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Russian Diplomacy and the Challenges of the 21st Century

Author: Sergei Lavrov
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There are a few basic parameters for evaluation of the current international situation that are generally accepted by all who are trying to seriously comprehend the world tendencies. First, we are currently experiencing a period of transition. Second, the historical processes continue to gather speed. Thirdly, it is already becoming obvious that in the 21st century international relations are moving in the direction of becoming a polycentric system.

As for Russia, the philosophy of joint creative work is the basis of all of our foreign policy. We are ready to go far in boosting deep, long-term and multifarious cooperation with all who will reciprocate.

The Cold War period, when bipolarity took shape and the international equilibrium rested on a rigid confrontation between the two superpowers, the USA and USSR, and between the military-political blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, was an anomaly in regard to the principles enshrined in the Charter of the UN.

After the collapse of the bipolar system, everyone became convinced that a unipolar world is out of the question, because no power, including the U.S., can handle affairs in the international arena single-handedly.

We've overcome the Cold War period. It was the march of history foreordained by the vanishing of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact and by the emergence of large and influential new states that must be reckoned with.

Our major concern is to see that the U.S. anti-missile facilities will not undermine Russia's deterrent, nor violate the balance of power that has been built up over decades.

The UN isn't perfect, but it's the best that humanity has come up with.

Building up multilateral cooperation and deepening integration processes in the CIS is a course designed with a strategic long-term horizon in mind and reflecting the objective tendencies of the era of globalization, including strengthening the role of regional organizations. It was and is an absolute priority of Russia's foreign policy.

We regard cooperation within the BRICS as one of the key directions of Russian foreign policy. We want to gradually transform this cooperation into a multilateral strategic partnership on a broad range of world economy and politics issues. And we strive to position the BRICS as a new model of global relations outstripping one-dimensional schemes of the North-South or East-West type.



Foreign Policy Aspects of Russia's Accession to the WTO

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The completion of a multi-year negotiation process on the terms of Russian participation in the World Trade Organization (WTO) lends credence to our consistent policy to integrate the country into the global economy and strengthens the international position of Russia as one of the key participants in the process of reforming the global economic architecture. Russia's joining in the activities of the World Trade Organization sends the global economy a strong positive signal confirming that the Geneva platform will continue to serve as the foundation of the international trading system. Russia is entering the WTO at a crucial stage of its existence.

In this context, Russia's fresh view and proactive stand on key WTO challenges may become a significant contribution to efforts to resuscitate the stalled Doha Round of negotiations.

The idea being promoted by a number of member countries of expanding the competences of the WTO, on the pretext of its adaptation to modern realities, into new areas like energy, environment, food security, competition, exchange rates, and transnational corporation regulation necessitates our close attention and active work.

Full WTO membership provides an additional impetus for the strengthening of economic and trade ties with major Northeast Asian partners and the effective integration of Russia's far eastern regions into economic cooperation schemes in the Asia-Pacific as well as the emerging Asia-Pacific division of labor.

We are just only beginning to develop the potential of regional trade agreements (RTAs).

Yet in the WTO this topic has for many years been included among the most acute.

Russia's WTO membership is a kind of proof that foreign partners have confidence in the economic and investment policy of the Russian government..

We are also expanding our capabilities to protect Russian economic interests.



Russia Between China and America

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EARLY IN JUNE 2012, President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin arrived to the People's Republic of China with a state visit; it was at the same time that the SCO Heads of Governments Council met in Beijing.

In fact, the summit was an event of historic dimensions: close economic cooperation between the countries which represented a vast region received a firm documentary base in the conditions of a severe global economic crisis.

International think tanks are watching with a growing concern how the center of gravity of world development is shifting to the vast Euro-Asian continent with Russia and China moving to the forefront.

The unipolar world born when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union and when the Soviet Union fell apart is drawing to an end, or, rather, it is being replaced with a bipolar world in which the U.S. and China, two power centers, will stand opposed to one another.

On January 5, 2012, President Obama personally (the case without precedence) presented the country's new military strategy; he pointed out that "the changing geopolitical environment"⁵ rather than financial difficulties caused the reforms.

Washington intends to expand its military cooperation with Singapore and the Philippines in an obvious intention, to quote international observers, "to balance out China's influence in Southeast Asia."

The worldwide struggle for access to mineral riches and hydrocarbon fuels adds an edge. Chinese-American competition in Africa is inevitable yet China has come to this continent driven by objective circumstances and is resolved to remain. Africa is an important link of China's strategy of peaceful development; Beijing cannot retreat even in the face of external threats.

"It seems," writes Khazin, "that unlike the Russian elite, the Chinese elite is fully aware that the world has entered an era of fast political and economic changes"

China has made its choice: it will go to Africa, Central Asia, the Middle East, Southeast Asia and other regions. Siberia is not on the list.

Mikhail Khazin has rightly pointed out that Beijing wants friendly Russia in its deep rear while it is coping with urgent and far from easy tasks.



Russia-USA: A "Software" Update

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IT IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE that the events of August 2008, the operation conducted by Russian armed forces to protect Russian peacekeepers and the citizens of Russia and South Ossetia, exacerbated the already-in-crisis Russian-U.S. relations. Moscow and Washington realized the need to conclude a new mutually binding Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. Acknowledging the confrontation-oriented nature of the foreign policy approach that had evolved under the late Bush term, the Obama administration and the State Department chose a new foreign policy strategy toward Russia.

The content of the concept of the Russia-U.S. Reset was formulated as follows: "In fact, the theory of the Reset is when we go downstairs and attend to real things, without all the 'we love you,' 'you are stunning' and 'the Cold War is over.'"

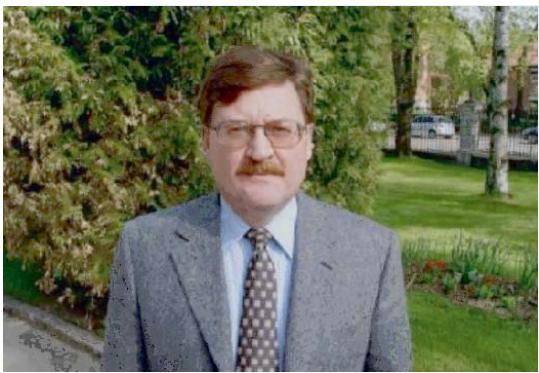
In general, the results of the Reset can be divided into three categories: successes and achievements; the evolving cooperation; and tradeoffs and failures

Russia's admission to the WTO and the process to repeal the Jackson-Vanik amendment in the U.S. Congress were a result of the manifestation of American political will. The regime change in Libya and the murder of Muammar Qaddafi brought the United States and Russia back to the model of ideological confrontation in the UN Security Council. As a result, missile defense in Europe, the CFE Treaty, Iran's "nuclear" ambitions, and the situation in Syria are those issues on which a consensus has not been reached; mutually acceptable results in these areas of Russian-U.S. cooperation have failed to materialize from the Reset.

