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The Russian Track: As Barack Obama Leaves, He Leaves Ruins

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The eight years of Barack Obama is a period when we saw in effect two different administrations under his leadership. The first four-year period passed under the "reset" slogan. I keep saying that this is an American term that was introduced by the Americans. That four-year period was marked by the signing of some significant agreements with the United States. They are still useful, helping keep our relations from slipping into an abyss, and they have a positive impact on international security.

Another important thing that should be mentioned is that during Barack Obama's second four-year period the United States began methodically destroying the edifice and even the foundation of our relations.

We know very little about the new U.S. president's approaches toward foreign policy issues. What we have observed is important but only fragmentary. We believe that a great deal will depend on the composition of the team that he will put together.

On the whole, I believe that the extent of continuity in American politics in the transition from one administration to another cannot be underestimated. This holds true even in the present, rather unusual situation.

Turkey is a key member of the alliance, a key U.S. ally, and we understand that very well. However, let's work on a reasonable basis. This is the point of the signal that we are constantly sending.

I simply cannot remember a more intensive dialogue than our dialogue with the U.S. on Syria in recent years. I have not witnessed anything that would even come close to this degree of the intensity of contacts and the focus of dialogue. Of course, a key role in this dialogue belongs to Foreign Minister S.V. Lavrov and Secretary of State John Kerry. However, much to our regret, it turned out that the Barack Obama administration as a whole was unable to reach any agreement. What the secretary of state said was often disavowed by his colleagues in Washington and the U.S. political leadership.

The factor of personal mutual understanding between the leaders has always been of the utmost importance in Russian-U.S. relations. I do not know the history of Russian-U.S. relations well enough to follow this at all stages, but what I have seen happen - and that is about 15 years - shows that this holds true. I hope that there will be good mutual understanding with the 45th U.S. president.

Regarding the first part of the question, as has already been stated at a very high level in the Kremlin, we are ready and open - as soon as our colleagues are ready for that. We understand that the U.S. administration will first take its seats, the cabinet will be formed, the inauguration ceremony will take place, and there will be other appointments. I believe a top level meeting in 2017 is quite possible.

Ban Ki-moon's Legacy and Global Issues

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ON DECEMBER 31, 2016, Ban Ki-moon will end his term as the eighth UN secretary general, spending two terms at the organization's helm - a total of 10 years. It so happens that I have observed his work all these years, closely interacting with the secretary general by virtue of our country's status as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, bearing a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. This article is about Ban Ki-moon's initiatives and reforms, as

well as their results, which he is leaving to his successor, Portugal's Antonio Guterres.

Summing up the results of Ban Ki-moon's term of office as UN secretary general, it should be recognized that on the whole, he has proven himself as a competent politician and administrator who has managed to preserve the UN's central coordinating role in global affairs despite the emergence of acute threats and challenges.

A new stage in dealing with climate change began as the Paris Climate Agreement, a document into which the secretary general invested a lot of personal effort, came into effect. The political declarations on HIV/AIDS and on antimicrobial resistance, issued during Ban Ki-moon's term in office, are designed to provide an effective response to the proliferating crises in the public healthcare system. The World Humanitarian Summit stands alone in this context. Needless to say, time and intensive efforts will be required for the ideas and initiatives that were put forward at the summit to acquire a clear outline for all and to receive a consensus in the form of intergovernmental decisions.

The universal character of the General Assembly and the role of the Security Council as the main body responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security predetermine their key position in the international antiterrorist architecture. The functions of the Security Council and agencies accountable to it include, in particular, the formulation of obligations for states, the monitoring of their fulfillment, and the use of targeted sanctions against terrorists and their accessories. The role of the secretary general in the counterterrorism area is also quite significant. After all, the Secretariat is entrusted with wide-ranging tasks in helping states build up their counterterrorism capabilities through technical assistance programs, exchange of practice and experience, and so on. Ban Ki-moon is leaving the newly appointed, ninth secretary general Antonio Guterres a complicated legacy. To successfully fulfill his mandate, the secretary general needs, above all, to follow the standard of behavior with regard to an international civil servant, primarily impartiality, objectivity, independence, and the willingness to take into account the entire spectrum of member states' positions. For their part, the latter need political will to reach compromises.

Effects of the Unipolar World Concept on European and Global Security Systems

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BEHIND THE POLICY of Western countries and their allies toward Russia in the Ukrainian crisis is a long-term strategy adopted by key Western powers, and the Ukrainian conflict is just one manifestation of this strategy. Claims by the United States that it is the world leader, far from raising any objections from its allies, are supported by them in every way. The West mainly uses two extremely powerful channels for the promotion of its interpretations of democratic values - the media and numerous scholarly publications, mostly in English, which are owned by Western companies but claim to represent the Western world's supposed unlimited freedom of expression.

Finally, military force is another key method whereby Western powers try to assert their economic, financial, and political interests in countries

to which they assign peripheral status. Armed force is used to ensure stronger positions for Western companies and deter or intimidate countries that might stand up to them.

The idea of a pan-European system of security and cooperation based on consensus of the states involved in the Helsinki process was the first casualty of the demolition of the postwar European security system.

Countries whose regimes are not seen by Western powers as like-minded are not obligated to earn their "democratic" labels through deepgoing democratic reforms since it takes time to carry them out. They can, however, become members of the Western club if power in them goes over to politicians who embrace Western ideology and are willing to take their countries into NATO and the proposed NATO-based European security system.

THE WEST has accorded a purely subordinate and auxiliary role to Russia in the economic and political affairs of this pan-American world system - without Russia being aware of this or wanting it. Moreover, even if Russia accepted the Western neo-liberal model of development and values hook, line, and sinker, it would still have practically no chance of moving to any higher rung in this system. The West has tried to minimize Russia's power by pretending to help it.

Russia made clear that it was unprepared to bring its national interests into line with Western geopolitical plans.

Over the past quarter of a century, the West has not ceased to put heavy pressure on Russia to force it to influence its domestic path of development, state of society, system of government, and international policies so that it becomes an obedient partner and does not stand in the way as the West pursues its global strategy.

There is no realistic alternative to a multipolar world based on respect for the independence and sovereignty of states, but there can be no doubt that its emergence will come up against tough resistance from the West.

The U.S. Middle East Policy: Stages and Instruments

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IN THE UNITED STATES, over 200 research institutes, centers and groups are engaged in studying the situation in the Middle East, forecasting future developments and identifying the means and methods of channeling them in the right direction. The arsenal of instruments used for this purpose is highly varied: on the whole, the measures Americans apply to the target countries can be described as either containment or engagement.

