

# International Affairs: Summary №5, 2014



## "I Hope Pragmatism Will Eventually Prevail..."

*Author: Vladimir Putin*

*President of the Russian Federation*



COLLEAGUES, FRIENDS,

Meetings with the diplomatic corps have become a tradition. We need this direct conversation to make an overall assessment of the situation in the world, to set current and long-term foreign policy objectives and on that basis to more effectively coordinate the work of our missions abroad.

I would like to begin by saying that the Foreign Ministry and our embassies are under a lot of pressure; we see this, we are aware of this, but this pressure will not be reduced. It will only increase, just as the requirement to show efficiency, precision and flexibility in our actions to ensure Russia's national interests.

You know how dynamic and unpredictable international developments may sometimes be. They seem to be pressed together and unfortunately are not all of a positive nature. The potential for conflict is growing in the world, old contradictions are growing ever more acute and new ones are being provoked.

We need to understand clearly that the events provoked in Ukraine are the concentrated outcome of the notorious deterrence policy. As you may know, its roots go deep into history and it is clear that unfortunately, this policy did not end with the end of the Cold War.



I would like to make it clear to all: our country will continue to actively defend the rights of Russians, our compatriots abroad, using the entire range of available means - from political and economic to operations under international humanitarian law and the right of self-defense.

I would like to stress that what happened in Ukraine was the climax of the negative tendencies in international affairs that had been building up for years. We have long been warning about this, and unfortunately, our predictions came true.

Nevertheless, I hope pragmatism will eventually prevail. We need to get rid of ambitions, of attempts to establish a "world barracks" and arrange everybody by rank, or to impose single rules of behavior and life, and to finally begin building relations based on equality, mutual respect and concern for mutual interests. It is time we admit each other's right to be different, the right of every country to live its own life rather than to be told what to do by someone else.

Colleagues, in its foreign policy Russia has been consistently proceeding from the notion that solutions to global and regional conflicts should be sought not through confrontation, but through cooperation and compromise. We advocate the supremacy of international law while supporting the UN's leading role.

International law should be mandatory for all and should not be applied selectively to serve the interests of individual select countries or groups of states, and most importantly, it should be interpreted consistently. It is impossible to interpret it in one way today, and in a different way tomorrow to match the political goals of the day.

All of us in Europe need a sort of safety net to make sure that Iraqi, Libyan or Syrian - and unfortunately, I have to say also Ukrainian - precedents do not become contagious.

We also need to continue strengthening the eastern vector of our diplomacy, to more intensively use the impressive potential of the Asia-Pacific region in the interests of the further development of our country, primarily, of course, of Siberia and the Far East. We should continue to direct Russia's policy in Asia and the Pacific at maintaining the security of our eastern borders and at supporting peace and stability in the region.

I also ask the Government to speed up the decision on providing additional guarantees for personnel from other agencies and administrative and technical personnel working at Russian missions abroad, especially in situations where there are terrorist threats.

The Foreign Ministry has raised the question of giving diplomatic service the official legal status as a special type of civil service in Russia. We will examine this proposal.

This concludes my opening remarks.

I thank the members of the media for the attention they have given our work.

### Russia and the World

*Diplomats were interviewed by International Affairs' commentator Sergey Filatov.*



**Pogos Akopov**, president of the Association of Russian Diplomats, Distinguished Worker of the Diplomatic Service, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary: I was lucky enough to participate in all the conferences, starting from the first one. It is extremely important for ambassadors, permanent representatives of our country abroad to hear his assessment of the situation in the world.

Every participant finds here something important for himself, something related not only to his particular region but also to the events unfolding in the world; our leadership's foreign policy line was also highlighted. At this conference, the president has clearly defined our foreign policy priority - China.

There is another point that I would like to make. This conference is of special importance for every ambassador, for every representative. This event offers a unique opportunity to our colleagues for communication, for the sharing of opinions and views of events, as well as on a personal, purely human level.

### Russian-Chinese Relations: A Success Story



**Andrei Denisov**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Chinese People's Republic: The conference has changed; it has become longer. So there is no need to compress it, abridging it, cutting off possibilities for both broad and narrow discussions that are simply necessary, considering that this is a unique forum where ambassadors and permanent representatives from all over the world get together.

At any rate, as a representative of an embassy in a big country with a developed and diversified complex of relations with Russia, I am completely satisfied with the answers I have received to all of my questions, and a briefing on associated and related subjects, which, generally speaking, we diplomats need very much.

Against the backdrop of what is going on in the world, Russian-Chinese relations are in fact an example of healthy, robust, dynamic, and stable development unencumbered by any pitfalls or any hidden agenda. If there are success stories in our diplomacy today, one of them is the history of the development of Russian-Chinese relations.

That came through in an especially graphic way just recently, after May 20, when V.V. Putin visited China, after the new agreements with President Xi Jinping and other Chinese leaders.

On the whole, there is no question of whether that kind of policy has a future or has no future. It is futile. Because both China and Russia are countries that can hardly be influenced in any way by such political methods.

In short, the present meeting has proved to be extremely important, including from the standpoint of its timeliness. We were physically aware of the need to "synchronize our watches." We have succeeded in that.

## The UN Security Council



**Vitaly Churkin**, Permanent Representative to the UN: As a general rule, the Security Council meets twice a day, and this is a very intensive work. Concrete results are not always achieved. But in June, when we held the presidency at the Security Council, indeed an attempt was made to review all crisis points in the world.

During these eight years, the intensity of the Security Council's work has increased considerably. Some technical innovations have appeared. Say, six years ago, video conferencing began to be used. That is to say, today a person does not need to be physically present at a session in order to make a statement. Here is an example. During our presidency, the secretary general's special representative in Afghanistan was unable to come to New York. So he simply spoke in a video conference regime. Such things simplify the work and at the same time make it more intensive.

It seems to me that we, especially the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, have managed to ensure that the Security Council itself works more effectively, so that its consultative sessions become more businesslike.

Do clashes happen very often? Yes, quite often. Of course, on different positions. There are issues, say, on Syria, on chemical weapons. Every month we heard reports on what was going on in respect to the destruction of chemical weapons.

So this is the kind of work that is going on, where all contradictions and crises that exist in the world are boiling, as it were, in the UN Security Council's "cauldron", and sometimes it becomes possible to make something constructive and positive out of that. And sometimes, unfortunately, not.

## Russia, the EU, NATO



**Alexander Grushko**, Permanent Representative to NATO: I believe that every career diplomat looks forward to such important events, which take place once every two years. First of all, it is a unique opportunity to receive guidelines from the president, hear representatives and heads of other agencies, and get a better understanding of our political interests at a concrete historical stretch. Of course, it is a diplomatic club, a unique opportunity to meet with colleagues, share opinions and discuss pressing issues.

Today, international relations are going through a very important stage. I believe that we have entered a new phase of confrontation. Judging by the Brussels platform, elements of resistance to Russia's growing role were visible everywhere.



## Japan



**Evgeny Afanasiev**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Japan: Our conference is a major event for all of us ambassadors because we are meeting with the head of state who determines Russia's foreign policy. His remarks on the most pressing issues were extremely interesting, frank. So it is very important for us to "synchronize our clocks" with the president. In addition, we naturally communicate with our colleagues in the framework of sections. Say, those who work in the Asia-Pacific region held a separate meeting to discuss different regional problems.

Concerning our relations with Japan, as a member of the G-7, it has joined all the G-7's statements condemning Russia. However, I believe that on a practical level the Japanese take a more restrained position, and this is good.

It is quite obvious that during the period under consideration, our Western partners have failed to fulfill the task of isolating Russia in the Middle East region.

## The Middle East



**Oleg Ozerov**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: First of all, I would like to say that the meeting was held at a very crucial time. In international relations, we are seeing a series of crises, both in the Middle East and along our country's borders.

It seems that the conference has fulfilled the set tasks. An in-depth analysis of the international situation has been made. No doubt, the president's brilliant statement, as well as the priorities that he has identified, including the need to search for diplomatic solutions and ways to de-escalate the situation, has provided ample food for thought.

Russia pursues a balanced policy, does not seek to aggravate the situation but to create favorable conditions both for its own development and for the development of those countries that surround us. As far as the Middle East region is concerned, I believe that we have approached this event, on the one hand, with very serious problems in the region. I mean, above all, Syria, where an internal conflict is ongoing, and Iraq, where the situation is very highly charged, and what is the most dangerous thing, a terrorist caliphate with its own resources, army and foreign policy goals has for the first time appeared on the territory of Arab countries. That is of course a qualitatively new and very dangerous course of events.

## Korea



**Konstantin Vnukov**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Korea: The importance of the Republic of Korea for Russia is evident from the fact that in the past four years there have been three visits by the Russian president and six summits, including "meetings on the sidelines" with two presidents of the Republic of Korea: former President, Lee Myung-bak and the current president, Park Geun-hye.

The Republic of Korea also has become the first country in the Asia-Pacific region with which we established a visa-free travel regime on January 1 of this year. I do not mean purely "tourist"

countries that have a facilitated border crossing, a tourist regime. Here, everything is quite serious. What we have here is the abolition of visa requirements between countries. Moreover, with a country that is a G-20 member.

Besides, as the results of V.V. Putin's November visit and his top-level talks showed, there is a broad scope for interaction. This includes interaction on such serious strategic matters as V.V. Putin's Euro-Atlantic idea - cooperation from the Atlantic to the Pacific, as well as President Park Geun-hye's Eurasian Initiative, which also proceeds from the premise that we should unite rather than disunite. We will receive a very big synergetic effect from this, in particular if we integrate our railways.

## Morocco



**Valery Vorobiev**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Morocco: As far as our region is concerned, the Middle East and North Africa is a region that has always been and will probably always be a target, object and subject of our diplomacy.

Today, I have to deal not only with these matters but also with the relations that are evolving in the Sahara-Sahel zone. It is a very important, highly promising area that has huge mineral deposits. And of course it is not an accident that a terrorist base is located there. Not al-Qaeda, as they say in Arabic, but precisely

a "base" in the original sense of the word. It is a base of drug trafficking, a base of illegal migration and Morocco plays a very active role in this region. It was not an accident that in May the king of Morocco made an almost month-long tour of the subregion.

In 2002, the king of Morocco visited Moscow; a declaration of strategic partnership was signed, but, unfortunately, it has not been fleshed out with concrete activities. Now the Moroccans are proposing to put substance behind it, including in the economic sphere, trade, and what they describe as the sphere of strategic business: oil, natural gas and the military sphere. In other words, the Moroccans want to move to a new level of relations.

