

# International Affairs: Summary №3, 2013

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## Russia's Foreign Policy Philosophy

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ON FEBRUARY 12 OF THIS YEAR, Russian President V.V. Putin approved a new Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation. The draft concept was discussed with the government agencies that are most actively involved in international activity, and considered in various departments of the Russian presidential administration. The Russian expert community was involved in its preparation, including members of the Foreign Ministry's Sci-

entific Council. We are grateful to all those who have put forward their proposals and considerations, including in the pages of *International Affairs*.

Today our country's independent foreign policy course has essentially no alternative. In other words, we cannot even hypothetically consider the option of Russia's "attachment" in a subordinate role to some other key player on the international arena.

The new Concept preserves the key principles not only of the previous version (2008) but also the basic approaches of a document that V.V. Putin approved in 2000. Those are, above all, pragmatism, openness, a multi-vector approach, and the consistent advancement of Russian national interests but without confrontation. These principles have proven their relevance and effectiveness.

It is true that we do not support the attempts to change the geopolitical situation in different parts of the world with the use of revolutionary slogans. People in Russia know only too well the destructive power of violent coups, which do not lead to the achievement of earlier proclaimed goals but often throw respective societies decades back in their development.

There is special concern over the upheavals in the Middle East and North Africa. They should also be assessed objectively, in their entire complexity and diversity, avoiding primitive black-and-white clichés.

Russia's foreign policy is constructive and forward looking. Today, the majority of serious experts and politicians agree that the main purport of the current period of international development lies in the consistent strengthening of a multipolar world order.

In line with its tradition, Russia will continue to play a role as a balancing factor in international affairs the need for which is confirmed by most of our partners. That is due not only to this country's international stature but also to the fact that we have our own opinion of the ongoing developments that is based on principles of law and justice.

## Globalization and the World Leadership Problem

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THE BIPOLAR SYSTEM of international relations tumbled down unexpectedly leaving behind at least two consequential factors which for a long time remained ignored and/or deliberately pushed aside by many international players.

The world is not global even if some of the Russian experts insist on this - it is a symbiosis of about two hundred different countries with different levels of formational (social and economic) development. Outside this context comparisons are useless. Any country as a member of the world community has geoeconomic and geopolitical interests of its own.



When a small group of countries with numerous less developed countries for neighbors started moving toward capitalism it had all time in the world to cover the road from primitive cooperation via the stage of industrial production to the monopolist stage. The countries of "catching-up development" are in a different situation and, therefore, cannot afford to travel along the same road which the West is imposing on them

under the slogan of Westernization. It should be added that the advocates of the Anglo-Saxon model understate or deliberately ignore the role of the state in the most developed capitalist countries.

The "industrial miracle" of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and China stemmed, to a large extent, from the synthesis of modern (borrowed from the West) and traditional Confucian heritage with its very specific social attitudes. A full-scale national IT-stage proved impossible without a wide and deep-cutting reform of the traditional system of social relations which so far weighs heavily on creative upsurges, the cornerstone of innovation IT economics.

Japan and South Korea needed several decades to recognize this; foreign experience as it is cannot be planted in native soil.

Today and in the near future China will still be coping with the historic task of "catching-up development" which means that world leadership will remain out of reach. Even if the planned GDP equal to that of the United States is achieved by 2021, it will not be enough to claim world leadership. This looks very much like Khrushchev's promise to build "communism" in the U.S.S.R. by 1980. It should be said that the United States has already lost its Great Power status; it is clutching at it by using force, without much effect, thus piling up serious social and economic problems.

## The Eurozone Can't Be Saved, It Must Be Scrapped

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THE HEAD OF SAXO BANK, Lars Christensen said in September last year, "the Eurozone does not need to be saved, it must be scrapped." It seems that the events on the small romantic island of Cyprus are finally consolidating this trend, which for lack of political will would be not so much administrative as cumulative and suicidal in character.

One of the major "sins" of building the Eurozone was the lack of any consideration of the

specifics of the European economies.

It is significant that before the beginning of the crisis in Cyprus, no one included it in the list of countries in a critical zone of financial and economic collapse. Today, Cyprus is under a whole downpour from critics who accuse its business model of insolvency.

The same way that Brussels ignored the characteristics of the economic development of Hungary, Slovakia, the Balkans, and the Baltic states, it imposed on them common standards and approaches, and that has now led to the stratification of the Eurozone and the European Union between the successful and the failed, the prosperous and the subsidized, the responsible and the irresponsible.

Talking about the ineffectiveness of the Cyprus economy is hardly reasonable since the high levels of welfare of the population were guaranteed exclusively by local factors.

If anyone thought that the Eurozone could be reduced to a walking universal banknote and that Europe could ignore its inherent diversities and identities, then this illusion is now shattered before their eyes.

As for Russia, it is necessary to think about strategies for the future beforehand, as the crisis in Europe, of course, affects the entire area from the Baltic to the Pacific. It is necessary to think about the fact that Russian capital, now and possibly in the future, has its assets tainted by a "black mark." No matter how gray and criminally Russian capital may have been exported offshore, it is the capital which, to use today's terminology, was "plundered from the Russian people." It must belong to them and should not be used to stabilize the credit history of the European Union, of which Russia is not a part. However, we must agree with those who say that this impudence can sober up "shadow businesses," and the authorities.

Russian experts believe that the Cypriot option and everything to do with the presence of Russian money in tax havens should be carefully considered; based on this analysis, immediate action should be taken against the financial voluntarism of Berlin and Brussels. But who will care about analyzing?

## Continent of the Future

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BY THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, the developing countries, or at least many of them, were demonstrating impressive economic dynamics which finally made them global political players. This shift of historic dimensions can be described as a great geopolitical and geo-economic revolution and the most impressive features of international relations; it will extend into the next few decades, in the very least.

Asia, in the very heart of the process, demonstrates all these trends.

Today, it is the main ground of world economic development and the cornerstone of economic and financial multipolarity.

Today, Asian economy is no longer an object of globalization; it is gradually transforming into its subject with a strong impact on globalization trends and results.

Different forms of economic development have been tested in Asia and proved to be viable and justified; this cannot be overestimated.

Prime Minister of Australia Kevin Rudd agrees, albeit with Australian accent: "The Asia-Pacific Region today is in immense flux. It is becoming the center of gravity of global economic and strategic weight in the 21st century, driven by arising China and India."

Accumulated experience of economic management, a fairly large number of experienced managers, close attention to the corresponding experience of the developed countries, as well as the fact that the Asian countries have emerged on the international economic scene, created a community of skilled financiers and managers in varied fields equal or even superior to their Western colleagues.

There is a uniting flow of economic dynamism behind the Asian countries' common stand vis-à-vis the West. The gaps of the Cold War times have been closed; the dividing walls collapsed.

The rapidly developing economic interdependence leads to wider financial ties and closer coordination. The ASEAN+3 countries pledged to expand and formalize the network of bilateral swap agreements among its ten members plus China, Japan and South Korea, to come to each other's aid in a liquidity crisis.

Asia is not merely a multipolar but also a multi-civilizational and multi-confessional continent; its economic dynamics have expanded and strengthened its Asia-centric cultural identity. Today, the civilizational factor receives much more attention and is much more adequately assessed as part of domestic affairs and interstate relations.

## Transformation of China's Policy on Disarmament

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Beijing's strategic line today is determined primarily by the Chinese leadership's assessment of the deep shifts of the geopolitical landscape around China and the ensuing challenges to its security. The prevailing thinking in China is that the current security situation remains generally favorable to China.