The containment strategy relies on international isolation of the target country with the help of political coalitions, sanctions and the use of force, first, to prevent unwelcome actions or, at least, reduce their efficiency and, second, to coerce the country change its policies.

The so-called Islamic State (banned in Russia) is not an independent phenomenon; it is yet another scenario (after the Arab revolutions) of America's policy in the Middle East and other regions.

On the whole, the entire body of what has been written so far about the measures the U.S. uses when dealing with hostile states can be summed up as 20 methods of containment and engagement. The former includes: (1) physical liquidation of leaders; (2) revolutions and coups; (3) promotion of all sorts of programs of developing democracy or (4) support of the opposition; (5) democratic regime change; (6) wars; (7) special operations; (8) regional coalitions; (9) proxy wars; (10) diplomatic methods; (11) economic and other sanctions; (12) disengagement. Engagement is achieved through (13) encouraging economic development of the target country; (14) profitable involvement into international trade; (15) setting up non-inclusive trade blocs; (16) bringing its own "agents" to power in the target country; (17) drawing the target country into the system of international organizations and treaties; (18) development of tourism; (19) educational contacts; (20) development of cultural ties, including mass or so-called pop culture.

THE "ARAB REVOLUTIONS" and proxy wars allowed the United States to achieve its aims in the region at a much lower price and without drawing its army, on a wide scale, into the conflicts. The document published by Barry Rubin, leading analyst of the Global Research in International Affairs (GLORIA) Center at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) in Herzliya, Israel, confirmed that the Arab Spring had been planned by the American Administration.

On the whole, under Obama's administration, the United States continued its line at supervising the processes unfolding in all corners of the world with the obvious aim to prevent the emergence of an alternative global center of power and a rival of the United States.

Today, when we know the name of the next president of the United States, the possible approaches of the United States to the Middle East have become somewhat clearer: they will be

realized mainly according to the preferences of President Donald Trump and his closest circle. On the other hand, in the United States the statements of presidential candidates are normally much more heated than their real policies. America pursues a long-term policy in the Middle East which means that many of the foreign policy trends inherited from the previous presidency will survive in post-Obama America.

The Military Reform in China: Strategic, Political, Organizational, and Administrative Aspects

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THE MILITARY REFORM announced by the top leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Chinese cabinet in 2015 is a large-scale and in-depth enterprise. It aims to impart a new quality to the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and other armed services.

The reform is, among other things, an important factor in China's foreign policy as the military will apparently play a larger role in the national security system.

ALL PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS of strategic defense control and national security as a whole have undergone changes in the course of the reform, which was announced by Chinese

President Xi Jinping late in November 2015. Chinese leaders argue that the PLA reform is part of an effort of building "socialism with Chinese characteristics," a system securing CPC leadership in all spheres of society.

Furthermore, the modernization of the armed forces is declared to be essential for putting into practice the "China dream" formula that was put forward by Xi three years ago - "the great renewal of the Chinese nation."

The reform took at least seven years to plan, and Xi himself was closely involved in final stages of the work.

IN RECENT HISTORY, the armed forces have often played a more important role in China's domestic politics than has been the case in many other countries. By Chinese standards, events where the military played a special role in China's home politics took place comparatively recently. Today's Chinese leaders undoubtedly take account of those events in insisting on CPC control of the PLA in a way that rules out any autonomy for the military.

THE PLA is undergoing organizational changes at three levels simultaneously - at national level, at the level of potential war theaters, and at the level of individual services.

CHINA'S MILITARY REFORM aims to enable the PLA to cope with essentially new tasks set to it by the CPC and government. It is, moreover, part of a vast-scale onslaught against corruption, which threatens not only the economic well-being but also the political stability of the country.

Who Controls the Internet Controls the World

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It would seem that the more ICT users there are the better. However, the harmful use of these technologies is also growing.

When the U.S. introduced sanctions and imposed a unilateral taboo on political dialogue with us, Americans also began to destroy the possibility of discussing cyber security with Russia.

The scope of attacks is vast. It affects people's private life, business and naturally the national interests and security of states. Under these circumstances, of course, there is a

pressing need to think of how we should all live together and conduct dialogue.

I would like to mention a figure that was cited by the Russian president when he spoke at the FSB [Federal Security Service] collegium - it was subsequently reported in the media: About 70 million cyber attacks are carried out against Russian government resources every year. The figure speaks for itself.

This past May, a very useful Russian-U.S. meeting of experts took place in Geneva where the entire range of cyber issues was addressed. cyber tsar." Representative delegations arrived - several dozen experts on each side: military and special services officers, communication specialists, diplomats and six deputy ministers on each side.

We talked professionally, clearly, without any criticism. When I asked the U.S. side whether they had any complaints against us or any problems or maybe there was a need to explain something, the Americans responded that they had no problem with Russia. If any problems arise they are dealt with on the expert level. The mechanism is quite effective.

Unfortunately, despite the extensive joint efforts and considerable results in the sphere of cyber security, at a certain point, when the U.S. introduced sanctions and imposed a unilateral taboo on political dialogue with us, Americans also began to destroy the possibility of discussing this vital, priority issue that affects national security.

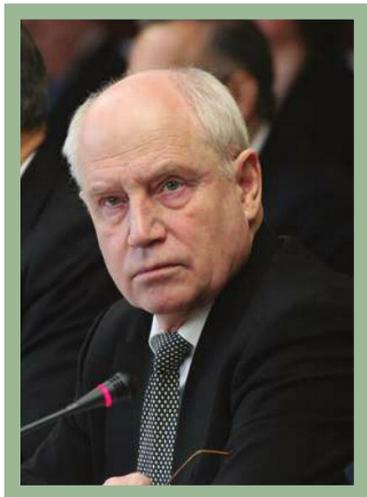
The Russian position regarding Internet administration is supported not only by China, Brazil, and other BRICS countries, but also by the majority of countries in the world. The question of how the Internet is used is only secondary. The most important thing is who controls it.

There is another issue. Every country lives according to its own laws, traditions, customs, and genetics that have evolved for centuries, so each country has its own vision of what is acceptable and what is unacceptable from the standpoint of its morality and way of life. It is wrong to support terrorism and perversions or use the Internet for criminal purposes despite the fact that criminal law is different in each country. Does this mean that for the sake of the abstract freedom of access or consumption some alien moral values should be imposed on us? If dancing is allowed in some houses of worship it is unacceptable in our churches. And we would not like this to be imposed on us.