There have never been any problems between our states. As is known, friendship is measured by centuries. We all know that first contacts took place way back under Mohammed III and Catherine II.

The king has deep respect for our president, which he often demonstrates.

## The Baltic States



**Alexander Veshnyakov**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Latvia: The situation in the Baltic region is far from simple. The Baltic States are highly susceptible to strong influence from overseas, and in unconventional situations they always clearly adhere to the line followed by our partner across the ocean. Importantly, I think that sometimes they even begin to understand that this is not always in their best interests. Why am I saying this? Because representatives of the business community who work there, as well as

politicians, realize that cooperation with such a great neighbor as Russia is a very profitable business. At present, economic sanctions against us are being discussed. Those who are working in areas linked to Russia understand very well that these sanctions will most of all affect the little country that to a very large degree depends on trade cooperation with Russia.

So I hope that common sense among those who are making decisions on sanctions will ultimately prevail. This is, above all, the European Union. The EU's new leadership, which is now coming to power following the recent elections to the European Parliament, may possibly have more pragmatism, realism and independence in formulating positions on crisis situations. As for the Republic of Latvia, I suppose it, too, will not always be "putting the cart before the horse."

## The Arab East



**Boris Bolotin**, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Our relations with Jordan are developing quite successfully. On the whole - I am saying this quite objectively, because I have spent all recent years in the Middle Eastern region - Russia's role and standing have grown there. This has happened due to our country's stance on the Syrian crisis. There have been resounding anti-Russian campaigns in Arab media, and they are continuing to date. How many incantations there have been to the effect that "Russia is losing the Arab world" and that it "is losing its traditional

friends"! All of that turned out to be empty speculation: I can only say once again that respect for Russia is growing.

The Ukrainian crisis, too, has strengthened Russia's independent, important role on the international arena. And Arabs - in their majority - have even greater respect for Russia as a result.

Needless to say, the region is going through a very difficult, complicated period. It would be right to say that geopolitical shifts are happening, especially in Iraq. The situation that we are seeing today is very dangerous. After all, the integrity both of Iraq and of some other states in the region is now in jeopardy. So there is a need for coordinated international efforts, a need for even closer contacts with Arab countries in order to stop this course of events and turn away from the military into the political field, including both in Syria and in Iraq.



# Only National Interest Can Be the Driving Force of Foreign Policy

*Author: S. Ryabkov*

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A unique experience, the knowledge of the specifics and, unfortunately, the accumulated considerable resource of investigations by experts of the tragic situations that have occurred with passenger planes in all the years of the existence of civil aviation make it possible to work in a competent and focused manner, and not in a politicized way. Incidentally, that is why Russia had insisted on the inclusion of relevant provisions in Security Council resolution 2166, which created the legal basis for this work.

The core of the problem is the unwillingness of Poroshenko and the Kiev government to ensure a ceasefire and, most important, to start a constructive dialogue with the militia and leadership of Donetsk and Lugansk. For this reason, much of what needs doing, and without which there can be no restoration of calm around this situation, does not occur. We do not find adequate response either from Kiev or from the capitals that push the current Kiev authorities towards continuing the confrontation, towards continuing the so-called anti-terrorist operation.

Whatever we do is in our own carefully considered interest, and that is as it should be, because only national interest can be the driving force of foreign policy.

This is a great tragedy for southeastern Ukraine and indeed for the entire Ukraine; it is one of the most painful episodes in the recent history of the region. We understand the situation in all of its nuances. It is necessary for the Kiev authorities to revise their approach cardinally.

The gap between word and deed has been glaring. Nothing is more alarming in our current relations with the U.S. than the disparity between American assurances of help in restoring normality and American practical, broadening and acquiring new forms support for Kiev, which, of course, sees this support as an indulgence to go on with its dead-end course, as a kind of nod to crack down on the protest in southeastern Ukraine. Of course, those assurances matter, we do not discard them, but the U.S. assurances must go hand in glove with specific constructive steps. So far, we see nothing of this; rather something opposite is happening.

We currently face an across-the-board reduction in the scale of cooperation, and this is by decision of the United States.

One can talk long about the fate of the Westphalian system and the destruction of the doctrine of national sovereignty. It turns out that the United States fully recognizes sovereignty only for itself. The rest have but two options: either they will themselves limit their own sovereignty and accept a relationship with the U.S. on American terms or they will have problems. This fundamental limitation of the opportunity to have a somewhat different look at the world is a tragedy. Thanks to Mr. Wolfowitz that he called a spade a spade. We will also call a spade a spade.

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We probably need to start off from the world financial and economic crisis, which began, as we remember, with the tumbling of the real estate market in the U.S. in 2008. When the U.S. property investment pyramid collapsed, few people could have imagined that this could lead to a domino effect literally destroying many seemingly unshakeable international financial market authorities. But it did happen. What we see today is the consequences of a big crisis. When several years ago the police mistreated an unfortunate Tunisian youth vending rotten vegetables and the crowd stood up for him, no one could have thought that this would

start the process, which later was dubbed the Arab Spring. Beginning with North Africa, it thundered all over the Arab world, had echoes in sub-Saharan Africa, and spilled over into the Greater Middle East.

The fact of the matter is that very archaic societies lurked under the guise of "democracy," this "quasi-democratic" political arrangement in the countries of the Greater Middle East. It is not possible anymore to find the society of the Middle East that could be seen in the late 1960s and early 1970s, emancipated European-style on the one side and vivid Middle Eastern-style on the other. The archaization of society is proceeding apace. We should not forget that there is another, quite disquieting political constant in the Greater Middle East, which is a global confrontation between Shia Iran and Sunni Turkey. Both countries aspire to leadership in the entire Muslim world. Iran has a strong case for that claim.

So the "hot summer" of 2014 in the Greater Middle East is just a continuation of the "heat" that began here five or six years ago.

Among the strategic mistakes committed by the Americans in Iraq, the biggest was perhaps to stake on the Shia, thus driving themselves into a corner. They are forced to begin to interact with Iran on terms beneficial to Iran, and to come out against the Sunnis in Iraq. By coming out against the Sunnis in Iraq, you are coming out against Sunnis throughout the Muslim world. In this connection, even the words and actions supporting the opposition in Syria, mostly Sunni Muslims - all the same, are not perceived by these oppositionists as a sincere expression of American support.

The incoming European Commission president is a big pragmatist whose attitude towards Russia is one of calm and balance and that's a great plus. After all, we don't need to be loved; we just want to be taken for what we are with no attempts to remake us with the help of a sledgehammer. Whether others like us or not is another story. However, we are here, we will not go away anywhere from Europe and there is no geopolitical eraser to erase us.

I think that those who raised hell against Qaddafi never could have imagined, even in their worst nightmare, that all the arsenals that he had built up over more than 40 years of his rule would at one point just scatter about Africa, the Greater Middle East, and Asia.

You see, if such a complex weapon system as MANPADS was already then available at virtually no cost, then what is there to talk about? Who benefits from this? Nobody. Because this very same - not important whether Russian, Chinese or American - Stinger can surface anywhere, in any world capital, next to any international airport. I do not think that this global fire has been torched with a single match. In fact, a huge number of matches have torched it, and each of these matches was in an irresponsible hand...

# Symbol of an Emerging Multipolar World

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ON JUNE 16, 2009, Yekaterinburg hosted the first meeting of the leaders of the BRIC nations, which laid the groundwork of a fundamentally new format for cooperation among countries.

For the first time, the major "new economies" formed an association to promote their common interests and the interests of a wide range of developing countries. Thus, from the very beginning, the BRIC member states positioned it not as a closed club to serve their own interests, but as a structure open for the outside world and acting in the interests of a wide range of states. The Yekaterin-

burg Statement emphasized that "the dialogue and cooperation of the BRIC countries is conducive not only to serving common interests of emerging market economies and developing countries, but also to building a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity."

The initiator of the creation of the BRIC grouping was Russian President Vladimir Putin, who put forward this idea back in 2006, following a meeting of the participants at the G8 Summit in St. Petersburg with the leaders of the new economies in the outreach format. Even then, it was clear that the scheme where the G8 members acted as the leaders and the new economies as the led was becoming outdated.

We all strive to reform the outdated financial and economic system of the world. This system still does not take into account the new role BRICS and other emerging markets already play in the global economy.

We see the future of BRICS as its gradual transformation into one of the key elements of global governance.

It is crucially important that the five member states are committed to the principles of international law and seek to reinforce the central role of the UN and its Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security. We do not accept the policy of twisting arms and infringing the sovereignty of other countries.

BRICS is an association which is open to the influence of external factors and trends, including such as the Ukrainian crisis. The anti-Russian actions of the West during this crisis have spurred members toward cohesion. Indeed, our BRICS partners gave a comeuppance to some Western politicians calling for Russia's exclusion from the G20 summit in Australia.

Economy. The main challenge now is to advance multi-party trade and economic cooperation. Only it will make the most of the complementarity of our economies, markets, and science and technology capabilities. We must remember that BRICS has nearly 3 billion consumers.

We see the future of BRICS as its gradually transformation into one of the key elements of global governance.

The leadership of our country, as stressed in the Concept of Participation of the Russian Federation in BRICS, approved by President Vladimir Putin on February 9, 2013, regards work in the association as one of the core directions of Russian foreign policy.

BRICS is on the rise. It will no doubt continue to strengthen its position in the world. Russia's strategic staking on BRICS is fully justified.



# Relations Between Russia and Britain During the Ukrainian Crisis

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Trade and economic ties serve as one of the pillars of our relationship, ensuring its resilience to changing internal and external political conditions. For instance, last year, our bilateral trade grew 6 percent, to US\$21 billion, British direct investment in Russia went up 15 percent, to US\$14 billion, and accumulated investment was up to US\$26 billion.

Self-evidently, our political differences with London, including over ways to resolve the Ukrainian crisis, have also had some impact on economic ties.

At the same time, businesses are continuing to engage

in mutually beneficial cooperation. This concerns inter alia major global energy companies like Rosneft, Gazprom, BP, and Shell. Leading financial institutions are also seeking to sustain constructive ties, including within the framework of the project for setting up an International Financial Center in Moscow. Recently, the respective Working Group held a successful meeting in Moscow attended by representatives from the Moscow and London City financial districts.

I would like to note the positive role in promoting direct business contacts of the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce and Industry, under whose aegis regular thematic business workshops and conferences are held, both in Russia and in the UK.

We hope that the British business community will continue to pursue constructive and pragmatic approaches in this matter. Political conjunctures come and go while economic interests remain.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain was formed in 1706 by a treaty of union between England and Scotland. At that time, this did not lead to the creation of a federal state, but since the 90s of the last century the country has been witnessing a process of devolution, that is, the transfer of a portion of the functions of central government to the level of regions, including Wales and Scotland.