Deterring and preventing military conflicts is the paramount principle of China's defense strategy. Proceeding from this, Beijing declares that its military policy is purely defensive.

During the exchange of views that has begun, however, it has become clear that the Chinese understanding of stability and mutual deterrence is significantly different from the American.

AT THE PRESENT STAGE, China is first and foremost worried about the United States' deployment of its missile defense system, the accumulation of conventional high-precision weapons intended, in particular, to carry out prompt global strikes, as well as the placement of strike weapons in outer space.

Beijing also sees U.S. plans to develop Prompt Global Strike munitions and space weapons as being very dangerous to China's national security.

It should be borne in mind that for Beijing the problem of participation in multilateral negotiations on nuclear weapons is complicated by the fact that at the very beginning of these negotiations China may be required to disclose information on its nuclear deterrence weapons.

China actively supports efforts to create nuclear weapon-free zones around the world.

China also demonstrates an increased sense of responsibility in matters of limitation and control of conventional arms, both regionally and globally.

OVERALL, IT CAN BE SAID without exaggeration that over the past two decades the disarmament policy of China has undergone serious and deep enough positive changes. It is now active, purposeful and pragmatic. Beijing, of course, realizes that the preservation of strategic stability and international peace and security depends on this to a large extent. African states see Russia as their natural partner; some also see it as an ally.

## On a Comprehensive Energy Strategy for Russia in the Asia-Pacific Region

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CHAIRMANSHIP of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in 2012 and the

APEC summit in Vladivostok have opened a new phase in the Asian policy of Russia. Today, the significance of the AP region has increased dramatically - both for the world in general, and Russia in particular, which is logical.

Potentially Russia is a kind of integration point for Asia, Europe and America. Yet the problem is that our country still remains on the periphery of Asia-Pacific economic integration. Energy is being seen as the

"door" through which Russia can enter into the growing integration processes in the Asia-Pacific region.

In the Asian sector Russia is actively cooperating in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, including the construction of nuclear power plants in China, India and Iran.

It must be remembered that our oil and gas do not have unlimited possibilities in the Asian market. This market has long been divided between large foreign companies. And none of them are going to cede to Russia their share of profits.

Yet with the Americans having set the ball rolling, Western media are trying to convince the world that pipeline gas supply is on a fast track to decline because all energy problems can supposedly be solved through shale gas production. Both Europe and Asia, to meet their gas needs, should throw their efforts and resources into the development of shale gas deposits, and where the gas is in short supply, the U.S. will help out with its deliveries of liquefied gas. At present, the energy factor plays no smaller role in world politics than the military factor. Therefore, the task of the day is to develop a clear-cut and comprehensive energy strategy for Russia in the Asia-Pacific region.

Russia has a wealth of experience in the supply of power equipment in China, India, Iran, Vietnam and some other Asian countries. This experience has not been forgotten and can be utilized. In addition, power engineering is directly associated with many related, including knowledge-intensive branches of the economy.

There has to be a drastic reorientation from a raw materials export model to a resource-processing model with the highest conversion level.

In Russia's energy strategy toward the region, we also need to make the case for an Asia-Pacific energy partnership. APEC's forums have been discussing the issue of energy security since the initiative's adoption at its 2001 Shanghai summit.

## Threat to Earth From Asteroids and Comets

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THE BIG METEOR which exploded in an air blast over the Chelyabinsk region on February 15, 2013 was yet another graphic reminder of the real threat to our planet from asteroids and comets.

The falling on Earth of a larger space object would be much more devastating especially if it occurs in an urban agglomeration. The falling on Earth of some asteroids, many scientists maintain, also carries the threat to existence of all human race.

It is also obvious that the store of knowledge on

the problem in various countries is clearly not sufficient to appropriately assess the size of the threat and say how it ranks among the other threats to humanity. We have to learn considerably more to be able to timely detect comparatively small natural space objects and issue appropriate alerts. It is necessary to step up the efforts of scientists and experts around the world in this area through comprehensive studies.

Scientists think that global devastation threatening the existence of all of mankind can be caused by asteroids several hundred meters or about one kilometer in length.

There are currently several programs in other countries aiming at making it possible to detect asteroids approaching Earth with the aid of Western earth - and satellite-based observatories. It stands to reason that detection should be followed up with investigation into the physical properties and structure of potentially hazardous asteroids.

All the currently discussed projects to overcome the threat from asteroids and comets call for meticulous analysis, estimation of their cost and feasibility. This is an uphill proposition calling for the use of system analysis methods which, among other things, rely on mathematical modeling and a prodigious amount of computation with the use of a supercomputer and relevant software.

Mankind ought to look for solutions even if developing a system of planetary defense and making it work is a formidable scientific, technological, organizational, political, and legal challenge. It seems that protection of our planet's safety should be seen as testing mankind's ability to preserve the conditions needed for continued prosperity of Earth's civilization.

## The "Fiscal Cliff": Accidental or Unavoidable?

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THE 2011-2012 BUDGET battles between the Congress and the White House better described as a political tornado of a frighteningly destructive force which shook Washington gave rise to new types of political brainwashing successfully applied inside and outside the country.

IN 2012, the newly coined term "fiscal cliff" became part of the American political parlance and even of everyday use.

The world financial and economic crisis forced the top crust of the United States (and the political elites of the majority of the other developed countries) to think about their responsibility for what triggered the crisis and how to spread the resultant social and economic costs.

This changed the key algorithm of American policies: in the past, forecasts of possible economic problems or even shocks had been a signal for both parties to pool their political and intellectual forces to address the problem; today, possible economic troubles became a chance, or a "window of opportunity" to inflict the maximal ideological and political damage at the opposite side.

BY THE LATE 2012, American economists and analysts had agreed that the planned higher taxes and budget cuts would inevitably cause another recession.

THE DEFUSED FISCAL CLIFF CRISIS, however, did not remove the issue of its budget and economic cost from the American agenda. Indefinite prolongation of the larger part of George W. Bush's tax reforms and other measures intended to stimulate economic growth increased budget deficits in the mid - and long-term perspective.

Despite everything which was said in the last four years about the need to cut budget deficit nothing has been done so far: the problem was repeatedly pushed aside. The budget battles of the last two years were nothing more than "reconnaissance in force."

America is gradually growing more and more concerned over its own problems and squabbles; later, it will gradually retreat from the international scene because, among other things, of plunging budget support of foreign policy and military programs. The Republican leaders in both houses have clearly demonstrated that after the inauguration and in the foreseeable future they will have many chances to insist on their "principled positions" on narrowing budget deficits and stabilizing the federal debt/GDP ratio.

## Russia and Pakistan: Prospects for Engagement

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Owing to the specifics of Cold War international politics, relations between the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the USSR had their ups and downs. In particular, the state of Soviet-Pakistani cooperation could not but be adversely affected by the stormy and complicated events in Afghanistan in the 1980s involving both countries.

However, even in the most difficult of times, Moscow continued to seek opportunities to expand dialogue with Islamabad, and provided Pak-

istan with economic assistance.

Today, Islamabad is our important partner with whom we develop mutually beneficial cooperation in all fields.

Russia and Pakistan actively collaborate within multilateral organizations. Our countries share similar positions on a broad range of international issues such as resolving conflicts peacefully, shaping a multipolar world order, strengthening the central role of the United Nations, and affirming the principles of international law in relations between states.

The importance of Pakistan for Russia is determined by the country's role in regional politics, its influence in the Muslim world, and its strategic location in immediate proximity to CIS borders.

One of the priority tasks for us is to further cooperation with Pakistan in the fight against drug trafficking.

