activity. This money is used to implement high-tech and innovative projects. Our sponsor activity is concentrated in Russia's near abroad. So three out of four projects funded by Russia are implemented in the CIS and EurAsEC countries. They are aimed at assisting the industrial development of neighboring states and developing integration processes throughout the post-Soviet expanse. I think that UNIDO's rich expert potential could be useful for solving our country's comprehensive modernization tasks and promoting its technological breakthrough. Using UNIDO's services to develop the so-called green industry based on investments in resource-efficient and eco-friendly production looks promising. The Organization's experts think that this type of innovation will be a long-term development imperative and will help to eliminate the direct dependence between economic growth and its detrimental impact on the environment.

In general, without global efforts to oppose the crime threats, we can hardly count on creating favorable conditions for modernization and development, particularly in states like Russia that are located at the crossroads between the West and the East.

Business and civil society are called upon to make an important contribution to the development of global anti-crime partnership under the UN aegis, particularly in such areas as combating terrorism, fighting corruption, trafficking in humans, preventing and treating drug dependence, combating the leak of drug precursors, laundering criminal money, and so on.

Central Asia in Geopolitics: The American Vector

Author: S. Nikolaev

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CENTRAL ASIA has a rich history. At one time, it boasted the Great Silk Road, a major trade route between Europe and China. It was also an arena where Chinese, Mongolian, Persian, Turkish, and Arabian military commanders led their armies in brutal battles, prosperous towns were built and destroyed, and huge empires appeared and disappeared. So researchers have examined this region in the most diverse geographical configurations.

Without delving into the already distant past, let us

take a closer look at some of the main milestones of the region's debut in geopolitics.

Talk first turned to Central Asia in the 19th century when the Russian Empire began forming its southern boundaries.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the strategic importance of this region was acknowledged anew.

Today, the geopolitical map of the Central Asia region is distinguished by enviable diversity. It is in the center of attention of many influential world players.

Russia traditionally holds a strong position in it. China is gaining strength in the Central Asian expanse. The European Union is implementing its own New Partnership Strategy there. The "Central Asia plus Japan" dialogue functions in the region. Cooperation is actively developing with regional states - Turkey, Iran, India, Pakistan, the Republic of Korea, and several Arab countries.

When analyzing U.S. strategy in present-day Central Asia, experts usually try to identify the main stages in its evolution.

At the turn of the 20th-21st centuries, the U.S. set itself the following tasks in Central Asia:

- to prevent a situation in which one state or group of states, such as Russia and China, dominates in the region to an extent that excludes America's presence there;
- to prevent Central Asia from becoming a base for extremist Islamic forces;
- to prevent the region from turning into a channel for illicit drug circulation;
- to provide American companies with access to Central Asia's energy resources;
- to promote the development of a civil society, law-based state, and transparent market economy in the region's states.

However, by the beginning of the new millennium, American policy had not acquired any cohesion in Central Asia. And although Washington has managed to increase its influence in the region, it has still not been able to achieve any clear advantages over Moscow. Their relations can best be described as a "zero-sum game."

The economic and trade relations between Russia and the Central Asian republics established back in Soviet times continued to develop.

The UN: Combating Drugs and Organized Crime

Author: Yu. Fedotov

Executive Director of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime



As regards drugs and crime, they are one of the most important areas of international activity. They in fact constitute a global challenge. The UN Office combats various types of international crime related to drugs, human trafficking, corruption, money laundering, and terrorism. Meeting these challenges takes a coordinated and integrated approach.

It's no secret that terrorism is being largely sustained precisely with drug money. All these

things are interconnected. This is why it is important for the international community to have a global and all-embracing strategy for combating transnational crime.

My main objective is to have the Office work as efficiently as possible. My employees are skilled experts; we issue many interesting analytical materials and develop various programs. Thus we have the required potential.

The global action plan to combat drug trafficking was adopted one year ago. Now it's time to act on it.

It is necessary to move ahead along three interrelated fronts. One: to combat the drug business, starting with the manufacture of drugs and ending with the taking of drugs.

Two: to take into account the whole range of factors pertaining to organized crime.

Three: to coordinate efforts on the national, regional and global scale.

And when we manage to achieve coordinated action along all three fronts, we would be able then to say that we have the real prospect to put drug business out of business.

Between two and three million people become slaves around the world every year. They are women and children who are forced into prostitution through deception and intimidation. They are people forced to beg or take part in armed conflicts. In some instances, human trafficking is aimed at procuring human organs for transplantation. Modern slave traders earn a total of \$32 billion a year.

Both trading in humans and illegal migration are going hand in hand with corruption. Without corruption, without bribes paid to bureaucrats, it is impossible to organize illegal trade in humans, move them from one country to another and solve emigration problems. These are links in a single chain which should be cut.

No More Cheap Oil

*Authors: Armen Oganessian
Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs*



ACCORDING TO Suleiman Jasir Al-Herbish, Director-General of the OPEC Fund for International Development (OFID), there will be no more cheap oil.

Since 1976, OFID has been a major international development agency, as well as an authoritative research and analysis center. The Fund's main task is to strengthen cooperation and OPEC's influence in developing countries.

In recent years, the oil market has "turned somersaults" that have made many experts feel dizzy.

However, the person I was talking to meant something quite different: the cost of oil production in the world is rising rapidly. Russian analysts naturally agree with this. But it is not only that the cost of production of a ton of oil has increased. OPEC's mission, Mr. Al-Herbish believes, is to ensure security of oil supply today and in the future. For this purpose, he said, we must spend billions of dollars on ensuring sustainable development of the world economy, taking into account not only its immediate needs, but also possible emergencies. As he put it, we must invest in "future oil."

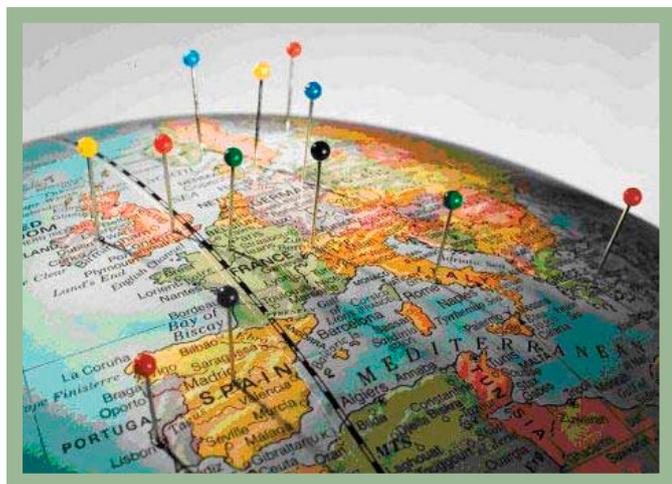
When asked to comment on the recent deal between BP and Rosneft, Mr. Al-Herbish said he fully understood the logic of attracting foreign investment when it was a matter of developing oil and gas fields in difficult natural conditions.

The Director-General of OFID thinks it critically important to reconsider OPEC's basic principle formulated 50 years ago at the time of its foundation. According to this principle, the OPEC member countries use their oil revenue mainly to balance their national budgets. In the view of Mr. Al-Herbish, this provision has fettered and continues to fetter the leading oil producers in their movement towards diversification. The task today, he said, is just the opposite: producer countries should not rely on oil as the main instrument for ensuring a balanced budget.

Shortly before the meeting in Vienna, International Affairs held a roundtable on the topic of "Russia and OPEC" with the participation of the Economic Policy Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Soyuzneftegaz specialists, experts from research and academic institutions, business people and independent analysts. The participants in the discussion agreed that Russia lacks a coherent strategy for cooperation with OPEC.

Russian experts are unanimous: oil production conditions in Russia and OPEC differ widely, and socio-economic imbalances do not allow us to put the issue of Russian membership of OPEC on the current agenda. In principle, Mr. Al-Herbish agrees with this. But what prevents Russia, he asked, from taking a more active part in OPEC activities and working together with OPEC member countries? What indeed?

Report prepared by a team of experts from the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences under the editorship of Academician A.A. Dynkin



THE EXTREMELY COMPLICATED TASK of long-term forecasting calls for the systemic analysis of global trends to make concrete assessments and recommendations. It would be expedient to use such forecasting to elaborate a strategy for developing and consolidating the national security of Russia to raise the quality of life of its citizens by strengthening its international positions and impact on world processes.

Specialists at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) have gained extensive experience and developed methodologies in forecasting, allowing them to make qualitative descriptions of strategically important long-term trends. In so doing, they also take international forecasting practices into account.

Today, the most important trend is comprehensive long-term forecasting. It is particularly popular at the UN and other international organizations and in the USA, EU, and China. STRATEGIC GLOBAL forecasting studies are still quite rare today. Such studies include a series of reports called Global Trends including forecasts to the years 2010 and 2015 that are published by the U.S. National Intelligence Council and Atlantic Council.

The analysis of international development in the coming twenty years is particularly important for Russia in the context of its modernization agenda.

