

# International Affairs: Summary №6, 2012

## International Affairs

A Russian Journal of World Politics,  
Diplomacy and International Relations

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## Russia and PACE: Our Prospects

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ON OCTOBER 2, 2012, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted a resolution on the monitoring of Russia. Our entire delegation voted against the resolution, since many of the provisions included in it are simply unacceptable for us.

It was in the Council of Europe that the understanding crystallized that a unified Greater Europe could only be built on the basis of what united rather than divided people.

Indeed, the confrontation logic is not completely gone, including from the Strasbourg organization.

Why is this so important to talk about today? It is because the old ideological "baggage" does not allow for arriving

at solutions to serious new problems.

I considered it necessary to call the attention of PACE to the defense of historical memory as well. Europeans sacrificed tens of millions of lives for victory in the Second World War. And we have no right to indifferently look at attempts to consign to oblivion the decisions of the Nuremberg Trials enshrined in the UN Charter. Russia, which sustained the greatest human losses, will continue to uphold these positions in the UN, the Strasbourg organization, and other international fora.

Discussion in organizations such as PACE shows that we, Europeans, even in crisis situations are still able to resist the temptation of populist decisions and not to disperse to our separate national corners, doomed to deal with such problems completely on our own.

Relationships and structures leading eventually to the establishment of the Council of Europe and its Parliamentary Assembly had traveled a long and tortuous road before PACE itself became a model for the formation of inter-parliamentary bodies in other European and other regional organizations.

And we should not forget that lawmaking has now become one of the dominant features of further global development.

The next step is the passage of new laws that would change the procedure for the formation of a State Duma and a Federation Council and introduce elected mayors.

I WANT TO EMPHASIZE that democracy must be fought for. And the struggle for parliamentary democracy has to be waged almost every day. As they say, democracy dies not because of the weakness of laws, but due to the weakness of the democrats themselves. I hope that is not our case.

## Response to Crises

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The UN has not avoided the general trend: its peacekeeping has shifted from traditional peace restoration and maintenance toward multi-component, multi-functional and fairly expensive missions. In fact, the majority of the peacekeeping mandates imply the use of force; the same can be said about all agents involved - from military contingents to the police and civilian experts.

An analysis of what goes on in "hot spots" confirms that civilians suffer and become victims of the conflict.

All sides in an armed conflict, including the international contingents deployed in the conflict zone have their responsibilities under international humanitarian law.

Security Council plays the key role in providing the peacekeeping operations with the resources and powers indispensable for coping with the complex tasks with which the world community has entrusted them.

Iraq is the best of the pertinent examples. This is debatable: tens or even hundreds of civilians are practically daily reported dying in terrorist acts in this country.

In Libya, too, everything started with the calls to protect civilians against "Qaddafi's tyranny." The country enveloped in chaos and tribal disagreements in which regional leaders are tempted to become independent is sliding into violence which badly hits civilians in the first place. Today, violations of human rights are the same as under the previous regime.

Many other states follow the same train of thought and are aware of serious flaws of the approaches favored by Dr. Luck and his colleagues.

Protection of civilians can be efficient and bring the desired results only if realized outside political biases and the double standards policies

Because of the world media's particular attention to protection of civilians at the height of an armed conflict much less is said about the need to protect civilians at the stage of political settlement and restoration of peace.

Violations of international humanitarian law in relation to civilians add weight to the task of fighting impunity mainly with the help of national judicial instruments. They cannot, however, be relied upon amid raging conflicts which might cause doubts of their independence and impartiality.

## "Reset" in Russian-U.S. Relations

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The "reset" replaced an acute phase of confrontation. That was how the relations between our countries were described under the President George W. Bush's Republican administration in the U.S.

That kind of policy with regard to Russia was a reflection of Washington's general course toward the establishment of absolute American domination in global politics. The unilateral American withdrawal from the

1972 ABM Treaty, military intervention in Iraq in circumvention of the UN, outright interference in the affairs of Russia and its close neighbors, and open disregard for Russia's interests on the international arena - all of that could not but have a very negative impact on the status of Russian-U.S. relations.

BARACK OBAMA's Democratic administration, which came to power in January 2009, inherited a difficult foreign policy legacy.

For all of its achievements, the "reset" has not altered the fundamentals of Russian-U.S. relations and has not taken these relations to a qualitatively new level.

It should be noted that there was a subjective factor in the "reset" such as the return into the administration of people who had a considerable experience of working with Russia and in Russia under President Clinton.

In 2009-10, there was an objective concurrence of important Russian and U.S. interests, which predetermined the initial success of the "reset" and even brought hopes for the formation of the strategic partnership between the two countries.

One conspicuous achievement of the "reset" policy, especially for the U.S. side, was the agreement on the "Afghan transit," enabling the United States and its coalition partners to use the "northern corridor" across the Russian territory for non-military cargo transportation.

First of all, under the impact of the "reset" policy the United States began to reckon with Russia's interests in the post-Soviet space to a far greater extent than before.

Summing up the results of the "reset" in the Russian-U.S. relations in 2009-11, one can say that the parties have overcome the most obvious impediments to further development of bilateral ties.

## The World at the Turning Point

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Marginalia From the 67th UN General Assembly



Few people appreciated a noteworthy event: the heads of state and government and foreign ministers from nearly 80 countries attended the High-level Meeting on the Rule of Law, the first in the long history of the United Nations. It merited much more attention for the simple reason that the world was concerned that not all UN member-countries deem it neces-

sary to obey international law.

On the next day, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon opened a general discussion by pointing at many painful international problems.

In fact, at least ten speakers called to "reformatting" the UN Security Council: the world is changing; time has come to change the structure of the Security Council: permanent seats and the right of veto are in great demand.