Unfortunately, the economic component of Russia-Pakistan cooperation does not yet correspond to the existing potential. Particular hopes are pinned on the work of the Russia-Pakistan Intergovernmental Commission on Trade, Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation, whose second meeting was held in Islamabad in the autumn of 2012.

Our companies could participate in exploring for and developing offshore oil and gas fields in Pakistani waters, building up a system of underground natural gas storage facilities, and training personnel for the oil and gas sector of Pakistan.

The metallurgy sector holds another promise for Russian-Pakistani partnership.

In short, Russia and Pakistan can rightfully look forward to the prospects of their partnership with optimism. Both countries are making consistent efforts to solidify their mutually advantageous cooperation for the benefit of the Russian and Pakistani peoples, in the interest of regional peace and stability.

## Russian-German Relations in the Context of Elections to the Bundestag

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IN 2013, special attention is focused on the state and prospects of the whole complex of relations between Russia and Germany: parliamentary elections in Germany, scheduled for September 22, 2013, will usher in a new four-year period of our cooperation. Naturally, such a division into periods is formal and is associated with a possible change of government in Germany. It is very likely that the upcoming elections will result in a new government, which will determine the main

parameters of Germany's foreign policy, including its policy towards Russia.

Accurate predictions of election results are as yet impossible and unnecessary. It can be assumed that whatever the party composition of the new executive authorities, the main vector of bilateral cooperation will remain the same: it will be progressive, strategic and built into the complex of Russian-European relations.

German and European politicians should realize that parallel economic and political modernization processes are at work in Russia (and are indeed developing), but they are running at significantly different speeds.

As I see it, the Social Democrats are distinguished by a constructive critical approach whose purpose is not so much to condemn what is happening in Russia as to identify the opportunities for the future development of our country and bilateral relations. In my opinion, their text is still relevant and should be translated into Russian and published in the Russian media. The draft of the Alliance 90/The Greens had a characteristic title: "Modernization in Russia Is Impossible without the Rule of Law."

In the foreign policy area, it is not bilateral issues but the most significant international problems that remain decisive. Today, these include the Middle East, Iran, Afghanistan, and European anti-missile defense. Each party has its own position; these positions do not always coincide, which, however, implies the need for a constructive dialogue.

Scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries is a major achievement.

Let me note another event in March 2013 that had a traumatic effect on bilateral relations: the German scenario for resolving the crisis in Cyprus aroused strong resentment among many Russians and left a bad taste of ill-considered steps. Nevertheless these events, like the other critical phenomena of 2012 outlined above, will not have any significant effect on our cooperation or impair its quality.

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THERE ARE CLEAR SIGNS of revival in relations between Russia and Latin American countries seen in rapidly increasing political contacts through meetings and summits. And this is in sharp contrast to the 1990s when Latin America ended up in the fringes of Russia's foreign policy.

At the same time, we think that the potentials of these relations are far from having been fully tapped.

Russia's re-emergence on the international scene, the new principles of its foreign policy predicated on national interests, pragmatism and the lifting of ideological barriers have greatly changed the situation. This approach makes it largely possible to take a new look at these relations.

First official contacts between Russia and Latin America took place in the 18th century; there are also instances of contacts that took place in the 16th century. That was the time of Spanish colonization of Mexico and Russian colonization of Siberia.

When the peoples of Latin America rose against the Spanish rule, Russia was being urged to give assistance to the Spanish Empire which would have been tantamount to meddling in the continent's internal affairs. Russia did not cave in to the pressure.

In the 1830s, Russia's enemies, especially those in the U.S., were trying to spread rumors suggesting that Russia had plans to invade California. Their only objective was to discredit Russia's foreign policy in the eyes of the public opinion in Mexico, the United States and Europe.

Russia was among the first countries to have recognized the Republic of Cuba in 1902 after its long and hard road to independence.

Let's not forget that solidarity with the USSR manifested itself not only in public rallies and marches, collection of gifts and so on, but also in more tangible areas like the participation of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force in combat operations in Africa and Italy.

We believe that remembering such anniversaries and preceding events offer fine opportunities to bring them up in diplomatic negotiations, business discussions and, most certainly, in the mass media.

Finally, it is as important as before to further enhance the image of Russia in Latin America.

## The Children of the Sexual Revolution: Who Are They?

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EUROPE'S SEXUAL REVOLUTION has naturally evolved into a homosexual revolution.

The lower house of the French Parliament approved a bill that would grant same-sex couples the right to marry and adopt children, and at once official Paris began to exert increasing pressure on Russia to reconsider a law that recognizes marriage only if it's between a man and a woman.

France has the fifth largest number of adopted orphans from Russia, at 235 last year. After tragic events involving children in foreign families, the Russian side has tightened the terms for adoption. Now, after the National Assembly approved of adoption by same-sex couples, in France there emerged overnight a market of homosexuals wishing to adopt Russian boys and girls. As is known, every demand has its lobbyists, and in this case it is very influential ones.

It must be borne in mind here that the trenchant advocacy of sodomy in France has led to a startling fact that for more than 12 years now, most of the French have been speaking out in favor of the right of same-sex marriages.

In fact, until the generation of children adopted by people with non-traditional orientation grew up, it was impossible to answer the question: what kind of people do children grow into that live in such "families"? And now, at last, for one and a half years, a study involving 3,000 adult children of parents in same-sex relationships was conducted at the University of Texas at Austin (USA). The results of the study were published in the respected academic publication Social Science Research.

Scholars have shown that sexual identity disorder is an undeniable consequence of abnormal "marriages."

Same-sex relationships are associated with greater risk and probability of a relations crisis and a household breakup, which certainly has a negative impact on the mental health of the child. This is confirmed by high rates of same-sex breakups.

But the main thing about this whole "Texas story" is that it reveals the amazing sense, or rather nonsense, of what's happening today. When unscientific issue examination precedes government and parliament decisions, and parliaments and governments, succumbing to the powerful pressures of sexual minorities, adopt national laws and even try, accordingly, to re-codify the laws of other countries.

Historians know that homosexual revolutions are always a precursor to a breakup of nations, peoples and empires.

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Despite a general acknowledgment of the need to strengthen the role of public diplomacy, the views on the purpose of this enhancement vary among politicians and experts.

ONE OF THE REASONS for differences in opinion is the different understanding of the terms. The terms "publichnaya" and "obshchestvennaya" diplomacy are often used interchangeably. The reason here is that essentially it is two different translations of the English term "public diplomacy."

The classical modern concept of public diplomacy was introduced in 1965 by Edmund Gullion, dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, when he

established an Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy.

So long as the world sees Russia as a nation with a very corrupt management system and a backward service sector and living almost exclusively on energy exports, propaganda efforts do not seem to be likely to succeed.

IN RECENT YEARS, there has been much talk in Russia about the need for increased efforts in the area of public diplomacy.

RECENTLY, the country's leadership has done quite a lot to make Russian foreign policy more open for the public.

Another question is the classified nature of documents kept in the archives on foreign policy history. In most democratic countries, there are general rules for the automatic declassification of records after a certain period of limitation.

Enormous sums can be invested into the propaganda of the openness of the new Russian society, but if the real situation continues to contradict it, then all such efforts will be in vain.

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY is a relatively new sphere of action for both the state and society. To make it more effective, joint efforts are needed. The main thing for the country is to understand that this activity should not be in the interests of a political group or bureaucratic clan but of society and the country as a whole. On behalf of enhancing public diplomacy, it would be appropriate (as other countries do) to appoint an official or agency that would coordinate it at the national level.