In 2010, the forecast Global Governance 2025 was prepared in this series. It offers development scenarios for international institutes and governance and regulatory structures as well as the interaction of leading powers in the domains of security, energy, social processes, etc.

Russia faces the task of adequately adapting to global processes taking place in politics, military affairs, economics, and the social sphere on the basis of a rational strategy of their use.

It is impossible to conduct successful national reforms that run counter to global trends. The present strategic assessment of international development to the year 2030 continues the tradition of long-term forecasting by the Institute of World Economy and International Relations.

The forecast is probabilistic in nature and does not claim to predict the future.

Identifying and taking into account mutual ties between different processes in the eco-

conomic, financial, socio-demographic, scientific, and technological domains makes it possible to paint a comprehensive picture of qualitative global changes over the upcoming twenty years.

Such a methodology uncovers the sustainable development trends of the world economy and political system as well as the participating countries, structures, and institutes.

The main task is to show what risks and opportunities arise for Russia from the key international political and economic trends.

IN THE WORLD TODAY people are increasingly realizing that the successful development of countries is possible only through the augmentation of joint efforts for solving global problems. This trend counteracts the growing radicalism of marginal regimes and different socio-political, religious and ethnic groups. Over the next 20 years, the world will develop in an evolutionary manner without the radical changes and upheavals that were characteristic of the preceding two decades.

Large-scale reforms will be abetted by the arrival of a new generation of leaders that grew up in the conditions of globalization and open information society and that are largely free from "outdated thinking." These people were born in the 1970s and 1980s, got their education in the 1990s and 2000s, and entered political life in the 2000s and 2010s.

IN THE NEXT 20 YEARS, the ideology of globalization based on democracy and the free market will retain its position as the leading international ideological trend.

The values of individual freedom, equality, and human rights will become increasingly attractive on a global scale, despite ever more frequent discussions about the sustainability of the capitalist model due to the global financial and economic crisis.

Growing in might, China will continue to adapt its national historic and cultural values to the international ideological mainstream.

Different versions of the concept of equality will be replaced by the concept of non-destabilizing inequality.

Its essence lies in the recognition of the fundamental impossibility of attaining total equality and absolute justice. Society will maintain an ineradicable yet modifiable level of inequality and an equitable level of saturation of demand that will not lead to socio-political destabilization.

The influence of religions will change in an uneven fashion. The world will witness

- A territorial expansion of Islam and an increase in the number of Muslims in Europe and the U.S.

- A growing importance of Africa, Latin America, and Asia in the Christian world

- Stagnation in the spread of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Judaism

- A growing number of people that are indifferent to all religions The adaptation of religions to the new realities will lead to the appearance of such "hybrid" ideological

phenomena as "Catholic Socialism" in Latin America, "Islamic Conservatism" in the Middle East, etc.

The mechanisms and principles of global governance will continue to develop. Before 2030, this process will not lead to the emergence of designated institutes of super-national economic and politic monitoring and regulation.

THE EFFECTS of the world financial and economic crisis will continue to be felt during the first half of the forecast period.

THE GLOBALIZATION of the world economy in the upcoming 20 years may increase the annual growth of the global GDP by an additional 25%.

Considerable changes will take place in the service sector with a growing share of services in the domains of public health, education, information exchange, telecommunications, travel, etc. The main change by the year 2030 will be China's entry into the group of countries with a medium level of development and with high socioeconomic growth. The very classification of developed and developing countries will change.

The G7 will not become the G20: such a large multilateral mechanism would have a very difficult time making decisions on a consensual basis, yet nothing less would be acceptable to the less developed participants of the "group of twenty."

THE AUTHORS of the present forecast believe that the conjecture of climatic change due to human activity has not been sufficiently proven so far, because the period of climatic observation is too small.

The changing balance of forces in the community of transnational corporations creates new opportunities for the development of international economy and politics.

Integration at the corporate level will make it possible to

- Increase the efficiency of the use of capital by the world's leading countries
- Augment the interdependence of the main international players
- Strengthen the foundations of a compromise approach to the solution of global security problems

At the same time, qualitative changes in the role of transnational corporations will create new challenges for the relations between transnational corporations and between corporations and national governments.

The contradiction will grow between the interests of corporate business and the interests of countries and the world as a whole.

UNESCO: A Big Anniversary

Author: E. Mitrofanova

Chairperson of the Executive Board of UNESCO, Permanent Delegate of the Russian Federation to UNESCO



UNESCO's "big anniversary" was in mid-November 2010, and its main event - a celebration ceremony at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris - was held in December with the participation of many distinguished guests, former heads of the Organization, UNESCO Goodwill Ambassadors and Artists for Peace, well-known public and cultural figures, scholars and diplomats.

From the historical perspective, 65 years is a relatively short period, but for a large international

organization it is a sufficiently mature age. UNESCO was established right after the Second World War to promote international understanding and cooperation through education, science and culture for the benefit of humanity. It was founded by world-famous scholars, public figures and politicians who realized the importance of creating such an organization.

Today, our Organization is a laboratory of ideas, a standard-setting forum and an information exchange center; it seeks to build the appropriate potential of its member states and is a catalyst for international humanitarian cooperation. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has recently noted UNESCO's significant contribution to the humanitarian aspects of the global agenda, to ensuring sustainable development in the key areas of its mandate.

Russia is equally interested in cooperation with UNESCO in all its fields of competence: education, science, culture, information, and communication.

Of course, UNESCO is a living organism and thus should change. Our primary task is to reform the Organization so that it could respond to new challenges as promptly and effectively as possible.

Our country has been a member of UNESCO since 21 April 1954. We decided to join this unique organization because we fully agree with its Constitution, which says that "the purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations." In my opinion, there is nothing to add to this. It is a matter of building peace in people's minds as well as world peace.

We are convinced that our Organization is an effective mechanism of humanity's sustainable development in the 21st century and are prepared to continue cooperating with it in all areas of its program activities.

On the Results of the OSCE Summit in Astana

Authors: A. Azimov

Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the OSCE



THE OSCE SUMMIT IN ASTANA (Kazakhstan) held after an 11-year break was undoubtedly a significant event in the recent life of the Organization. In the final analysis, the very fact of a meeting between Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian heads of state and government aimed at restoring the culture of political dialogue within the OSCE and setting political guidelines for further progress was very important.

Much of the credit for this goes to Kazakhstan. Such a large-scale event could hardly have taken

place under any other Chairmanship. The OSCE participating states have paid tribute to a country which in the 19 years of its existence has made impressive progress in all areas of its national development and has successfully borne the burden of directing a number of large international organizations.

We are not inclined to dramatize the fact that the Astana Summit failed to reach consensus on an Action Plan. From the very beginning, this over-detailed document had little chance of success due to attempts by some countries to include their own priorities (particularly regarding regional conflicts) that were obviously incompatible with the position and international law obligations of other states. High-level meetings are no substitute for painstaking crisis management work.

Russia's position on a Transnistrian settlement was just as constructive: once again we emphasized the importance of resuming formal negotiations in the "5 plus 2" format. We expect the OSCE to make progress after the Astana meeting. At the same time, we should all learn our lessons from the Summit. It is necessary to rise above narrow national priorities and learn to look for compromises in the common interest.

On the whole, we believe that the OSCE has enough resources and instruments to play a constructive role in European affairs. We have a unique chance to restore the original and main purpose of the Organization: to serve as a forum for broad, open and equal political dialogue between states on the key issues of cooperation and security. Acting as an effective mechanism for the regional implementation of universal instruments of international law in all areas (be it maintaining politico-military security, promoting conflict resolution and post-conflict rehabilitation, addressing transnational threats and challenges, fostering economic and environmental cooperation, or protecting human rights), the OSCE can make a substantial contribution to the construction of a common and indivisible security community stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

The main thing now is to embody the spirit of Astana in concrete agreements and documents. In this respect, the Russian side is prepared for constructive and fruitful cooperation with future OSCE Chairmanships - Lithuania, Ireland and Ukraine - in developing practical steps towards a common and indivisible security community.

The Russian-Norwegian Treaty: Delimitation for Cooperation

Author: R. Kolodkin

Head of the Russian delegation at the talks with Norway on maritime delimitation, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary



ON SEPTEMBER 15, 2010, the Treaty between the Kingdom of Norway and the Russian Federation concerning Maritime Delimitation and Cooperation in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean was signed in Murmansk.

THE MURMANSK TREATY completes the years-long process of the maritime delimitation between the neighboring states that started back in 1957 with the maritime border agreement between the USSR and Norway signed in Varangerfjord.

SUBJECT TO DELIMITATION was a vast maritime area between mainland Russia and Norway in the south, the Russian archipelagos of Novaya Zemlya and Franz Josef Land in the east, and Norway's Spitsbergen archipelago in the west. This area comprises almost the entire Barents Sea and the adjacent part of the Arctic Ocean. A significant part of the area is covered with ice. However, there is intensive shipping and fishing activity in its southern part.