The 25th Anniversary of the CIS: We Are Destined to Be Together

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I have often heard the CIS mentioned as an important instrument of civilized divorce. One can agree with this because centrifugal tendencies certainly prevailed in the early days of the CIS. The states tended to move away from each other in their desire to get rid of the center, and this unfortunately led to conflicts in the course of disputes over territories and borders, as in Tajikistan, the South Caucasus and Transnistria. It was necessary to somehow extinguish these conflicts and find peaceful solutions to the disputes. And the CIS was able to resolve these problems in the early stages of its existence. But when these conflicts were defused, many other problems associated with the civilized divorce of the former Soviet republics came to the fore. These included mutual

settlements, primarily in the economic sphere; the need to address transportation, energy supply and communication problems; and the existence of many social problems such as payment of pensions and pension arrears to citizens of the former Soviet Union (FSU), provision of healthcare services, mutual recognition of diplomas, etc.

The CIS is in a state of permanent reform. There is no need for any kind of radical reform, because keeping pace with the times is an objective necessity for any organization.

Real life makes us find common ground for cooperation and address specific problems related to track gauge, the use of railroad cars, etc. There are quite good projects in the peaceful use of nuclear energy. We have a CIS commission in this area, whose work is also quite effective.

The current leadership of Uzbekistan, as represented by acting head of state Shavkat Mirziyoyev, has confirmed the continuity of the policy of maintaining good relations with its neighbors and its membership of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The Executive Committee has a staff of 220. Due to financial difficulties, we have somewhat reduced - I hope temporarily - the number of employees (by 10%). They come from almost all countries of the Commonwealth. It is a tight-knit international team of high-class experts.

Most of the staffers (experts) are citizens of Russia and Belarus, as well as representatives of other countries living in Moscow or Minsk. At the same time, 24 positions - the managing staff of the CIS Executive Committee - are filled according to quotas by people sent from the capitals of CIS states.

The sectoral councils publish quite a few journals and bulletins. The Council of Interior Ministers, for example, publishes a journal called *Sodruzhestvo* (The Commonwealth). The Council of Commanders of Border Troops, the Interstate Statistical Committee, and the Coordinating Council of Prosecutors General issue their own bulletins. But probably the most extensive and detailed information about our work is available on the CIS portal (www.ecis.info) and the website of the CIS Executive Committee (www.cis.minsk.by).

The Inter-Parliamentary Union: Will the Mountain Bring Forth a Mouse or Interference in Non-interference?

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"THE WORLD is made of achieved Utopias. Today's utopia is tomorrow's reality," said Frederic Passy, winner of the first Nobel Peace Prize and one of the two co-founders of the oldest international parliamentary organization.

The idea of bringing together members of parliament from different countries for a joint effort in the name of peace and international cooperation was first expressed at the end of the 19th century. Parliamentarians from Austria, Spain, France, and Britain discussed the

idea of an international assembly that would act primarily as an arbitrator in the settlement of international disputes.

WHAT IS THE SECRET of the IPU's longevity and attractiveness? After all, Stalin, as a pragmatic politician, was right: the decades-long history of the IPU has not been marked by any momentous decisions. The strength of the Inter-Parliamentary Union lies elsewhere. Parliamentary diplomacy is meant to play a very important, if not a key, role in building bridges of friendship between states on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis.

Russia intends to continue working on the IPA CIS platform in the Inter-Parliamentary Union in matters of participation by IPA CIS members in the activities of IPU organs, submission of internationally important topics for discussion and subsequent adoption of IPU resolutions, and the possible accession to the Inter-Parliamentary Union of CIS states not yet participating in its activities.

The role of the IPA CIS is also important in another context. Now that it has acquired the status of an IPU associate member, there is a real opportunity to make Russian an official language of the IPU. This idea was expressed during Valentina Matviyenko's meeting with IPU leaders at the 133rd Assembly in Geneva in 2015, and there is reason to believe that this initiative will be promoted in the near future.

RECENT FOREIGN POLICY EVENTS clearly demonstrate that it is impossible not only to isolate Russia or exclude it from the global decision-making process, but also to implement such decisions unless we play a key role. Obviously, the boycott of Russia has failed. Russia has always fully exercised the privilege to follow a sovereign and independent foreign policy. The task of parliamentarians is to help establish working contacts at various forums even in cases where the very "right to dialogue" is called into question.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union should maintain its unique fundamental character as a global forum for parliamentarians. And even if the "mountain" (the IPU) has never, for objective rea-

sons, "brought forth a mouse" in the form of agreements or conventions, its determined efforts to bring parliamentarians closer together and its respect for diversity and for the opinion of others can in themselves serve as a beacon guiding the present and future generations to peace and security.

The Psychological Factor in Foreign Policy as an Element of Strategic Forecasting

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NORMALLY, the military, political, economic and social factors are fairly obvious and, therefore, are treated as the key objects of situational analysis and political science assessments in foreign policy planning and forecasting. On the other hand, values, ideologies, political will, and motivations require special attention as the factors the vagueness of which is created by considerable cultural distinctions, specifics of outlooks and self-awareness of different people living in different states.

Mass psychology and political psychology are moving to the fore as the most required and promising trends of studies outside which it is impossible to grasp the regularities of the social-political processes

needed for modeling and forecasting.

In the process of foreign policy decision-making and interpretation of foreign policy decisions, the subjective side of political processes should be taken into account, including values present in the political culture of each and every society, sentiments and expectations of the electorate and the ruling circles.

ANY ATTEMPT to forecast foreign policy decisions of the political leaders of any state should take into account the entire range of the factors discussed above and responsible for the assessment and actions of the foreign policy actors: their assessments, motives and actions are, to a great extent, determined by psychological, that is, purely subjective reasons.

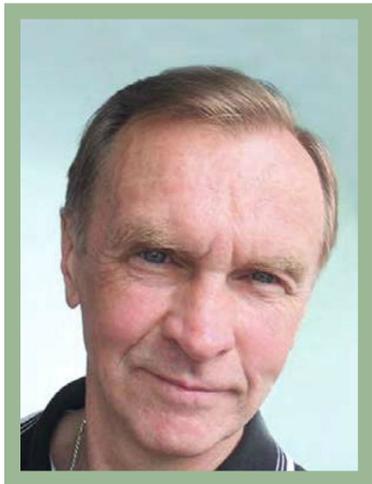
The psychological motives of any actions of the political counteragents should be studied, in order to carry out a cross-cultural analysis of the causes behind the actions of world actors.