## Economization, or Why a British Diplomat Should Double as a Trade Agent

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FOREIGN POLICY cannot remain frozen; it is as fluid as any other sphere of social relations. In the last five years, global economy gradually recovering from the world crisis which began in 2008 has been a catalyst of such changes. Economic problems which have not yet left the stage affected and continue to affect the UK foreign policy.

For a long time, its impact on world politics was determined by Britain's role in global economy: Its GDP is the world's seventh. The UK has never left the top ten of states with the largest direct foreign investments and has invariably appeared among the top states in numerous authoritative ratings including the "ease of doing business" index. London is one the leading global financial centers and a conglomeration of offices of the largest world corporations.

Being fully aware of the fact that economic activity has shifted from the developed to the developing countries, the British leaders voice their concern that the regions which in future will be directly involved in building a new world order remain "underestimated." Britain is obviously looking for new markets for its products and is obviously shifting its attention from the economically weakening Europe to the rapidly growing economies of the developing world.

Economic problems force the British leaders to revise their ideas about a multipolar world. Today, G20 rather than G8 (the pre-crisis instrument) is seen as the main decision-making forum. Deprived of its economic impact, G8 will concentrate at political issues.

The country needs new sources of economic growth which means that the government should re-adjust domestic economic policy.

The course at "economization" of foreign policy demands that diplomats master new skills to promote the interests of British businesses in the developing countries.

For many years to come, the economic factor will remain the linchpin of the UK foreign policy; success depends on many factors the impact of even some of which in next couple of years is hard to predict. One thing is clear: economic re-orientation of the UK toward the developing markets is of strategic importance; it is a long-term task and it will affect all sides of Britain's relations with other countries on the international arena.

## The War in Mali in the Shadow of the Palais de l'Élysée

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WHILE THE FRENCH were readying for a military expedition to Mali, the French political beau monde and the media started talking about the belligerent nomadic Tuareg tribes who had captured the northern fringes of Mali. The conflict is rooted in the Malian past and has been shaped, to a great extent, by the unwelcome coexistence of different economic traditions, "the cultures of subsistence" in one state.

At all times, these bellicose "pirates of the desert" have been and remain a threat to settled land-tillers. In fact, long ago, about one thousand years before the French arrived to colonize Western Sudan, the early feudal states had groaned under Tuareg inroads. French colonization did next to nothing to remedy the

situation: The Tuareg became even more bellicose and even more aggressive.

AS THE FRENCH were unfolding its military contingent in Mali the media shifted its attention from the Tuareg to the possible involvement of Islamic fundamentalists and extremists of notorious al-Qaeda in the sub-Saharan conflict: Reports about French missile strikes at the Tuareg, citizens of Mali, fighting for their rights were hardly welcome.

The truth is: Mali became an African toehold of al-Qaeda as soon as the U.S. had moved into Afghanistan; it was at that time that the first mojaheddin had left Pakistan for the sands of the Sahara.

The truth behind the developments in Mali and the haste with which none other than France turned up in the sands of the Sahara to defeat the "Islamic fundamentalists" is concealed in Malian history.

It should be said that from the very first days of the civil war in Libya the Malian authorities had repeatedly warned that the downfall of Colonel Qaddafi's regime would destabilize the Sahara and the Sahel. They proved right.

TODAY, the larger part of the locals, mainly land-tilling Songhai, Fulbe and Mande are jubilant: The historical memory of these dark-skinned Malians is crippled by the racial conflicts of the distant past with their bellicose nomadic neighbors - Tuareg, Moors and Arabs - the light-skinned people of the desert.

It looks as the blue helmets in Mali instead of the French troops is France's best option. It would be logical for France to station the international contingent in the areas where AREVA, French uranium mining company, mines uranium and carries on prospecting in the Mali-Niger border areas. EU military instructors should be used to train the Malian army; a much simpler and much cheaper enterprise than military expeditions.

## Italy: On the Cusp of Change

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ON FEBRUARY 24-25, Italy held an early parliamentary election, which saw the center-left coalition headed by Democratic Party leader Pier Luigi Bersani win the race and gain 55% of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. But their slight lead in the Senate, with just five seats more than the center-right bloc's, has called into question the political survivability of the legislature, as well as the government to be formed by Bersani. For

Italy, political instability is a familiar and ordinary phenomenon.

To bribe party members, special "black funds" were created by public and private entrepreneurial companies using double-entry bookkeeping, and hundreds of billions of lire passed through them.

The political cyclone, brought on by Milan's ordinary and initially inconspicuous affair, plunged Italy into a deep abyss of political bankruptcy

Over the past 18 years, the Italian political system never succeeded in achieving the necessary maturity. Moreover, it continues to be in a state of vacillation, fluidity and constant reconfiguration.

In autumn 2011, Italy got caught in a severe financial storm, a default was looming and then in November under pressure from center-leftists and high EU officials, Il Cavaliere was forced to hand over the reins to the technocratic government of Mario Monti.

Within the space of 13 months, the technocrats did quite a lot. First and foremost, they passed a package of anti-crisis austerity measures. This helped reduce the expenditures of state agencies and local authorities by 10% and freeze the salaries of government employees. But perhaps the greatest pain was the measures to raise taxes and increase the retirement age. Italians will now have to retire not at 63, but at 66.

THE MAIN INTRIGUE of the upcoming elections in Italy revolved around the recent technocratic prime minister. Not so long ago, Berlusconi publicly declared that he was willing to give up all aspirations to the post of chief executive if Monti would head a centrist coalition.

February's early elections seem to have brought an end to the era of Berlusconi-ism. But at the same time, they have once again confirmed that without political stability Italy will constantly find itself in a political deadlock.

## Russia Strengthens Ties With Asian Partners

*Author: A. Davydenko*

*First Deputy Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs*



THE OFFICIAL VISITS to India and Pakistan by a delegation of Russian parliamentarians led by RF Federation Council Speaker V.I. Matvienko have become a significant foreign policy event of 2013. These visits were not connected with each other. Each is important in its own right, as are the neighboring countries with which Russia maintains a respectful, business-like, partner-like dialog.

The participants in the Russian-Indian dialog noted our countries' genuine interest and overall commit-

ment to achieve concrete results in advancing trade and investment, deepening energy partnership, and promoting cooperation in humanitarian exchanges, culture and education. Indian young people, for example, have keen interest to receive a higher education in Russia, especially in the medical profession. Many Russian students of India, for their part, are interested in going to Indian colleges.

The role of interregional ties between Russia and India, which are overseen by members of the upper houses of parliaments in both countries, has become a separate subject.

The two sides confirmed the proximity or coincidence of their positions on all those issues. "Last year we marked the 65th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries. We do not forget that our relations with Russia began to evolve long before India became an independent state." Meira Kumar, speaker of the lower house of parliament, said.

As for the visit by Russian parliamentarians to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, it has become a landmark event in every sense of the word.

From the perspective of the development of bilateral relations such a high-level visit is clear evidence that Russia-Pakistan relations have been on the ascent, acquiring new stable, positive dynamics.

The visit to Pakistan by the Russian parliamentary delegation led by V.I. Matvienko clearly demonstrated that our countries are going through a new stage in their bilateral relations, marked by mutual interest not only in the expansion of bilateral ties in various areas but also in more active cooperation in regional and international affairs.

So, the official visits by the Federation Council delegation to India and Pakistan have taken place. They were necessary and useful - not in form but in substance. Our countries and our parliaments have a lot to work on. It is also important - and the negotiations in Delhi and Islamabad confirm this - that there is a sincere reciprocal wish and readiness to do that work efficiently, effectively, and comprehensively.