It is hard to see why the current Ukrainian authorities anathematize the very idea of federalization, while insisting on the importance of decentralization, the signs of which are not yet visible.

Northern Ireland too has seen the evolution of self-government with its own characteristics. There it rests on the primacy of the people's will. The Scottish referendum campaign represents a civilized initiative with an eye to ensuring a free-flowing and well-argued debate of the parties. Hence it occurs to no one to take up arms or to forcefully keep Scotland in the United Kingdom.

Unfortunately, so far our Western partners, who have opted for unconditional support of the actions of Ukrainian government, even while acknowledging, let us say, its incomplete legitimacy, are unable to explain to us what the problem is with federalization. This is especially odd given that a majority of states in the world, including Europe and North America, are federal states. For example, these include the United States, the Russian Federation and Germany. As far as Britain is concerned, they have as said above - in the absence of a written constitution - the so-called creeping federalization in the form of devolution. The British government has already stated that if the supporters of independence lose the vote, Scotland's powers will be considerably expanded.

# The Idea of a "Silk Road Economic Belt" and Eurasian Integration

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The idea of restoring the Great Silk Road or, more precisely, of using this appealing name for political purposes is not new. The name itself was coined in 1877 by Ferdinand von Richthofen, a German geographer and traveler. He used the terms "Silk Road(s)" or "Silk Route(s)" to describe the network of ancient overland trade routes from China to Europe through Central Asia. It is interesting to note that in a multi-volume work on his travels across China, Richthofen also gave a precise geographical definition of Central Asia (although the term itself already existed).

IN RUSSIA, the Silk Road concept is viewed with interest and without objection, but is not put forward as the official one. Russia prefers to use the term "Eurasian integration" and would like to maintain its traditional influence in Central Asia through equal co-

operation and voluntary restoration of political and economic ties on a mutually beneficial basis, for which there is good ground.

After the 2008 events in Georgia and the 2014 events in Ukraine, Russia is seen in the region as a real center of geopolitical power capable of taking strong measures to protect its interests, including beyond its borders.

But even in most such countries, parts of the establishment and significant segments of the population nevertheless wanted to continue close relations with Russia and among themselves. A separate element in the activities of the EU and West European states in the region is an effort to promote the development of civil society and democracy. Although much in these programs is not in line with local traditions, they are more of an ideological nature, that is, are based on Western notions of an ideal society and ways of building it, but are not a cover (as in the case of the United States) for geopolitical purposes.

THE APPROACH of Central Asian states to different projects concerning their own future is very pragmatic. Of course, it varies from country to country, but on the whole one can say that the Central Asian states are prepared to support the project of any party provided it includes financial assistance and investments and does not undermine their political system or security.

There are two big obstacles to the implementation of the Silk Road Economic Belt program. First, there is the question of security within China, primarily in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, where the situation has been worsening in recent years. And second, there is the contradiction between China's desire for active cooperation with its neighbors and an evident tendency to take a tougher stand on territorial disputes with some of them, which raises serious concerns in neighboring states. If Beijing continues to promote the idea of an economic belt, it will have to give serious thought to reviewing its approaches to these two problems.

## Afghanistan and Unconventional Threats to Central Asia

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THE STATES OF CENTRAL ASIA faced the Afghan problem practically right in the wake of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It first showed in ideas of radical Islam trickling into them with the resumption of ties with Uzbek and Tajik relatives who lived in Afghanistan. Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov managed to limit the negative impact of this process. Things, however, were totally different in Tajikistan where for the duration of civil war Afghanistan was in effect a hinterland base for the irreconcilable opposition.

Seizing power in Kabul, the Taliban movement began exporting more than their ideas alone. Streams of weapons, drugs and trained militants started to flow. This could have very well led to

the overthrowing of secular authoritarian regimes in the region.

At first sight it may seem that, given the best battle-ready and well-equipped armed force in the region, Uzbekistan should fear no outside threat. This is not so, however, due to its ongoing internal instability. Under the circumstances, even export of the ideas of radical Islam is dangerous, let alone infiltration by well-armed and trained groups of militants.

RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM and terrorism present the greatest unconventional threats to the secular regimes of Central Asia. These are methods which are actively employed by the radical followers of Islam whose objective is to build a global caliphate with Central Asia as its component part.

WAR ON DRUGS in Central Asia is now a formidable problem caused by a significant increase in opium production both in neighboring Afghanistan and Central Asian states. The Taliban have begun to encourage this production and use profits to fund their activities. At the same time, there is a merger on the way in the region between the narco-mafia and the local political forces and its penetration into government bodies and structures.

In June 2001, the SCO summit in Shanghai passed a convention on combating terrorism, separatism and extremism. The SCO members created the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) to coordinate efforts of law and order agencies and special services of the SCO member countries in combating terrorism, separatism and extremism, illegal trade in drugs, weapons, and illegal migration. The SCO heads of state signed an appropriate treaty during the SCO summit in St. Petersburg in June 2002.

The working body of RATS is its executive committee and its main functions are the following:

- To put together and maintain an appropriate data bank;
- To establish (maintain) working contacts and exchange information with the other states and international organizations on the issues of war against terrorism, extremism and separatism;
- To assist in the prevention of terrorist acts on the territory of SCO member states;
- To line up information and analysis on combating the "three manifestations of evil"\* in SCO member states and elsewhere in the world.

Unlike the Collective Security Treaty Organization (ODKB), RATS has no military contingents of its own and only represents a mechanism for coordination and information analysis support for appropriate agencies in SCO member states for the purpose of combating terrorism, extremism and separatism. To enhance its efficiency, RATS has a council whose members are heads of the national security services of SCO members.<sup>20</sup>

Given the formidable socioeconomic problems, persisting quarrels between ethnic groups and governments and the continuing problem of transfer of supreme power, especially in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan, can result in complete destabilization of the entire region complicated with huge flows of refugees, weapons, narcotics, and radical ideas into Russia. It is possible to avoid this negative turn of events only if the entire potential of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization is mobilized to rebuff the above threats.



## Managed Chaos Strategies as Part of the Ukrainian Political Crisis

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TODAY, there is a lot of talk about the recent initiative of Ukrainian President Poroshenko: temporary ceasefire at the line of confrontation between the Ukrainian punitive forces and the militia of the Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics. It remains to be seen who will profit from the respite - the population of the republics or the president who feigned peace-seeking to regroup his army battered by the militia, strengthen it with a fresh mob of fanatics and bring armored machinery closer to the frontline.

Having announced the ceasefire, Poroshenko allowed the National Guard to shell the positions of the militia

and even the territory of Russia. The leaders of the two republics refused to accept the ceasefire for the simple reason that the punitive forces continued firing at their positions and civilian objects; they used all opportunities to cause as much damage as possible.

The Ukrainian president is not an independent political figure: he has to coordinate absolutely everything with the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine. He has to bear in mind the neo-Nazi Right Sector the activists of which recently "returned" him, the "lawful president of all Ukraine," the presidential standard as the symbol of his power. The president-elect cringed before the Maidan crowd, an exercise in self-abasement.

It seems that he has joined a very dangerous game in which he can perish at the hands of Yarosh or his people; the European Union might bring him to court and put him in prison for the war crimes, genocide and ethnic purges in the east of Ukraine of which he became a perpetrator.

Extreme radicals, nationalists and fascists, the striking force of Euromaidan still at the third level of power, are being actively pushed away by the worried oligarchs. The most radical of them have been already conscripted into the National Guard, now fighting and dying in Donbass.

The favorite toy of Americans, these "big babies" of world politics, - is the technologies of chaos - which they naively regard as "managed"; these technologies tested in the Arab Spring revolutions and applied to the Ukrainian crisis might push the world into the black hole.

Today, the wave of managed chaos which engulfed Ukraine has moved dangerously close to the borders of Russia. The Russian public was rightly concerned when the occasional street fighting between crowds of ruffians and the police promptly developed into an organized armed riot. The same can be said about the punitive operation of the new Ukrainian leaders against the people in Donbass, Slavic people tied to Russians by their shared past.

Russia should learn from the Ukrainian experience; it should be ready to rebuff another Anglo-Saxon color revolution tested in the traditional eastern-type society, as well as in the highly centralized state with a vertical of power but without sufficient "safety airbag" in the form of civil society able to stand up to the treacherous intentions of the architects of color revolutions.

The president and the government should create a state system of opposition to color revolutions with clear plans of action which can be later borrowed by other Soviet successor states.

## Liability of the Conflicting Parties in Ukraine

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JUNE 25, 2014 brought the news that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had recognized militants in the southeast of Ukraine as a "party to the conflict."

THE RECOGNITION of the intra-Ukrainian military conflict by the ICRC opens the door to legally establishing the warring parties to the conflict. Thus they become equally subject to international humanitarian law, the Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols of 1949 relating to non-international armed conflicts. Hence crimes against humanity committed under the pretext of a supposed struggle of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, as well as members of the National Guard and Right Sector, against "terrorists and bandits" of the Southeast cannot go unpunished.

UKRAINIAN SECURITY FORCES have been committing many war

crimes aimed at killing innocent civilians and have been intentionally using weapons, artillery, armor, and aircraft, including equipment marked with the UN symbol. They continue purposefully destroying industry, energy, telecommunications and transport infrastructure facilities, residential, social and cultural buildings and structures, as well as hospitals, kindergartens, and schools. Actions against civilians taken by the Ukrainian Armed Forces, together with Right Sector and National Guard members, force people to leave their homes in the Southeast. Shelling in particular adds to mounting civilian toll. Peaceful dwellings and civilian transport vehicles come under fire - even Red Cross-marked vehicles carrying women, children, old people, wounded persons, and other civilians.

A particular target is journalists who objectively cover the tragedy in Ukraine and thus prevent the armed criminals endowed with power from hiding their acts they daily commit in the territory of Ukraine.

The Investigative Committee recognizes the commission of crimes against the peace and security of mankind as well as crimes against civilians by virtue of universal jurisdiction. It has begun collecting evidence of the culpability of each of those implicated - "from a rank and file soldier of the National Guard to those who give them orders to kill civilians."

INTERNATIONAL LAW recognizes and applies the rule of universal jurisdiction, being confirmed not only in a number of international instruments, in the practice of the European Court of Human Rights, but also in the domestic law of states, and their judicial practice relating to international crimes. For example, Ukrainian legislation embodies this rule in Article 8 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine. Russian legislation also has the universal jurisdiction rule established in Article 12, paragraph 3.