The missile defense situation is still unclear. The project proposed by the Russians for joint construction with the U.S. of third site elements of sectoral missile defense has been rejected by the American side.

A multitude of factors have always influenced Russia-U.S. relations, and one of them was and is the factor of political leadership in both states.

If a reset takes a long time then it's obvious that the efficiency of the system is very limited and you should update the software itself, or install a new one. With respect to Russia-U.S. relations, the need is for a single program for the two countries, integrated into their societies and taking into account their mutual interests, challenges and threats; this program is needed for transcending the Cold War inertia and strengthening mutual trust.



EUROPRO: A Dead End With an Exit

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PRESIDENTS Vladimir Putin and Barack Obama in their joint statement signed on June 18, 2012 at Los Cabos, Mexico, in the margins of the summit of the G20 acknowledged differences in assessments of the missile defense issue in Russian-American relations. For several years, it was a persistent stumbling block to the politico-military agenda of the two mightiest nuclear powers. Still, both parties agreed to "continue a joint search for solutions to challenges in the field of missile defense."

The still unresolved differences are not the result of actions or omissions by the Russian side

The main purpose and key military-technical result of the first phase of the program was the establishment by the U.S. and NATO of "an initial capacity to defeat ballistic missile attacks on Europe."

Washington's attempts to explain the reasons for the deployment of a missile defense system near Russia by the need to block an "Iranian missile threat" do not stand up to criticism. This "threat" to the U.S. does not exist. It will not exist for a long time yet, if it ever emerges at all.

The Pentagon has plans to deploy missile defense ships in the Baltic, Mediterranean and Black Seas, as well as in the northern seas around Europe, that is in close proximity to the Russian coast.

THE UNITED STATES is increasingly focusing on building up not only national missile defense assets, including those outside its boundaries, but also the appropriate capability of the North Atlantic Alliance. In 2011, the Pentagon reinforced its international legal framework for missile defense cooperation with its NATO allies.

Thus, in the coming years, we will witness the firm consolidation of a U.S. missile defense system deployed outside its national territory with the means of missile defense of several NATO member states, which will allow it to provide an "anti-missile umbrella" over large areas in Europe, and also over other countries located in other continents.

Russia and the U.S. might well go further and provide a mutual guarantee that they reject the use of both strategic offensive and tactical nuclear weapons, as well as pledging that they would not use nuclear weapons in a first strike or generally would not use them against each other in the future.



Central Asia and Russia: Mutual Attraction

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For historical and geographical reasons, the peoples of Russia and Central Asia are bound together in the most diverse areas of everyday life. Our countries have long been maintaining relations in the spheres of economy, culture and education and these relations are remarkable for high intensity and diversity.

Located along Russia's southern border, the region of Central Asia plays a key role in maintaining our national security and it is a buffer hindering a large-scale penetration of Afghan narcotic drugs into Russian territory.

The Republic of Kazakhstan is our reliable partner and ally in the region.

We are consistently expanding our cooperation in political, commercial, economic, military, and cultural spheres.

There is a growing cooperation between Russia and Kyrgyzstan in defense and military technology on both a bilateral basis and within the framework of the CSTO.

Unlike the other CIS states, Russia established diplomatic relations with Tajikistan at the height of a civil war there. Once diplomatic relations were established, Russia, together

An important role in promoting cooperation belongs to the Intergovernmental Russo-Turkmen Economic Cooperation Commission.

Links between individual regions in both countries are acquiring a new quality. We can single out, as good examples, Tatarstan, the Astrakhan Oblast and St. Petersburg which are especially active in expanding cooperation with Turkmenistan

The traditionally close cultural and educational contacts help consolidate amicable relationships between the peoples and form the foundation for further development of our partnership

EVEN THIS CURSORY OVERVIEW makes obvious the strategic importance for Russia and its partners in Central Asia of solid trade and economic, military-political and cultural ties with each other.



China and Missile Defense

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THE UNITED STATES' GLOBAL missile defense system is a far more serious problem for the national security of the People's Republic of China than for Russia, as China's nuclear missile capability is much weaker than Russia's and has lower survivability.

Beijing is of course concerned about the U.S. plans to deploy missile defense elements along Chinese and Russian borders.

Even with today's fast growing level of military spending, China will not be able to catch up with the military might of the United States in the coming decades.

Beijing justifiably does not believe Washington's assurances that the sole ostensible aim of the missile defense barrier being established in Asia is to intercept North Korean and Iranian missiles. China's military has reasonable grounds to assume that these plans, if implemented, will effectively diminish the relatively limited nuclear missile capability of the PRC.

This, of course, doesn't mean that China will continue to limit itself solely to public calls for Washington to exercise prudence and restraint. Some American analysts warn that China will not always be "hiding its head behind a fence."

Our own intelligence services estimate that moving forward with national missile defense could trigger a tenfold increase in China's expansion of its nuclear capability.

AT THIS STAGE, Russia and China's assessments of the U.S. missile defense program are virtually identical. Both countries see it as a direct threat to their own nuclear deterents and as a tool for undermining global strategic stability.

Beijing's negative attitude towards the U.S. anti-missile program is also fueled by concerns related to Japan.

Thus, the Russian factor is becoming increasingly important for both the West and China, and as China's military and economic rise continues, its importance for both sides will increase.

Not only should Moscow and Beijing agree on jointly developing and implementing asymmetric countermeasures to the deployment of U.S. missile defenses, they ought to step up efforts, together with other nations, to conclude a treaty banning the placement of weapons in outer space.



"Unilateral Sanctions" and International Law

Author: K. Gevorgyan

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The practice of "unilateral sanctions" is ambiguous, and the question of their legitimacy has been little explored from the perspective of the doctrine of international law. The United Nations Security Council bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security "Unilateral sanctions" imposed by such powerful players as the U.S. and EU compare in political and economic impact to those of the UN Security Council. So if they are imposed in the absence of Security Council sanctions or their volume is higher than the volume of Security Council sanctions against the same country, those "unilateral sanctions" can have a negative impact on the efforts of the

International law contains numerous grounds for recognition of the illegitimacy of unilateral measures. States are by no means free to choose a policy of unilateral sanctions.

SANCTIONS CAN ACT as a measure of international legal responsibility of a state which has breached an obligation under international law.

The prospects for challenging "unilateral sanctions," for example in hypothetical proceedings in the UN International Court of Justice, are extremely vague.

At the same time, doctrinal sources have pointed out that the legitimacy of coercive measures depends also on whether they can from the point of view of international law qualify as reprisals or retortion.

In these circumstances, it appears more promising to consider individual elements of such sanctions in the light of the national legal system of a sanctions-imposing state and also in the context of autonomous international legal regimes (such as the World Trade Organization and the European Court of Human Rights).