## The Creation and Development of Consular Information Systems

*Authors: Sergey Mareev, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation  
Alexey Klimov, Deputy Director, Consular Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation*

*Alexander Bondarenko, Deputy Director General, State Research Institute of Aviation Systems  
Natalia Rogova, Laboratory Head at this Institute*



THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS was the first among the government agencies in Russia to start actively introducing automation into its work. This began in 1983, when the country's leadership launched a legal and regulatory framework for joint work and coordination of action by various departments to ensure entry to the USSR for an increased flow of foreign nationals.

The next stage in development of automation was associated with the transition to personal computers. For the first time, all computers and facilities at the Foreign Ministry's Consular Department and consulates abroad were integrated into a unified computer system, thus making it possible to deal with many consular matters at a qualitatively new level.

In 1993, work on the creation of an automated system for the production, issuance and control of new passport and visa documents was entrusted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as general contractor and the State Research Institute of Aviation Systems as lead developer.

Thus, in the 90s of the 20th century, Russia was among the leading countries issuing machine-readable passport and visa documents.

The introduction of the new stage of preliminary visa processing and the creation of the Automated Issuance System for Invitations to Foreigners helped increase the efficiency of control over the entry of foreigners to Russia.

Web technologies are used starting with the completion by citizens of applications for consular services before their visiting the consul.

The results of the joint successful work over the past two decades have confirmed the validity of the 1993 decision and are proof that the progressive and creative approach to the use by Russia's Foreign Ministry of the cutting-edge information technologies, as well as constructive interactions of the MFA Consular Service and the State Scientific Research Institute of Aviation Systems will also serve in the future to cope with equally complex national tasks.

*Author: T. Igumnova*

*Deputy Director for International and Exhibition Activities at the State Historical Museum*



German-Russian cultural ties have a long and rich history.

The Year of Germany in Russia officially opened on June 20, 2012 with an extensive cultural and historical exhibition project called "Russians and Germans: One Thousand Years of History, Art, and Culture" held under the patronage of the presidents of Russia and Germany and implemented with the support of the

Russian Federation Ministry of Culture and the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation. This has made it possible for the joint Russian-German multidisciplinary team to set up and coordinate a single concept and structure for the exhibition and single out interesting relics and documents in the collections of the large number of museums, archives, libraries, and private collectors of Russia and Germany, as well as several other European countries.

The fact that a number of exhibitions devoted to German-Russian relations have already been held in both countries helped to make this exhibition project a success.

During the time in question, ten exhibition projects were implemented in Germany. Professional contacts between museums are developing in the spirit of increasing openness and mutual trust. Under a Russian-German cultural agreement, experts from the two countries are proceeding from the conviction that cultural ties in all spheres meet the interests of both countries and strengthen further development of good-neighborly relations, partnership, and cooperation.

The Cross-Cultural Year of Russia and Germany officially ends in June 2013 with a concluding scientific research and exhibition project called "The Bronze Age of Europe" that unites the specialists of the leading museums of Russia and Germany.

The exhibition will run from June-September 2013 at the State Hermitage and from October-January 2014 at the State Historical Museum.

## Along the Path of Historical Reconciliation

*Author: I. Kravchenko*

*Second Secretary of the General Secretariat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Candidate of Science (Political Science)*



THE THOUSAND-YEAR HISTORY of cooperation and opposition, alliance and hostility, the tragedy of the two world wars, and the decades of bloc confrontation have united the fates of Russians and Germans. The historical reconciliation between the peoples of Russia and Germany forms a cornerstone of mutual trust and good-neighborly relations that is a reliable bastion

of dynamically developing partnership.

On the whole, the approach of the two countries to our common history, including its tragic pages, is solicitous and constructive, oriented toward mutual understanding and cooperation.

Nevertheless, some political and academic circles on both sides are actively lobbying the tenacious tendency toward a selective and politicized attitude to the past.

Despite the significant decentralization of Russian-German historical and archival project efforts and the participants' freedom of action, these contacts are not fragmentary or episodic.

The Joint Commission on the Contemporary History of Russian-German Relations is instrumental in ensuring systematic and consistent efforts in this vector.

This work involves holding joint discussions of relevant topics, initiating and supporting research projects, and consulting and supporting scholars engaged in this sphere. Today, due to our fruitful bilateral cooperation a large part of the European scientific community understands how counterproductive it is to politicize history and is striving for more objective assessments, thus forming a unique European non-confrontational context for historical memory.

Nevertheless, the cooperation potential has not been fully tapped.

In the final analysis, the main task of historians and diplomats in the present situation is to make the rapprochement of the Russian and German people irreversible, without forgetting historical truth, and to strengthen genuine friendship and partner collaboration. For Russians and Germans, as German Federal President Joachim Gauck justly noted, are no longer foes.

## The Skeleton of a State Constitution

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Valery Vorobiov, Chair of Constitutional Law Department, Moscow State Institute (University) of International Relations, Doctor of Science (Law), Professor;*



To prevent conscious or unconscious damage being done to citizens by state decisions, we have for the first time attempted to create a methodology to diagnose the deep-rooted causes of the maladies of the state, by using the methodology tried and tested over the past 30 centuries for diagnosing the maladies of the human body (anatomy atlas). On such a basis it is possible to construct a reliable prediction of the future condition of a sick state in the case of its treatment or nontreatment.

We will note some peculiarities of the reference model. It represents the foundation of the state - the system of governance and law, but not the state itself. The state incorporates the following concepts: country, population, territory, as well as the system of governance and law, which is often perceived as synonym for the state.

In the new model of government and constitutional law, management and marketing specialists, along with legal scholars, for the first time participate in the development and adoption of constitutional decisions.

Up to the present time, the individual in the role of a ruler having personal preferences and the inherent mood swings is a fatal source of consequences in the lives of millions of citizens.

Since the goal is a system-forming factor of the entire G&CL system, experts may, with the help of the procedures for decomposing the goal into objectives, functions and structures of governance and law, prepare a Draft Constitution for the state.

The current structure of public administration does not include a number of governance functions arising from the natural principles of governance, as well as restrictions prescribed by morality and the international community.

Research into the causes of the confrontation between citizen and state by using the diagnostic reference model of the system of government and constitutional law has made it possible to discover the sources of the maladies of the state and try to find an organizational form in which to embody this diagnostic reference model.

HERE ARE PRESENTED only the basic outlines of a vision for a new organizational form of association of people in which power dictatorship is removed for the first time in the history of the state. This opens up a boundless circle of hopes for a decent life, understanding and removal of the consequences of rivalry between rulers that spell a difference in the pace of progress in the natural sciences and social science.

## Doha Lessons and Russia's Approach to the Global Climate Change Problem

*Author: O. Shamanov*

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THE GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE problem has long been firmly among the most important new challenges and threats of the 21st century. From the modern academic point of view, the reasons for the need to take measures to limit and reduce the anthropogenic impact on the Earth's climate system are rather solid. The data collected and systematized in The Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, serve to confirm that global warming is there and that man is partly to

blame for it.

Russia is fully conscious of this climate threat and shapes its policy accordingly.

The net result of the Doha meeting for Russia consists in decisions which initiate the development of a new international legal instrument to replace the Kyoto Protocol and a package of specific recommendations as to the subjects and schedule of talks.

Without a doubt, the Kyoto Protocol was the most important step forward of its time in getting international climate cooperation on the road.

Neither can we ignore the barriers contained in the Kyoto Protocol which separate groups of countries, its limitations with respect to resolving the climate problem and its cumbersome procedures with regard to possible approval of quantitative commitments to cut emissions by countries which would wish to do so.