As to the possible consequences and forms of accountability for the crimes committed by members of Ukraine's Armed Forces, National Guard and Right Sector, it is advisable, apart from criminal liability under Russian law, to take all legal measures to stop the fighting and mete out just punishment to the criminals including by condemnation within the framework of the UN Security Council, with the possible eventual creation of a special international body, the tribunal for Ukraine, or something like that.

## Will the Ukrainian Crisis End in Another Cold War?

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THE CURRENT STATE of the Russian-American relations causes concerns. The economic sanctions the U.S. introduced after the reunification with Crimea; the deliberate destruction of the Russian-American negotiation structure up to and including G-8 and the RF-U.S. Presidential Commission and finally, megaphone diplomacy instead of the Moscow-Washington dialogue look too much as another bout of the Cold War relegated, as we all thought, to the refuge heap of history.

There is a more or less concerted opinion in Russia and other countries that another Cold War should be better avoided; it remains to be seen whether the Cold War which ended at the turn of the 1990s can be restarted.

Unlike the previous epochs when the great powers were competing in mildly ideological contexts, the two leaders of the bipolar world fought under irreconcilable slogans. This is the second feature of the bipolar world.

It should be said that the present system of international relations inherited much from the bipolar world: the ideologically dominated foreign policies of the U.S. and the West in the first place.

Ukraine, the country of secondary importance where the U.S. national interests are concerned, is the best example: America is "fighting for freedom" against "Russia's tyranny." By the irony of history, in the last few decades Moscow and Washington shifted their positions to the opposite. In the Cold War era, Soviet Russia was the radical revolutionary force. Today, the Russian Federation is a conservative country devoted to Realpolitik, international law and stability, while the U.S. is best described as "the main revolutionary force of our times" to borrow one of the Soviet clichés.

The chances that relations between Russia and the United States will change with the master of the White House in January 2017 are slim, if any: continued ideological confrontation between the two countries rules out any positive movement.

Russia's task is far from easy: it has to limit the ideological component in its relations with the United States and to increase the share of Realpolitik. In the 1970s, Moscow and Washington resolved the problem through détente. This can be done again provided there is political will on both sides.

Until this is done, the American policy-makers will pursue three mutually exclusive strategies in their relationships with Russia: "containment," "regime change" and selective partnership in the spheres the American side finds promising.

There is no and there will be no real alternative to Russian-American partnership: Moscow and Washington share too many interests on the international arena ranging from nuclear non-proliferation to ecological problems.



# Insurrection in Kiev: The Stage and the Actors

*Author: Marc Sagnol*

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This article appeared in French in *Les Temps Modernes* (No. 678, April-June 2014) under the title "L'insurrection à Kiev: lieux et acteurs."



Since the end of November, Maidan remained the center of protests against the corrupt government of former President Yanukovich and the struggle for human rights.

How can we explain this melee or even a symbiosis between the liberal and pro-European opposition, civil movements which are fighting corruption and present themselves as left-wing and the extreme right paramilitary groups, ultra-nationalists and fascists who organize columns of 10 to 12 people in Khreshchatyk ready to storm the barricades?

No matter what, I am here, in the center of Maidan where there are flags of rebellious paramilitary right-wing organizations, the rhetoric of which in France would have been denounced as illegal.

I agree with my friend Sigov, my friend Kurkov and with all my friends who want civil rights and democratic freedoms; who want to rid their country of corruption, the terrible malady which destroys it, and of official jargon. I cannot accept that this civil movement is supported and "protected" by masses of fighters of this type. The truth is: the extreme right activists feel perfectly comfortable; they look like you and me and they talk to people very much like you and me who are not shocked by their presence

and help and encourage them.

These organizations have clearly outlined their aims: they do not fight for more democracy and more openness in relations with Europe, as the civil opposition describes its aims. They are talking about a "national-liberation" movement against Russia and against those who allegedly represent it in Ukraine, that is, the Russian speakers. There are many of them in Kiev and in the east and south of Ukraine.

Its haggling kept the democratic opposition in hostage; today, the Pravy Sektor refuses to evacuate Maidan to keep the new government on a short leash and to increase its pressure on decision-makers.

The barricades at the Institutskaya Street cannot but impress. Those who built them had obviously read Instructions pour une prise d'armes by Blanqui\* or other similar works by theoreticians of armed struggle in cities. The barricades were obviously not improvised constructions of peaceful demonstrators; they were built by professionals. Some of them were stone walls, built of carefully shaped and cemented paving stones. There were barricades made of sandbags, benches and other objects some of them captured in the House of Trade Unions or brought by common people: the rioters enjoy vast popular support.

We could see that people who several days earlier had been throwing stones at policemen got ministerial posts to the accompaniment of Maidan's loud approval, I knew that it would be hard to deny them these posts but I had never expected a catastrophe of this dimension. Five portfolios went to extremists, one of them to Alexander Sych, member of the Svoboda Party, well-known for his violent opposition to abortions (even in case of rape victims) and to everything connected with communism, was appointed vice premier.

Today, the paramilitary units in Kiev refuse to lay down arms; despite the Geneva agreements, they remain in the city's center behind fortifications and are still well-armed. The government cannot disarm them: the Cabinet members owe these people their posts. More than that, they have Americans on their side (they were trained in the well-organized training camps where NATO taught them the methods of guerilla war in the cities). Leader of the Pravy Sektor Dmitry Yarosh tried to reorganize his units, which fought valiantly in Maidan, into the Donbass Battalion to bring terror to the East of Ukraine in violation of the Geneva agreements. No wonder, the "pro-Russian" forces defend themselves and "their land and their memory."

It is easy to accuse Vladimir Putin of imperialism and the desire to have revenge on NATO. In the last twenty years, despite the officially declared end of the Cold War, NATO has been penetrating the countries into which it solemnly pledged to Gorbachev not to enter. When an agreement on the unification of Germany was being signed the Atlantic Alliance promised not to push into the East of the continent. Putin's response and that of Russian society, for that matter, is absolutely understandable. Since it is considered absolutely correct to support the peoples fighting for democracy, openness and against corruption, etc. it is much less natural to openly support and fund without qualms (as the EU is doing) the government the ideological message of which do not correspond to European values.

## Farewell, Germany?

*Author: Armen Oganessian*

*Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs*



BEFORE THEY BROKE DOWN under pressure of London and Washington which insisted on anti-Russian sanctions, the German politicians had been saying over and over again that politics was more important than economy. This mantra was addressed to the German businessmen and the potential unemployed: they had to accept losses and deprivations because "Politik über alles." There is a clear understanding shared by many in Germany that, having agreed on sanctions against Russia and having retreated under joint British and American

pressure, the country started losing its political weight in Europe and elsewhere in the world. The recent humiliations - spying on Merkel's mobile phone, spies at the German Defense Ministry, and the German gold in the U.S. scandal to say nothing of Berlin's capitulation to the sanction program - are damaging Germany's political image.

For many years, Germany not merely claimed the role of a buffer between the European Union and Russia, the post-Soviet space and Eurasia - it was the buffer. Berlin skillfully diversified its political and economic ambitions in China, Asia and the Middle East; it was treated as an independent power which came third after the U.S. and China where its share in world economy was concerned.

Berlin's recent interest in possible contacts with the BRICS countries caused a lot of concern in the White House. No matter how strange it looks today, Ukraine would have been an ideal platform of a new type of cooperation between Germany and Russia and other CIS countries. This would have happened if Berlin proved perspicacious enough to assess soberly and independently an invitation to tripartite talks between Russia, the EU and Ukraine before the Ukrainian crisis burst out.

Germany's unexpected pro-American bias which surprised many was probably caused by many factors, one of them being more obvious than the others. In recent years, Germany has been seeking the biggest trade surplus with the United States and UK which occasionally reached 20%. Washington and London have probably hinted to Berlin that they will not hesitate to use "latent" economic sanctions to force Germany comply with their Russian policy. Washington refused to return to Germany the larger part of its gold reserves and insisted on the meager 10% for the simple reason that, if returned in full, it will not only be a guarantor of German industry but, to a certain extent, a financial stabilizer of united Europe and of Germany's leading role.

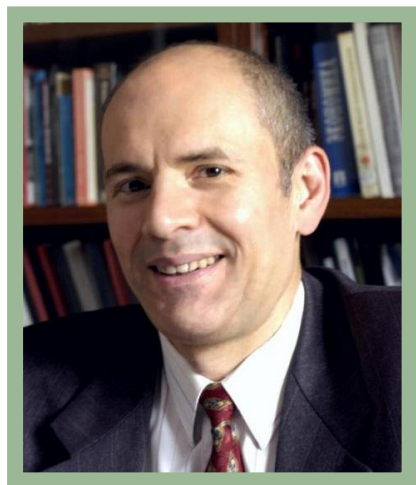
What about the trade rules, the WTO and other norms? They were sacrificed to politics long ago. As people say, "everything is well as long as it is well": this is best illustrated by the ruling of The Hague Arbitration Court on the YUKOS case.

Can we say that Germany has selected the least of two evils? Yes, this is one of the answers. On the other hand, the Atlantists used sanctions as part of their strategy: they no longer seek containment of Russia but want to push Russia aside. In case of Germany this is tactics imposed from outside; its Russian strategy is opposite to the Atlantic.

# America's Foreign Policy Strategy and the Five-Day War in the Southern Caucasus

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CRIMEA WAS UNIFIED with Russia so fast that the U.S. intelligence community was caught unawares. This was more than a one-time failure to predict what the Russian special services had been planning: it was a huge political flop of American strategy in Ukraine. Russia demonstrated that the degree of its readiness to stand opposed to any challenges of the West was unprecedented since the end of the Cold War, something what the United States did not expect.

THE GEORGIAN-OSSETIAN CONFRONTATION was the lowest, obvious and very local layer of the conflict which led to the war in South Ossetia; there were higher, regional levels at which the struggle for domination in the Caucasus and Central Asia was waged; an even greater role belonged to global processes rooted in the worldwide economic structures and the sys-

tem of international relations. America, the strategy of which tied these levels together, moved them toward the tragic finale. This is explained by the U.S. unique status as the only superpower and also by what the U.S. ruling class believed to be the most effective ways and methods of ensuring American hegemony.

THE CASPIAN and Central Asian energy sources constitute the main attraction for the United States. The Times, a well-informed British newspaper, specified: "Oil may not be the cause of the war between Georgia and Russia, but it is a central element in the wider geo-strategic picture, and a source of incendiary tension that has helped to inflame the area." The unfolding world economic crisis added its hues to this picture.