Objective and careful studies of the subjective factors of formulations of goals by foreign policy actors will allow us to build up a relatively sustainable world order, acceptable for the majority of states. It should rest on common sense, balanced approach to the choice of the roads of development in the specific conditions of the mutually acceptable future rather than on the romantic ideas of building an "Islamic," "Christian," "Communist," "democratic" or any other "ideal" and "absolute" and the "only correct" world.

Centers of Power and Multipolarity: A View Through Time

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IN 1983, VLADIMIR LUKIN brought out a book that became a landmark not only for the Institute for the U.S. and Canadian Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, where he worked at that time, but for the entire Soviet scholarly community. It was per se remarkable that the book, entitled *Centers of Power: Concepts and Realities*, was published at a time when, let me remind you, the Soviet-American confrontation and the rivalry between the two world systems reached their peak and, let's face it, each system professed an ideology that essentially painted a black-and-white picture of the world and claimed to be superior to the other system. Few people could have thought in those days that that state of affairs could come to an end any time

soon. The United States was getting ready for a grueling struggle with the Soviets. Almost nobody in either country thought that any third party would ever come forward and throw down the gauntlet to the world's two superpowers. Each system was getting ready for its own historic victory and saw the rest of the world as so many pieces on the chessboard.

OF COURSE, there were no particular hopes anywhere in the world that those ideas would ever materialize. In the West, it began to be argued as far back as the late 1950s and early 1960s that global bipolarity was being diluted because of the then rift between Moscow and Beijing and the emergence of the Chinese factor in international relations. But, because of the archaicity of the Chinese economy, just a handful of people believed that that trend would ever gain any prominence.

The emergence of new centers of power is unquestionably good for Russia. It provides more choices for Russia's political course and wider opportunities for cooperation with different countries.

This was not what happened in practice, though. Politicians took power in quite many countries at that time who had their own principles and didn't share either American or Soviet values.

Today's international organizations fall into two functional categories. One of them are bodies that are clearly led by one nation, for example the U.S.-led NATO and Group of Seven (G7) or the Saudi-led Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC). The other category are multipolar organizations without any distinct leader. All of them are naturally set up to deal with a specific set of tasks. They only exist and develop for as long as these tasks remain on their agenda and are dissolved when the tasks have been carried out. It is debatable which category is more effective. Having a leader has advantages to it. Smaller countries would rally around it if it can give them economic assistance and help make them secure militarily.

Today it is not only the United States, China, and Russia that can found interregional organiza-

tions. Of course, the United States is more in a position to do so because of its financial, economic, and military power, extensive transportation infrastructure, and sophisticated communications system. But it is only Western allies of the United States that would share ideological goals to be set to such organizations while other members would be a burden on the Americans as they would fail to meet U.S. requirements.

Russia possesses much poorer economic resources than the United States or China but there is a powerful weapon in its foreign policy arsenal - historical memory. There are strong pro-Russian sentiments in many of the countries that maintained friendly relations with the former Soviet Union and received assistance from it. So Russia has far from used up its role as a consolidating center of power. It would hardly be fair to say today that the United States, China, and Russia are the only countries to have the qualities we have mentioned.

The National Identity Factor in Today's France

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THROUGHOUT SEVERAL DECADES, starting with the 1970s, political life in France was unfolding as the right-left opposition. Strong political alliances on both sides and the majority electoral system made second rounds of presidential and parliamentary elections inevitable. Dichotomy was spread to the country's entire population: all and every Frenchman referred himself/herself to one of the political flanks, the political bias being normally inherited from the older generations. We can even say that the right or left political preferences have become one of the

most important self-identification features of the citizens of the Fifth Republic.

Today, the right/left opposition is no longer obvious to the nation and, therefore, no longer structures the political life in the Fifth Republic. The first signs of the future serious changes appeared at the turn of the 1990s with the introduction of a novelty that made possible the so-called coexistence of the president and the prime minister who belong to opposing parties.

The biggest parties and their policies are responsible, to a great extent, for the structural changes in the country's political life. Today, French voters more and more frequently point out that there are no longer "right" and "left" policies in the Fifth Republic. Indeed, the left at the helm for the last four years have not abolished the law that raised the state pension age, have not raised the minimal wage (SMIC) and have so far showed no intention to liberalize the labor laws.

The migration issue has a long history in France while its migration policy was developing by stages connected, to a great extent, with the periods of the secular politics described above. For several centuries, France attracted and still attracts foreigners in big numbers.

Recently, a new stage of the French migration policies was moved to the center of discussions. Integration has been replaced with inclusion; this means that the newcomers change society by introducing new elements into the old norms of public life.

The attempts to adapt the non-French ethnic population to the French norms of life are best seen in the way the French educational system is being transformed, a sensitive subject directly connected with the mounting national and religious tension.

Protection of national identity is firmly associated in the minds of the French with the problem of immigration, which means that Paris should revise its migration policies. All political parties are convinced that illegal migration should be fought with; that the borders should be open only for the potentially useful for the Fifth Republic. There is no agreement on the fate of the migrants of the second and later generations who live in France.

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Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary



UNTIL THE EARLY 1960S, modern political Islam did not have much influence in the Arab world or in the Middle East. There was an ongoing conflict in the region between nationalists, who were supported by the Soviet Union, and conservative regimes, which were supported by the West. Over time, radical movements managed to build a political consensus to strengthen their influence. However, the gradual escalation of insoluble problems triggered the onset of the

destruction of political nationalism. In addition, radical public trends outwardly emulated European radicalism.

As a result, popular religious-political culture developed over time. Despite the colonial character of the policy of Western powers, Islam not only remained but was employed by adherents to the Islamic religion as a tool in the liberation struggle during the period of the domination of Western European states. The preservation of Islamic legal norms was a factor in Islamic religious influence. This phenomenon can also be related to the consolidation of traditionalist culture arising from religious consciousness.

The processes of the politicization of Islam are of an international character. At present, politicized Islamic religion has become an important component of the world order, and it will - to some extent or other - predetermine the development of humankind in the future. Islam's transformation into this kind of force is also facilitated by the fact that Iran, the countries of the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Algeria, and Libya are oil suppliers to the international market; Morocco, Western Sahara and Tunisia export phosphates, and countries of the region are a bridge linking Western Europe with Asia and Africa. Immigrants from Muslim countries have started moving to European countries. Furthermore, some Muslim states are a major tourist attraction.

It is noteworthy that the Koran pays special attention to war. It describes in detail how to act in combat and explains the importance of military discipline and the predestination of death.

Adherence to Islamic norms has both positive and negative aspects. There is a danger of suppressing the spirit of resistance to psychological violence, social evils, and economic oppression based on the recognition of the existing situation. There is a clear danger of collusion between politicians and clergy, governed by the pursuit of gain. In addition, there is a risk originating from the totalitarian principle of the clergy and characteristic of dogmatists who erect insurmountable barriers between people.