Russia is actively working along the climate track at home because it has the real sense of the potential threats of this global process to its population and economy.

A broad range of measures are being implemented in the shape of laws, regulatory documents, administrative procedures, and national programs. One good example is Russia's Climate Doctrine and a comprehensive action plan to implement this doctrine, the edict of the Russian president's on measures to improve the energy and environment-related efficiency of Russia's economy, the federal energy conservation law, and Russia's energy strategy for a period ending in 2030.

Russia aims to go on taking an active part in talks and cooperation with all interested parties in the spirit of transparency, respect for the interests of all states, collective responsibility, and compromise in order to develop in a timely manner a new climate agreement.

## Earth Is Not an Ideal Sphere

*Author: A. Kokorin*

*Head of the Climate and Energy Programme of the World Wildlife Fund Russia*

*Interview for Vis-à-Vis With the World project of the "Voice of Russia" radio service, [http://rus.ruvr.ru/radio\\_broadcast/2227329/](http://rus.ruvr.ru/radio_broadcast/2227329/)*



Climate has been changing at all times in a natural manner and through human pressure. A two-degree rise in temperature would be causing more dangerous weather conditions including droughts and floods. But as a rule, these two degrees make a lot of difference for populations in certain regions.

The rising sea level is yet another cause for concern. With a two-degree rise in the temperature, the rise of the sea level by one meter is unavoidable.

The situation today is radically different from that prevailing at the time of the signing of the Kyoto Protocol. Back then, two thirds of all emissions came from the developed countries and the emissions were not growing very much. Today, two thirds is the share of the developing countries and 80% of all emissions come from two countries - China and India. It is necessary to draft a new agreement with regard, above all, to reducing emissions in China and India and aiding the developing countries.

As for the EU, it constitutes 27 countries which find it very hard to agree. This is despite the fact that ten years ago the EU was the leader at the climate talks. Countries like Poland and Spain find it a problem to reduce their emissions, especially Poland, which depends on burning coal.

In actual fact, climate-related talks are talks about a huge flow of finance from developed countries to developing countries.

Since shale gas extraction depends on hydraulic fracturing of rock formations, environmentalists fear the possibility of contamination of ground water. Some also fear subsidence on hydraulic fracturing sites.

There is yet another problem which is common in the extraction of hydrocarbons based on any technique - the emission into the atmosphere of great amounts of carbon dioxide. The latest findings about the concentration of methane above the Arctic and the Antarctic indicate that both are getting roughly equal amounts of methane. However, the inflow of methane to some areas in Western Siberia and Alaska is great but not as great as experts predicted.

We should keep tabs on everything.

## On the Russian Community in the Czech Republic

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*Deputy Director of the Department for Compatriots Living Abroad, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Candidate of Science (History)*



I HAVE long wanted to write a short essay on the activity of our compatriot associations in the Czech Republic to show the special features and traits of the local Russian community and the history of its development.

THE RUSSIAN COMMUNITY in the Czech Republic is not large by FarAbroad standards. According to official statistics, around 32,000 Russian citizens live in the country, mainly in large. Moreover, 12,000 Czech citizens call Russian

their native language. Russians "don't make a difference" in the Czech Republic, comprising, if we are talking about foreigners, only one fifteenth of the foreign minorities, among which Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians, Vietnamese, and other nationalities predominate.

The Russian community is a mixed bag. It is comprised mainly of people who have emigrated from Russia during the past 20 years, primarily for economic reasons; they are the so-called economic migrants. These are representatives of the scientific-technical and creative intelligentsia and small and medium businesses.

The founding fathers of Czechoslovakia, when carrying out their "policy toward Russia, pursued the goal of rendering comprehensive assistance to the establishment of a Russian democratic law-based state friendly toward Czechoslovakia."

A book called "Essays on Russian Emigration in Czechoslovakia of 1918-1945" notes that the idea of creating a Russian Oxford in Prague was idealistic and doomed to failure from the beginning. Nevertheless, many emigrants remained grateful to the country that extended them a helping hand at a time of need.

In subsequent years, consolidation and structural enlargement of the Russian community in the Czech Republic consistently gained momentum.

Some organizations, for example, Russian Tradition, which publishes a Russian-language magazine *Russkoe slovo* that is fairly popular in the Czech Republic and Moravia and is mainly comprised of the descendants of émigrés, do not belong to the CCRC.

Other important vectors in the society's activity include military-patriotic efforts.

I hope that this essay gives a general idea of how strongly the pulse of the Russian community is beating in Prague and in the Czech provinces.

## The Crete Triangle

*Author: V. Zanina*

*Third Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation*



IN 2013, Russia and Greece celebrate one of the historical landmarks: 185 years of diplomatic relations. The Greeks have not forgotten Russia's considerable contribution to their struggle for independence and consolidation of the young Greek state.

The policy of preferences made the Crete popular assemblies headed by the so-called people's leaders who also acted as arbiters in disputes among the Greeks even more important. In fact,

when the Porte became finally resolved to pursue a policy of religious tolerance on the island it turned out that time had been lost.

Russia, with no fleet in the Mediterranean to balance out the British, knew full well that an uprising in Crete would be followed by a de facto British protectorate. This meant that Russia could practically support a revolt on the island no sooner as it had acquired a strong Black Sea Fleet free to navigate the Straits to arrive on time to help the insurgents. These conditions appeared 20 years later, in 1898.

The Cretans sent one message after another to inform Greece that they were ready to fight for their independence; the vague answers undermined the faith of at least some of the leaders in Athens and in its readiness to act.

The Greeks who had to side with the UK were closely following Russia's resurgence as an important international actor. Athens did not exclude the possibility of joining the war against Turkey (very much in Russia's interests) to be able to add Thessaly, Macedonia, Crete, and, possibly, several more Mediterranean islands to its possessions. St. Petersburg did not approve of these aspirations.

The Greek did not hail the prospect of strengthening Slavic peoples in the Balkans at their expense. Fully convinced that Russia, which at that time was devoted to the idea of pan-Slavism would defend the interests of the Slavic peoples, the Greeks preferred to keep away from the war which promised no obvious gains.

Unaware of the political undercurrents the Cretans still hoped that the Balkan developments would promote their cause.

The European powers renewed their interest in the island and its future when Russia had restored its status of a marine power and strengthened its Black Sea Fleet after the victory in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. Crete gained autonomy in 1898 (20 years after its last revolt); later, in 1908 it became independent.

## Archives of National Memory

*Author: G. Vilinbakhov*

*Chairman of the Russian Presidential Heraldic Council, State Heraldry Master and Deputy Director for Research of the State Hermitage Museum*

*This interview was conducted by International Affairs commentator Elena Studneva.*



It is important to understand what significance for Russia's future lies in our government and national records repositories which keep what can be called the archives of national memory: libraries, documentary sources, museums. Amongst society today, and sometimes, even worse, in the corridors of power, an opinion exists that the stocks of archives, museums, libraries are merely a sort of storage to be used economically. It is proposed to optimize the activity of the

archives of national memory.

Culture is our "business card," which we can produce when conflict situations arise.

Now it is the situation where all those aware of the value of our cultural heritage, including our library, museum and archive collections, must rally together and protect them. Some examples are indeed worrying.

The primary function of museums is to preserve and study monuments of the past. There is such a notion as museum science. This is a major science.

The severity of the issue is not even in the financial autonomy of the libraries, archives and museums - it's a concern for the integrity of their collections. Having negative experience of losses of valuable rare books from library stocks, we are well aware that all optimization related issues concern both storage and the collections.