OBVIOUSLY, if parties wish to achieve a just delimitation, it should be just in the view of both of them. This result can only be attained on the basis of compromise - mutual departure from original claims. As a general rule, the more realistic and the better substantiated a claim, the less it will have to be adjusted in the course of negotiations.

The basic principles of the fishing regime that, in their opinion, should be recorded in the treaty were as follows.

First, the delimitation should not impair the sides' possibilities for fishing in the former disputed area. Second, the 1975 and 1976 fishing agreements were to remain in force for 15 years after the delimitation with the option of subsequent prolongation. Third, the mechanism of interaction between the two countries' fishing regulators - the joint commission, which had proved its efficiency - was to be preserved. Fourth, our fishermen were to receive an opportunity, within two years of the future treaty's entry into force, to continue applying the Russian regulations in respect of some technical aspects of fishing in that part of the former disputed area that would remain under Norway's jurisdiction.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, the most important thing here is that this is the just settlement of a long-running dispute, a long-standing issue in Russian-Norwegian relations. Even with regard to the disputed area alone, not the entire delimitation area, the maritime area in question is enormous all the same (four times as large as, for example, the territory of the Netherlands).

The importance of the Treaty goes beyond the framework of bilateral ties. By signing it, Russia and Norway have set an example of how it is possible - in the spirit of compromise, cooperation and mutual benefit, and in accordance with international law - to find just solutions to disputes over the status of vast Arctic maritime areas and therefore regional resources that are often regarded as a potential source of conflict.

Why the International Poverty Index Needs Readjustment

Author: E. Bragina

*Senior Fellow, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences,
Doctor of Sciences (Economics)*



POVERTY as a complicated economic and social phenomenon with a frequently decisive political impact has traveled a long road to arrive at the top of international agenda. Poverty is a sign of inadequate economic development and an unfair distribution of the national income.

The scope of poverty differed from country to country and from one historical epoch to another; its qualitative assessments were changing accordingly, yet at all times the poor paid the highest price

for social cataclysms.

All sorts of Utopias, frequently tagged as socialist because they promised universal equality, looked easy to realize yet all attempts to translate them into reality invariably failed.

In the latter half of the 20th century, the per capita income in groups of countries was accepted as a poverty index and an indication of the depth of an economic gap which separated them.

Numerous publications based on the studies conducted under the UN aegis in the South revealed that poverty, in various forms, could be found all over the world. This social and economic phenomenon lost clear geographical boundaries.

It is wrong to tie together terrorism on the rise in the world and poverty: the correlation is much more complicated and highly ambiguous. In the last few decades, many countries learned from their sad experience that persistent poverty which crushes souls and robs people of hope breeds extremism, especially among the young. Terror is concrete and therefore attractive: it aims at alien people with different faiths, ideas and way of life. Having splashed out beyond the national borders it became a global headache alleviated, but not cured, by contracting the areas of massive poverty and stemming its reproduction.

The growing number of jobless in the South is coupled with the rapidly increasing population. The vast body of young workforce can be interpreted as a demographic dividend, of which much has been written recently. To be tapped, its labor potential requires adequate education and adequate employment.

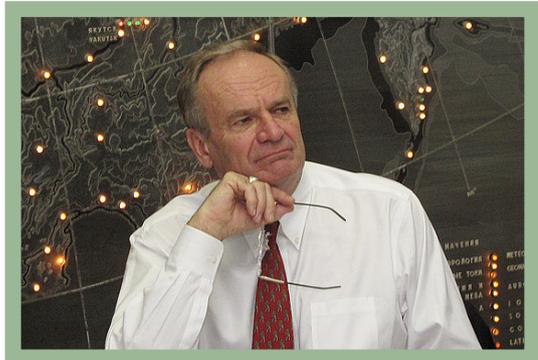
The UNDP 2010 Report identified three priorities: improving data and analysis to inform debates; providing an alternative to conventional approaches to studying development and increasing our understanding of inequality, vulnerability and sustainability. The highly dynamical economic and political situation in the world calls for a revision of the old conceptions yet we should scrutinize the results before going forward.

On the 70th birthday of Gerhard Schroeder, I would like, on behalf of the Russian diplomats who knew him and worked with him, to wish him and his family health and happiness.

NASA: An Institute for Diplomacy Through Science

Author: Detlof von Winterfeldt

Director of the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) in Laxenburg, Austria



The Soviet Union and the United States joined hands to establish the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) at the height of the Cold War, a geopolitical standoff.

It started with a conversation between President Johnson and Premier Kosygin in the United States; it was connected to a meeting they had at the UN at that time. One of the topics they discussed was essentially something you may consider science diplomacy, or diplomacy through science.

And the idea was born that an international institute founded primarily by the Soviet Union and the United States and their respective allies would be a good vehicle to study problems of joint interest, problems of the industrialized countries that we shared, like pollution and energy. Even though there was a major shift from East-West problems to North-South problems, we always have retained a global perspective. Most of our research in the early days had to do with global energy systems; we even started on climate change.

In terms of staff, we've always had a very vibrant Russian group of scientists.

I have always tried to infuse into NASA the notion that we ought to be more relevant to decision-makers in the world, including decision-makers in governments and, to some extent, in industry, but mostly in governments and international organizations.

The Global Energy Assessment (GEA) is unique in the sense that it goes way beyond energy. And that makes it interesting, for example, in contrast to the very valuable national or international energy agency contribution to the energy picture; we focus on energy and climate, energy and security, energy and poverty. So, we focus on the connections between energy problems and the other world problems. Of course, energy and climate changes are very, very important. This is now one of the three major themes of IIASA.

IIASA used to have a very strong water program that was primarily focused on pollution, pollution transfer and basically the use of rivers for transportation, and industrial purposes, etc., between different countries.

We have to say "no" to a number of interesting problem areas. For example, it is health globally and regionally. We don't have the expertise in the health area, and the WHO is very good at this. Traffic is another one that I know quite well because we have an institute in my university in California called the METRANS Transportation Center, that does traffic analysis. We unfortunately had to say that we can't put certain other areas on the front of the table right now.

A lot of work is being done in the world in challenging new modeling approaches, and we want to test them here at IIASA and bring them in. Ultimately you'll be judged not by the research you did and the journal articles that you wrote, but by whether you made a difference, whether you helped solve the climate debate, contributed to reducing hunger in the world. It's hard to make this judgment but I would like to be able to say after ten years: Yes, IIASA has made this, this and this difference in the world.

Panama in Expectation of Russian Business

Author: Julio Ernesto Córdoba De León

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Panama to the Russian Federation



Panama is a small country but has many advantages. First of all, this includes Panama's privileged geographical position and our interoceanic Canal with an average annual traffic of 14,000 vessels. Due to the modern infrastructure built in the country, we account for 5% of world trade. Six ports along the Canal connect the republic with more than 80 countries by 144 maritime trade routes. The

Canal handles about 4% of global cargo traffic and 16% of U.S. cargo traffic.

Thanks to the Canal, among other things, our country today is a major center of world trade and finance with an expanding, despite the global economic crisis, construction industry, actively operating free economic zones, a free zone for oil, and a developing City of Knowledge. Panama is Latin America's largest transportation hub and a storage hub for exports to other countries of both Americas.

For a long time, we were rightly seen as yet another star on the flag of the United States. Today we are convinced that we have our own global vision of the world and national development. We are not, so to speak, "bound in marriage" to anyone but try to maintain friendly, partnership relations on an equal footing with all states.

In addition, Panama seeks to expand its business presence in the world market. International economic integration is a priority area of our national economic development. Through such integration, Panamanians hope to achieve a high level of competitiveness. Panama is now among the top three Latin American countries in attracting foreign investments. Political stability and low business risks provide a favorable background for this.

Today we are trying to develop relations with Russia, to raise them to a new and higher level. I believe that cooperation between our countries can be more active and fruitful. Panamanians realize that Russia's trade and economic potential is enormous. We can work together in different areas and carry out many joint projects for the benefit of our peoples.



Armen Oganesyán, *Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs, advisor to the RF Minister of Foreign Affairs:*

Ahead of the Russian-NATO summit that took place in Lisbon at the end of last year, some observers were full of some naïve optimism, expecting a significant turnaround to emerge in our relations with NATO. However, in my opinion, it did not happen;

the expectations were not fulfilled, which became especially obvious after the well-known remarks on the missile defense issue. That said, the documents of the Lisbon Summit for the first time recorded a provision about the need for strategic partnership with Russia. What are the prospects for Russia-NATO coexistence or partnership?

Leonid Ivashov, *Deputy Director, Institute of Strategic Studies and Analysis:*

The principal question is, what is NATO today. What threats and challenges does NATO face at present? In any case, NATO today exists as a powerful, in fact the only military organization with corresponding plans.

NATO's strategic concept has also been changing. The new concept makes no mention of the area of responsibility, as was the case before (the Euro-Atlantic space). It seems to me that NATO's main adversaries today are the Western European elites. This is because NATO is used by the United States and global financial institutions as a tool to exercise control over Europe.