However, all recipes for building an Islamic state have failed or are about to fail. And that is hardly surprising, because it is impossible to adjust the Muslim community, which was created

in the seventh century, to modern-day conditions.

Both in the West and in Russia, Islamists' successes were regarded as a temporary phenomenon. Western countries hoped that the Arab countries are moving towards democracy, and Russia regarded their movement as an analog of color revolutions initiated by the West. Up to a point, that is indeed the case. However, it should not be forgotten that these movements will most likely remain at the same level or even strengthen over time, while Islamism will remain an actor at the national, regional and international levels for years, if not decades, to come.

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TODAY'S INTENSE CONFRONTATION between Russia and the West is causing increasing anxiety both among political experts and among ordinary people all over the world. Polemics between the two sides tend to be sharper than propaganda philippics of the Cold War era. 1

The euphoria of the 1990s over the "end of history" with the standoff between the two world systems being over and replaced by an ideology of "a new security space from Vladivostok to Lisbon" made political elites on both sides of the destroyed Iron Curtain think that the division of Europe into two parts was a thing of the past and that foundations were being laid for a "common European home," a continent without dividing lines and borders based on hostility.

Russia and the West no longer perceived each other as adversaries in a potential conflict. At the same time, the West no longer saw Russia as a serious geopolitical player with military, political, and other interests that might have run against Western principles and Western ideas of the post-Cold War world structure. Russia was in effect consigned to the modest role of a backyard, if territorially large, country that was to be tutored by the West on its foreign, defense, and economic policies and on all other vital matters.²

This role implied that Russia would silently put up with unfriendly moves that the West has been making for the past 15 to 20 years with unconvincing, not to say absurd, explanations. In this period, NATO has nearly doubled in size, coming right up to Russian borders; the United States has withdrawn from its Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with Russia and instead has been building a unilateral global missile defense with an infrastructure spreading to various, including European, countries, developing the prompt global strike project and setting up military bases; principal Western countries have continuously been enlarging their military budgets; and there have been persistent efforts to oust Russia from its historical spheres of influence.

Unilaterally assuming the role of world policeman, the United States and its most zealous satellites began to impose their own rules on various parts of the planet.

Our fears that this policy would have unpredictable and extremely dangerous consequences were ignored as figments of our imagination.

Many political scientists believe that the world is moving toward a new, comprehensive phase of confrontation that, in some respects such as internal dynamics, would be similar to some extremely dangerous aspects of the Cold War.

Thereby the West departs from objective principles and methods of analysis that are generally accepted in the scholarly world, and not only there either. It deliberately ignores causalities and takes

events out of their political and historical context. Fair responses from Russia supported by conclusive evidence are branded as "Kremlin propaganda," which the West tries to counteract by what, at the end of the day, is gagging.

AS FOR practical ways of achieving military stability in Europe, this work might start today with negotiating step-by-step confidence-building and transparency measures.

THE UNITED STATES, Western Europe, and NATO need a new eastern policy no less than Russia needs to normalize its relations with the West. Detente 2.0 should be based on mutual determination to try to defuse current high tensions, which essentially are an unnatural state of international relations in the 21st century.

Russia and Europe: Current Issues in Modern International Journalism

(International Conference)



Alexey Fedotov, *Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the Slovak Republic*: AS THE AMBASSADOR of the Russian Federation, I'm very pleased that Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak Republic, has been chosen as the venue for the Fifth International Conference. I would like to thank Mr. Oganessian, editor-in-chief of the leading Russian political journal, for making this choice possible.

This conference is an excellent opportunity to meet remarkable people - journalists, political scientists, scholars, lecturers, and diplomats. And we are especially grateful to Ms. Lenka Eremiasova, editor-in-chief of Extra Plus, a journal that is well known in Slovakia for its objectivity and that is published in increasing numbers of copies due to its high-standard journalism. I think that this conference should become an informal and open forum for discussions on the role of media in current relations between Russia and the European Union.



Ján Čarnogurský, *Chairman of the Slovak-Russian Association, Bratislava*: I AM A VICTIM of media pressure on Russia. Ninety-five percent of the information of various kinds about what happens in the world that a citizen of the Slovak Republic receives in one day comes from media in which firms that are based abroad hold stakes or from state media - radio and television - that receive information from foreign agencies under agreements.

This explains why there is no positive information about Russia in official media. Today, information from Russia has become a problem for the West, and all available modern means of propaganda are employed in fighting it. In the Czech Republic, for example, a special group has been set up for the purpose.



Werner Fasslabend, *Honorary president of the Political Academy of the Austrian People's Party, president of the Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy, and president of the Austrian-Slovak Society, Austria*: We need a very intensive dialogue and very intensive discussions. I am personally always a straightforward speaker because I assume that friends should state their thoughts frankly and should try to understand the other side. That is absolutely necessary.

Pavol Dinka, *Editor-in-Chief of Literarny tyždenník (Literary Weekly), deputy chairman of the Slovak Writers Association*: There is a great deal of manipulation in our media. Unfortunately, one-sided criticism is a feature of mainstream media. What they say is unquestionable and unambiguous truth, any other views are unacceptable, extremist, chauvinistic or nationalistic. Labels of this kind can cover up one's own blindness and scare others.

New methods of manipulation include allegations of so-called pro-Russian propaganda. Unfortunately, the state is involved in this. Recently, the Interior Ministry said that the gradual increase in the scale of public support for the Russian geopolitical worldview can be considered a threat to national security.

On the other hand, we must not remain silent about aggressive American propaganda, which is conducted through both nongovernmental and governmental organizations.



Andrei Richter, *Senior adviser to the representative on freedom of the media of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Austria*: The common foundations of all international documents on human rights amount to the principle that no human right can be used to violate or annul any right that is recognized at international level or to limit it to a greater extent than is allowed by international agreements. For this reason, bans on the propaganda of war and on the advocacy of racial or religious

violence or hatred should be interpreted in the following way: freedom of expression does not in principle extend to things of this kind. If you believe that an aggressive war should be started, if you assume that there is no other option than unleashing a war, you are becoming antihuman, in other words, you are embarking upon a path of negation of the very foundations of human society. And this means that you should not be free to express opinions of this kind.



Vedat Sevincer, *Managing editor of the magazine The Nordic Page, Norway*: In a country where politicians, businesspeople and some ordinary individuals take special interest in the media, consumers of information - ordinary citizens - should be better informed about the character of the activities of the media. One can become an intelligent and observant reader via education programs, via school education in "media literacy." Such a mechanism would result in the media being more balanced.