On the first day, President Obama's speech; on the second, Secretary Clinton walked out from the High-level Meeting of the UN SC (the topic of the day in the corridors of the 67th Session) and a tough speech of President Ahmadinejad (American TV made the most of it).

The session abounded in events and meetings on the margins. Foreign Minister of Russia Lavrov met tens of his colleagues from other countries. Russian diplomacy scored another success at the UN Human Rights Council.

Diplomacy is changing - this is what became clear at the 67th Session and it was the most striking impression.

How should we interpret new diplomatic practice, unheard of in the previous decades? Is this a new style of "diplomatic discourse"? World diplomacy, which in the past spared no efforts to use balanced language and remain within certain limits, has, in fact, acquired a new and more - this is not a joke - "democratic," "less constrained" and more "outspoken" tongue.

Diplomacy moves together with the times: in the 21st century, we should speak our minds!

## Europe Needs Russia

*Author: Romano Prodi*

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Europe had always grown stronger through crises because this is true. We have lived through many crises. Even from the political point of view we gained a lot.

Every time we always stopped and then moved further. I know that we should look deeper into the countries' real interests; my analysis of the current situation told me nobody wants to breakup Europe, no matter how different are the opinions on foreign

policy issues and the situation in the Middle East in particular.

The more I analyze the common interests of Russia and Europe, the more I tend to repeat everything that I said at the last press conference in Bologna: "Take Russia's program of industrial diversification: it is a program of being part of a bigger union because the demographic aspects of Russia's, especially the demographic aspect of Siberia, are, in my opinion, worrying. Europe also needs Russia."

We should strengthen our relations; this means that we should identify the cause of tension: this is the problem of Ukraine. It should become an agent between Russia and the European Union, not an apple of discord: neither the EU nor Russia needs tension.

European investments in Russia are steadily increasing in the car industry and in many sectors yet they are worlds apart when it comes to services and banking insurance.

In future, Russia plans to increase consumption and reach the goals in which Italy is strong: Italian pottery and domestic appliance companies working in Russia will be growing more and occupy even greater sectors of the future Russian market.

We should cooperate in advanced sensitive fields to achieve trust: starting with the Iraqi war there have been too many disagreements over Russian politics. Today, we are moving away from political disagreements to the idea of stronger cooperation: time has come to revise at least some of the old disagreements.

There is the problem of media democracy which is very important. The difference may survive but we should start talking.

I do not know why we have visas in the first place. I have no other answer: visas cannot keep terrorists away, and so on. I have always looked at visas as an obsolete instrument, at least with the countries that do not produce mass emigration.

Personally I am prepared to abolish this, but this is not an insulated problem. We have to sort out the problem of bureaucracy in our relationships.

## The Syrian Crisis: Evolution and Perspectives

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IT IS FOR A LONG TIME now that the Syrian crisis has been and remains one of the political pivots in the Middle East and an important element of the global political process. It keeps the world powers (NATO members, Russia and China), regional power centers (Turkey, Iran, Israel, and the Gulf monarchies) and Syria's Arab neighbors riveted to the Syrian ups and downs.

The crisis which can be described as part of the Arab Spring is very different from what happened elsewhere.

Regime change in Syria will deprive Russia of its only Middle Eastern ally and its only naval supply and maintenance base in Tartus; very much like in Iraq and Libya, Russian businesses will be squeezed out.

Corruption, nepotism and abuse of power are inevitable products of decades of undivided rule of one political, ethnic or confessional group. These people lose contacts with society and an ability to respond to the vital needs of the common people.

The independent forums were very critical of President Hafez al-Assad and his rule, something that President Bashar al-Assad could not tolerate. The Damascus Spring of the early 2000s stalled, very much due to the efforts of the "old guard" in the Syrian government.

The Syrian leaders are realizing their own plan of social and political democratization; in the last few months, the country acquired new laws on general elections, the media, local self-administration, and political parties.

At the beginning, part of the Syrian population, the intellectuals in the first place, sided with the protesters and demanded democratization and regime change. Later, the majority scared by unfolding terror and violence gradually moved away to side with the government to support reforms.

Russia looks at regime change in Syria which will bring Islamists to power and probably divide the country as an extremely unwelcome prospect.

The President of Russia and the Foreign Minister of Russia confirmed that the Russian Federation insisted on the right of the Syrian people to determine their future.

## Landscape After the Battle

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MANY TIMES during the presidential campaign in the United States it was said that foreign policy and the relations with Russia were not the candidates' primary concerns. In a tight election race even minor nuances and barely detectable variants of political interpretations are important. The European financial and economic crisis lingering on the verge of a political crisis is the best possible background for President Obama's modest and, in many respects, interim successes

in crisis settlement. As for Russia, heated polemics brought to the fore some absolutely new formulas which many of the analysts hastily interpreted as declarations rather than a plan of action.

This time, the course of campaign raised many and unexpectedly serious questions about the true political intentions of the candidate and the incumbent.

For the first time in the American history, the public demanded, with good reason, that the meetings of presidential candidates with their donors should become transparent and receive media coverage. They say that the attitude to Russia was also aired at these meetings and that Romney tried to move away from the harsh term "number one geopolitical foe."

On the margins of President Obama's presidential campaign Secretary Clinton's speech at the Georgetown University in Washington passed practically unnoticed. Meanwhile, the U.S. Secretary of State pointed out: "For decades, many European nations received much of their natural gas via pipeline from one country: Russia"; she stamped Russia as a geopolitical rival on the new map of global energy policy and spoke about the need to put an end to its monopoly on the European market of energy fuels.