Let's ask ourselves: What is the benefit of our rapprochement with NATO, our presence in Lisbon? I personally can see nothing positive in that for Russia.

Russia's position should be independent, not influenced by others: Stay out of any alliances, especially NATO.

Aleksei Pushkov, *Director, Institute for Contemporary International Studies, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation; author and host of the Postskriptum show at the TVC television channel:*

I generally agree with Ivashov's argumentation. I believe that in any event all of these maneuvers are a lead-up to a problem that is disastrous to us - Russia's admission to NATO. Generally, we lose the game completely as soon as we admit the sheer possibility of Russia's joining NATO.

We cannot ignore NATO as such; we cannot pretend that NATO does not exist. We

should decide how to behave with regard to NATO. This behavior should be politically correct - in any event, it is essential to find a line to communicate with NATO. Joining NATO is impossible while integration into the Euro-Atlantic security system is a remote prospect. N. Sarkozy and A. Merkel have already told D. Medvedev in Deauville that such a concept could only emerge by 2025.

Aleksei Denisov, *Deputy Director, Institute of Strategic Studies and Analysis:*

The decisions of the Lisbon Summit confirm that NATO can no longer be regarded as a regional organization - it has become a global one. Another conclusion from the summit: The military buildup is no longer as relevant to the alliance as it used to be. NATO is the most powerful alliance and is superior to all centers of power in the world.

With respect to Russia, NATO's position is rather tactical than strategic: Priority is given to matters in which the alliance is extremely interested today. The summit provided no indication of any softening of NATO's position on the so-called territorial integrity of Georgia while NATO's plan to expand with Georgia and Ukraine is still in force. Sooner or later all these problems will take center stage in relations between Russia and NATO. There is no question about Russia joining NATO. That is ruled out.

Maksim Shevchenko, *journalist, talk show host, TV Channel I:*

What is the European Union? This is a very vague concept. It is still not entirely clear what it is. Within the framework of NATO all EU countries are linked to the United States within a single system. Yet inside the EU there are some serious contradictions, a conflict of interests.

Europe is faced with a dilemma: On the one hand, it wishes to receive resources from the Middle East, but the Europeans are not given access to the Middle East. It is even possible to see precisely where the European and U.S. interests clash.

I can see only one obvious Russian policy line with respect to NATO - i.e., the constant separation of relations with the United States and NATO, and NATO and Europe.

Grigory Povolotsky, *Managing Editor of International Affairs:*

I would like to consider two aspects related to the NATO projection. First of all, as is known, the aim of the NATO project was to push the Soviet Union out of Europe - a global aim. Secondly, it was the consolidation of U.S. domination in Europe. This project was fulfilled up to a point.

At present, when the U.S. sees that China is increasingly becoming its adversary and rival on the global geopolitical arena, the Americans are less and less interested in NATO as an instrument of its global influence.

NATO's counteraction in respect to China will proceed up to a certain point as a secondary trend in US policy. But as soon as a new opportunity emerges, it will discard this

mechanism and replace it with a new one, and in this context I would like to say that the worse that NATO's position in these two projections is and the more contradictions between them, the better its relations with Russia. I dare suggest that one or two years before NATO finally collapses to the stormy and prolonged applause Russia will be admitted to NATO. And at that point NATO's long and colorful life will come to an end.

Sergei Mikheev, *Director General, Center for Political Technologies:*

I believe that the discussion of the possibility of Russia's integration into NATO is, essentially, our domestic Russian story. As A. Pushkov noted, no one in the United States takes this seriously.

In reality they are interested in very concrete things: The situation in Russia, including the status of those political and financial groups that are linked to them.

From my perspective, this is also about the weakening of Russia - this is in fact the actual aim. We need to integrate into NATO, integrate into Europe so let's do this, that, and the other thing. NATO shows some internal trends for change, it may or may not change, so let's help NATO change.

We need to integrate into it to have a better grasp on the world, to have greater profits.

A. Oganesyanyan: I think that all this talk about integration into NATO has absolutely no basis; it also has no influence on our domestic political discourse. It is designed for our domestic political situation to consolidate the supporters of this integration. This has nothing to do with the actual picture of the world.

A. Pushkov: I would like to sum up the debate. First, NATO membership is impossible for Russia. Second, the issue of NATO is sometimes cast as though it is a key issue of Russian modernization. Third, there is the issue of European security. We will not have a common concept for another 15 years because their concept is NATO-centric: They do not want D. Medvedev's collective security treaty.

We should not delude ourselves into thinking that we will be able to tear the Europeans away. It seems to me that even if we do reach a consensus of partnership it should be a fairly broad one. But we always have to restrain ourselves. We always have to move forward in the hope that we will be rewarded, but that will not happen.

The Year 2010: Was Russia Looking to the East?



Armen Oganesyanyan, *Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs, adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation:*

Last year produced a big crop of events in Asia. Witness the regular APEC Summit in Japan, the second Russia-ASEAN Summit in Hanoi, the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) in Brussels attended by Russia, the Istanbul CICA Summit, and other international events. This should not be taken to mean

that Russia has no problems in Asia - there are quite a few of them. I have invited you here to sum up and look into the future.

Vladimir Orlov, *President of PIR Center (The Russian Center for Policy Studies), Editor-in-Chief of Security Index:*

Russian Journal of International Security: A Euro-Pacific power, Russia has been steering toward balancing out the European and Pacific vectors of its domestic and foreign policies. There is a development plan for the Russian Far East, the Republic of Buryatia, Trans-Baikal Territory, and Irkutsk Region for the period of up to 2025. Russia's foreign policy is expected to promote the efforts inside the country and ensure security of this vast region. We all agree that Russia should move to the East; we all agree that we should integrate. Our understanding of integration, however, is lopsided: we move into the region but keep our country closed.

When talking about Russia's future APEC chairmanship President Medvedev said we intended to cooperate, very much as before, in energy, transport, food, ecological and information security in APEC.

Yuri Shafranik, *Chairman of the Board, Union of Oil and Gas Producers of Russia, President, World Policy and Resources Foundation:*

For obvious reasons I look at the Asian region from the point of view of energy sources and transportation.

I think that the three countries, viz. Russia, Iran and Turkmenistan, should treat the volumes, directions and prices as their priorities. Confronted with hugely important economic, energy and political tasks Russia has, so far, done nothing to this effect (not counting scattered expert comments): selling more but for lower price - it makes no sense.

We have to maintain friendly relations with the former Soviet republics and China.

We continue to build infrastructure and pipelines. Practically nobody in the world build oil refineries on the sea shore where pipelines end. Plants are put where they receive oil; they get cheap oil from sea, refine it and put on the domestic market as oil products, chemicals

or whatnot. If you are going to build a pipeline 4 thousand kilometer-long complete with a refinery you must have a clear idea about the market demand; but the point is that now this market is occupied. The Chinese will rather buy a Japanese plant. So I am very pessimistic about the Asian energy vector because to succeed we need clear ideas about our eastward movement and well-calculated risks.

Mikhail Galuzin, *Director, Third Asian Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation:*

I am in a position to offer an analysis of the current trends in our relations with them seen through the prism of Russia's interests in the APR as a whole. Russia's deeper integration in the region, the modernization and innovation segments in the first place, can be described as our priority there.

Some of the Russian companies are successfully operating, albeit on a modest scale, in the high-tech segment of Southeast Asian economy.

The scope and strategic importance of our cooperation with Japan make it very important indeed, even though it is still burdened with what we inherited from the past.

The positive trends which prevailed in our bilateral relations with the Southeast Asian countries will go on and develop in 2011 due to our APEC-2012 chairmanship.

Vyacheslav Nikonov, *Chairman, Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific, Russian National Committee:*

In 2010, Russia turned to the East and the APR. The State Council of Russia which met in Khabarovsk to discuss our prospects in the region instructed to draw a new concept of strengthening Russia's regional positions because the global center of power is shifting to the APR. This can be described as the key mega-trend of the contemporary world whipped up by the world economic crisis.

The Asian part of the APR is an important testing ground of political modernization which cannot be described as pure Westernization. It is a special development road which brought together democratic governance and local political culture.

The conflict potential in the region requires a lot of attention: the multiplying threats and security challenges are directly related to the interests of the Russian Federation. In the first place, this refers to the state of affairs on the Korean Peninsula and the South China Sea where the problems might affect the geopolitical interests of the largest world powers. There is a multitude of still unsettled border problems and a serious threat of political de stabilization in some of the countries.

While paying greater attention to our positions in the raw material sector, we should also promote new high-tech products and services and concentrate at joint projects in the sphere of industrial advanced technologies. I have in mind our nuclear power production and nuclear-fuel cycle projects in Vietnam. Japan has already entered the Vietnamese market of electric power stations.

It is very important to identify our place in the region's fairly complicated geopolitical

system so that to become more actively involved in the integration processes underway in the APR.

Alexander Panov, *Rector, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation:*

I fully agree with those who described 2010 as a successful year from the point of view of Russia's stronger positions in the region. We finally joined the EAS and ASEM; we are still outside the Asian Development Bank for the simple reason that Japan is dead set against it.