After determining the existence of any threat to the peace, the Security Council has the authority to decide what measures shall be taken to maintain or restore international peace and security (Article 39) and, in particular, to "call upon the Members of the United Nations" to apply such measures involving as well as not involving the use of force (Articles 42 and 41, respectively).

Regional organizations have no right to impose their own sanctions without approval from the Security Council.

In addition to the legal case, unilateral measures can be given political evaluation, using by analogy the criteria for legitimacy of counter-measures that have been developed in the framework of the norms dealing with state responsibility. Measures contrary to these guidelines provide a basis for their addressees to take retaliatory steps.



Eurasian Energy Doctrine

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V.V. PUTIN'S PROGRAMMATIC ARTICLE concerning the idea of a new regional association in the Eurasian space - a Eurasian Union¹ - has provided a new impulse to integration processes in the post-Soviet area, not only ideological but also organizational. At present, the Eurasian Union project includes three states - Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, but it is an open project, envisioning further expansion in Eurasia.

In this context, it is very important today to define the basis of the new regional association, which would make it more stable within the highly dynamic economic and political space that exists now.

Being the economy's blood circulatory system, the energy sector serves as one of the most obvious examples of such infrastructural commonality.

In that sense, energy infrastructure could become the foundation of the Eurasian Union. Center stage will be taken not by such issues as the possession of resources but by the existence of energy connections that would make it possible both to supply and receive resources.

The logical continuation of the Eurasian Union integration project is the development of a unified Eurasian energy doctrine whose key principles should be as follows: infrastructure, diversification, and polycentrism.

A special place in regional energy projects will be taken by the so-called transborder or border area energy projects. Implementation of such projects is possible only with consensus among all the countries whose borders will be affected by those projects.

It is very important here to ensure a certain measure of flexibility of the document under consideration, which would make it possible to define energy cooperation strategy not only for the Eurasian Union members but also for individual, as a general rule, border regions of interacting countries.

It is also essential to understand that the energy infrastructural basis of the future regional association is not only comprised of the traditional elements of energy infrastructure (pipelines, power transmissions lines, etc.) but it is also an entire complex of energy connections, including mechanisms of interstate or interregional energy partnership, the transfer of technology and technical solutions, and the exchange of energy services.



The "Occupation" of South Ossetia and Abkhazia

Author: G. Karasin

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From a diplomatic perspective, the events of four years ago are also infamous in that M. Saakashvili brazenly trampled on the principles of international law and the traditions of international relations. He grossly violated the peaceful political negotiating process aimed at reaching a Georgian-Ossetian settlement, which was conducted under an international mandate with the participation of the OSCE with Russian mediation, by mounting an armed attack on Tskhinval. As military people say, such things are never forgiven.

On August 12, 2008, after Russia fought back Georgia's perfidious attack on South Ossetia, Russian Federation President D.A. Medvedev met with French President N. resolution principles were approved.

Therefore there are no joint agreements on the non-use of force between Georgia, Abkhazia and South Ossetia. This is what creates a security vacuum in the region and what has become a key issue at the Geneva discussions on Trans-Caucasus.

Some of our partners want to put Russia and Georgia into the same category as two conflicting parties, conveniently "forgetting" about the existence of independent Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

But history cannot be reversed. On August 26, 2008, the Russian Federation recognized the independence of the two new Transcaucasian states - the Republic of South Ossetia and the Republic of Abkhazia.

The Russian side did not exercise effective control over the territory of South Ossetia, Abkhazia or Georgia during the course of the Georgia-Ossetia conflict or now. The actual situation does not meet any of the occupation criteria. Therefore, there is no occupation as defined in international law or international humanitarian law.

It is regrettable that instead of a constructive search for ways of establishing good-neighborly relations and ensuring a lasting peace and security in the Trans-Caucasus Georgian politicos engage in inventing propaganda clichés about the struggle against "occupiers," devoid of any legal or factual sense.

The desire of Georgian authorities to artificially bring the term "occupied territories" into circulation is nothing more but a propaganda trick. It has nothing to do with the current political realities in Southern Caucasus and has the only aim to mislead the world public.



Rossotrudnichestvo: The First Results of Its Operation

Author: K. Kosachev

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FEDERAL AGENCY for the Commonwealth of Independent States, Compatriots Living Abroad and International Humanitarian Cooperation, or Rossotrudnichestvo, subordinate to the Foreign Ministry, is the youngest in the system of state executive bodies of the Russian Federation. In September, it will be four years old.

Yet today the preparatory stage for Rossotrudnichestvo can be over. Now it must serve as an effective tool for accomplishing national tasks.

The "civilized lobbyism," the protection and promotion of Russian interests in the humanitarian sphere, an all-out expansion of our cultural presence and influence in the world, the creation of a positive image of the country - all this can be considered as the mission of Rossotrudnichestvo in the broadest sense.

There should be consistency and distinctiveness in all phases of our humanitarian influence in the world: at the stages of elaboration, conveyance and dissemination on the ground.

Rossotrudnichestvo is currently represented in 73 countries across the world (totaling 88 offices, including branches). During the period from 2009 to the present, eleven new Russian culture and science centers have been opened - in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Italy, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Palestine, Slovenia, Spain, and Tajikistan. This year we are planning to open centers in Laos, Venezuela and South Ossetia.

Of course, the agency's top priority is to facilitate integration processes within the CIS space. In this context, the most important project is the development and implementation of an Interstate CIS Cooperation Program on Innovation for the period up to 2020.

Another top priority of ours is supporting Russian compatriots living abroad. The main problem lies in the fact that this work is not provided with adequate funding in the agency's budget.

The agency is ready to expand efforts focused on preserving the Russian spiritual and cultural heritage abroad. Our overseas representations are the initiators and organizers of opening memorial signs and monuments of Russian history and culture, and participate on a continuing basis in the conservation of cultural and spiritual heritage places.

And one more area - not the least of our plans, which I would like to emphasize in this article - is the introduction of a wide network of videoconferencing (VC) on the basis of our culture and science centers. Of course, this is not a one-year task. Its accomplishment will probably require considerable resources. However, the return promises to be quite substantial.



European Debt Crisis: A View From Germany

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SO FAR THE GERMANS have known about the crisis in the eurozone mainly from newspaper headlines and popular TV programs. In Germany itself, all is still relatively quiet. According to the latest opinion polls, almost 60% of German citizens are convinced that in the coming year their living standards will improve and they will keep their jobs.

Germany started the long-overdue structural reforms earlier than other eurozone countries. These reforms added flexibility to the employment market.

The competitiveness of German goods has increased as a result of very moderate wage increases in the country.

The main factor that has enabled the German economy to stay well afloat is probably the fact that it has retained its industrial core despite the powerful wave of deindustrialization that has swept through virtually all developed countries.