Very much as expected Barack Obama and his team are celebrating their far from easy victory. His second presidential campaign, however, buried the dreams of a united nation which had inspired the future president during his first campaign. The press is indulging in writing about "two Americas" and "split society."

Indeed, there is not a single more or less important domestic problem over which American society agrees, many of the opposite opinions being caused by what the president did during his first term. There is no agreement over many foreign policy issues, either.

Russian philosopher Ivan Ilyin wrote in his time that party politics and factions cannot consolidate the nation: people rally around shared ideas and common aims to which politicians should pay attention. I doubt that Barack Obama read Ilyin.

## Russian Foreign Policy: On a Course Toward Concentration

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Russia's situation today is complicated. Its aggregate power and influence in the world have significantly weakened compared to both the tsarist and Soviet days as its size and resources have contracted considerably. Soviet and post-Soviet experiments have failed to ensure an effective development of the country's economic potential. Nevertheless, it remains one of the world's largest states both by its resources and development potential.

The formulation of Russia's main policy goal as facilitation of the country's economic modernization and ensuring stable domestic development aimed at raising the people's living standards prioritizes the related scope of foreign policy tasks.

All the other tasks, as well as those enumerated in the decree, should be made subject to this principal goal.

Russia's fundamental national interests are:

- the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Russian Federation;
- the territorial integrity and sovereignty of its allies (CSTO members);
- preservation of peace and stability along the Russian borders and in neighboring states;
- integration in the post-Soviet space, including the creation of the Eurasian Union;
- active struggle for the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD); and
- active struggle against international terrorism and extremism if they pose an immediate threat to the aforementioned Russian fundamental interests.

It is also important that Russia today is better placed to take an active position on nonproliferation than the U.S., which is bound by an alliance with Israel and close ties with India and Pakistan. That could be used to secure image advantages.

Relations with the U.S. are important for Russia as a successor to the USSR in the nuclear sphere and a member of the UN Security Council. With Barack Obama coming to power the atmosphere of bilateral relations has somewhat changed for the better.

The main irritant in Russian-American relations today is the stationing of U.S. missile defense systems in Eastern Europe. According to a number of Russian experts, Russia's reaction today is out of proportion to the actual threats posed by that program.

Cooperation with the EU should remain a key line of Russian foreign policy.

## Russia Between Europe and Asia

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Being a Russian European is not synonymous to thinking that there is no alternative to the policy of integrating Russia into some alliances and groupings created in the Atlantic part of the Old World after the end of World War II and before the breakup of the Soviet Union. In building its foreign policy Russia proceeds from the premise that its most developed and densely populated part is in Europe.

Again, Russia's "Europeanness" and therefore

the corresponding nature of its foreign policy, does not mean that our country has no interests in other parts of the world.

Russia's foreign policy today is faced with the goal of diversification. And that is not some exotic goal. The interests of Russia, which occupies one-eighth of the world's land objectively require strategic relations in Europe, Asia, other continents - i.e., a transregional foreign policy with global elements.

The need to reinforce the eastern vector of Russia's foreign policy has nothing to do with the idea of distancing it from Europe, which is absurd.

The focus in the 21st century will be on the realignment of the balance of forces in the world, not the emergence of a new center of hegemony, and the establishment of a multipolar world that has been a topic of much discussion in recent years. In these conditions it is beneficial for Russia to preserve and develop its positions equally in the West, East, and South.

The future of Russia's relations with its neighbors such as Ukraine and Belarus is probably no less important for it than interaction with all the Asian countries outside the post-Soviet space taken together.

I am confident that "Greater Europe" is a logical basis for Russia, by ensuring the reliability of which it will increase the chances for success in other parts of the world, primarily in the Asia Pacific region. Russia can assert itself as an unquestionable heavyweight in the 21st century by consolidating its role as the EU's strategic partner and at the same time the core of the integration processes in the post-Soviet space. These two vectors of Russian foreign policy will not contradict but only strengthen each other.

## The Absence of a Benevolent Great Power

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*Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs*



AMERICAN AUTHOR Anne O'Hare McCormick (1880-1954), whose life experience was interwoven with both world wars, packaged into a single phrase the lessons to be derived from the tumultuous epochs when she famously wrote: "Today the real test of power is not capacity to make war but the capacity to prevent it."

The new paradigm that fleetingly appeared to take shape crashed in no time, and it

transpired that great power statuses would be steadily re-expressed in terms of nuclear deterrents, potentials for assured mutual destruction, and the abilities to sustain multiple regional armed conflicts in remote parts of the globe. Recurring in every serious military doctrine, the criteria outlived the Cold War and, slightly diluted, continue to underlie today's international politics.

These days we witness the West unleash a new regional conflict whenever its efforts to handle an existing one meet with some kind of success, and the hyperactivity prompts speculations that a new global redistribution looms on the horizon.

The allotment of roles will likely persist in the foreseeable future, but in the process Moscow and Beijing incur costs, both physical and political, antagonize parts of the populations in the countries where they help settle bitter disputes, and therefore cannot be content with simply trailing the developments provoked by other players. Both need some idea of the contours of the future, and their questions cannot be left unanswered.

No doubt, priority must in all cases be given to dialog and peacekeeping, but force still becomes an inescapable option under certain combinations of circumstances.

The only solution acceptable internationally is to formulate a legally lucid definition of what does - and what does not! - qualify as the hitherto undefined humanitarian intervention and to reach the widest consensus on the issue.

## Non-State Actors as a Threat to International Peace

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A favorite target for non-professional assessments over a long period of years has been the United Nations system and, in particular, the efficiency of its Security Council's work. We are far from being out to canonize the image of this key institution of global politics. In a whole array of cases, the activity of the Security Council could reasonably be sub-

ject to criticism because of its inherent slowness, its mismatch with what is required, its opportunistic character, and even inadequacy.