THE INCREASING STRUGGLE for control over the oil rich regions of the Caspian Sea and Central Asia is often referred to as the "new Great Game"

The United States has chosen Georgia as its major instrument of political hegemony in the Caucasus. During the Rose Revolution of 2003. they replaced their failed proxy - Eduard Shevardnadze with their new protégé - Mikheil Saakashvili. This new "color revolution" in the post-Soviet space is another example of how America used its "soft power."

Such large-scale support of the recently unknown lawyer is no mere chance. Saakashvili was educated in the United States, worked there in the structures connected with the Soros Foundation and was a "passionate pro-American polyglot" which made him, according to The Financial Times, a "darling of neocons in Washington."<sup>25</sup> According to the same source, Saakashvili surrounded himself with American consultants and PR specialists.

THE CRUSHING DEFEAT revealed that people in Washington could hardly adequately assess the situation. "Georgia did not believe Russia would respond to its offensive in South Ossetia and was completely unprepared for the counter-attack, the deputy defense minister has admitted." Recently, former president Saakashvili said the same.<sup>50</sup> Life has given Washington this and other important lessons.

IN THE FUTURE, the 2008 events in the Southern Caucasus will be seen as a turning point that convinced Russia that the West did not want its resurrection and that it should insist on its vital interests. This is the main lesson of the Five-Day War, which American diplomacy preferred to ignore.



# The Middle East: Traditions and Transformations

*Authors: Alexander Frolov, leading research fellow, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Science (Political Sciences); Ravil Mustafin, military observer, worked in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Israel (with UN forces), Syria, Iraq and Yemen; repeatedly visited Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries*



A. Frolov: The Ukrainian crisis eclipsed the Middle East and the Arab revolutions which, however, have not disappeared without trace.

Today, there are two opinions about them. Americans and their allies are firmly convinced that Arabs or, to be more exact, several chosen Arab states need assistance to set up democratic institutions, viz. a multiparty system and division of powers. Russia sides with the opinion that the freedom of choice is the best option for these countries and peoples. This is, on the whole, an ideologically unbiased approach, while the United States proceeds from ideological considerations.

R. Mustafin: More than that, Russia's position on the Arab Spring is moral, which explains why Arabs turn to Russia for

protection and fairness. We objected to invasion of Syria not because we were on the side of the Assad regime - we merely wanted to prevent indiscriminate slaughter of Muslims and Christians and the country's disintegration as it had happened in Iraq and was going on in Libya.

There are no "innocent lambs" among leaders in the Arab East. Some of them are luckier, fairer, smarter and gentler than others and do more for their countries and people.

The Arab Spring brought this out: some leaders fled with millions of dollars to live quietly in safety; some other died; still others, frightened and stirred into action, resorted to concessions to keep power. Left to their own devices, common people found themselves, on the whole, in a much worse situation.

R. Mustafin: When people start talking about managed chaos and triumph of "democratic changes" in Libya, Iraq and Afghanistan I ask myself whether Americans understand the mentality of these people. Do they know geography well enough? Will they offer same-sex marriages to the Middle East? Will they replace the high titles of "father" and "mother" with impersonal "parents" or will they invite them to change sexual orientation? How will the Middle East respond? Its people will never close ranks under these banners.

A. Frolov: I should say that it is not always correct to explain everything what is going on in the region by social and economic conditions. In Libya, for example, economy was in good shape. I can say that safes of Libyan military were full of foreign currency.

R. Mustafin: I can say that Qaddafi who had ruled his country for forty years met his death as a man convinced of his righteous cause. Without him the country split at seams; separatist sentiments Colonel Qaddafi had been keeping under control came to the fore.

A. Frolov: Today, the situation in Syria, where the process is going on, is much more important. The country joined the revolutionary process later than other Arab countries because of certain restraining factors: political and ethnoconfessional balance of power (which somebody could have described as not strictly fair) helped maintain order even though the country had its share of critically minded intellectuals.

R. Mustafin: Today, we can start talking about a hot war, not about the mounting Shia-Sunni contradictions. The frontline runs not only inside individual countries in which the Shia, Sunni and other confessions are living side by side. There are contradictions between states with Sunni or Shia in power. In the Arab East and in the Muslim world in general, the Sunni regimes, assisted by external forces, are trying to knock together an anti-Shia bloc of sorts.

A. Frolov: So, what can we say by way of conclusion?

Stability rests on the balance of power between tribes, clans and ethno-confessional groups; once tipped it cannot be restored any time soon. This happened in Lebanon in 1975; similar things are going on in other countries. None of the Arab countries will avoid changes but they prefer slow and gradual transformations.

# Political Reform and the Fight Against Corruption in the PRC

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THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL REFORM in China in the scholarly literature and newspaper reports often comes down to a dilemma: either China will follow the path of post-Soviet-type democratization, or it will remain committed to the old postulates of communist development. However, the experience of state-led efforts to reform China has proved more than once that China seeks its own path to political modernization, not confined to these two extremes.

In the political field, China has already achieved progress unknown to the late period of the Soviet Union: intra-party rotation of leaders every 10 years to avoid political stagnation, open immigration and emigration policies, freedom, though restrained, of political discourse, and diversity of views in mass media - all these changes deserve thorough attention and study.

China's leadership is distinguished primarily by its pragmatism. If the

ultimate goal is to retain political power in the hands of the CPC, then the methods for achieving it must be realistic.

So what is the link between anti-corruption fight and political reform? The direct use of the term "political reform" to a certain extent remains taboo in China.

The use of the wording "anti-corruption struggle" makes it possible to talk about political reform, while avoiding both the linking to the ghost of the former USSR and Westernizers' pressure for urgent introduction of a multi-party system. However, one should not regard China's thumbs-down on immediate Western-style reform as evidence of its adherence to the classic communist system. The PRC is a far cry from North Korea.

The central and local discipline inspection commissions have played a key role in the investigation of corruption. As per the Regulations, if there is a suspicion of corruption, the CPC CCDI is empowered "to require relevant persons to show up at a designated time and place of inquiry and clarify the issue in question" (Article 28, section 3 of Regulations).<sup>11</sup> This practice has received the name of "dual designation"

In order to give greater clarity regarding the status of party documents from the point of view of the theory of sources of law, let us note that a similar situation had existed in the former Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the CPC currently faces a difficult dilemma. As acknowledged by Chinese leaders themselves, the party's future depends on its success in the struggle against corruption. The methodology of this struggle at this point rests on the traditional methods applied by the CPC CCDI. The view is that these methods based on intimidation are certainly effective. However, it is also true that the methods, especially the practice of *shuanggui*, are in a contradiction with the principles of the rule of law, and do not exactly correspond to the modern, open and progressive image that today's China is trying to project in the world.

LATELY, thanks to Internet whistleblowers, instances of revelation of corruption have become more frequent in China. The highest ranking of the officials who have fallen under investigation after disclosures on the Internet was Liu Tienan, the former deputy chairman of China's National Development and Reform Commission.<sup>25</sup> The criminal probe against him was the result of the activity of Chinese journalist Luo Changping, deputy editor of *Caijing* business magazine, who laid out the information about Liu Tienan's wrongdoings in his microblog.<sup>26</sup>

Official Chinese media are generally positive about Internet whistle-blowers. The Chinese authorities respond attentively to their published reports. The fact that the reports have repeatedly sparked formal investigations is testimony to this.

Anti-corruption efforts by Chinese Internet users help reduce societal tensions in conditions when other remedies still seem unpalatable to the CPC. Indeed, demands for rough treatment of corrupt public servants come directly from the Chinese population.

All processes indicate that China is seeking to avoid dilemmas between the transition of the post-Soviet type, on the one hand, and the old postulates of communist development, on the other hand. China wants to find its own unique path of gradual political modernization, like its distinctive path to gradual economic reform.

# The Echo of World War II in East Asia

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THE UNSTABLE SITUATION in East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region, the presence of unresolved territorial disputes and conflicts, and the lack of regional security and cooperation mechanisms have their roots in the events of recent history in the second half of the 20th century and stem from the related historical and geopolitical tensions.

The historical lessons of World War II in the Pacific and the Korean War remain unlearned.

From the outset, the post-war order in East Asia evolved differently than in Europe, where the Yalta system of international relations took root. Its political arrangements for Asia and the Pacific

never came to fruition in the context of the escalating Cold War and the confrontation between East and West.

In solving the issues of territories and boundaries in East Asia after the end of World War II, the Allied powers followed primarily their own geopolitical and strategic interests, not historical facts or the interests of the parties in territorial disputes and conflicts.

One cannot but agree with the fact that regional and global international contexts are essential for a balanced and objective assessment of the actions of Soviet diplomacy, related to the preparation and signing of the San Francisco Treaty of Peace. As suggested by Cherniavskiy, the catalyst of its signing was the Korean War (1950-1953). It forced the U.S. and Japan to review their postwar relations. At that time, it was extremely important for the United States to get Japan to follow the mainstream of its Far Eastern policy, making Tokyo in fact its chief ally in the region.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the Korean War fundamentally changed the geopolitical situation not only in Asia, but also around the world. It was the first major test of strength for the United Nations, just set up by the victor powers. Faced with the escalating Cold War, which had nearly evolved into a hot world war with the employment of weapons of mass destruction, the great powers, retracting their promises, experienced the strongest temptation to act only in the name of their own interests and ambitions, at the expense of the logic of compromise and collective action. The USSR fully supported its ally, the People's Republic of China, both in the diplomatic battles fought in the United Nations as well as in the Korean War battlefields.

For Russia, the lessons of the Korean War are particularly important. Then, in a bid for a wider sphere of influence, the Soviet Union put at stake its international reputation by worsening its relations with the West to the limit, which nearly brought about a disintegration of the UN and the turning of the Cold War into a hot war. The logic of compromise and collective action was cast away in favor of the promotion of ideologically motivated geopolitical interests.

Not only Russia-Japan, but also Japan-China and Japan-South Korea relations are still stuck in the Cold War trap set a few decades ago by the creators of the San Francisco system.

Once again, we will repeat that in solving the issues of territories and boundaries in East Asia after the end of World War II, the Allied powers followed primarily their own geopolitical and strategic interests, not historical facts or the interests of the parties in territorial disputes and conflicts. Since then, for decades, historians and experts have continued very actively and convincingly to defend the correctness of the viewpoint of "their" conflicting party...