The work of the Council is organized in accordance with the relevant decrees of the President of the Russian Federation. Our scope of activity includes matters of national, departmental, and territorial heraldry. We are also engaged in the heraldic design of awards and conduct expert examinations.

There are several topics that I would like to turn into books. For example, the history of the two-headed eagle from the earliest times on.

And, of course, I would like to do a book on Sergey Nikolaevich Troinitsky, director of the Hermitage, a brilliant arts connoisseur and expert in the field of heraldry. His personality was overshadowed by that of no less brilliant expert Vladislav Kreskentievich Lukomsky. But I would like to single out Troinitsky, a man with a tragic fate who got caught in the Leningrad purges in cases which were called "superfluous people," was in exile, and died shortly after the Great Patriotic War, never returning to his beloved Leningrad.

Now such are my moral duties.

## V.S. Chernomyrdin: 75th Birthday Anniversary

*Authors: Sergey Bazdnikin, Deputy Director, Foreign Policy Planning Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation*

*Evgeny Panteleev, Deputy Director, Press and Information Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Candidate of Science (Economics)*



MANKIND LIVES in such a way that as a general rule it takes some time before history dots all the i's and crosses all the t's. That is probably why people have a mixed attitude toward the genre of memoirs.

On April 9, Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin, former head of Gazprom, Russian prime minister and Russia's long serving ambassador to Ukraine, would have turned 75. If he was alive and well his jubilee would have rung in a joyful Cossack-like celebration. But he is not with us

here and now. So this is just the right time to remember and pay tribute to him.

His qualities as a skillful negotiator, persistence in promoting his approaches and, at the same time, the ability to listen to and hear his interlocutor predetermined the results of V.S. Chernomyrdin's work. He was directly involved in developing the framework principles that laid the groundwork for the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1244 on June 10, 1999 that became a well-balanced legal basis for the Kosovo settlement.

In international practice, ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary are usually divided into two categories - political appointees and career diplomats. Both approaches have their advantages. "Heavyweights" - politicians on a state scale who perform special missions in international affairs - usually are outside the generally accepted classification (and beyond competition). Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin was definitely among those.

He embarked on the ambassadorial path when he was already a very well known personality, with colossal connections and authority.

And of course he set examples of great respect for family values and the transfer of experience to the younger generation.

Like nobody else, V.S. Chernomyrdin attached great importance to public presentations, to building a relationship with the media.

The longer we live without ChVS, the clearer we realize the greatness of his deeds and services. And the more frequently we recall what journalists aptly described as "Chernomyrdin-ese" that has perhaps become as popular as the century-old collective aphorisms from Kozma Prutkov [a fictional author invented in the 19th century]. And the more we feel how we miss him.

## Chernomyrdin Time

*Author: E. Beloglazov*

*Deputy Prime Minister of Orenburg Region, Head of the Orenburg Region Mission at the RF Government, Chief of Secretariat for the Russian Ambassador to Ukraine (2001-2009), Candidate of Science (History)*



ONCE IN MAY 2001, a telephone started ringing in the car Viktor Stepanovich. President V.V. Putin had offered him the position of ambassador to Ukraine and the Russian president's special envoy.

He was very fond of Ukraine. His wife, Valentina Fedorovna, was an ethnic Ukrainian. Ukrainian dishes were made and Ukrainian songs sung in their home.

But perhaps the principal motive for that

decision was the Russian-Ukrainian relationship that was not at a level it should have been at. And that situation had to be changed.

In his very first interview the ambassador stressed that economic ties between the two states should be given priority: "Get down to business and that will help improve the living standards both in Russia and in Ukraine and create new jobs."

Ukraine's public and political beau monde welcomed Chernomyrdin with joy and hope for an improvement in bilateral ties.

Today, diplomats and experts on international affairs often speak about the importance of "soft power." Chernomyrdin was very well aware of the importance of that "power," especially in relations between countries that are connected by a huge historical legacy.

Viktor Stepanovich turned the Russian Embassy into a kind of coordinating, organizing and initiating body in addressing the set tasks. Before long, the effectiveness of business contacts increased and progress was made on other issues as well.

He considered the preservation and development of cultural ties, through language and literature - that which we had in common - to be a major area of his activity.

It was also essential to establish dialog between the two countries' historians, since historical disagreements could have brought political dialog into an impasse.

Viktor Stepanovich, a bright, remarkable personality, a rare professional, has made a unique contribution to the Russian-Ukrainian relationship, providing an impulse to its development at a time when stagnation seemed insurmountable. There is no doubt that he will long be remembered in Ukraine.

## A History of the "Era of Changes": Facts, No Comments

*Author: E. Pyadysheva*

*Executive Secretary of International Affairs, Candidate of Science (History)*



I BELIEVE that history as a field of studies and a subject for public discussion in our state is unlikely to ever lose its relevance.

The Contemporary History Fund (CHF), as follows from its name, is concerned primarily with the processes that the majority of us living in Russia have witnessed or have even been involved in.

The CHF publishes a considerable number of books and textbooks. Those include a monograph devoted to the history of Russia's latest modernization. Based on extensive factual material, it provides a good picture of the diversity of ideas and

problems related to the causes and effects of the post-Soviet transformation of the Soviet economy.

Work is underway on the first volume of a collection of documents on the history of federative development in Russia, as well as of another one related to the activity of the State Commission for Religious Affairs.

I would like to draw special attention to a two-volume work entitled "A History of Contemporary Russia. Chronicles of the 'Era of Changes.'" It is, in essence, an absolutely unique handbook that represents a chronology of events from 1985 until 1999.

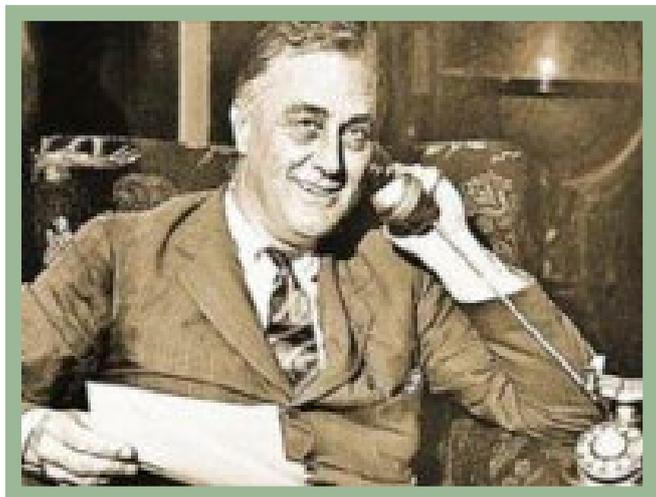
The facts presented in the two-volume book are systematized and grouped into four sections, each containing separate chapters.

It is impossible within the confines of a review to analyze or even describe the units that the documents are arranged into. It is better to have the two-volume set at home. And if there is some interest in recent history these books will always be in demand.

## Roosevelt in the Fate of America and Russia

*Author: V. Sokolov*

*Associate Professor at the Department of Journalism, Moscow State University of Culture and Art, Candidate of Science (History)*



IN A NEW BOOK on the American president "The Great Roosevelt: 'Fox in a Lion Skin'" (The Geniuses of Power Series) Viktor Mal'kov uses a variety of archive sources to ensure that his hero looks as authentic as possible in the context of the times.

The book focuses in particular on the Second World War.

It turns out that Roosevelt for some time nurtured the hope that he would be able to sit Hitler down at the negotiation table to discuss

the final settlement of mutual claims, even though this thought filled him with nothing but disgust.