It is necessary to recognize that the UN Security Council has demonstrated conclusively on more than one occasion that it is capable of dealing with the most urgent problems of international relations.

It should be noted that the ideas of a "broader" understanding of security threats had hovered in the minds of Western political scientists since the 1970s. At the time, many experts already pointed out that terrorism and transnational organized crime could pose no less a danger to the world than traditional armed conflicts.

The innovative use by the UN Security Council of its right to qualify threats to international peace and security, and then also its precedent indication that such threats may be non-state in origin, led inevitably to a new interpretation of the related norms of the Charter of the United Nations.

The doctrinal shifts in international law following the Security Council resolutions on counter-terrorism of September 2001 were skillfully used by the United States for a "legal" basis for many opportunistic positions favorable to it. Thus, the format and methods of Operation Enduring Freedom rested on a new reading of the rules of international humanitarian law.

It has to be noted that the ideas of armed prevention of counter-terrorism were not even new for discussion within the UN Security Council.

At the 2611th meeting of the Council, the Israeli representative declared that each state bore responsibility for preventing armed attacks from its soil.

We will allow ourselves to finish the article with a quote from Kofi Annan. "The Charter of the United Nations is very clear. States have the right to defend themselves - and each other - if attacked. But the first purpose of the United Nations itself, as laid down in Article 1 of its Charter, is 'to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace'".

## USA-CIS Countries: The Military Aspects of Policy

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FROM THE BEGINNING of this century, the United States administration led by President George W. Bush Jr. began to pursue a more vigorous policy in the post-Soviet space in terms of the realization of its objectives there.

Over the course of this time, nearly all of the post-Soviet states were included in the Pentagon Combatant Commands' areas

of responsibility.

In so doing the United States took advantage of the border and ethno-territorial problems that burden many newly independent states (NIS).

In 2005, however, the picture began to somewhat change when it became clear that the U.S. military policy in a number of CIS countries was not as successful as Washington would like. The main mistake of the U.S. was to try to portray Russia in the eyes of their leaders, not as a rival or competitor, but as a common enemy.

IN THE 1990S, Ukraine's leadership was developing a concept of national defense and military doctrine and the building of the armed forces. At that time, it chose to lay special stress on cooperation with the West, having declined to participate in the preservation of the common defense space of the CIS and in the CSTO. It was precisely through NATO that the USA began to implement its military policy in Ukraine.

With the resumption of Uzbekistan's cooperation with the U.S. in the political and military sphere the Uzbek leadership began to maneuver between the West and Russia. For example, it refused to sign the agreement on the CSTO's Collective Rapid Reaction Force (KSOR).

SHORTLY AFTER TAKING OFFICE, Barrack Obama announced a "reset in relations with Russia." True, under Obama the United States abandoned aggressive pressure on some of the former Soviet republics, and owing to the need to complete the military operation in Afghanistan it made adjustments to the evaluation of the importance of the Central Asian states in its military policy. The question of NATO membership for Ukraine and Georgia was temporarily suspended.

Clearly, due to the growth of new threats to international security it is time for the United States, NATO and Russia to abandon confrontation and consider variants of cooperation in the post-Soviet space. This is all the more so as nearly all the CIS republics tend to pursue a non-bloc or multi-vector policy and to develop cooperation, including in the military sphere, both with the West and with Russia. A real "reset" in United States relations with Russia could be the first step on this path.

## "Supranational": From Europe to Eurasia

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THERE ARE several key regional structures - NAFTA, ASEAN, MERCOSUR, UNASUR, CARICOM, and the CIS - operating, due to their specifics, at different integration levels.

Even in the current far from favorable conditions a glance into the EU's past breeds hope: since the mid-20th century, Europe has lived through several political, economic and social metamorphoses which

caused declines and encouraged development. This means that concerted efforts of Europe's civil society and political and financial elite will overcome this crisis, too.

The ideas of European unity, a natural response to a clearly perceived European identity had been formulated in the Early Renaissance yet until the early 20th century remained disjointed and lacked unified approaches.

The term "supranational" came into vogue in the Russian political community as part of the discourse of a new integration structure, the Eurasian Union, to be set up in the post-Soviet space.

The post-World War II realities invigorated the ideas of Europeanism and added to the theoretical base of European integration.

The ideas of European "supranational" integration and their practical implementation are associated with the names of the EU founding fathers and "architects" of united Europe Jean Monnet, Konrad Adenauer and Robert Schumann who pooled their efforts to till the soil of consistent integration of the West European states and architecture of supranational institutions.

"The polycentric structure, that is, several strong member-countries of an approximately same 'caliber' indispensable for supranational structures is one of the key factors of 'supranational' integration."<sup>5</sup> At the beginning, this role belonged to France and the FRG and, later, the UK.

Recently, the term came into vogue in the Russian political community as part of the discourse of a new integration structure, the Eurasian Union, to be set up in the post-Soviet space. This means that the way European integration and its supranational component have been developing should be carefully studied so that to set up an adequate conceptual basis and stage-by-stage realization of the projects of complex integration in the Eurasian space.

## "Responsibility While Protecting" and the "Arab Spring"

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SINCE THE 1980S, when the humanitarian intervention concept was formulated and offered to the public, it has remained a subject of debates.

In the post-Soviet period, first Clinton and then George W. Bush adopted this concept as part of the U.S. and NATO policies.