German industry has quickly adapted to the new situation, offsetting the drop in effective demand in the eurozone countries by increasing exports to third countries.

An irresponsible and wasteful fiscal policy - such is the root of the current problems in the eurozone as seen by the Germans. Based on this diagnosis, the remedy for the disease was prescribed as follows: an austerity regime to get the fiscal situation under control and structural reforms to improve labor productivity and competitiveness.

The single European monetary policy turned out to be too loose for the economies of Spain, Greece, Ireland, Portugal, and Italy. The 2008 financial crisis put an end to the growth model adopted in these countries.

THE INABILITY of European governments to reach a timely agreement on a clear anti-crisis strategy has brought the European Central Bank (ECB) to the forefront of the fight against the debt crisis even though its statute and tools leave it little room for maneuver in this area

Restoring confidence in the economies and banks of Southern European countries is not a simple task.

On one side of the scale is economic sense with repeated declarations that the "European idea" must be saved, and on the other, national egoisms, domestic political battles and growing skepticism among financial market participants.



Russia's Presidency in the Council of the Baltic Sea States

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S. Petrovich,
Deputy Director of the same Department

For two decades now, the CBSS has been an effective mechanism for the coordination of joint efforts in the region. What is also unique is that the council is developing cooperation in all areas of mutual interests except for "hard security" matters.

At present, the CBSS is comprised of 11 states: Germany, Denmark, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Russia, Estonia, Finland, and Sweden. The European Commission is also a full-fledged member of the council.

The council's agenda, as it was noted, is essentially universal, including such matters as economic and cross-border cooperation, sustained socio-economic development of the region, protection of the environment, energy, maritime policy, healthcare, struggle against organized crime and trafficking in people, education, cultural exchanges, tourism, and youth policy. The organization's activity, therefore, covers essentially the entire range of matters that are of vital importance for the citizens of its member countries. The CBSS is both a generator and the result of deep qualitative shifts on the European arena.

The CBSS presidency will open additional opportunities for strengthening Russia's lead role in cooperation in the Baltic region.

Therefore, the principal goal of the Russian presidency is to promote and facilitate multi-lateral cooperation, consolidating the CBSS's role as the main coordinator of regional cooperation development so that all key regional issues are addressed with Russian national interests being taken into account.

During the Russian presidency, we plan to move further toward establishing in the Baltic region a large direct investment fund.

The main task that Russia faces during its presidency is the continuation of efforts to ensure the preparation and implementation of projects that would have a truly region-wide importance in new areas.

The same level of priority is given to the development of youth and education contacts, especially in raising the future generation in the traditions of tolerance and the unacceptability of extremism.

It is important to remember that good relations between states in the modern multipolar world cannot be taken for granted. They are the result of mutual movement toward one another.



Russia-EU: Visa-Free Travel Dialogue

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THE IDEA TO EMPHASIZE a special nature of Russia-EU cooperation by easing the visa regime is relatively new.

Despite the fact that dialogue on a visa-free regime between the EU and Russia has been going on for longer than a year, the overall position of the EU can be better described as a "long-term intention."

Vladimir Putin asked the EU heads of state to consider Russia's new integration initiative on practical moves to achieve, at some point in the future, visa-free travel between Russia and EU countries.

Following the signing by Poland and Lithuania of the Schengen Agreements, the residents of Kaliningrad could no longer get free visas to these two countries through a simplified procedure.

The first phase in the government policy to ease the visa rules was the signing in May 2006 of the Agreement on the Facilitation of the Issuance of Visas between the Russian Federation and the European Union. The Agreement came into force on June 1, 2007 as an important step towards a more relaxed visa regime.

In practical terms, the agreement only partially eases travel for Russian and EU citizens in both directions. The point is that it does not eliminate the very need for getting a visa (the exception are the bearers of diplomatic passports), nor does it cover tourists, who are in the majority both among Russians and EU citizens. The agreement does not apply to Great Britain, Ireland, and Denmark.

On April 19, 2007, European and Russian justice ministers and ministers of the interior approved a procedure for visa talks which was endorsed by the Russia-EU summit in May 2007.

The European Commission set a number of conditions for Russia to meet in order to prepare for putting in place a visa-free regime.

It is possible to say that interaction between Russia and EU countries to implement the agreement is on a sufficiently high level, but there are lingering problems that were repeatedly discussed during joint working meetings.

The EU emphasized that the EU-Russia migration dialogue should avoid duplicating the measures taken by other forums. It implied in particular the EU-Russia joint committee on simplifying the visa regime and readmission.

The policy of Russia and the policy of the EU with regard to each other are formulated on the basis of the necessary but knotty partnership.



Time to Consolidate Peace in Darfur

Author: Ibrahim Agboola Gambari,
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The resolution of the Darfur crisis itself is, unfortunately, a history of occasional but often profound marginalisation in favour of other priorities. More than ever, the time has come for the international community to recalibrate its focus so as to consolidate the gains made in the Darfur peace process and chart a course towards a sustainable peace.

There is broad consensus within Darfur, Sudan and outside Sudan that the peace document addresses in a comprehensive way most of the root causes of the conflict.

Youssef as Second Vice President of Sudan and LJM leader, Dr. Eltigani Seisi, as Chairperson of the Darfur Regional Authority (DRA). Both are Darfuris. In addition, several Darfuris have been appointed as federal Ministers of Health, Education, Justice and Finance in the spirit of increasing Darfuri participation in governing the nation. The Government of Sudan also appointed a number of other Darfuris to important government posts at the state level.

On 8 February 2012, the official inauguration of the Darfur Regional Authority (DRA) took place in El Fasher with the participation of President Bashir and President Idriss Déby Itno of Chad, as well as members of the diplomatic community.

UNAMID, which supported the mediation throughout the negotiation process, was quick to support these first steps toward peace. We are also facilitating the process of disseminating the agreement in order to deepen and widen local understanding, participation and ownership of the DDPD.

Today, while the situation is stabilizing, the fact remains that some 1.7 million of Darfur's population remain displaced in Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps scattered throughout Darfur. This amounts to close to 1/6th of Darfur's population displaced from their home.

It is clear that Sudan faces new realities today with the separation of South Sudan and the resulting political, economic and security shock associated with that development. The international community must recognize these new realities and come to the aid of Sudan to overcome all its problems in a sustainable way.



Kinshasa: Towards Stability in the Central African Region

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THE OUTLINE of the DRC's contemporary foreign policy began to take shape with the end of the civil war (1998-2003) in the midst of a political and military crisis. To rehabilitate the national image and regain credibility on the international scene was not easy. The country had a large external debt, lost its voting rights in the African Union, and was poorly represented and passive in international organizations.

Starting in 2006, the DRC's diplomacy began to gain momentum and come out of the state of stagnation. Congolese delegations stepped up their involvement in virtually all regional and international organizations (the UN in the first place).