We all agree that Russia should move to the East; we all agree that we should integrate. Our understanding of integration, however, is lopsided: we move into the region but keep our country closed. This is obvious in the Far East, to my regret. Foreigners cannot start their businesses, especially innovative businesses, because our economic model in the Far East (and elsewhere) rejects innovations and modernization.

There are no threats to Russia in the East while its possibilities are practically unlimited; they are limited only by our economic weakness and shortage of intellectual ideas.

Alexander Lukin, *Director, Center for East Asian and SCO Studies, Moscow State Institute (University) of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation:*

Russia's position in the APR is far from brilliant. Those who said here that foreign policy should serve domestic aims were right. It is equally true that a country without real achievements at home, with no inner force and influence in the region cannot be very active outside its borders.

There is also a cultural factor. What can Russia offer the region in the form of what is called soft power? Practically nothing: all our cultural performers, writers and other figures are West-oriented.

We should develop bilateral cooperation, encourage trade and improve our trade balance. In fact, it is one of our weakest points; since 2007, our trade balance with China remains negative; the structure of trade needs attention.

It is too early to talk about global problems: we should work consistently to gradually build up Russia's greater presence in the region.

Kirill Barsky, *Deputy Director, Asia-Pacific Cooperation Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation:*

I totally agree with Mr. Panov who said that Russia is not threatened in the Far East and the APR.

This is not a simple region; it is brimming with problems and disagreements; it is dotted with seats of conflicts and is torn apart by mutual mistrusts. This creates an impression that regional security is fairly fragile; from time to time passions flow high.

A reliable and effective APR architecture fits the interests of all forces which need political stability and sustainable development. This fits the interests of Russia as well: today, the

situation in Asia and the Pacific is, on the whole, favorable.

According to our assessments, the majority of the regional countries want Russia to upgrade its profile in Asia.

Our chances in the APR are good; several important steps have been made. We should skillfully use the historical chance for organic integration into the region.

Vladimir Orlov: I think that, first and foremost, Russia should invest into a common scientific and educational expense in the APR otherwise the coming generations of experts, politicians and businessmen will never learn to look at Russia as part of their region no matter how hard we will try at the Vladivostok summit.

Vadim Pestov, *Chief Specialist, Department of International Cooperation, State Atomic Energy Corporation Rosatom:*

Despite the negative effects of the world economic crisis, an increasingly greater number of countries are carried away by the wave of nuclear renaissance which swept the world.

In July 2010, our experts attended the ASEAN forum where they presented Russian nuclear technologies and familiarized the forum with our experience abroad. In September 2010, Rosatom attended a scientific-technical seminar "Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy in the APR" which took place in Hanoi.

The results of these undertakings were used to elaborate and realize measures designed to broaden scientific and technological cooperation and exchange of technologies, stimulate commercialization of the most promising Russian technologies in Southeast Asia, set up an efficient mechanism of direct ties in this sphere and develop partnership between the states and private companies.

Konstantin Kokorev, *First Deputy Director, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies:*

We should go to the East; this is, however, a two-way process. Whether we want this or not if we fail to come, others will be there instead. If we fail to take extraordinary and very much needed measures, we shall find ourselves "one too many." The ASEAN countries are interested in our eastern regions; this means that we should demonstrate consistency and intelligence to use this interest for the benefit of our country.

The situation in the APR is far from simple. Why? The local economies and local approaches are too varied. There is a structure, however, which will keep the region united and which will ensure regional security. This is ASEAN. Chinese sources rarely, if ever, write about ASEAN + 6 or ASEAN + 8. The larger formats require more time to produce results.

Georgy Toloraya, *Vice President, Unity for Russia Foundation; Director of Korean Programs, Institute of Economics, Russian Academy of Sciences:*

While summing up 2010, we should bear in mind that it is too early to dismiss "hard power" as a security instrument and to pin hopes on economic cooperation and "soft power."

It is not quite correct that say that the security issues in Asia are not as important as in South

Asia or in the Middle East. The Russian Far East is merely 200-300 years old, a trifle when compared with the thousand year-long histories of its neighbors.

To my mind, it is very important to set up a "network," an organization which brings together experts who have to think about these problems and never let the most important of them out of sight. The inaugural meeting of ASEAN defense ministers which took place earlier this year is an important event. We should take part in these processes.

I know that "soft power" and a positive image are not cheap: good results require serious money. So far, we haven't got it.

Aleksander Vorontsov, *Head, Department of Korea and Mongolia, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences:*

There is an impression in the Russian Far East that the Center is pursuing colonialist policy there. The natural resources are exploited; the environment is polluted while Moscow gets the money.

For the first time in its history, Vladivostok will acquire waste water treatment works, not only bridges. Before that, all wastes were discharged into the ocean.

Viktor Sumsky, *Director, The ASEAN Center, Moscow State Institute (University) of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation:*

We all agree that we should not try to assume a special quasi-global role in Asia and should trim our ambitions to fit our potential. This is true yet there is another argument: East Asia is one of the most globalized regions of the world which means that we should not drop the global dimension of our Asian policies and should preserve the global dimension of our own image, otherwise we will fail. Our policies in Asia, and elsewhere in the world for that matter, should be simultaneously realistic and global.

Talking about threats (whether real or imaginary) I should say that today there are no military challenges comparable to those of the era of Soviet-American confrontation or Moscow-Beijing discord. We should never forget, however, that there is an East Asian component of the American MD system.

In fact, we should arrive at active and independent policies conducive to lower polarization and conflict potential; it should promote cooperation and give the region a chance to go on with its peaceful social-economic transformations. I think that we should arrange a niche in the regional political expanse similar to that occupied by the Non-Aligned Movement in the previous historic epoch. Besides Russia, it will prove attractive to many regional actors unwilling to succumb to the choice between America and China imposed on them and unwilling to witness the destructive results of their confrontation.

Biosphere: Storehouse or Temple?

Round table at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation



Vladimir Sokolenko, Deputy Director, Department of Foreign Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Sciences (Political Science):

The Department of Foreign Policy Planning holds regular round tables devoted to topical issues of Russian foreign policy, international politics, and the international political process. The round tables offer a platform for the interaction between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the scientific and expert community, the exchange of new ideas and

approaches, and the introduction of the most interesting projects into foreign policy.

The interaction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the scientific and expert community, the business community, the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, and civil society as a whole serves the interests of Russian foreign policy, acting as an important source of intellectual thought and complementing the professionalism of diplomatic workers.

The main areas where processes threatening civilization are taking place are, of course, climate, fresh water, forests, desertification, and biodiversity.

Russia advances its proposals on the protection of the biosphere in the international agenda in different forums such as the G8, the G20, and other international organizations, including the UN, OSCE, UNESCO, etc.

I hope that concrete proposals and recommendations will be voiced in the course of our meeting.

Yuri Israel, President of the Russian Ecological Academy, Director of the Institute of Global Climate and Ecology of the Federal Service of Hydrometeorology and Monitoring of an Environment and the Russian Academy of Sciences, Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences:

Climate has a very rich history. The present-day climate formed approximately in the 1970s. At that time, a very clear increase in temperature of about one degree Celsius began. Scientists relate this increase to anthropogenic impact - industrial development and greenhouse gas emissions into the atmosphere in enormous quantities. Today, international organizations and political and scientific circles hold that the maximum admissible temperature increase is two degrees.

At the same time, in a situation where only one Kyoto Protocol exists, we will be unable to meet its climatic goals for a long time to come. The Russian Federation is ready to participate in the preparation of a legally binding international agreement and fix the quota decrease in greenhouse gas emissions to over 30 billion tons by 2020, which corresponds to a 25% reduction of emissions over this period.

One can try to exclude the possibility of phenomena and events that can change the Earth's climate. This includes terrestrial possibilities such as sound economic policies and extraterrestrial warning systems that would limit the effects of the impact of meteors and other celestial bodies that can lead to major climatic change.

I believe that, for the in-depth discussion of these problems, it would be expedient to hold an international conference in Moscow on the stabilization of the present-day climate with the use of new technologies. The idea of holding such a conference has received the support of President Dmitry Medvedev.

Viktor Danilov-Danilyan, *Director of the Institute of Water Problems of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences:*

The main areas where processes threatening civilization are taking place are, of course, climate, fresh water, forests, desertification, and biodiversity. These are the five main areas.

In all of these interconnected areas, the only way to normalize the situation and give hope for survival is to reduce the anthropogenic impact on the environment. One of the hindrances is the necessity to divert resources from economic growth in its traditional sense to the protection of the biosphere. This is where international politics should step in.

I'd like to note that there are economic ways of promoting ethical transformation. I'm referring to the "internalization of external effects" that was discovered almost a hundred years ago by Arthur Pigou. It refers to bringing inside a system something that was initially outside.

The main thing is that global value shift from the focus on the value of money to the focus on the value of the biosphere should begin with public awareness work.

Thus one should support all initiatives and proposals on activating market mechanisms for solving environmental problems.