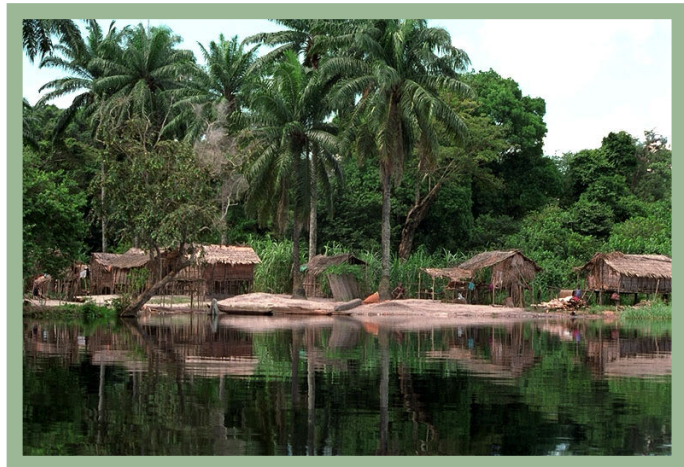
Scholars and experts can help policy makers and diplomats of the countries of Northeast Asia work together to resolve the "unresolvable" issues left over from the Cold War and to finally turn over this page of the 20th century history.



# The External Factor in the 2016 Presidential Election

*Author: O. Ilyshev*

*Third Secretary, Embassy of the Russian Federation in the Democratic Republic of Congo*



APRIL 2014 marked twenty years since the beginning of the genocide of the Tutsi of Rwanda; organized by the Hutu and practically ignored by the key international actors and the UN it went on for three months to shape the future of Rwanda and echoed across the vast Great Lakes region, first and foremost in the Republic of Zaire (the Democratic Republic of the Congo, DRC, since May 1997). Hundreds of thousands of refugees, both Tutsi and Hutu, created a big seat of tension in the country's east; in 1997, the Mobutu regime fell victim to this tension fanned by inner ethnic and political contradictions which in 1996 had developed into an armed conflict still going on in the east of the DR Congo.

In the number of deaths this conflict is second to World War II: 5.4 million dead between 1998 and 2007. It is responsible for the present state of affairs in the DR Congo: the last place in the world

by per capita GDP and the Human Development Index; the last but one where access to electric power is concerned.

In this spirit-dampening context the republic is moving toward the presidential elections of 2016 which will determine its development course for the next five years. The main intrigue is absolutely clear: under the Constitution, which limits presidency for any person by two consecutive terms, the incumbent Joseph Kabila cannot run. His first presidential term is usually counted from 2006 when he won his first presidential elections though he became president in 2001 when his father, President Laurent-Désiré Kabila had been assassinated. The president and his closest political circle have repeatedly demonstrated that they preferred status quo to the Fundamental Law which seemed to them quite amendable.

The debates on his possible nomination for the third term have been going on and on for several years now. Aubin Minaku, the Alliance's secretary general and speaker of the lower chamber of the Congolese parliament, limited himself to a comment that Joseph Kabila had respected and would respect the Constitution without specifying whether amended or not. The local analysts agree that the meeting in Kingakati discussed the coming elections and Kabila's possible run for presidency and accepted this possibility.

The position taken by the DR Congo government on funding the National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Program can serve an even clearer example. It was set up to help several thousand militants, who had surrendered to the Armed Forces of the DRC and MONUSCO DRC and for several months were kept in temporary camps to resume peaceful occupations. Unwilling to risk their return to illegal armed activities the government treats the program as a national security priority. The country's defense ministry, which produced the document, proceeds from the fact that the DR Congo can shoulder only 10% of the cost; the rest (as expected) will come from the donor countries.

This forces the Western donors to insist on harsh conditions which go far beyond the demands for stricter accountability and financial discipline to become political pressure. This means that Secretary Kerry could have directly connected the \$1.2 bln package and other American aid with Kabila's keeping away from the 2016 presidential race.

The situation became even worse when Development Cooperation Minister Jean Pascal Labille of Belgium, one of the largest European donors of Kinshasa, said that the DR Congo Constitution should be preserved and respected.

According to available information, Joseph Kabila tried to remedy the situation during his visit to Paris on May 21, 2014. In Paris, however, President Kabila failed to ensure any more or less tangible support for his plans to run for the third term.

THE CHOICE is not a simple one: if Kabila obeys the demand of the West he will lose his political weight with nothing in return; the same will happen to his closest political allies.

If he decides to amend the Constitution and run for the third term he risks ruining his relations with the West. The U.S. and the EU will probably refuse to accept the results and will use the entire range of political instruments to put pressure on Kabila and his supporters. Political sanctions, recently one of the favorite instruments of the West, will hardly strongly affect the Congolese leader.

To avoid this, Kabila will seek political and financial support of other large economic partners, China and South Africa in the first place, with considerable economic interests in the republic and will probably start looking for new allies.

## Is the Ukrainian Crisis an Energy Challenge to Russia?



**Armen Oganessian**, Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs: Today, we will discuss the Ukrainian crisis and its impact on the Russian energy sector. A good deal can be said about that, but it would be desirable if, in analyzing this situation, we would not digress into topics that before long will evidently become irrelevant. Let us look at the situation globally, strategically, in conjunction with geopolitics. Yuri Konstantinovich, you are welcome.



**Yuri Shafranik**, Chairman of the Council of the Union of Russian Oil and Gas Producers: As far as oil is concerned, the agreement was implemented within quite a short period. With respect to natural gas, things turned out quite differently. From the very start, at the request of the Ukrainian side, we made concessions, granting preferential terms. And so we have been renegotiating the deal for 20 years now. Ukraine has been using blackmail tactics, threatening us with unsanctioned siphoning off of gas and undersup-

plying it to Europe. That is one side of the matter.

Another side is the position of Europe. Russia has repeatedly proposed different options for resolving the problem of gas transit via Ukraine - from creating a unified gas transportation network to putting the pipeline under the full control of European states. No, the pipeline is still only Ukrainian. And they are allowed to steal and blackmail.

However, it would be wrong to say that Europe is not thinking about its energy security. Various options are provided for in the event of irregular gas supplies from Russia. This includes the improvement of interconnections between the gas transportation systems of European states. This is a serious and challenging task for Europe.

And there is yet another topic that, in my opinion, is being addressed too emotionally. This refers to hypothetical supplies of U.S. shale gas to Europe. It is important to understand that new sources are appearing and will continue to appear on the natural gas market - be it in Africa, Australia, Malaysia or Iran. God grant this situation continues. As for challenges on the natural gas market, they are constantly arising. So, in order not to fall by the wayside, we need to watch these processes, conduct serious analytical work, and anticipate possible scenarios at least for the next 25 years.



**Gennady Shmal**, President of the Union of Russian Oil and Gas Producers: There is a view that the Ukrainian crisis is not a direct challenge, but certain facts suggest otherwise. The problem involves not only supplies of gas, coal and other energy resources; it is about economic development as a whole. Today, as in the past, the Ukrainian economy is to a very large extent dependent on Russian gas supplies, above all for its power generation.

Ukraine has always had a very well developed metallurgical industry; half of all the pipes manufactured in the USSR were made in Ukraine. During this time, the situation has changed; Russia has built its own plants (in Vyksa, Volga, and a number of others). The Ukrainian economy is now in a comatose state. The situation is fraught with further exacerbation if they do not receive Russian gas in the required amounts. The question will arise: What is to be done with the metallurgical industry? It will hardly be possible to return to 30-year old metal production technology, since that would require massive capital investment, which would be a setback. On the other hand, it is important to take our own interests into account, and they consist in that we cannot afford to lose such a vast market as Ukraine. They will probably not take 50 billion cubic meters but we could definitely supply them 25-30 billion cubic meters of gas a year; and then there is also transit.

I believe that at the end of the day, there are quite a few sensible people among those who have come to power. So they should understand that if the economy is ruined, there will be no Ukraine as a country. Besides, the interests of many oligarchs are mainly connected precisely to industry. At the same time, these people have been financing the Maidan protests to a very large degree. Today, they need to realize that if the Ukrainian economy collapses, little if anything will remain of their prosperity. That can turn Ukraine into an endless Maidan.



**Rustam Tankayev**, adviser to the Chairman of the Council of the Union of Russian Oil and Gas Producers: There are several telling examples that the government that came to power in the beginning of this year is not interested in preserving and developing Ukraine's industry.

With our resources mainly directed toward the West, we may end up in a trap, not because of lack of demand but because all sorts of obstacles will be created to prevent the penetration of our resources to the Western market.

Almost no work has been conducted to maintain the drill holes in a normal condition. During the past 20 years, underground service maintenance was performed only once, given that the regular service interval is two and a half years. In other words, the borehole is in a terrible condition.





**Vitaly Bushuyev**, Director General of the Energy Strategy Institute: If we want to understand the situation in Ukraine today, it cannot be viewed only through the prism of gas, energy and even economic ties as a whole. The problem lies far deeper, because a line passes across the Dnieper River that separates two civilizations - Western, including Western Slavic civilization, and Left Bank Ukraine, which is still part of Eurasian civilization, which has had a different mentality, and I hope that it will continue for a long time to come. What

we are seeing today is in fact a clash of civilizations. A way out naturally involves either concessions to Western civilization, which in that event will occupy Ukraine's entire territory, to be followed by Belarus, and then central Russia, or this civilizational line will be protected by all possible economic and mainly geopolitical methods.



**Alexei Mastepanov**, Deputy Director of the Oil and Gas Institute: On the issue of the diversification of natural gas export supplies and Russia's eastern energy policy. After a gas contract with China was signed, many media outlets assessed that step as all but forced upon Russia amid the mounting political and economic sanctions against it. In reality, however, that is far from being the case. Diversification of gas supplies and eastern energy policy of Russia in general, and of Gazprom in particular, have a long history and deep roots.

So these events have nothing to do with the sanctions. This is simply a coincidence in time. As a participant in negotiations with China on gas contracts, I personally felt the consequences of such an approach for a long time. The possibilities of Russian gas supplies were studied not only in Russian official structures; in 1993-1995, the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry was tapped for the purpose, while institutes affiliated with the Russian Academy of Sciences and one Japanese research institute drew up a special master plan for the development of energy resources in eastern Russia, factoring in the possibility of the export of Russian energy to Asia-Pacific countries. Already at that time it was being said that one of the main tasks was to ensure access for Russian energy resources to new foreign markets.



**Svetlana Melnikova**, research associate at the Institute of Energy Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences: Generally speaking, in the next few years the European gas market will be rather strained: After all, in the past two years, Europe has lost a half of LNG supplies; all available volumes that could have flowed to Asia have in fact flowed there. Norway has hit a production ceiling; it cannot produce any more. What is happening in North Africa is obvious to all: It is not a source of additional supplies. The only realistic route

over the next several years, capable of ensuring the required flexibility of supplies is Russia.