DRC, due to its geostrategic position, is regarded by the West as a key country on the continent that serves as a connecting link between the continent's north and south. In the post-election period, the DRC continued to actively cooperate with the UN Mission in the DRC (MONUC).

In mid-2008, Kinshasa faced a sharp aggravation of the conflict in the eastern provinces of the DRC, caused by the stepped-up activities of Rwandan FDLR rebels. Being under the strong pressure of the international community to diffuse the crisis peacefully, the DRC began looking for a rapprochement with Rwanda and Uganda. The joint military operations with Rwanda and Uganda served as an important step toward normalizing diplomatic relations with Kigali, Kampala and Bujumbura, multi-field bilateral cooperation, and an expedited integration of ex-combatants of Congolese armed groups into the Congolese army.

The new blueprint for the DRC's foreign policy confirmed the priority of the tasks of Congolese diplomacy to promote regional and subregional cooperation.

Speaking of the DRC approach to the most pressing issues of our time, it should be noted that Kinshasa has signed most of the international conventions and agreements concerning disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and has ratified all international conventions on international terrorism.

Kinshasa is in agreement with the idea of the need for a multipolar world order based on the rule of international law that will provide opportunities for growth and development of all countries.

DRC acts on the assumption that African countries alone cannot meet the new challenges and threats. Kinshasa believes it is necessary to counteract them by collective effort, under the auspices of the UN.



The Gulf Monarchies and the "Arab Spring"

Author: D. Malysheva,
Chief Research Associate, Institute of World Economy and
International Relations, Doctor of Science (Political Sciences)

The Gulf monarchies or, to be more exact, the "Wahhabi tandem"¹ of Saudi Arabia and Qatar moved, for the first time in their history, onto the world arena; they joined forces with the West and tapped to the full their financial, military, political and information resources to make the Persian Gulf a geopolitical center in its own right in the Middle East and the Arab world.

Democracy and human rights are practically unknown in the Gulf authoritarian political systems.

The populations of practically all Gulf monarchies are Sunni Muslims, with the exception of Oman where Ibadiyya is the state religion and Bahrain with its Shi'ah majority. Saudi Arabia is the world's third most vehement persecutor of Christians.

The "Arab Spring" gave Riyadh and Doha a chance to start "reformatting" the Middle East to their own liking: secular regimes are to be replaced by ideological and political allies of the Arab Sunni fundamentalist monarchs in order to stem the Shi'ah influence coming from Iran.

The United States is, and will remain in the near future, the main security guarantor for the Gulf monarchies.

The Arab monarchies have not yet learned to act together on the regional and world arenas; they have failed, so far, to follow Saudi Arabia, their natural leader, and agree on coordinated foreign policy line.

Having launched the Al Jazeera Corporation, a powerful propaganda machine heard all over the world, Qatar joined the league of the main players on the information market; it influences or even shapes public opinion in the Arab world and channels it in the desired direction.

Early in 2011, in Oman people went into the streets to demand higher wages; they organized a peaceful Green March under the slogan of "changes in all spheres of life."

Free Syrian Army (FSA), the rebel army staffed with the military who had joined the opposition, with military equipment. The Saudi foreign minister offered his comment: the Syrian opposition "has the right to receive armaments to defend itself." Very soon it became known that Saudi Arabia was not alone: Kuwait and Qatar, likewise, had armed the FSA fighters.

The Arab monarchs are fighting for survival: it is much wiser to encourage revolutions beyond their borders than fight them on their territories. Their active involvement in the "Arab Spring" was a preventive measure.



The Middle East: The "Spring" on the Scale of World War III

Author: G. Povolotsky,
Managing Editor of International Affairs

THE EVENTS, known as the Arab Spring, which in 2011 shattered some of the Arab states of the Greater Middle East, have triggered military-political and military-strategic developments worldwide. Their whole gamut can hardly be grasped: what happened in individual countries and the region as a whole unfolded in different temporal scales and was planned and realized on different scenes: geopolitical, regional and local.

The political landslide in the Middle East came as a surprise: the authoritarian regimes were past masters of simulating stability. A gradual shift toward revolutionary developments, however, had started earlier and had been gradually unfolding. By the late 20th century, the old development model of some of the Middle Eastern states had been exhausted; the countries entered a period of political, social and economic stagnation while authoritarianism, nepotism and corruption became the most striking descriptions of their forms of governance..

Today, we are witnessing a fundamentally new type of warfare - a network war, efficient even if intangible.

The Arab world will change through evolution: so far, the new leaders have not yet acquired more or less clear ideas about the future model of public order and the roads leading to it.

THE FUTURE of the Middle Eastern transformations cannot be correctly assessed outside a detailed investigation of the role played by Islam, a heterogeneous religion of the majority of the Arabs.

It has been and remains the ideological foundation of culture and social order of the Middle Eastern countries; it is present in all spheres of life and is responsible for their specifics.

The countries deprived of their stable regimes will plunge into instability and poverty; regime change dooms them to many decades of grappling with national, economic, religious and other problems intensified by civil wars.

Today, the danger of regime change and massive onslaught on Syria is greater than ever. NATO, the Arab League and Turkey have their own weighty arguments in favor of such attack. The West and Israel which concentrated at keeping Iran away from nuclear technologies are determined to destroy Tehran's key regional ally.

The authors use the word "landslide" to describe the loss of Russia's economic positions in the Arab East. An opposite process will take a lot of time, yet the former positions will hardly be regained. The Arab countries, however, need Russia to balance out the U.S. and EU.



Are Victors not Judged?

Author: M. Khodynskaya-Golenishcheva,
Third Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation
to the United Nations Office and Other International Organizations
in Geneva, Laureate, First Degree Diploma
of the Foreign Ministry A.F. Dobrynin competition for the
best analytical paper

THE ARAB SPRING which is still raging in the Middle East gives us all second thoughts about the methods of crisis settlement in any corner of the world. In Libya, NATO demonstrated that foreign interference can become a "continuation of political intercourse." In fact, this tactic is employed for the sake of prompt economic and political dividends which painstaking and consistent efforts to develop political systems, economic and social spheres of these states cannot bring.

In his interview to Danish Politiken Rasmussen deliberated on applicability of Libyan experience in crisis settlement: there is no need to seek an agreement of the UNSC when it comes to liquidating despotic regimes. He did not exclude repetition of the Libyan scenario if and when the Alliance was challenged by massive violations of human rights.[

The Libyan lesson has clearly demonstrated that permissiveness in the choice of crisis settlement methods and the "end justifies the means" logic merely undermine the system of international law.

The fact that NATO exceeded the UN mandate did not come unnoticed. Dmitry Medvedev and Vladimir Putin both criticized "the actions of NATO forces in Libya as being beyond the corresponding UN resolution."

The regime-change operation in Libya realized by NATO creates a great number of far from simple problems many of which might later resurface to turn Libya into another Iraq and a source of regional instability.