Sekerinka Ivanovska, *Professor, International Slavic Institute Gavrila Romanovich Derzhavin, Macedonia*: I WOULD LIKE to start by citing the code of journalist conduct, which says that freedom of the press is a unique right and that it is the right and duty of journalists to try to obstruct censorship and the distortion of truth. However, today a journalist's main criterion for choosing the subject for a report is not its information value but its political significance. The media have become a kind of transmission link, something that has led them to professional and moral decay over the past few decades. Many journalists have made their job a means of manipulation. This brings us to the

conclusion that freedom of the press practically does not exist because the press is financed with specific objectives.

We mustn't forget that journalists are and will be under pressure - political, financial or legal. The only weapon that remains available to journalists in fighting for the freedom of expression is to attract public attention, more than that, global public attention. The state demonstrates its power through public opinion. The public expects truth, objectivity and ethics, which are the main criteria for either respect or contempt for journalism.

Alexander Bikantov, *Deputy Director, Information and Press Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation*: We have entered the age of information wars waged by individual countries or groups of countries against each other. Today, the world is dominated by the Western, mainly Anglo-Saxon, media that claim the monopoly on the truth.

Regrettably, in the last two years, after the reunification of Crimea with Russia, confrontation between our country and the West in the information sphere has become even more vehement. In politics, economy and culture cooperation is still alive and contacts are developing despite the sanctions and other restrictive measures. This cannot be said about information: the Western public has been tuned up to a defamatory image of Russia.

Anti-Russian propaganda war is waged in all spheres. The rule that demands that information should be based on specific facts is widely ignored.



Pyotr Fedorov, *Director, Directorate of International Relations, All Russia State Television and Broadcasting Company (VGTRK)*: For those who cannot read English there are two aggregators of mass media publications (American and European) on the Internet. It is enough to search for inosmi or inopressa in any browser to get access to Russian translations of articles irrespective of their criticism of the Kremlin and Moscow or even derogatory attitude to Putin. These sources are absolutely open; I

think that this openness is unrivalled anywhere in the world. Our citizens can obtain the fullest possible picture of the world and of the journalist palette.

Why have we done this? Because in the past we limited access to alternative information, while the Voice of America and BBC were popular among our people. Today, I know nobody who seeks information from these sources.

I am responsible for the cooperation between the VGTRK and EuroNews where I worked for eight years. At that time, I unsuccessfully tried to explain to them that they misinterpreted the events and Russia's position on international issues. Today, I say to them in so many words that they have invented virtual Russia, are waging a virtual war with it and score virtual victories. This has nothing to do with us.



Armen Oganesyian, *Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs*: IT WOULD BE PRIMITIVE to say that there is a single center that coordinates anti-Russian propaganda, even though in the Cold War period there were centers that provided stereotypes. There are such centers today, and there are experts who work for them. Here people talked of censorship.

As for Ukraine and Crimea, each and every one are free to interpret them as they see it fit. But journalists are not

free to express their opinions, yet the way the media spoke about these complicated issues can be described as nothing but obviously biased. The guilt here should be evenly spread between politicians and the journalists who listen to them.

Mr. Fyodorov here has said that in Russia there exist many channels and many different opinions. Indeed, Echo of Moscow and Serebryany Dozhd are the most outspoken critics of the official foreign policy line in relation to the West. There is no uniformity; colors are different and each and every one is free to choose a channel or an information niche to his/her liking. Is there anything similar in Europe? There is no such variety in Europe especially when it comes to Russia.

In conclusion I want to thank all participants, let us applaud to each other. Now I pass the word to our esteemed partner and sponsor.

Lenka Eremiášová, *editor-in-chief of Extra Plus*: MUCH HAS BEEN SAID here by professionals. I can agree practically with everything that have been said here and sign under 90% of the statements. I want to thank my partners for the chance to work with them and for cooperation that will continue in future. Our doors are open for you. I want to thank all speakers for their excellent and highly informative contributions and new and highly interesting facts. I would like to think that after leaving this building and this city we will still hope that the media will finally offer objective and truthful information, that they will concentrate at their own tasks and leave politics to politicians.

Author: I. Lyakin-Frolov

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Tajikistan



IN THE SPRING OF 2017, we will celebrate the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan. The above period is characterized by a lot of important developments in the relations between the two countries, and a solid groundwork has also been laid for a progressive development of multifaceted bilateral interaction in the future. In this context, I would like to share with the readers my vision of what have been achieved in the past 25 years, as well as of the future prospects for the

Russian-Tajik relations.

To begin with, I would like to emphasize that the relations between our two peoples were established long before the aforementioned historical date: Russia and Tajikistan have a centuries-old tradition of the most intense interaction and time-tested relations of enduring friendship.

Being Tajikistan's sincere friend, Russia has always been rendering the republic its full-fledged support, including in times of trial. Owing largely to the efforts of the Russian Federation, Tajikistan was able to stop a violent fratricidal war which had been plaguing the country in 1992-1997, thereby creating the prerequisites for the establishment of sustainable peace and national accord. Tajik people will remember Russian military personnel and border guards, who laid down their lives for the sake of peace and security in the country.

Russia's leading positions in military and military-technical cooperation with Tajikistan are largely explained by the two countries' traditional ties, the prevalence of Russian - and Soviet-made weapons and military equipment in the Tajik army, and manning of the command staff of Tajikistan's Armed Forces with cadres educated and trained in military educational establishments of the Russian Federation. The needs of Tajikistan's army in military goods are satisfied within the framework of coordinated plans to modernize Tajikistan's Armed Forces with the help of Russia.

Cooperation in the immigration field is another priority issue in Russian-Tajik relations, which is largely explained by the fact that a significant number of Tajik citizens go to Russia to earn their living. In some years the moneys sent home by labor migrants exceeded \$4 billion, which is equal to almost a half of Tajikistan's GDP. Against the background of the emergent crisis tendencies, the volume of money transfers from the Russian Federation went down, although the available data indicate that the overall number of Tajik labor migrants working in Russia, has not decreased significantly.

Summing up the above, we should emphasize that, in the 25 years of Tajikistan's independent existence the ties between our two countries have not grown weak; rather, they have continued to strengthen and develop in every area. We are convinced that our two fraternal peoples are sincerely interested in promoting them.