The U.S. and NATO obviously intended to ignore the international legal norms related to the use of force (which undermined the authority of the UN and its Security Council): in 1999, NATO attacked Yugoslavia in full conformity with Para 20 of its 1999 Strategic Concept; several years

later, in 2003, America unilaterally and in disregard of the UN SC started a war in Iraq.

In response to the worldwide concerns and in an effort to set international legal limits of what the world community could do to prevent humanitarian catastrophes while balancing out these actions and respect for sovereignty of the states involved.

The fairly balanced theses concerning the "responsibility to protect" formed the foundation of the 2005 World Summit Outcome, the document that summed up the World Summit on the UN development in the 21st century.

The course and results of the NATO Libyan operation convinced prominent Western political scientists and lawyers that the West prefers the use of force to the instruments of peaceful settlement suggested by R to P.

The Brazilian project distinguishes between collective responsibility realized through non-coercive measures and collective security.

The new concept suits Russia because the idea of stricter rules when realizing military operations sanctioned by the UN SC and intended to protect civilians and of more effective control of such operations by the UN SC will limit the possibilities of "activists" in the West and the Middle East to take up arms at the slightest pretext, push away peaceful methods of settlement and manipulate with the UN SC mandate.

## The East: A Delicate but Promising Matter

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THE FOREIGN POLICY CONCEPT of the Russian Federation sets a course for Russia's full-scale involvement in the political and economic processes taking place in the Asia-Pacific Region (APR).

There is every reason to include our achievements in the Asia-Pacific Region among the undeniable successes of Russian diplomacy.

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, Moscow had to start virtually "from scratch" in building its relations with the APR countries. Russia had to determine its place and role in the

patchwork of regional ties and with respect to regional organizations.

The current military-political situation in the area of the Pacific Ocean is ambivalent.

On the one hand, there are growing contradictions, escalating territorial disputes and persistent explosive problems relating to Korea and Taiwan. On the other hand, rapid economic integration processes in various forms are underway in the APR

It is of essential importance that now and at least in the medium term there is no prospect of any threats, including military threats, to the security of Russia's Far Eastern borders. Risks of a worsening of conflict situations in the region, as noted above, do exist. At the same time, if the current contradictions and disputes enter the phase of open confrontation, they can affect Russian interests not directly but only indirectly.

The head of the two-headed eagle in the Russian Coat of Arms that is turned to the East is still less active than the head turned to the West and continues to look at the region with half-opened eyes.

After the completion of the first stage of Russia's Asia-Pacific policy, Moscow is faced with the task of setting the vector of further movement: either to continue doing what we are doing now but only with somewhat greater dynamism (including verbal) or to go over to a new stage of comprehensive expansion in the region.

It is rightly said that Russian energy resources are in demand in the APR. At the same time, one should bear in mind the growing competition from a number of suppliers.

The Russian leadership is aware of the need to create favorable conditions for the activities of national and foreign business in Siberia and the Far East.

## Reverse Psychology in International Relations

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DEFENSE AGAINST GLOBAL CHANGES and their negative effects which neither individuals nor states can cope with can be found in various fields of human activity, in the form of invigoration of people's hopes and dreams or their past experience.

The year 1989 was not only the "solstice" of the domestic and external hypostases of perestroika but also the beginning of a new stage of conservative reverse accelerated up by several factors.

The first factor: dramatic failure of the revolutionary design to set up a perfect society which would reject capitalism. The

second factor: society shifts to the innovational development pattern. The third factor: abandonment of a new world politics in favor of the old scheme as a response to globalization. The fourth factor: "great temptation" by wellbeing and prosperity as a moving force behind the evolution of a greater part of Russian society.

Reverse in international relations cannot, and should not, be interpreted as backward movement: it is a response to challenges. A country or even a region can either fence them off or fight them.

Defense against global changes and their negative effects which neither individuals nor states can cope with can be found in various fields of human activity, in the form of invigoration of people's hopes and dreams or their past experience.

We should bear in mind that the functions of psychological defense are contradictory by nature: on the one hand, it promotes social adaptation; on the other, it may interfere with adaptation to the changing world.

Reversion should not become a mental trap - to avoid this, it should be perceived as a mechanism of transformation of the passive into active; in the context of foreign policies, however, this mechanism remains effective as long as a positive international scenario is realized, otherwise defense through reversion will remain at best neutral or will add to the pressure of the destructive factors.

There is any number of international problems the solution of which

It is equally important to study the mechanisms of reversion in the context of global information transformations.

Religious fundamentalism is another type of reversion which should be discussed within corresponding political or economic realities, the true causes of reversion.

## A Multipolar World and Russian Foreign Policy

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I can say that I'm doing appropriate studies as head of the Sociology of International Relations Department at the Moscow State University. This past spring, my team brought in a theory of multipolar world. This is a rather voluminous study whose provisions, I think, should be reflected in the doctrine. It is impossible to create a consistent foreign policy doctrine without explaining what a multipolar structure of the world is, without explaining what we mean by a multipolar structure

of the world and how to form it.

We realize that the West is determined to press on us its own protocols in economics, politics, ideology, the system of values, the information system, its own ideas of gender and other things, while relying not on any specific nation to safeguard these liberal-democratic standards, but on the world community.

Multipolarity is a very concrete project where Russia sets out more than an aggregate of its national interests in the future, more than its defining values and its uniqueness. It also proposes that the entire world rethink its attitude to the historical process and the processes unfolding in the realm of foreign policy. The proposed multipolarity is a world-view challenge in a sense.

In the global context, Eurasianism is a consequence of multipolarity.

Our top-priority allies are states that oppose a unipolar world, states such as Iran, China, and Venezuela.

China is not part of the Eurasian civilization though: it is a very populous, unique and very strong country in terms of its identity.