The situation inside the country is far from stable; stability is limited to big cities where the army and the police are strong enough to maintain law and order. The government controls part of the territory while the rest is ruled by hundreds of military-political groups which refused, for different reasons, join the Defense Ministry or the Ministry of Internal Affairs. These groups cooperate with the regional military councils, some of which have become criminalized.

There is an opinion that inspired by what has come out of its Libyan operation NATO might become even more enthusiastic about "humanitarian interventions." The situation inside the United States is conducive to this.

While dealing with the Arab Spring subjects one should bear in mind that the hopes and expectations of the Arab peoples (which caused the crises in the first place) cannot be realized by airstrikes or intervention. Regime change does not lead to "mature" democracy (this much has become clear in Egypt) while the changes on top will never make poor people rich or create new jobs.



The Problem of the Legitimacy of Armed Intervention: Casus Belli Libya

Author: Ye. Voronin,
Leading Research Fellow, Institute for Contemporary International Studies, Moscow State Institute (University) of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE'S military intervention in Libya, like similar actions by Western community nations (in Yugoslavia, Iraq, Kosovo), which have questioned the principles and rules of modern international law, above all the principle of state sovereignty, does not appear to have received proper, qualified legal evaluation as yet.

Owing to the specificity of its "defense policy" that was shaped during the Cold War, the North Atlantic Alliance does not fall under the legal status of regional arrangement as per Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter.

In order to obtain this right - to participate in UN-mandated peacekeeping missions - NATO and the European Union have changed their founding documents to allow them to be considered "regional arrangements" in line with the letter and spirit of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter.

The armed intervention of the trio of major Western powers in the intra-Libyan crisis with subsequent involvement of Atlantic military staff structures was "NATO's mandate," not the Security Council's. Brussels' "continuous references" to the UN mandate was not just a reinterpretation but an obvious substitution.

The Libyan armed conflict was not a once-only act of military coercion, this was war. Such wars have already been defined as "humanitarian wars," or humanitarian interventions.⁶ In examining the character of the war against Libya, the question arises of its international legal qualification.

War is war, whatever the legal definitions (attack, lawful self-defense, etc.) this classical justice-in-war (*jus in bello*) concept has acquired.

The American expert community believes that the Libyan operation of the Western coalition has demonstrated the viability of "a well-grounded obligation to protect civilian population and confirmed it as a norm of international activity."

The functions of the mechanisms of the prevention of interference and use of force are immediately dependent on compliance with international law norms. Present-day Western international law "nihilism" often becomes the reason for ineffective collective efforts at averting military intervention, as happened in Libya. After Iraq's invasion by the U.S. and its allies, in the Western school of thought in international law it has gradually become prevalent to say that international law is no longer accepted by Western powers as a legitimate restriction on the use of force and, moreover, that any interference in the affairs of other states is increasingly subject to international justice.



Iran's Five Proposals for the Group of Mediators

Author: Seyed Mahmoud Reza Sajjadi,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the
Islamic Republic of Iran to the Russian Federation

This interview was conducted by International Affairs' commentator Elena Studneva

First of all, I want to thank the Government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation for the efforts they made for the successful arrangement and efficient work of this meeting.

One major problem of such 5+1 meetings is that the Western countries bring into the talks their political ambitions and mix them with the negotiation theme proper - nuclear research - and so it is sometimes that illogical demands unrelated to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) are put forward. We believe that if the mediators formulate their demands within the NPT framework and have no double standards on Iran's nuclear program, we can very quickly come to an agreement. I stress - if demands are not made beyond the NPT, and there is no double approach to the Iranian nuclear program.

If Iran had any bad intentions associated with nuclear activities, it would never have become a member of the IAEA. I would like to remind you that apart from the five permanent members of the UN SC there are other countries that have nuclear weapons and are not IAEA and NPT members.

Iran has done much over the past years in the field of high technology. In addition to nuclear research, we've done a lot in information technologies, nanotechnologies, biotechnologies, and other sectors. We rank 12th in the world for nanotechnology. Software developed by Iranian experts is being exported to America and Europe.

The Iranian government would like to implement many projects and is interested in schemes for financing those of them that will be developed by Russian experts.

The Caspian Sea has its own specific characteristics that distinguish it from other, unenclosed seas. Therefore, the laws that apply to the world's seas and oceans do not apply to the Caspian Sea, for it is an enclosed, landlocked water body. And what we are being offered, from our point of view, is unfair and does not meet Iran's interests.

Therefore, we believe that no littoral state can engage in any economic activity until there is a convention on the legal status of the Caspian Sea.. Like Russia, we too consider that building a pipeline under the Caspian Sea is very risky. This question can only be solved by consensus of the five states.

We have a strong belief that if the countries of the region do not cooperate with each other in the economic sphere and on security and stability, then other powers from outside the region will, on the pretext of solving these same problems, penetrate into this zone, into this region. Then we will be witnesses of what has happened in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya.



"WTO Accession Will Bring Us Investments, New Technologies and New Jobs"

Author: I. Rudensky,
Chairman of the RF State Duma Committee on Economic Policy, Innovative Development and Entrepreneurship, member of the United Russia Party in the State Duma

The Committee began to study the situation in various sectors. An inter-party working group was set up. In this group, we have analyzed many sectors and areas. Today, we are working with the government on the whole range of support measures: preferences, tax incentives, direct subsidies, repeal or enactment of bylaws.

WTO accession will bring us investments, new technologies and, of course, new jobs, and Russia will only benefit from this.

Fifty percent of our budget already comes from the sale of oil and gas. We are currently living at the expense of raw materials. All that concerns our economy is in the stage of development.

Our banking system is still not strong enough (one can even say it is too weak) to compete with the international financial system. As for the banks themselves, some of them can be allowed to operate in Russia because loans for our enterprises today are simply unaffordable.

Many companies today will build enterprises close to the Russian border in Kazakhstan and Belarus, where taxes are lower. Some prefer to open enterprises in non-CIS countries and import goods into Russia.

In the WTO context, Russia is developing a set of measures related to light industry, fishing industry and agriculture.

The situation should change because we are becoming a full-fledged member of the World Trade Organization and will thus live and work according to the rules of the whole world.



Future Belongs to "European Choice"

Author: I. Yurgens,
Chairman of the Institute of Contemporary Development
(ICD)

The European vector remains and will remain on top of the list of Russia's foreign policy priorities not only because of the Kremlin's political will. The European choice is a personal choice of an absolute majority of Russian citizens.

At the same time, the still uncompleted processes of building a contemporary state and contemporary economics in Russia and a wide range of European crises.

The "European Choice" of the majority of the Russian public is a fact which the Russian leaders always took into account when formulating and realizing basic foreign policy and foreign economic aims.

Let me remind you that in the current 2008 Foreign Policy Concept (and the previous 2000 document) the European Union came immediately after the CIS.