Elena Bukvareva, *senior researcher at the A.N. Severtsov Institute of Ecology and Evolution, Candidate of Sciences (Biology):*

The mechanisms of consuming biospheric resources changed greatly in the second half of the 20th century. As a result, people have transformed ecosystems more rapidly and intensively over the past 50 years than in any other comparable historical period.

Modern man continues to systematically destroy living nature and natural ecosystems. Politicians have been unable to stop this process so far.

The end result is that losses from the destabilization of the natural environment become a major factor in national and global economies. In certain countries, these losses are already comparable or surpass the annual growth of the GDP, preventing these countries from developing in a sustainable fashion. If this destabilization of the natural environment continues, it will become a major obstacle to the further economic development of the global community.

Would you agree that genetically modified products are connected with environmental problems? The importance of what you said is already becoming apparent today. It is necessary to change the ethics of human behavior and devote a lot of more attention to environmental protection.

Oleg Kalimulin, *consultant to the Department for External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church:*

This year, the Russian Orthodox Church through its Department for External Church Relations has begun to take an active and fundamental interest in environmental problems. For the first time in its history, the Russian Church has decided to formulate its stance on the entire range of environmental issues. All in all, this is completely new for the Church: the environment is a domain in which the Church had never formulated its stance before. In other words, we are creating this area

of work from scratch.

Neither the Church nor society has ever faced such challenges before. We cannot turn to the experience of the past - to the experience, say, of the Byzantine Church, traditional experience, or any other experience for that matter. We can only formulate our attitude to this challenge of modernity. The Church cannot keep silent on this matter.

Valery Neronov, *Vice-President of the International Coordinating Council of the UNESCO Man and the Biosphere Programme, Deputy Chairman of Russian Committee of the UNESCO Man and the Biosphere Programme, Senior Researcher at the A.N. Severtsov Institute of Ecology and Evolution:*

First of all, I would like to note that our mass media pay very little attention to international biodiversity forums. Russian organizations that participate in the work of the Convention on Biological Diversity have not done anything to publicize their activities. We do not know anything about the trip of our delegation to Nagoya or the decisions that were taken there.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should accord attention to such important events and agreements and actively participate in them. One should invite to these roundtables not only scientists, who are just patriots that do all they can, but also representatives of related ministries that are responsible for this. The problem is that they apparently do not participate in international forums and do not try to bring such events to Russia.

In other words, nothing serious is being done to promote Russia's leading role in the domain of bioprotection. As long as Russia does nothing at home, it will not get any prerogatives in international cooperation.

Olga Tynyanova, *Editor-in-Chief of the magazine Space and Time:*

I believe that it would be important, first of all, to use the results of our round table to draft a bill requiring this issue to be included in the legislation. We have a lot of laws that are not implemented. We must think more about the mechanisms of their implementation. Secondly, international cooperation has also begun to focus on education recently. For example, Norway's arctic development strategy is based on education, including environmental education, and aims to promote Norwegian environmental priorities internationally.

V. Sokolenko: Let's sum up. For the first time in human history, the conflict between man and nature and the antagonism between civilization and the biosphere have become a central problem of the survival of civilization. One must start from there. Our discussion has shown that there are two possible ways of overcoming this problem. The first may be called the "innovative capitalist path". The second path that is being increasingly discussed in international scientific circles and that is gaining an ever greater number of proponents is the noospheric conception. Today, many consider this conception to be Utopian on account of the firmly established mindset of modern man, who, as Academician Danilov-Danilyan noted, requires "ethical reeducation."

Dayton: Pitfalls and Dilemmas of the Peace Agreement

Author: E. Ponomareva

Associate Professor, Moscow State Institute (University) of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Sciences (Political Science);



Dayton, Ohio, is home to a U.S. Air Force base and undoubtedly one of the symbols of the new world order. Alongside Brussels, The Hague, Strasbourg, and Rambouillet, it is associated with redealing out cards of History and reestablishing rules of the political game.

Many "frozen" and "hot" conflicts have been added around the world over the intervening 15 years. The Dayton institutional design has been used, in one or other way, in settling many of

them. Whose interests does it actively promote? Who does it benefit? What is the future of the countries and peoples that agreed to accept this model? These are not idle questions by far. This is precisely why Dayton is still relevant today.

WHILE THE DAYTON ACCORDS ended the open armed conflict, which is their prime political and humanitarian asset, they also asserted, for decades to come, the right of international agencies to exercise what are otherwise sovereign powers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and created a cumbersome and less than effective system of governance. The existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, since the moment of signing the Dayton Peace Agreement, has been under constant control of the Peace Implementation Council, IFOR and EUFOR.

The most essential part of the Dayton Peace Agreement is that it formed an unstable entity which is gradually slipping under complete governance of neo-imperial structures.

Most experts and analysts are convinced that the process of Bosnia settlement, linked to the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, has entered the final phase.

The bottom line is: as a matter of form, Bosnia and Herzegovina is an independent state, but as a matter of fact, it is a territory under international governance. The special importance of Dayton consists in the fact that the redistribution of sovereign powers of the state in favor of international agencies, described as a temporary and forced measure, in the end results in placing the once obstinate and uncontrollable territories under supranational supervision. Even if the Dayton accords undoubtedly stopped the open conflict, they are playing a huge negative role in today's world system. The most essential part of the Dayton Peace Agreement is that it formed an unstable entity which is gradually slipping under complete governance of neo-imperial structures; that it has created a "state" through which it is easy to exercise control over politics of the entire region. Thus, the significance of Dayton is only yet another proof of reformatting the entire world system right in front of our eyes. This is what we should know and remember.

The Secret of Polichinelle

Author: E. Guskova

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LATE IN THE 20TH CENTURY, the future of the peoples of Yugoslavia no longer belonged to them: it was planned in other countries by top bureaucrats and numerous old and new international structures. The lessons to be learned will keep busy many generations of historians and politicians.

The international organizations and certain countries aspired to manage the crisis, keep it under control and channel it in the desired, even if biased and prejudiced, direction. This can be described as one

of the central elements of international efforts. The "decision-making enforcement" methods were tailored to fit the above.

Russian academics and experts, however, doubt the ICTY legitimacy. Prof. Alexander Mezyaev from Kazan, for example, believes that the creation and activities of an international legal structure which defies the norms of acting international law cannot be accepted as legal.

The academic community has gathered a vast body of evidence which present the Tribunal as biased and far from independent in its decisions; its judges, investigators and prosecutors as highly partial. This is obvious in the way the trial is organized, the way the accused, witnesses and experts are treated.

The ICTY denies the accused the right to defend themselves in person; it assigns defense counsels; trials in absentia are not rare; presumption of innocence looks non-existent together with the principle of equality of arms in particular when sentencing; prohibition of retroactive application of law and the principle of judiciary independence and impartiality and legality of the sentences are ignored. Prof. Mezyaev has described this as the worst violations of law by the ICTY.

Overwhelming evidence presented at the Conference proved beyond doubt that the Tribunal doctored statistics and accepted unverified and inaccurate demographic-statistical constructs to arrive at the desired and preconceived conclusions.

The ICTY is not interested in the crimes perpetrated by Muslims, Croats, Albanians, etc. It proceeds from the assumption that the Serbs started all wars and that they were guilty of all, or nearly all, war crimes while the others were fighting with kid gloves.

If Serbia and Montenegro are found guilty they will have to pay contribution to the other republics. Another consequence is even worse: for many years the Serbs will be regarded as a criminal nation while the international organizations and NATO will confirm the legality of sanctions, blockade and bombing.

Kosovo: A Unique Case or a Dangerous Precedent?

Authors: P. Iskenderov

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THE ADVISORY OPINION issued by the International Court of Justice last June said that "the declaration of independence on the 17th of February 2008 did not violate general international law"; the Court, however, refused to recognize Kosovo as an international legal subject thus driving the Kosovo issue into a legal impasse. The Albanian authorities of Kosovo which looked forward to a prompt

international recognition were disappointed: only two UN members (Honduras and Kiribati) joined the countries which had recognized Kosovo's self-proclaimed independence. Today there are 71 of them. In an absence of a more or less coherent EU Balkan policy, the contradictions between the Serbs and Albanians can be hardly settled within the framework of its integration models.

The independence of Kosovo threatens the Eurasian expanse with a "string of bloody conflicts and redrawing of state borders."

Even the openly biased International Crisis Group has to call on the international community to "renew efforts to achieve a compromise in the name dispute between Greece and Macedonia, and take other steps to insulate Macedonia as well as Bosnia-Herzegovina from possible negative repercussions of a Kosovo-Serbia rapprochement."

Such warnings are not given at random: typologically, the Kosovo crisis is one of the many ethnic crises smoldering in the Balkans and elsewhere. The Kosovo events are closely connected with the secessionist actions of Albanians in Macedonia and Montenegro.

We should not dupe ourselves: the Western politicians and statesmen know absolutely everything about the past and the patterns of the unsettled Kosovo problem and the serious threat it presents. This is not all: the Western power centers insist on the alleged uniqueness of the Kosovo case to pursue their own geopolitical interests in the region. History repeats itself.