Mongolia and Russia: The 95th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations

Author: Banzragch Delgermaa

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Mongolia to the Russian Federation



MONGOLIA AND RUSSIA have long enjoyed traditionally friendly relations. Russia was the first state to officially recognize the independence of our country and establish diplomatic relations with Mongolia. Being close neighbors, we shared both hardships in the years of trials and successes during peacetime. It is those heartwarming traditions based on the sincere feelings of friendship and mutual attraction prevailing among the peoples of Mongolia and Russia that determine the development of our

relations.

At present, Mongolian-Russian relations have been actively developing in all areas. Reciprocal visits are regularly held at the summit and high levels.

Heads of our states regularly meet on the sidelines of various international events. Mongolia and Russia take a similar or close stance on many major international issues. We closely interact in international organizations, primarily in the United Nations, and various regional structures - the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), SCO and others.

An annual summit meeting between the leaders of Mongolia, Russia, and the Chinese People's Republic initiated by the President of Mongolia is yet another tool contributing to the development of trade and economic cooperation between our two countries.

We are sincerely grateful to the Russian side, particularly President Vladimir Putin, for the assistance in organizing the work of the above center in Ulaanbaatar. The economic corridor program is essentially aimed at broadening the three countries' economic cooperation by realizing joint projects to develop infrastructure, ease the trans-border trafficking and increase the trade turnover.

Mongolia and Russia have been actively developing their cooperation in the field of environmental protection. A Combined Mongolian-Russian Commission on Environmental Protection and a Working Group on Protecting Trans-Border Forests from Fires have been operating on a regular basis. Our two countries have been successfully developing cooperation in the field of culture, education, academic research, emergency situations, as well as in the military and humanitarian spheres. A number of Mongolian students admitted to Russian higher educational institutions in accordance with the government program has been growing every year.

By way of a conclusion, I would like to once again emphasize the importance of our relations with our close neighbor Russia for

Mongolia's social and economic development. I am convinced that our longtime relations of friendship with Russia will continue to actively develop in the spirit of strategic partnership.

Positive Dynamics of Russia's Relations With Spain

Author: Yury Korchagin

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the Kingdom of Spain



This interview was conducted by International Affairs' commentator Alexander Moiseyev.

Local public opinion polls show that Spaniards cite unemployment, corruption, and the economic situation among the country's main problems. The statements that are made by the country's leadership and political party leaders suggest that there is an understanding about the need to deal with these problems. And quite

a bit has already been done. So my forecast for the prospects of the country's development is optimistic.

The Bilateral Tourism Year covers 2016 and 2017. Russia and Spain are expecting positive results from it. This is a wonderful opportunity for us to demonstrate to the Spanish people Russia's unique tourism potential, its beauties, and investment opportunities. Thus we hope to increase the flow of tourists from Spain and to attract its entrepreneurs to our country. The first results are convincing: The number of visas issued to Spanish people since the beginning of the year has increased by 25% year on year.

By the way, recently, Russia, guided by the principle of reciprocity, took measures to facilitate the visa regime for Spanish citizens who may now receive multiple visas for terms of up to six months.

I would like to point out that in addition to its economic, educational, recreational, cultural, and other components, tourism has also another: a linguistic component. The more Russians come to Spain, the more Spanish people want to study the Russian language. After all, new jobs are being created in the services sector and those fluent in Russian will have a competitive advantage.

Our relations maintain positive dynamics, as they have always been built on consideration for each other's interests and mutual respect.

I am convinced that the business community certainly does not want its interests to become hostage to the political situation of the moment. Therefore, entrepreneurs are considering ways of addressing business cooperation problems, among other things by putting forward successful, internationally recognized entrepreneurs as economic interaction coordination leaders.

The current state of trade and economic relations is a good illustration of what the illegitimate sanctions imposed by the EU on Russia have led to.

Cultural exchanges are an important element of our relations. A significant contribution is made by the Russian Center of Science and Culture led by a representative of Rossotrudnichestvo [Federal Agency for the Commonwealth of Independent States, Compatriots Living Abroad and

International Humanitarian Cooperation] and by the Cervantes Institute, whose mission in Russia, by the way, the Spanish people consider to be the most effective. Our peoples' great interest in each other's culture is an axiom. Suffice it to mention the recollections of prominent Russians and Spaniards.

The events that are conducted by our compatriots both in the capital and in autonomous communities enrich the cultural scene. The embassy plays a substantial role in developing the cultural agenda.

Further Development of Chinese-Russian Relations for the Benefit of Both Countries

Author: Li Hui

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Russian Federation



CHINESE-RUSSIAN FRIENDSHIP is deeply rooted in historical realities. The People's Republic of China was proclaimed on October 1, 1949. On the next day, the PRC and the USSR established diplomatic relations, and the Soviet Union became the first country to officially recognize new China. During those years, Chinese-Soviet, and subsequently Chinese-Russian relations went through many trials and stood the test of time. Being stable, robust, and ma-

ture, they have become a model of intergovernmental relations in the modern world. Chinese-Russian relations have been currently going through the most favorable period in their history, maintaining their high level and thus benefitting the peoples of both countries.

China and Russia have been actively looking for areas of common interest to promote cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit and win-win solutions. Our two countries have been continuously stepping up their bilateral trade and economic cooperation, upgrading the quality and raising the level of their interaction. In the new century, the parties already signed a number of cooperation instruments both between the governments and individual enterprises relating to the trade and economic activities, energy sources, financial investment, building of infrastructural facilities, agriculture, humanitarian exchanges, education, cooperation at the grass-roots level, ecology and environmental protection, defense, law-enforcement activities, security, and various other fields.

In the past few years, humanitarian exchanges between China and Russia have been developing at an accelerating pace.

China and Russia are determined to adhere to their chosen course of developing friendly relations, regardless of what changes may take place in the world or what difficulties or impediments may emerge on the way.

Russia and China are the biggest neighbor states, great world powers, permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, and countries with the dynamically developing economies. They also have many areas of common interest, many opportunities for mutually advantageous partnership, favorable conditions, and great potential for promoting bilateral relations and encouraging business cooperation.

Facing a complicated and volatile international environment, as well as a grave economic situation worldwide, the two parties should continuously strengthen their strategic interaction within the framework of the United Nations, the G20, SCO, and BRICS, coordinate their activities designed to solve issues in the Asia-Pacific Region, the Korean Peninsula, the Middle East, resolutely ad-

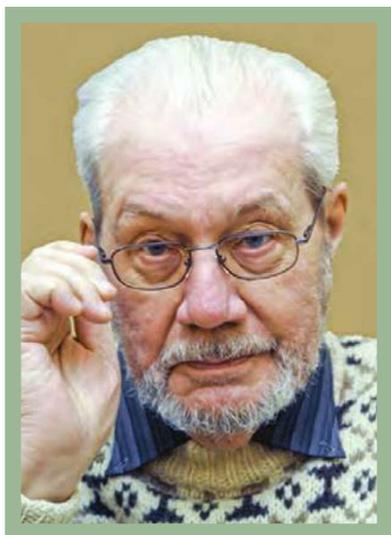
vocate the strategic security and national interests of the two countries, defend the purposes and principles enshrined in the U.N. Charter, as well as the generally accepted fundamental standards of international relations, contribute to the general welfare, stability, and maintain peace around the world.