Russia is especially interested in cooperation in technological, innovational, economic, and trade spheres.

We should bear in mind that the efficiency of our partnership depends on mutual adaptation of the institutes to successful innovational, scientific and technological cooperation and strengthening our competitive potential.



Our Prospects: Outlines of a Eurasian Foreign Policy

Author: A. Fomenko,
historian and political scientist, deputy of the IV
State Duma

Napoleon in his time said that political leaders could change everything but the country's geography. Our two revolutionary attempts of the last century to restart foreign policy from scratch proved that political leaders cannot change the country's history, either.

Russia's foreign policy cannot be limited to one - regarded as the most important - trend. The country is too vast and too varied to squeeze its foreign policy into several priorities.

Being involved in the relationships with practically entire world we should never let out of sight the flourishing complexity of its political culture and the complexity of the political culture of our Western partners in the first place.

Direct and consistent contacts between representatives of Russia and members of European and American opposition will confirm Russia's multivectoral policy in the West and its readiness to accept the liberal democratic rules of political game.

Mutual lack of understanding between Russia and Western Europe of centuries-long standing is an irrefutable, even if lamentable, historical fact.

In Russia, "strategic partnership" should be regarded as more natural than confrontation or indifference.

Throughout its history, Russia as the Third Rome claimed the role of protector of genuine Orthodoxy but never the status of a ruler (or co-ruler) of this world. It never indulged itself in spiritual (religious-ideological) or political expansion.



"It Is not Enough to Have Oil Supplies Today, We Need Advanced Technology for Producing It"

Author: Yu. Shafranik,
Chairman of the Board, SoyuzNefteGaz Interstate Oil
Company, President of the World Policy and Resources
Fund

Oil is still one of the main energy resources, and its availability and price are largely determined by the prospects of the world economy. Nevertheless, the price of oil itself depends on a combination of a whole series of factors: not only on the economy, but also on politics and achievements in the development of technology.

Today, it is not simply the interests of the financial structures that are the dominating factor in price formation in the oil market, but geopolitics that rely on technological capabilities. The striving of the U.S. and the European Union to ensure their energy independence from oil imports from the politically unstable Middle East has prompted them to develop their own resources: shale gas and oil in the U.S., renewable sources of energy in Europe. In my view, it is not only a matter of prices. There are two factors that most concern me. First, the possible reduction in production due to the drop in proven supplies. The second factor is even more dangerous for our oil and gas complex.

I would like to advance the Norwegian experience, which since the beginning of the development of North Sea deposits has been taking radical steps to build a contemporary branch of the oil and gas service from scratch. As a result, in literally a few years, a branch for manufacturing the most advanced equipment emerged and is tempestuously developing in the country.

In the strategic respect, we need to proceed from the fact that Russia has huge supplies of hydrocarbons, but the development of new fields in the country is objectively becoming a more difficult and expensive undertaking. Mining and geological conditions are becoming more complicated, and new fields are located in places a long way from economically developed regions with the necessary infrastructure. Today, it is not enough to simply have supplies and skilled personnel; we also need to have the most advanced economically efficient and pure production technologies and relevant equipment.



The Secrets of Russian America

Author: A. Petrov,
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Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Science
(History)

In 1799, the Russian-American Company was established. It was the first monopoly joint-stock company in Russia. Before that there were no monopoly companies that could control such a vast territory.

I have had occasion to analyze many transactions on different issues, but the sale of Alaska, I think, is a unique case, even for international law.

Alaska was a very important geopolitical resource, as we would say today. Alaska - Russian America - served as a kind of buffer in international relations.

The Americans were constantly competing with the Russians. There was economic competition.

The farce that subsequently ensued is now history - we sold Alaska and soon afterwards gold was discovered there too.

Looking after the Russian cemeteries located there is also very important. Whole clans, Ivanovs and Belikovs, are buried there, and these are names that still exist today.

A center has been established in Moscow for studying Russian America headed by Academician Alexander Chubaryan.

We are returning Alaska now, whereby we are doing this actively. We are returning the cultural traditions of the Russians. We are returning to Alaska and studying it. We are returning the pages of the history of Russian Alaska from oblivion, from non-existence, for a wide range of readers, radio listeners, and television viewers. It is obvious that geopolitical interest in Alaska is returning.



The World in Miniature

Author: S. Kadyrova,
Director of the Foreign Policy Service, ITAR-TASS

The World in Miniature, or Around the World in One Day

FAR FROM THE NOISE of big cities, a cultural and educational center called "Ethnomir" (Ethno-World) has opened in the Kaluga Region where visitors can spend several hours on a real journey around the world. Here visitors can become immersed in the culture of any country, become acquainted with the traditions and customs of the peoples of the world, and take part in olden-day games, amusements, and festivals.

Every country is represented by its own ethnocourt of approximately one hectare. The houses located in each ethnocourt are designed according to tradition and represent the history and culture of the ethnicity, whereby each court leads on to the next.

Visitors can walk along it from Japan to Argentina, Canada to Australia, stopping to shop in the ethnic stores and trying out the cuisine of the different countries in the Canteen. In future, there are plans to add souvenir and book shops, stores and restaurants, an exhibition complex, library, information center, and much more to the Street of the World.

The idea of Ethnomir is unique and has no analogues in other countries. Similar projects representing the culture of one nation have been implemented in Ukraine and in Sweden, but nowhere has an attempt ever been made to unite all nationalities under one roof. The project has gained international recognition and is being carried out under the auspices of UNESCO.



The German Question at the Turn of the Century: Notes on the Margins of Ambassador Terekhov's Memoirs

Author: A. Stepanov,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Doctor of Science (History)

HUNDREDS OF BOOKS and thousands of articles have been already written about Germany and related subjects yet the academic and diplomatic community in Russia was looking forward to the memoirs of Vladislav Petrovich Terekhov aptly called *Kholodny blesk fortuny** (Fortune's Chilly Gleaming).

It is hardly necessary to give all details of the book brimming with unique facts, profound analysis and serious generalizations: it should be read from the first to the last page. This is a book of revelations, a very sincere book written by a career diplomat who rose to the top of his profession.

Here I will share certain ideas suggested by my repeated reading of this well-substantiated and highly inspiring book.

The book deals with the way the German Question was resolved when the great power, the Soviet Union, was falling apart. Foreign policy and the diplomatic service were also affected; it seemed as if the Foreign Ministry was losing its traditional and very special role of one of the pillars of the state.

The Foreign Ministry and the diplomatic missions abroad survived despite the incredibly difficult times and the contradictory and incoherent foreign policy course of the country's political leadership; we managed to preserve and increase the professional potential of Russian diplomacy in the new domestic and international contexts.

The historical facts, generalizations and conclusions offered by V. Terekhov look convincing; the author has coped with honor with the scholarly and professional tasks he set himself.