Unlike many Western politicians, Russian diplomats at all times looked at the Balkan problems and their possible settlement as one big issue rather than unconnected cases.

The Sergei Courtyard

Authors: Yuri Grachev, Deputy Chairman of the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society (IOPS), Aide to the Chairman of the RF Audit Chamber

Oleg Ozerov, Member of the IOPS Council, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia



DECEMBER OF 2010 marked two years since the Sergei Metochion [courtyard and the buildings surrounding it, a part of the Russian Compound], a symbol of its presence in the Holy Land, was returned to Russia. Since May 12, 2009, it has been flying the flag of the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society (IOPS), an international public organization that will be in existence for 130 years in 2012.

It would be worthwhile to remind our readers what we had to do to achieve the present position.

The ownership of the Courtyard was to be transferred in 1895 to the Russian government. However, the Russian

embassy in Constantinople had failed to include documents related to the Sergei Courtyard in the package of documents to be submitted to the government of Turkey by the time the sultan was to sign the edict recognizing the plot of land in Jerusalem as owned by the Russian government.

It is true that the Soviet government did make diplomatic attempts, albeit less than successful, to protect the Russian national heritage in Palestine (the note of the RSFSR representative in London L.B. Krasin of May 18, 1923, the notes of March 5 and September 17, 1945).

The 4,252-square-meter plot of land for the Sergei Courtyard was purchased by the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society on May 14, 1886 for 11,469 rubles.

The situation changed after the Second World War. With the creation of the State of Israel, some of the Russian real estate objects were returned to the Soviet Union government in 1949-1950. The Sergei Courtyard, however, was not recognized as being owned by the USSR because it was registered as owned by a private individual (Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich) and thus considered a piece of private property. The Soviet Union could provide no cogent evidence that the plot of land and buildings were owned by the IOPS.

The early 2000s saw the more vigorous action on the part of the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society, including its efforts to get back the compound of the Sergei Courtyard.

The next important phase in the efforts to get back the Sergei Courtyard was the trip of an IOPS delegation to Israel in March of 2005.

This visit to the Holy Land by the IOPS delegation was constructive and businesslike. Its practical result consisted in mapping out former activities of the IOPS in conjunction with the Russian Foreign Ministry and the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem to get back the Sergei Courtyard now that the negotiating process with Israel's Justice Ministry was put on the legal basis for the first time.

The question of returning the Courtyard was also raised in 2004 by Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov in his talks with the Israelis.

We can thus conclude that the intensive diplomatic and public work to get the Sergei Courtyard returned to Russia was crowned with brilliant victory largely because it was demonstrated to the world that Russia was able to coordinate in a due manner the actions of all its government branches, the Russian Orthodox Church and the powerful public institution which the IOPS is.

The Pain and Memories of Austerlitz

Author: V. Sibilev

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DECEMBER 2, 2010 marked 205 years of the Battle of Austerlitz, one of the most famous and dramatic battles in Europe in the history of the Napoleonic Wars, that took place near Austerlitz (Czech: Slavkov u Brna) near Brno and colorfully described in Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace*.

For the number of troops involved, this battle is among the most murderous of the wars involving Napoleonic forces after the battles of Borodino and Leipzig.

Owing to the fact that Russian Tsar Alexander I, Austrian Emperor Franz I, and French Emperor Napoleon I were present at the site of the Battle of Austerlitz, it is also known as the Battle of the Three Emperors.

From the military point of view, the victory at Austerlitz came as an undoubted triumph for Napoleon's military genius and an ignominious defeat for the Allies, Austrian generals and Alexander I with his young and ambitious entourage who had underestimated their outstanding adversary and ignored wise counsels from Mikhail Kutuzov who led the Russian forces.

Austerlitz was Napoleon's favorite of the 40 battles he had won. The legendary "Sun of Austerlitz" which was blazing down during the battle on the Russian and Austrian troops and blinding them was his fondest memory.

The Battle of Austerlitz and those who died in it were commemorated in 1912 by the unveiling of the so-called Peace Mound. The monument contains the remains of the fallen men of the coalition armies and of Napoleon's forces.

Next to the Peace Mound which draws numerous tourists from many countries, including Russia, there is a museum of the Brno region which is also doing intensive research into the history of Napoleonic Wars and the Battle of Austerlitz. Its numerous exhibits are devoted to the era of Napoleonic Wars and their impact on Czech lands. It arranges Russian-language tours with the assistance of the Russian consulate general in Brno.

There were, unfortunately, a clearly small number of Russian officials attending the Austerlitz celebrations. At the same time there were on hand numerous members of military history associations from Moscow, Borodino, St. Petersburg and other Russian cities who took part in the re-enactment of the battle.

Without a doubt, Austerlitz is not a glowing page in our military history. But, most possibly, it was precisely where Russia's future triumph at Borodino, Smolensk and on the Berezina over Napoleon was being prepared, where the spirit of the Russian army was steeled and the military genius of Kutuzov, Bagration and other Russian generals gained in strength.

New Year "in Reverse"

Author: Armen Oganessian

Editor-in-Chief of Mezhdunarodnaia zhizn'



IN RESPONSE to my lamenting about how difficult it is to choose a topic for an article at New Year, a historian I know said with a shrewd wink: "Write about New Year 'in reverse.'" Anticipating my bewilderment, he went on to say that he has long used this kind of exercise; he chooses a recent date and, reading it in reverse, tries to reinstate what was happening in world history at that distant time.

I found the suggestion intriguing; indeed, why not picture what was going on at New Year "in reverse," in other words in 1102 A.D.

That year King Henry I became embroiled in a fierce confrontation with the barons in England. Henry did not have any chance of ascending to the throne.

Henry was forced to fight many battles, but, borrowing the words of Scipio Africanus, he liked to repeat: "My mother bore a general, not a soldier."

Henry's fiscal flair and his constant control over how tributes were collected and what his clerks were doing eventually manifested themselves in other European innovation. He established the first Accounts Chamber called the Exchequer. It was so called due to the checkered cloth that was used to cover the table on which the money was counted and the calculations performed. This practice instantly migrated from England to the continent.

The year 1102 duly provides us with a chance to take a look at Palestine, a country both far from and near to Europe of that time. That same year, on Sunday, July 13, Anglo-Saxon Saewulf set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land from the shores of Italy. He was to face many trials and tribulations both on land and at sea. The death of his fellow travelers, ferocious winds, storms, and even a shipwreck - all of these deadly dangers were finally overcome. But at what price?!

With respect to the First Crusade, Russian historian Alexander Vasiliev writes that during these fifty years, economic, religious, and all the cultural aspects of European life radically changed. A new world opened up for Western Europe.

When arguing with Vassily Klyuchevsky, a later historian would write, "There cannot be anything in common, even from a token standpoint, between the crusades of the West European knights to the Middle East aimed at far from only liberating the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels and Russia's fight against the Cumans, who did not seize any relics of Christianity. These two very different historical phenomena have only one thing in common - the struggle of the Christians against the infidels."

The practice of forced baptism was also off-putting, which was applied first to the Jews in Europe and then to ordinary "infidels." It is no accident that later Russian Orthodox missionary work would greatly differ from Catholic.

After Alexander Nevsky's stubborn refusal to accept the Roman faith not much time would pass before the Pope declared a crusade against Rus. It is worth noting that Novgorod with its extensive trade ties and numerous overseas visitors was informed, like no other Russian city, about the history of the crusades. "God is not in strength, but in truth," these words should not be seen as the battle cry of a warrior prince in the face of menacing enemy, but as a civilizational response to that inconceivable militarization and distortion of Christianity to which Alexander Nevsky who is not called the Blessed for nothing, was witness.

Russian-Spanish Relations: Notes on the Recent Past

Author: Yu. Dubinin

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Professor at the Moscow State Institute (University) of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation;



AFTER FRANCO DIED in November 1975, Spain entered a period of its history known as the "Transition" - the transition from dictatorship to democracy. The Soviet Union followed with interest the process of democratization of political life in Spain and wished it success on this path. In January 1977, the Spanish government invited the USSR to hold talks on the establishment of diplomatic ties. Moscow agreed. The success of the talks on the establishment of diplomatic relations

showed the mutual desire of both countries to turn a new page in their relations.

The first stage of our relations was difficult. The burden of the past was still felt. Nothing worked properly. For a long time, relations between the two countries hardly evolved at all. Moscow had a vague idea of the situation in Spain and was not acquainted with those in power in Madrid. In turn, Spanish society had different attitudes to the Soviet Union and was marked by the inertia of Francoism. These differences largely coincided with differences between supporters of the transition to democracy and opponents of this process. Thus efforts to develop Soviet-Spanish relations were part of the process of the emergence of a new and democratic Spain.