*Author: Armen Oganessian*

*Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs*



**July 5.** As could be expected, Zbigniew Brzezinski could not ignore what is going on in Ukraine. He offered his opinion in *The Washington Post* ("Putin's Three Choices on Ukraine"). On closer investigation, his three choices boil down to one more aptly called "Brzezinski's corridor". The U.S. and the European Union know that otherwise they would be burdened with Ukraine's insolvency, the price of the "Project Poroshenko" becoming prohibitively high: no guarantees against the project's collapse. Brzezinski, however, has sugared the pill: there is light at the end

of this very narrow tunnel. "At the same time, it should be made clear that Ukraine does not seek, and the West does not contemplate, Ukrainian membership in NATO. It is reasonable for Russia to feel uncomfortable about that prospect." We all know, however, that these promises come cheap; Brzezinski also knows this. On another occasion, he admitted that Gorbachev had been promised no eastward NATO expansion in exchange of unification of Germany and added: "Yes, we cheated him."

A free country is free to join any alliances is the favorite dictum of the EU and NATO; we all know that this will happen and will happen soon. Brzezinski, however, leaves the Kremlin an alternative: either "continue to sponsor a thinly veiled military intervention designed to disrupt life in portions of Ukraine" or "invade Ukraine, exploiting Russia's much larger military potential" and threatens: "Such an action, however, would not only prompt retaliation by the West but also could provoke Ukrainian resistance." Sanctions and retributions of all sorts will follow, says the "mentor."

**July 13.** Very much in line with the current fashion which prescribes to quote Ivan Ilyin in and out of season let me turn to his rarely quoted *Resistance to Evil by Force*, a very clear objection to Tolstovstvo (the Tolstoyan movement).

Ilyin wrote that even if the Gospels said "Whoever hits you on the cheek, offer him the other also" (Luke 6:29) no one had the right to offer a cheek of another person. Acceptance of evil through non-resistance to evil or the evil which threatens your neighbor becomes evil.

**July 21.** The events in Ukraine are a civilizational challenge. They are an attempt to reformat the matrix of the East Slavonic and East Christian world responsible for the psychology of the Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians.

I find it very interesting that a Finnish journalist in his article published in *Izvestia* identified the price of the issue in the clearest of terms: the West launched a crusade against the Russian World and the Orthodox Christian Civilization.

The other day, I asked Dugin in a radio interview about the apprehensions that the West, the U.S. in the first place, was pushing Russia into a war with Ukraine. He said that Crimea, which had become Russian, was an obvious pretext. The war, however, might begin only when Donbass had been ironed out and the Ukrainian army reformed. In other words, even if there is determination it will not be realized in haste. This will confront the West with the alternative outlined by Brzezinski for Putin: either sponsoring a "thinly veiled military intervention" with military equipment and military advisors or an invasion. The latter looks improbable, yet future, very much like history, does not tolerate subjunctive mood.

## Russia and Cuba: Natural Allies in the Struggle for Media Multipolarity

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AT THE VERY BEGINNING of April, revelations by the Associated Press blew up not only the Cuban, but also the global media sphere. They showed that in 2010-2012 Washington created and secretly funded a mobile social network called ZunZuneo for a Cuban audience, with far-reaching goals.

In the end, the network attracted about 40,000 residents of the island. The spectacular service also evoked interest from children of high-ranking civil servants. There were at least two million advertising and entertainment messages delivered to Cuban ZunZuneo subscribers over the following two years, according to official estimates.

Today, thanks to the professionalism and perseverance of media, it has become clear what they tried to beguile Cubans into through the careless tweeting. The ZunZuneo project, worked out in the depths of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) which is subordinate to the Department of State, pursued aims far removed from those of public enlightenment.

In the first stage, its main task was to assemble as big an audience as possible, at least 150-200 thousand out of the 11 million-strong Cuban population. Then the plan was to throw into the overall heap of mailings political slogans, exhortations and even cartoons of Cuban leaders, pushing the island's youth into acts of civil disobedience. As for the cartoons, this is no exaggeration: rough sketches of these items of propaganda have also come into the public eye. The eventual purpose was to arrange something like a "Cuban Spring" based on patterns developed and tested in other regions of the world.

The elites of the "Western club" are realizing more and more deeply that the flawed world order led by one hegemon and based on "the right of the strong" is crumbling before our eyes.

Of course, the tens of thousands of Cuban ZunZuneo users had no inkling that they were unwittingly involved in a subversive operation by the U.S. State Department, which was using them like pawns. Nor did they know that their phone numbers and personal details were to go into a special database, and that the content of the messages underwent analysis in order to identify their range of interests, political views and preferences.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the ZunZuneo cyber operation on the island got stalled and never entered a decisive phase. The number of subscribers stopped at the 40,000 mark, a level clearly insufficient to start a "Twitter revolution" Middle East style.

Most important, however, the scandal has highlighted the same old American obsession with regime change in Havana, regardless of the succession of White House occupants. They are only perfecting their methods - the objective remains the same. Simply, 21st-century methods of unconventional warfare have come to take the place of sending in "gusano" mercenaries (recall the Bay of Pigs). The main instrument of this warfare is the latest ICT technologies, and its main driving force is young people socially loose, not seeing any prospects, disappointed in the future, and ready to get worked up.

Summing up, I would like to stress once again: the common interests of our two countries in the information technology dimension are by no means an empty phrase. The Cubans have shown that in the matter of getting rid of a one-sided picture of the world and constructing media multipolarity they are convinced allies of Russia. Working together in this sector would be a worthy embodiment of the hopes that Havana and indeed Latin America as a whole associate with our country as one of the architects of a more just, secure and humane world order.



# Russia-Tajikistan: Relations of Friendship and Strategic Partnership

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IT WILL HARDLY BE an exaggeration to say that now the Russian-Tajik relationships are on the upswing. This contrasts particularly with some pause in their development path, which lasted from late 2012 to the fall of 2013 and was due to the hammering out of the final details of a key agreement on a Russian military presence in Tajikistan. However, once resolved, the interaction between Moscow and Dushanbe received additional impetus practically in all spheres of activity.

An important and significant part of our relationship is the notable recent intensification of mutual parliamentary ties. The boost came from the visits to Tajikistan by the leaders of both houses of the Russian Parliament. One of the important results of Matviyenko's visit was the restoration of the Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation Commission. Shukurjon Zuhurov, Speaker of the Lower House of the Tajik Parliament, is to pay a scheduled visit to Moscow in June. Then, in early autumn there will be another momentous event - the Conference on Inter-Regional Cooperation, which will take place in Moscow and the Moscow region. Let us not forget that Tajikistan is the only country with which Russia has an agreement on dual citizenship (in effect since 1995), which allows citizens of Tajikistan to take up Russian citizenship while retaining their Tajik citizenship. With this in mind, the Embassy annually handles up to 3,000 Russian citizenship applications.

For all the ranting from our detractors, Russian-Tajik relations are fully in keeping with both countries' strategic partnership status.

Although the leadership of Tajikistan conducts a multi-pronged foreign policy, Russia remains the principal partner for Dushanbe on a wide range of interactions. This is due to historical ties. For almost the entire 20th century, we lived in one state.

Another very important aspect is the strengthening of the Tajik-Afghan border. In 2005, the Tajik side took over its protection functions from Russian border guards. Russia's FSB (Federal Security Service) border cooperation group has been operating in Tajikistan since then. It provides the necessary support to the Tajik border guards.

FROM THE DISCUSSIONS with my colleagues, the Russian ambassadors to the region, an overall picture of how to apply our efforts emerges and the partners' interest in enhancing multi-faceted ties with Russia is clearly visible. This publication is seen primarily as an attempt to offer readers a closer look at the situation in the field of many-sided Russian-Tajik cooperation. In recent years we, together with our Tajik friends, have succeeded in accumulating a solid experience and it would be unforgivable to miss the chance to multiply it.

## Bulgaria-Russia: Past, Present and Future

*Author: A. Davydenko*

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ON JULY 7-8, the conference "Bulgaria-Russia. 135 years of Diplomatic Relations: Past, Present and Future" was held at the National Palace of Culture in Sofia.

The conference was sponsored by Bulgaria's nongovernmental organizations: the Slavyane Foundation, the Bulgaria-Russia Foundation, the Bulgaria-Russia Forum, and the Federation of Friendship with Peoples of Russia and the CIS. Assistance in organizing the conference was provided by the Diplomatic Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria, the National Association of International Relations, the Bulgarian Diplomatic Society, and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

In the participants' view, the conference was a significant event for academics in both countries. The broad format of this authoritative gathering of experts provided diplomats and politicians with many valuable ideas and an opportunity to discuss further development of the bilateral and European agendas.

During the plenary sessions and panel discussions, their participants exchanged views on a broad range of questions pertaining to expanding diplomatic relations and the political dialogue between Bulgaria and Russia and prospects of economic and cultural cooperation.

Book publishing is also a growing area of cooperation. Last year, the M.I. Rudomino All-Russia State Library for Foreign Literature and Bulgaria's Ministry of Culture launched a joint project named "New Bulgarian Novel." This is the first time, after a 30-year hiatus, that Russian readers could read books by modern Bulgarian authors in the Russian language. For their part, most major book stores in Bulgaria continue to sell fiction and academic literature in Russian.

A separate panel of the conference was devoted to various aspects of bilateral economic relations including cooperation in energy, new opportunities for expanding commercial and economic contacts in industry, agriculture, travel, and construction. It also discussed cooperation in the Black Sea region.

The delegates noted that despite some decline in trade the two countries have serious prerequisites for expanding trade in the future. Investment projects are getting ahead.

One of the highlights of the conference was the presentation of Russia's top diplomat's book entitled "Between the Past and Present: Russian Diplomacy in a Changing World" in the Bulgarian language.

## In Remembrance of the Normandie-Niemen Regiment

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In the current climate, when Russia is under the strongest information pressure since the time of the Cold War, when the ruling circles in a number of countries, along with politically engaged media, have launched an outright blatant propaganda war against us, the importance of public diplomacy in promoting an objective image of our country abroad cannot be overstated.

The expedition of non-profit partnership Leaders Club for Business Initiatives Promotion to Western Europe's

highest peak, Mont Blanc, dedicated to the memory of the legendary Normandie-Niemen French regiment, is a good example in this context.

The expedition's ideological charge has turned out to be very timely and relevant. Amid the obvious connivance and frank flirting of the ruling circles in a number of countries with the fascist and militaristic nationalism rearing its head in Ukraine, it is extremely important to show the international community historical examples when the entire free world, putting their differences aside, teamed up in the fight against the brown-shirt plague. The approaching 70th anniversary of Victory in the Great Patriotic War has added topicality to the event.