Unlike many other books, this one offers a comprehensive analysis of international problems extending to other international issues or to what was going on in the world as a whole.



Scholars on the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

Author: I. Rudneva,
Research Fellow at the Center for the Study of the Contemporary Balkan Crisis, Institute of Slavic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Candidate of Science (History)

For the first time, issues like the legal basis for, and problems in functioning of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and how effective and unbiased it really is, were subjected to major analysis from a scientific point of view by more than 30 scholars from Russia, Serbia, Republic of Srpska (Bosnia/Herzegovina), Bulgaria, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the U.S. The present collection is made up of reports and speeches delivered by scholars at the symposium.

Based on concrete examples of the tribunal's work, the author showed how any person who participated in the creation of the new state entity, even by peaceful means, may be declared a war criminal.

The collection carries several articles on specific judicial proceedings of the ICTY. Boris Aleksic, lawyer and member of the National Assembly of Serbia, raised the question of a breach of procedural law in the case of Professor Vojislav Seselj.

The second part of the collection is devoted to one of the most controversial and complex issues of the Bosnia and Herzegovina war - the mass murder of Muslims in Srebrenica in July 1995. During the investigation of this case, Sarajevo and The Hague announced the death toll at 8000. Scholars tried to debunk the myth about a "deliberate genocide of the Muslim people."

The collection also includes reports about U.S.-generated tales to back up the myth of 7000 to 8000 Srebrenica victims, about concocted stories of Muslim suffering, about the games with the numbers of victims, about false witnesses and fictitious images from satellites.

An important part of the collection is the documents attached to it. For the first time, the public at large is presented with the statistics of the tribunal deaths by nationality and occupation and with a list of all the accused Serbs.



A Story of Betrayal: Russia and the Allies in World War I

Author: A. Yuryev,
international commentator

SO FAR, little is known about the way the Allies treated Russia during World War I. In the West, the subject was deliberately suppressed: the UK and France had departed from their allied obligations to Russia too obviously and too far to be willing to discuss the subject.

All attempts of Western representatives to put pressure on the Russian Supreme Command were resolutely cut short. The military representatives at the Stavka were shocked: until quite recently their role had been absolutely different. The French and the British went on with the "pressing on the Russians" very much by inertia.

The author has revealed the concealed springs of the Allies' attitude in regard to material supplies for the army-in-the-field and to the issue of Constantinople and the Straits. The author does not belittle Petrograd's interest in stable relationships with the Allies which, at certain stages, held the key to many important foreign policy issues.

The promises were never fulfilled: in the summer of 1915, Russia placed an order for 5 million shells and corresponding equipment with British Vickers Ltd.; the order was fulfilled.

France, in turn, failed to supply 50 planes. The Western missions and diplomats changed the tune after the failed summer 1915 campaign of the Russian Army. The latter became possible because even at the gravest moment of World War I Nicholas II and his Cabinet refused to guarantee the Allied credits with gold. The Western governments failed to establish their control over the Russian money. "The Allies immediately changed the tone in their relations with Russia."



De Gaulle Twenty Years Later

Author: V. Sokolov,
Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism, Moscow State University of Culture and Art, Candidate of Science (History)

MARINA ARZAKANIAN, prominent historian of France, has published her second book about General Charles de Gaulle.

The scope of de Gaulle's personality and of his deeds has not lost its significance at the change of epochs; his deeds are as important as ever for France, other countries and especially for Russia. Today, the subject is no less exciting than it was two decades ago when Dr. Arzakanian published her first book and when the Soviet Union became a thing of the past. Soviet diplomacy had to cover a long road before arriving at the true understanding of the great Frenchman. In the fall of 1954, newly appointed Soviet Ambassador to France Sergei Vinogradov met with French foreign minister Georges Bidault who tried to dissuade him from visiting de Gaulle who for quite a while had been "out of business":

On January 8, 1959, having assumed the post of the president of France de Gaulle began restoring France's national grandeur, his life-long dream. He wanted his country to become a power with "world-wide responsibilities." His idea of Europe was not a supra-national alliance of sorts but "L'Europe des patries," a formula much closer to the Russian heart and, most important, immune to external impacts.

Today, Europe has come to grips with numerous problems: Europeans are trying to protect their identities against the pressure of globalization while the policies of the EU leaders are not always unanimously approved and accepted.

No matter what, de Gaulle's dedication to the national interests of his country made him an adequate partner of the Soviet Union even though he remained true to the common interests of the West.

Dr. Arzakanian offers us a glimpse of General de Gaulle's spiritual world: "De Gaulle worshipped France. He lived and worked for it. He used to repeat with rupture: 'We are lucky to be born and live in this country. There is no country like this anywhere in the world. Its art, culture, literature, architecture, gardens, and palaces are fantastic... It produced great doctors, scientists, and military leaders..."

The book under review has another valuable feature: I have in mind the bits and pieces of French poetry reflecting the great politician's rich inner world, translated, with no mean talent, by the author herself.

His insistent desire to strengthen the positions of France is very close to the hearts of our readers who want the same for their Fatherland.



The Korean Peninsula After the Cold War

Author: Yu. Raikov,
Head of the International Relations Directorate,
Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of
the Russian Federation, Full Member of the Russian
Academy of Natural Sciences, Doctor of Science (History)

Problems relating to the Korean peninsula are an important component of Russia's policy toward the DPRK. This subject is taken up in detail in the recently published monograph by L.V. Zabrovskaya "On the Strategy and Guidelines of Russia's Policy with Regard to the DPRK after the End of the Cold War."* The work looks at the history and the current state of relations between Moscow and Pyongyang mainly between the 1990s and today. This is a successful attempt to shed light on these relations and help the Russian reader form a clearer idea of what these relations are today and of what the DPRK's foreign policy is generally about.

Part one of the book explains what caused the worsening of the political situation on the Korean peninsula where, during almost two recent decades, Washington has been capitalizing on the DPRK's international isolation to establish conditions for its own military and political domination in Northeast Asia.

Analyzing Russia's stance, the author of the monograph comes logically to the conclusion that the Russian Federation is not interested in "absorbing" the DPRK, as well as in the continuous confrontation between the two Korean states.

As for Russia's relations with the DPRK, the book under review rightly says that they have never been unclouded and at the end of the Soviet era worsened significantly. In addition to analyzing some other aspects of Russia's policy toward the DPRK, the author discussed in sufficient detail the issues of forming the common borders, Korean labor migrants in Russia, bilateral economic relations, and their role in strengthening cooperation between the two countries.

Summing up the development of cooperation between the RF and the DPRK in the new phase, we may agree with the author that, despite the two countries' efforts in some other areas, their political contacts have been expanding more rapidly. Both states are on record to have cooperated on the bilateral and multilateral bases. Russia has followed a friendly policy toward the DPRK and this helped it out of the international isolation.

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