I think that a very considerate strategic partnership with China would be the best option in the Eurasian project.

We shouldn't simply ape Europe or try to make it like us; we should make Europe a partner in constructing a multipolar world. This is something to be stressed in the foreign policy doctrine.

There are also some other regions we did not discuss today, which can find their place in this theory of a multipolar world.

## Towards a Strategic Partnership

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*Trade Representative of the Russian Federation in the Kingdom of Spain*



After an absence of diplomatic ties for many years (from 1939), our countries took an important step towards each other. In Paris, Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade A.N. Manzhulo and Director General for International Economic Relations of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs J.L. Ceron signed the Trade Agreement and the documents attached to it, including the Protocol on the Establishment of Trade Missions quoted above.



It is interesting to note that the status of the trade missions being established largely resembled the status of classical diplomatic institutions.

Thus, under the force of mutual attraction (obviously, not only economic, but also human) the forms of bilateral cooperation were adapted to the existing conditions in order to bring our countries as close together as possible.

IN THE PAST DECADES, our countries have accumulated a large store of historical experience. Good trusting relations have been established between the leaders of Russia and Spain.

Russia and Spain have created an extensive contractual framework. Its key elements are the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and the Agreement on Economic and Industrial Cooperation of April 12, 1994.

The cooperation efforts of the past four decades culminated in the cross-years of Russia in Spain and Spain in Russia held in 2011. They became the largest-scale project in the entire history of bilateral relations.

Another point to note is that the scale of investment cooperation does not meet the current needs of the two economies.

There are a number of bilateral mechanisms designed to develop and expand the economic dialogue.

Both Russia and Spain are interested in developing business cooperation and implementing large and long-term projects.

## Russia-Denmark: The Historical Continuity of Centuries-Long Good Neighborliness

*Author: M. Vanin*

*Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the Kingdom of Denmark*



I think that for enterprising and energetic Danes Russia has been and remains an attractive land, a "new America" where the realization of the most daring projects is possible, having tremendous intellectual potential, being receptive to new ideas and generously sharing its own experience with others. So I see my chief ambassadorial mission in strengthening further the spirit of interaction between our countries and facilitating the enrichment of our cooperation with new directions.

A distinctive trait of the Danish national character - the ability to find compromises and adequate solutions to the most difficult situations in life - is reflected in full measure in Danish diplomatic practice. The Danish side is a full-blown participant in our dialogue with the Euro-Atlantic partners to outline the key contours of European security.

We are extremely pleased with the level of our dialogue with Danish partners on the Middle East situation.

An important feature of our relations with Denmark at international venues, including the UN, Russia-NATO Council, and others, is their transparency. We appreciate Denmark's support of Russia's initiatives in the United Nations aimed at providing information security and preventing an arms race in outer space. Unfortunately, our positions do not always coincide. But we do not make a tragedy out of our differences, as we believe that truth is always born of arguments, which, we hope, in relation to Denmark will continue to have a constructive, mutually respectful nature.

Naturally, during the Danish EU Council Presidency, we endeavored to make the most of every opportunity to promote Russian national priorities, including the question of the abolition of the visa regime in Russia-EU relations.

Apart from the visa-free subjects, we are developing a very productive dialogue with Danish partners on modernization issues. It should be noted that Denmark was the first EU member state to sign together with Russia a Declaration of Partnership for Modernization.

Improving the investment climate and attracting foreign investment is a shared priority for our economies. The Russian-Danish Intergovernmental Council on Economic Co-operation is painstakingly working to this end.

The eager and close cooperation in science and culture makes a significant contribution to the formation of the overall positive background of Russian-Danish relations.

## Russia and the Republic of Korea: Stability of Relations

*Author: K. Vnukov*

*Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Korea*



*Interview conducted by Valentina Zlobina, head of the Internet and Multimedia Department of International Affairs*

As for the Russian Federation and the Republic of Korea, I want to say that our relations are distinguished by their stability and do not depend in any essential way on changes in the domestic political situation. They have developed progressively and steadily.

What distinguishes Koreans is that they have achieved very great successes without any mineral resource endowments, simply due to their bright minds and hard work. Korea has become a leading world economy, being close to the top in matters of innovative development and commercialization of inventions - which is the number one priority for Russia today.

We realize that this is not simply someone's good will but a course set for partnership, a real balance of interests. We are very important partners for the Koreans.

Our joint projects depend in large part on the quality of inter-Korean relations. Serious progress is unlikely until there is at least a thaw in these relations.

I would like to say that if we want to achieve results in the Korean market, we should be more persistent.

I would also like to mention another area of cooperation. The Koreans were among the first to approach us with the idea of creating a tourism cluster in the Caucasus back in November of last year. A document has been signed that several Korean companies are prepared to invest a billion dollars in building an energy infrastructure for this project.

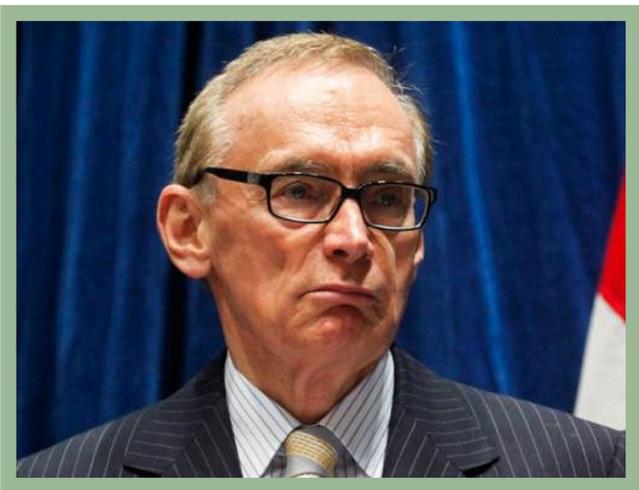
Major Korean companies are coming to Russia, which means a qualitatively new stage and not just trade.