The idea behind the climb was to plant a Russian and a French national flag on top of Mont Blanc in eternal remembrance of the heroic feat of the Soviet people and the pilots of the Normandie-Niemen regiment.

There was to be a radio session with the International Space Station (ISS), as well as with entrepreneurs of a new Russian Federation member, the City of Sevastopol, directly from the peak. To cap the event, a formal reception ceremony was to take place in Paris.

During the ascent, the Leaders Club members scaled a height 2,500 vertical meters, of which 500 meters were steep snow-covered cliffs. Storming Mont Blanc took more than twelve hours. The climbers had only minimal stops. According to their assessment, for a person unprepared both physically and psychologically, it was right on the edge of the possible. They generously shared their impressions with us.

The expedition of the Leaders Club has returned an even more solid team of like-minded persons. They are not going to stop at what they have achieved. They plan next to climb Mount Vinson. It's Antarctica, 1,200 kilometers from the South Pole, the Ellsworth Mountains. At its highest point - 4,892 meters. 82 meters higher than Mont Blanc.

It's the right mindset. It's worthy of support. After all, the main engine of growth, development and progress of both individuals and governments is primarily the human passion and will towards perfection and the conquest of new peaks.



## World War I: Who Fought for Russia

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The Russian Empire which looked as a unitary state was, in fact, a polyethnic state which united over 150 peoples and nationalities. The official documents of that time contained no information about nationality/ethnic affiliation of the holder - it was established by religion, language and culture.

State power in Russia was supranational; it was based on the principles of inherited power and social estates rather than on Russians' ethnic awareness. It should be said that official ideology lacked any ethnic components.

At all times, the empire's nationalities policy was highly pragmatic and tolerant when dealing with non-Russian peoples; the center had its own political aims while until the early 20th century it remained unconcerned with administrative-territorial integration. This explains why in the 18th and 19th centuries, peoples of Siberia, the Volga area, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, the Transcaucasia, etc. never filed official documents to demand separation: they were obviously satisfied with being parts of the Russian Empire and aware of the advantages of belonging to a unified multinational state:

- Guaranteed security of life and property within the unified empire;
- Conditions conducive to social and economic progress;
- Access to world culture and civilization.

Ethnic paternalism of the Bolsheviks was aimed at liquidating suppression of non-Russian peoples and leveling out the living standards of all Soviet peoples. This one-way movement from the center to periphery proved to be inadequate even though it is still alive in the practice of the federal Center albeit under a different name: donations of the federal center to subjects of the Russian Federation.

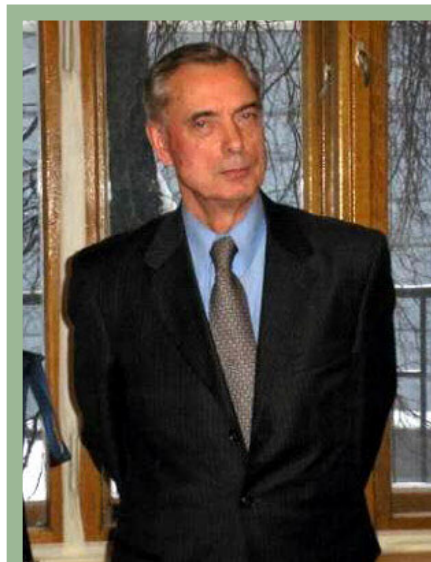
Russia and the West European empires practiced different methods of governance in the national areas. Having united sociums at different stages of social, political, economic and cultural development into one state the Russian Empire had to select the best form of governance: either European (metropolis - colonies) or Asian (blending the national fringes with the empire). Russia opted for the latter.

It should be said that while spreading far and wide, the Great Russian ethnos never engulfed other peoples. All peoples and nationalities living on the territory of Russia have preserved their identities.

The slogan "For the faith, the czar and the fatherland!" addressed, first and foremost, to the Orthodox Christians of the Russian Empire inspired members of many peoples of Russia: Armenians, Ossets, Kabardians, Estonians, Letts, Ingushes, Chechens, etc. fought in the regular army and irregular units. I should say that World War I revealed the best qualities of the Russian super-ethnos: collectivism and communal spirit, defensive nationalism and spontaneous internationalism. An active involvement of the peoples of Russia in World War I set up a basis for even stronger consolidation of the Russian super-ethnos within a single multinational state. The revolutionary events of 1917 suspended the process for a while.

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THE INTERNATIONAL LAW Department of the Russian Diplomatic Academy has put out a Dictionary of International Law edited by Doctor of Law SA. Yegorov who is also a judge at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Taking part in compiling the dictionary were noted Russia's international affairs experts with a considerable experience in research and teaching. Many of them worked for many years for Russia's institutions and ministries, including the Russian Foreign Ministry and its missions in other countries. Some of the contributors also worked for many years for the UN and other international bodies, including the European Court of Human Rights and international criminal tribunals of the UN. M.M. Biryukov, G.M. Velyaminov, A.I. Kovler, M.N. Kopylov, Ye.G. Lyakhov, Yu.S. Romashev, B.R. Tuzmukhamedov, and S.V. Chernichenko need no introduction.

This new edition follows up on its two previous editions which appeared in 1982 and 1986. The third edition is dedicated to the memory of Boris Mikhailovich Klimenko, the founder of this dictionary and a prominent international law expert. A range of entries written for the first and second editions are included almost in the same form they were written by the contributors to the first and second editions M.M. Boguslavsky, V.I. Kuznetsov and V.N. Fedorov. The third edition also includes the list of Latin words and expressions pertaining to legal vocabulary which most certainly widens the reader's cultural and professional horizons.

The compilers extensively used agreements, treaties and documents of modern-day international legal doctrine and practice. More than 900 entries contain definitions and concise description of categories and terms which make up the vast body of concepts of modern-day public international law. Entries relating to fundamental principles of international law, the legal foundations of the functioning of the system of international security have been creatively reworked and are supplied with examples of foreign policy activities of Russia and other states. Of considerable theoretical and practical interest are the entries dealing with human rights protection under the international law and international humanitarian law. These entries reflect modern-day concepts of relations governed by law which arise in the humanitarian sphere of interpersonal relationships.

A word of advice to the compilers of the dictionary. In this age of Internet and a rapid development and growing use of modern information technologies, it could be a good idea to supply every entry describing an international agency (organization) of an international treaty with their website reference. This is likely to add speed, quality and convenience of working with this dictionary. It would be also a good idea to consider the possibility of an electronic version of the dictionary and post it on the site of the Diplomatic Academy of the RF Foreign Ministry.

In conclusion I would like to say that the practical importance of the dictionary is far reaching because given the rapidly changing international relations and new international-law realities a fairly wide circle of persons will need answers to questions related to international law and international relations, and a source to look for and get appropriate interpretation of current rules of international law.

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THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY of the France-Russia dialogue on the key problems of today in the context of the Club de Nice was marked by the publication of a fundamental work authored by scholars of Russia and France "Energy and Geopolitics." The volume in Russian and French has been authored by 34 scholars. They are highly skilled experts in diverse branches of the power industry holding various academic ranks (from Vice President of the Russian Academy of Sciences [RAN] N.R Laverov and former executive director of the IEA Claude Mandil to leading analysts of sectoral research institutes).

All contributors to the book have their own and very authoritative views of the problems of development of global energy industry

and the role of the geopolitical factor.

At the same time, thanks to the editors of the book (RAN Academicians V.V. Kostyuk and A.A. Makarov), the entries submitted by individual contributors do not look like a compilation of separate statements looking at separate problems but rather as an integral and monolithic fundamental work reflecting all questions of the power industry and geopolitics. The book is intended not solely for scholars but also for politicians, media and business people, members of public organizations and government agencies.

The material in the book is arranged so that not only the interconnection between the state and problems of the world's power industry and geopolitics in the past and the present is described; in addition, the new challenges of globalization and regionalization around the world, new development trends and the Energy Strategy of Russia and the European

This wide range of problems, trends and advances in the power industry makes this book an encyclopedia of the global energy industry.

The book is unique in that all problems of the global energy industry are examined through the prism of its public perception and in terms of geopolitics.

The future is no one-track railroad with a fixed route and timetable. It offers new opportunities and new solutions with geopolitics shaping a desirable future and power engineering. It is therefore quite logical that the last chapter in this book, "A new energy civilization: problem of the 21st century," discusses scenarios of transition to the future ensuring sustainable development of the global "nature-society-man" system.



## Russia and China: A Strategic Partnership

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THERE HAS JUST SEEN THE LIGHT yet another book by the Director of the Institute of the Far East, Academician Mikhail Titarenko, "Russia and China: A Strategic Partnership and the Challenges of Our Time," in which - as always - he examines fundamental issues of the political, economic, social and cultural development of the People's Republic of China, its place and significance in the modern world, as well as the relations between China and Russia.

What engages our attention is that the trustful strategic partnership plays a pivotal role in economic relations between China and Russia, especially in developing the economy of Siberia and the Russian Far East, in addressing topical security issues in the Asia-Pacific region, etc.

Mikhail Titarenko examines in detail the positions and roles of Russia and China in RIC and BRICS. He primarily singles out the enormous role and importance of these countries in dealing with contemporary world economic issues. They make up the greater part of the world's population, and their economic potential can, in the short historical perspective, take them to the top of the world, given normal operation of the entire system of financial and economic relations.

The most important and interesting is the analysis of the economic, social and political development of China, its further perspectives and the determination of its place in the world economy and politics. The figures adduced show the correctness of the chosen strategy for the development of the People's Republic of China, as well as the effectiveness of the system and methods of leadership and of dealing with the problems facing the country, and the confidence that the goals are attainable.

Even such a brief and cursory overview of the book by Mikhail Titarenko shows the depth of the formulation of the fundamental problems of the development strategy not only of the People's Republic of China but also of the entire modern world. The analysis given by the author strikes one by its depth, breadth and sophistication, which is possible only through years of study of the most diverse aspects of the life and activity of the Chinese people and of the various spheres of politics, economy, science and culture.

Like the previous studies by Titarenko, the work is distinguished by the fundamentality and the theoretical and methodological soundness of its analysis and the logical excursions into the history of the Chinese people. This work sets one on the path of constructive thinking about the further development not only of China but also of Russia, Europe, the United States, and the entire world community. Whither the world? On what principles should nations develop the system of international relations? What goals to set, and by what means to achieve them? In the end, humanity faces the question: To be or not to be? The book of Mikhail Titarenko really does suggest serious thinking and to some extent gives an idea of what the answers to these fundamental questions may be.

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