The book addresses an interesting topic relating to the ongoing activity of U.S.

Viktor Mal'kov presents in his book the flabbergasting scenarios of the possible development of events.

The author reminds us about the famous press conference held by the president on December 17, 1940, at which he talked about what he would do if his neighbor's home catches fire and the justified risk of lending this neighbor his own garden hose to put out the fire.

The large number of new important documents on the diplomatic history of the anti-Hitler coalition in general and on the history of Soviet-American relations during the Second World War in particular sheds additional light on the formation of the foreign policy course of the U.S. on the eve of the Yalta Conference. This process was extremely complicated and contradictory, reflecting the intertwining of the objective and subjective, as well as internal and external factors of the situation that developed in the summer and fall of 1944.

Using important archive material, the author succeeded in creating an authentic political portrait of a great man who once joked that when he retired he "wanted to head the United Nations." Researchers still find many unfathomable and even mystical things in FDR's legacy; however, there is nothing mystical in his understanding of the need for cooperation with the Soviet Union, without which it is doubtful that the Anglo-Saxon civilization, plagued by the Russophobia inherent in some of its leaders, would have continued to exist.

## A Book on the Battle of Stalingrad

*Author: G. Povolotsky*

*Managing Editor of International Affairs*



THE RECENT international conference to mark 70 years of the victory on the Volga at the Russian Foreign Ministry's MGIMO-University also launched a new book about the Battle of Stalingrad and its geopolitical significance, with contributions from the foremost scholars of MGIMO and other higher schools and research centers around the nation. The great interest generated by the new book can be above all put down to an in-depth analysis it contains of the Stalingrad phase of the 1941-1945 War, the cited assessments of the geopolitical impacts of the Soviet victory in the Battle of Stalingrad, and the well-substantiated selection of new archive documents.

Senior Fellow of the Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences Ye.N. Kul'kov wrote a chapter reviewing a broad range of studies done by historians in other countries on the Battle of Stalingrad.

The book also contains a highly informative piece of research carried out by A.V. Isayev of the Institute of Military History of the Russian Defense Ministry regarding the unique contribution to the war effort of Stalingrad's Tractor Factory.

D.B. Khazanov, full member of the Association of Historians of the Second World War, came up with a captivating documentary story of A.I. Yeremenko, an outstanding Russian general and hero of Stalingrad. Professor AYu. Borisov of MGIMO contributed a chapter entitled "Stalingrad - the Moment of Truth" looking at the issues of military planning by Soviet and German commands during the course of the historic battle.

A.V. Seregin, head of the MGIMO-University Information and Publishing Programs Directorate, wrote a separate chapter about the political, military and historical significance of the Battle of Stalingrad and the need to oppose distortions of history.

I'd like to make a special mention of the section in the book contributed by Professor A.A. Akhtamzyan of the History and Policy of the Countries of Europe and America Department at MGIMO-University.

This brief review would have been incomplete had I failed to mention that it contains 123 pages of declassified documents - Joseph Stalin's own notes, documents of the Soviet command and the People's Defense Commissariat, encrypted cables, transcripts of diplomatic discussions, and so on. The declassified documents and photographs are courtesy of the Federal Archival Agency and the Russian State Archive of Sociopolitical History.

## Russia's Foreign Policy: Guidelines 2020

*Author: A. Frolov*

*Leading Research Fellow, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Science (Political Sciences)*



IN THE FIRST QUARTER of the 21st century, the whole world will obviously experience not only profound transformations, but also, in the words of Vladimir Putin, profound shocks. But the global financial crisis is not the only thing that affects foreign policy. Interdependence, the state of the environment, innovations, population growth with its inherent inequality, and new revolutionary changes -

all of this compels governments to adjust their foreign policies, take into account the new situations and changes in the world, and respond to the new challenges. The appearance of a massive three-volume work prepared by the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), one of Russia's most authoritative advisory bodies, is symptomatic in this context.

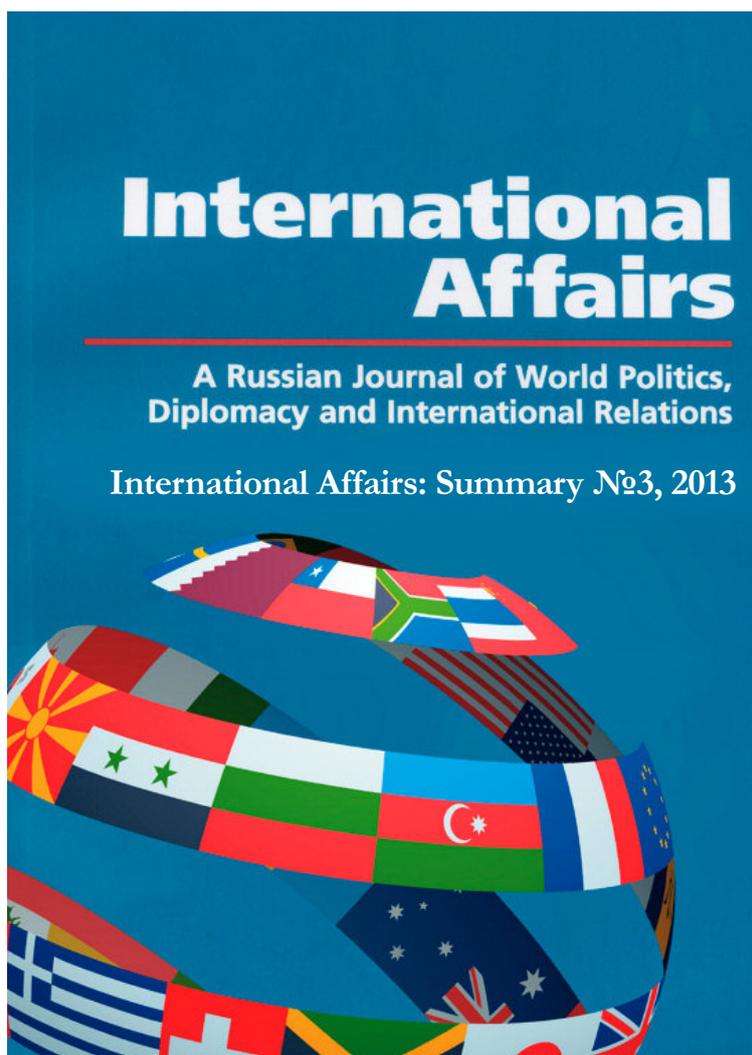
In his foreword to the book, Academician Yevgeny Primakov notes the correlation between Russian foreign policy and current global realities, on the one hand, and the need to understand the limits of the influence of globalization processes on state sovereignty, on the other. Developing these ideas, RIAC President Igor Ivanov writes that the fundamental difference between the current situation in Russia and the situation of the late 1980s and early 1990s is that Russian foreign policy has lost its romantic aura.

Export of education can become one of the main factors of "soft power" for Russia, Igor Ivanov continues, and this market is much more promising than, say, the arms market. Today, Russia has a tactical advantage in medium-term planning over other key players: it is at the very beginning of a new political cycle, and this will ensure its rise for at least the next six years.

The second volume of the book is more concerned with forecasts. The main change from the last century is the emergence of a totally different resource base of foreign and defense policy. This policy is no longer determined by ideology but rather by national interests.

Overall, this publication is the largest collective work containing an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the current state of international relations, national security, Russia's international activity, and the state's foreign policy with its tasks and prospects. In my opinion, it can and should become a reference book not only for experts studying the problems of international relations and those who actually implement foreign policy, but also for members of organizations practically concerned with matters relating to the development of the state.

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