Our projects depend in large part on the quality of inter-Korean relations. Serious progress is unlikely until there is at least a thaw in these relations. We have told both parties that we are prepared to work in order to promote these projects, while assuming that their very implementation will become a highly important foreign policy factor working to stabilize the situation on the Korean Peninsula.

## The 70th Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations With Russia

*Author: Bob Carr*

*Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Commonwealth of Australia*



The relationship between Australia and Russia long pre-dates the establishment of diplomatic relations 70 years ago. It reaches back to the first arrival of a Russian vessel in an Australian port more than two centuries ago. It spans the conflicts of the Crimean War of the 19th century, and the World Wars and Cold War of the last century. In this century it has developed to include increased trade between our two countries; cooperation in the Asia-Pacific through APEC and the East Asia Summit; and cooperation globally through the

G20 and the World Trade Organisation.

The relationship between Russia and Australia continued to mature after Australia's independence in 1901 and, in May that year, the Russian Empire was represented at the opening of the Australian Parliament by Imperial Consul Nicolai Passek. After the 1905 revolution in Russia, more immigrants made their way to Australia. Many returned after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution including the Prokhorovs, whose son Alexander was born in Atherton, Queensland. Alexander Prokhorov was later awarded a Nobel Prize for his work with lasers.

In the Great War of 1914-18, Russia and Australia were fighting again, this time on the same side. But it would be another two decades after that, amidst the devastation of the Second World War, that Australia and Russia finally established diplomatic relations. It was, in fact, the declaration of war against the Soviet Union by Germany that prompted Australian Foreign Minister Herbert Evatt to begin the process of establishing diplomatic relations.

In the post-war period, under the Cold War, the Australia-Russia relationship turned down. In 1959, the Australian Embassy in Moscow re-opened in the Shekhtel-designed art nouveau house on Kropotkinskaya Lane. The building remains the Australian Ambassador's residence to this day.

There is much here for both Australia and Russia to consider. Within half a decade, the Chinese economy, in terms of purchasing power, will be the biggest in the world. And the Asia-Pacific is more than just China.

Russia and Australia have benefitted from the Asia-Pacific's strong economic growth and the region-wide increase in national wealth is leading to significant socio-economic shifts. This is particularly reflected in the increase of personal wealth.

Russia has joined Australia in its recognition of the importance of the Asia-Pacific.

Australia and Russia also share the table at the G20, increasingly the most important multilateral forum in these times of continuing global financial uncertainty.

## Global Energy: New Geopolitical Equations



Scientific-technical breakthroughs and the tempestuous events in the Middle East and North Africa, one of the world's key areas of hydrocarbons production, are fraught with serious and dramatic changes in the sphere of global energy, energy supplies and energy trade.

Alexander Gorban', Director, Economic Cooperation Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation:

Gazprom has begun to realize that its pricing policy should be more flexible.

Is Russia an energy superpower? I would not call Russia an energy superpower. It is an impressive and good description but, as a matter of fact, we are hooked on hydrocarbons and do not know what to do.

As for the Arctic, of course, this is a new field for competition and naturally, we will struggle for the Arctic shelf.

Yuri Shafranik, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Institute of Energy Strategy: There is enough oil and gas in the world for the next decade. Perhaps one day we will say that the peak of hydrocarbons production is over. But it is wrong to say that hydrocarbons reserves will disappear in 10-20 years.

The Russian Foreign Ministry, in conjunction with the International Affairs journal, has established the practice of meetings between organizations such as SoyuzNefteGaz and ambassadors and diplomatic corps of foreign states. This is a very useful and helpful practice. It helps get our priorities right.

At present, we are experiencing price pressure from the external market.

Yuri Malyshev, Director, V.I. Vernadsky State Geology Museum, Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician: Generally speaking, it seems that Russia, which has a huge number of analytical structures, has missed the development of shale gas production technology.

It needs to be said that opinions divided at the roundtable. Representatives of one large state-run gas company asserted that this technology has no future, that it is a "bubble."

Sergei Vasiliev, Deputy Director, International Institute for Energy Policy and Diplomacy, Moscow State Institute (University) of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation: As an energy superpower Russia depends on its resources and technologies, yet there is another no less important component. Today, our institute offers education in five spheres: energy diplomacy, world economy, economists in the sphere of power production and energy resources, and managers in the sphere of power production and public relations in this sphere.

## Russian Brazil in Rio Grande do Sul

*Author: M. Troyansky*

*Russian Consul General in São Paulo, Candidate of Science (History)*



THE SUBJECT OF RUSSIAN EMIGRATION to Brazil has been more than once discussed in various studies by Russian authors, by academic and sociopolitical journals.

The state of Rio Grande do Sul, some researchers believe, is the very place where settlers from Russia first appeared. Those who arrived with the first wave of migrants were people fleeing harassment and persecution in Russia in 1905-1907.

I ought to say that problems of communication between people of different ethnic backgrounds have been resolved in a way that could be held up as a fine example for certain ethnic exclusiveness zealots. This was especially clear from the preparations for marking 100 years of the first Orthodox church and

20 years of the "Troyka" folk song and dance group. Gathered on July 28 on a small public square in Campina das Missões named for St. Vladimir were people of different ethnic backgrounds, descendants of those who came to this land tens and even hundreds of years ago.