At the same time, there was a lot of mutual goodwill in Spain and the Soviet Union. It was essential to use this key resource for the development of relations, and work had to begin at once. When I was appointed Soviet Ambassador to Spain in the fall of 1978, I managed to get permission (with Andrei Gromyko's help) to transmit an invitation from the Soviet government to the Spanish minister of foreign affairs to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was favorably received in Madrid. The visit took place already in January 1979. This marked the beginning of the development of relations between the two countries that has continued up to the present day.

The visit to the Soviet Union by the Spanish head of state would have inevitably evoked a deep political resonance in Spain.

The outstanding Spanish statesman Felipe González has said that the king's six-day visit in May 1984 was an enormous and decisive step for the future relations of the two countries.

Our assessment of the visit stated that its results "would promote mutual understanding and the further development of relations between the two countries in the interests of peace, détente, and easing of international tensions."

The visit attracted the attention of the entire world. The French newspaper *Le Figaro* called it a "turning point in the history of two nations located at different ends of the Old Continent...." This was the truth.

Russia's Jubilation and Misery

Author: M. Antoshkina

Staff editor of International Affairs;



Russia's Jubilation and Misery (Apropos of a Marginal Note by Emperor Alexander III)

ON JANUARY 31, 1884 (the dates are given according to the old-style calendar), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire received a secret, encrypted telegram addressed to Minister Nikolay Girs. Ambassador in Constantinople Alexander Nelidov was informing his government of the birth of Bulgarian Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha's son, Boris, whom his father had entitled Royal High-

ness, heir to the Bulgarian throne, Prince of Tarnovo.

The minister gave the decrypted telegram to Emperor Alexander III. The emperor's response was: "It would be funny if it weren't so sad!"

The second half of the 19th century was a time when Bulgaria fought for its independence. And it was none other than Russia that helped the Bulgarian people to put an end to the atrocities of the Sublime Porte and declare the Bulgarian principality an independent state. For Russia, this resulted in the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878, which it won at the expense of enormous losses.

Russia was confident that it once more had the right to put its protégé on the Bulgarian throne and nominated Prince Niko Dadiani of Mingrelia. But this time things went differently.

The Bulgarian people regarded Alexander II as a czar-liberator and had not forgotten to whom they owed their freedom, but Alexander III met with a sharp rebuff. Bulgaria was set on stabilizing its position in Europe, for which it wanted the throne to be occupied by a representative of the European princely family and in no way by an "Asian" such as Prince Niko.

In order to withdraw from Russia's patronage, the Bulgarian regency sent its deputies to the capitals of the Great Powers asking them to nominate a knyaz. This was when Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha nominated himself.

The House of Coburg was one of the oldest European families, but Russia did not recognize Ferdinand, who served in the Austrian-Hungarian army and was a Catholic by confession, as a Bulgarian prince.

The Great Powers were unanimous in their desire to prevent Russia's expansion to the south. Relations between Russia and Bulgaria were not restored until Alexander III's son, Nicholas II, ascended to the throne. And interestingly enough, in 1896, little prince Boris III would be baptized according to the Russian Orthodox tradition, and his godfather would be Emperor Nicholas II himself.

Author: A. Borodavkin

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation;



ONE CAN ONLY WELCOME the initiative of the Council of Veterans of the RF Ministry of Foreign Affairs to publish a collection of reminiscences by retired Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Anatoly Zaitsev of the years he spent in the diplomatic service in Hanoi (A.S. Zaitsev, *Vspominaya Vietnam* [Remembering Vietnam], Moscow, RFK-Imidzh Publishers, 2010) by the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Russia and Vietnam.

matic relations between Russia and Vietnam.

Anatoly Zaitsev's book is a kind of diary that marks the main milestones in the rich and eventful history of friendship and cooperation between our two countries. The episodes and occasions the author relates are based on actual events he participated in directly and personally witnessed. They include the peaceful prewar days of the beginning of the 1960s, when the economy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was restored and strengthened by the heroic efforts of the Vietnamese people, along with material and technical assistance from the Soviet Union; the brutal war years, when the Vietnamese people won the fight against the aggressors to unite their homeland at the expense of uncountable lives; and post-war times, when united and prosperous Vietnam has been developing and successfully progressing at a rapid rate.

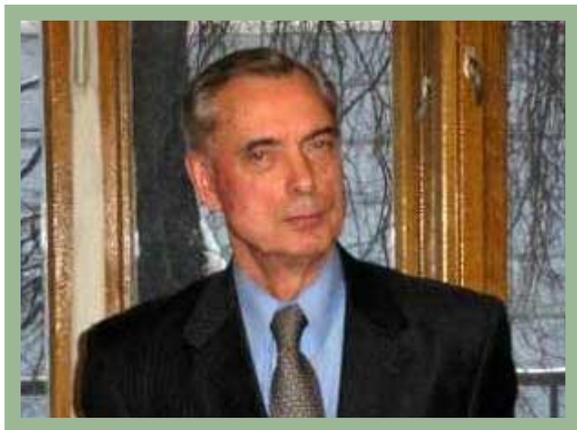
In the chapter entitled "The War Through the Eyes of a Young Diplomat," the reader will find interesting details about the work and everyday life of the employees of our embassy during the arduous time when the U.S. was bombing North Vietnam and its capital Hanoi. The chapter "Diplomatic Breakthrough of the T-54 Tank" presents facts about the final chord in the struggle for recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam as the only legal representative of the people of South Vietnam. The stories and essays gathered in the book are effectively supplemented by rare photographs kept in the author's family archive that show him with President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Ho Chi Minh, Vice President Ton Duc Thang, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong, as well as many others he became acquainted with in Vietnam.

Anatoly Zaitsev's new book will undoubtedly be of interest to both Orientalists and the broad public.

The Alpine Heights of Ambassador Andrei Stepanov

Author: B. Piadsyhev

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Honored Worker of Diplomatic Service, Doctor of Sciences (History)



THE WRITING TALENTS and energy of our colleague, Ambassador to Switzerland Andrei Ivanovich Stepanov, have created an entire literary-political panorama of the diverse relations between two states - Russia and Switzerland.

Recently, his new monograph called "Bernsky dnevnik posla Rossii. 1992-1999" (Bern Diary of a Russian Ambassador. 1992-1999), was published.

The Bern Diary is an extremely successful piece of writing. Stepanov's memoirs stand alongside the memoir classics produced by Anatoly Dobrynin, Georgy Kornienko, Yuli Kvitsinsky, Alexander Bessmertny, and other Russian diplomats.

In his latest book, the author performs in a genre that is new to him: he presents a chronology of the embassy's activity and life from day to day, month to month, and year to year. This approach makes it possible not only to feel the pulse beat of the embassy staff, but also requires that the author share things that personally affect him, the difficulties he encounters, and the issues that bother him.

On the basis of extensive documentary and archive materials, the author reveals the painstaking daily work of the foreign policy agency - its central apparatus and diplomatic mission in Bern - engaged in developing a bilateral dialogue between Russia and Switzerland. The judgments and observations the author shares, as well as his attentive, sometimes critical, analysis of the events and their participants, including himself, make the book particularly interesting. The lively style in which it is written also adds to its overall appeal.

In his new book, Ambassador Stepanov sets forth his vision of the contemporary conception and, if you like, philosophy of the activity of the Russian diplomatic mission abroad. He thoroughly analyzes the tactical techniques, forms, and methods of this activity and shares his experience of preparing for and holding visits and talks at the foreign ministerial, prime ministerial, and presidential level, as well as his public relations efforts and socialization with his fellow countrymen.

The book is full of optimism and belief that a solution will be found to the major problems facing the country and that its international position will become stronger.

Waiting for the Barbarians

Author: A. Yuriev

International commentator



LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE introduced the Russian-language edition of its annual Atlas with lines from the Greek poet Cavafy. This annual publication is best described as another attempt to analyze the key geopolitical trends and the balance of forces in the world in the context of exacerbated economic, social and national contradictions. The Editors are convinced that the world has come close to a

new balance of forces when new accents in world politics determine the entire set of geopolitical problems and change the relationships between nations.

The Atlas points out that Asia is rapidly moving to the fore with other following suite. This has already caused one of the most important international shifts since the time of the Industrial Revolution.

India and China are described as giants that will turn geopolitics upside down. China's steadily increasing share in world exports provides a glaring contrast to America's steadily lowering weight in the world trade turnover.

The United States, its military budget being half of what the rest of the world spends on defense, remains an uncontested leader in the international security sphere.

International politics are further destabilized by the arms race, albeit with shifted accents: speculations about WMD proliferation are used to justify new crusades and downplay the grim truth about the rapidly unfolding conventional arms race.

On the whole, the authors tend to underestimate Russia's role in the post-Soviet expanse, yet much of what the French political scientists said about Russia can be accepted.

The authors seem to be unaware of the fact that "vagueness" of Russia's image in the period of transition is preferable while economically Russia looks very attractive to the post-Soviet oecumene.

On the whole, the wealth of factual material, fresh approaches to global and regional political and economic trends combined with the creative design which makes the content easy to grasp make the Atlas an outstanding contribution of French political science to a better understanding of the world we live in.

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