Summarizing all the above, we should underline that China and Russia are determined to adhere to their chosen course of developing friendly relations, regardless of what changes may take place in the world or what difficulties or impediments may emerge on the way. Chinese-Russian friendship is rock-solid and will remain forever, as well as the goals of cooperation based on the principles of mutual benefit and mutual development. We are convinced that a stable, normal development of relations between China and Russia will inevitably promote the well-being of the peoples of our two countries.

The Storm Warning that Was Ignored: How NATO's Eastward March Got Its Start

Author: I. Maksimych

Chief research associate, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Science (Political Science)



SOME TWENTY-FIVE YEARS ago, those who in the old dispute about the role of the individual in history argued that success of political initiatives depended on the ability of state leaders to look into the future acquired another argument.

The results achieved by the initiators of perestroika are amazingly meager: by the final count, they achieved nothing but the collapsed state budget, latent and, later open, opposition at all levels of power, ignominious retreat from all foreign policy positions, loss of allies, disintegration of the great power, the "wild" 1990s, dictatorship of oligarchs, the wars in Chechnya and practically complete withdrawal from the world scene of the Soviet Union and, later, Russia.

The poisonous echo of these spontaneous decisions can be still heard. In the philosophical context, Mikhail Gorbachev can be described as one of the most tragic figures in our country's recent political history.

The foremen of perestroika failed because of miscalculations regarding the central trends. In foreign and security politics, they failed to prevent the eastward expansion of NATO. Even if written guarantees do not guarantee much, the international legal taboo on NATO phantasmagoria put on paper would have minimized the losses caused by the Soviet Union's strategic retreat.

The discussion in the Soviet corridors of power of how to respond to the events unfolding in the European zone near the Soviet Union was going on against the background of the rising political tension in the socialist countries of Europe, in the GDR in the first place, the pillar of the security system at the Soviet western borders.

The Soviet conciliatory position let Americans carry the day. Baker had perfectly played the role of a good uncle who promised a lot yet guaranteed nothing.

In his April letter to François Mitterrand, President Bush revealed part of the real strategic aims of his country in Europe. He pointed out that united Germany and its territory should become a fully-fledged NATO member; the troops of the allies would remain in united Germany when the Soviet troops had been pulled out; very much as before, NATO would possess nuclear and conventional weapons in the European region.

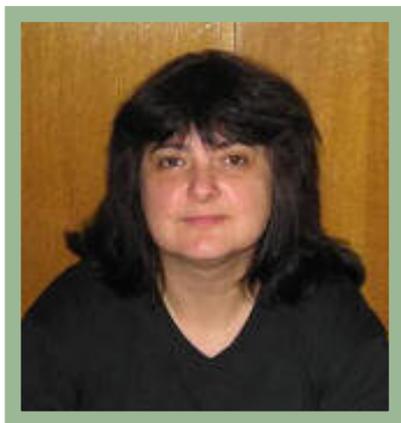
THE CONFLICT between Russia and the West is fed by the Russophobic policy of the United States, the country that refuses to tolerate those who refuse to obey the orders of the trans-Atlantic master of the world. When Washington becomes fully convinced that Russians remain indifferent to its changing moods and are strong enough to parry its blows, the West will recognize

the de facto equality of Russia. It is useless and counterproductive to betray one's own security for the sake of global fantasies of the universal octopus. We have learned the lessons of history for which we paid dearly. The future of Russia and mankind depends on the consistency with which we will bear in mind these lessons in everything we are doing on the international arena.

Radio Orpheus, Russia's First Classical Music Broadcaster, Turns 25

Author: E. Pyadysheva

Assistant Professor, Executive Secretary of International Affairs, Candidate of Science (History)



DECEMBER 1991 is one of the most controversial periods in our country's recent history. Some people consider it a tragic time - the vast Soviet Union, a great power and our great home, ceased to exist. For others, it was the start of a new, free, democratic life with new opportunities and prospects.

At that time, a quarter of a century ago, the State Committee for Television and Radio (Gosteleradio) decided to reform the huge system it presided over by splitting it into independent television and radio channels. That was how the classical music service was

transformed into what became our country's only specialist radio station for classical music, Radio Orpheus. The story of the station's name reflected the spirit of those times. Its author still works for the radio. From two names put before Gosteleradio's top brass - Garmoniya (Harmony) and Orpheus (Orpheus), - they chose the latter, gender being the stated reason (garmoniya is a feminine noun in Russian).

Due to its professionally selected repertoires (or playlists in radio speak), Radio Orpheus has a large spectrum of listeners, whose preferences range from Wagner and Mozart to Duke Ellington and Alexey Kozlov.

One reason for Radio Orpheus's top class repertoires is that it chooses from Russia's best orchestras, ensembles, and choirs overseen by the Russian State TV and Radio Music Center.

Radio Orpheus also represents Russia in UNESCO. It takes part in juries of the International Rostrum of Composers, an international competition under the aegis of UNESCO.

Radio Orpheus is a dynamically developing station, which uses cutting-edge technology. Very soon, it will post videos of all its programs online. It stores recordings of concerts and performances by musicians of the Russian State TV and Radio Music Center on its website, <http://www.muzcentrum.ru> By the way, you would definitely enjoy watching videos of jubilee concerts that took place at the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions in Moscow early in December.

One reason for Radio Orpheus's top class repertoires is that chooses from Russia's best orchestras, ensembles, and choirs.

It has also transpired that there is no library like that anywhere in the world. Nor does anyone else have unique multimedia projects such as Reviving the Legacy of Russian Composers, which owes its emergence to research and educational work by the management of the station and the staff of its library.

Radio is, of course, an information and entertainment genre.

But Radio Orpheus is also an educational broadcaster. Its listeners will develop a sense of pride

in the great Russian art of music performance of the past and present.

Speakers at the jubilee concert reminisced how they had found out about Radio Orpheus. That isn't difficult to do, actually. You can plunge into the charming sound of classical music by switching on your radio in the morning and tuning it to 99.2 MHz. What a great start it will be to your day!

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