If we ask why is it that so many people originally from Russia came to Brazil, there can be many answers. While there were many social reasons, including Brazil's policy encouraging people from other countries to come over to work in construction, settle new territories in the hard to access regions and so on, the immigrants were attracted by Brazil's natural conditions. With regard to settling the new territories, the immigrants from Russia had to face many enormous challenges like the impenetrable forests, wild animals, all sorts of perils and diseases.

Many Russian Brazilians have made it in Brazil, especially in agriculture, husbandry, trade, and construction. This is an agrarian-industrial area famous for cattle, pigs, poultry, and bumper crops of wheat, soy beans and barley.

The Russian cultural association Volga, of which "Troyka" Group is a part, is doing much to get young immature people more involved in culture, sports and learning and draw them away from the many perilous temptations like experimenting with drugs, drink and other lures this modern troubled world offers. This association is getting constant financial assistance from the local prefecture, the district judge and the law enforcement bodies and other forms of encouraging civilized recreation.

Many associations of Russian expats based in the city also hold regular cultural events to mark memorable episodes of Russian history and anniversaries of Russian authors, composers and painters. What they need is to build there a "Russian House." We hope that sooner or later the dream of our compatriots about building such a house will come true.

## "I Was Born Under a Lucky Star": Baron Eduard von Falz-Fein Turns 100

*Author: N. Danilevich*  
*Art historian*



THIS GREAT PATRON OF THE ARTS lives in the small Principality of Liechtenstein high up in the mountains.

Eduard von Falz-Fein radiates geniality, optimism, humor, and interest in the conversation. From the vantage point of his years, he tells of his amazing life and of events in Russian and world history.

In this unsurpassed atmosphere, you are very keenly aware of what a rare individual our hero is.

I have often seen the way people in Vologda, Veliky

Ustyug, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yalta, and Feodosia shower him with their love. The letters that people write the baron - farmers and teachers, museum workers and librarians, guides and writers, physicians and servicemen - reveal how much they miss their ideal hero. Handsome, noble, generous, and sincere, he is a person who helps us to understand that the loftiest feeling on Earth is love for the Homeland.

THE FALZ-FEIN FAMILY has always been distinguished by the ability to settle in new places and pave new roads. Invited by Catherine II, the German colonists came empty-handed to the southern steppes conquered by Potemkin and were able to build a paradise on earth in an arid wasteland - a classical estate with a unique zoo called Askania-Nova.

ABANDONED GRAVES is a particularly sensitive issue. The baron often told me that the most abysmal places he has ever seen are graveyards in Russia. And abroad too, Russian graves are the most neglected

The baron took care of the graves of all his ancestors, in St. Petersburg and in Askania-Nova, in Khorly and even in the god-forsaken village of Popovka, which is in the Vologda Region. He looks after many graves of Russians abroad. For years, he looked for the lost grave site of Dostoevsky's younger daughter, Sophia, who died in infancy in Geneva.

THE BARON is a museum benefactor. In 1995, he founded the Museum of Catherine the Second in Germany, in her home town of Zerbst not far from Berlin. This was a generous gesture of kingly proportions.

AN UNFORGETTABLE PAGE was added to the history of good relations between Russia and the Principality of Liechtenstein in 1998 relating to the exchange of archives. The Russian side returned the personal documents of the prince's family that the Red Army had taken from Austria in 1945.

## Qaddafi as I Knew Him

*Author: A. Podtserob*

*Leading Research Associate at the Center for Arab and Islamic Studies, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences*



I FIRST SAW MUAMMAR QADDAFI in 1975 when, in my capacity as second secretary in the foreign ministry's Africa Department, I arrived in Tripoli as a member of the delegation accompanying Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Alexei Kosygin. It struck me that the 33-year-old Qaddafi, who was then the chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council of the Libyan Arab Republic, that is, the head of state, in conversation with Kosygin was all respect for him as a man his

superior in age and experience, and sometimes could not hide his shyness. The fervor and sincerity with which he expounded his ideas also did not escape my attention.

With the passage of time, Qaddafi's demeanor changed. He was no longer embarrassed when conversing with the "powers that be," but tried his very best to emphasize his own importance. In public, by contrast, he used to be quite diverse, skillfully adapting himself to his audience. Of course, Qaddafi was a dictator, but not like President Saddam Hussein. It is true that under him there were executions for political reasons, but Qaddafi did not resort to mass repression. He, moreover, was amazingly soft on his former associates with whom he had come into disagreement.

For all his commitment to religion Qaddafi was far from fanaticism. "We," he stressed, "are first of all the citizens of our countries, and only then the members of a particular community or sect. <...> Politically, we are all equal. I've always been on the side of the orphaned and oppressed, regardless of which persecuted religious trends and sects they belong to." The Libyan leader was categorically against religion being brought into politics.

Naturally, these views provoked sharp opposition of the followers of traditional Islam, and it is possible that the intervention of Qatar during the civil war in Libya was in no small degree motivated by a desire to do away with the "Libyan heretic."

Qaddafi saw a way out in the establishment of a "direct popular democracy." Based on this principle, Libya's Jamahiriya system had similarities to ancient democracy.

Qaddafi's foreign policy was also in many ways subordinated to the desire to carry his theoretical postulates to fruition.

In general, during the entire rule of Qaddafi, well-organized Islamic fundamentalists posed the greatest threat to his regime. Muslim Brotherhood was the backbone of the National Front for the Salvation of Libya, whose headquarters was in London. The Front would send terrorists into the country, whose task was to kill the Libyan leader.

# International Affairs: Summary №6, 2012



Редакция журнала "Международная жизнь"  
Главный редактор **Армен Оганесян**  
Руководитель электронного издания: **Валентина Злобина**  
Дизайн: **Максим Ковшенков**

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