

1: Foreign relations of Russia - Wikipedia

Experts review Russia's strategic objectives and foreign policy with Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and the United States. NAGORSKI: Welcome, everybody.

Fortunately, framing the conflict in terms of national interests points to a way forward. Arthur Bondar I assume we would all agree that each country has its own national interests, which sometimes conflict with the national interests of other countries. Conflict is not necessarily a bad thing. Satisfactorily resolved conflicts can improve relations, create expectations about how future conflicts will be resolved and decrease the likelihood that countries will consider resorting to violence. In doing that, they are in a unique position to contribute to the satisfactory resolution of conflicts by helping their leaders understand how the other country sees its interests. Much of that change would, in my view, have been likely whether Vladimir Putin succeeded Boris Yeltsin or not. The Russia that emerged from the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union was intent on becoming part of the Western world and wildly optimistic about what that would mean. Boris Yeltsin, its president, had staked his political future on destroying both the Communist Party and the Soviet system in which it was embedded. His foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, was as intellectually pro-West as anyone in his position had been throughout Russian history. They inherited from Mikhail Gorbachev a foreign policy outlookâ€”the Common European Homeâ€”that they intended to implement and extend. The Russian people, giddy from the collapse of the corrupt, oppressive regime under which they had labored for generations, hungered for a normal relationship with the rest of the world and believed that the result would be quick and dramatic improvement in their lives. In I wrote that these expectations could not be met, and that a period of disillusionment would inevitably follow. The policy challenge for both the West and Russia was to manage that period of disillusionment so that it would lead to a more mature and well-grounded relationship, and limit the likelihood of a Russian turn toward autarky and hostility. A quartercentury later it is clear that the relationship has not been managed well. The Westâ€”and particularly the United Statesâ€”bears at least as much responsibility for that as does Russia. If this is what was meant by capitalism and democracy, they did not like it. Internationally, the Russian leadership saw the expansion of NATO eastward as a betrayal and a potential threat. Well before , Yeltsin was discredited and Kozyrev was gone, replaced by a foreign minister with far more traditional views of Russian interests. By , when Putin replaced Yeltsin, the U. The Russians saw in these and other developments an attempt to establish a U. The United States kept telling Russia that none of this harmed Russian interests; Russia kept replying that, yes, it does harm our interests. Trying to tell other countries what their fundamental interests are is generally a futile exercise. At the turn of the century, what were those interests? If the United States, Britain or France espoused such interests, it is not likely that they would be viewed as inherently predatory. Are we to conclude, then, that in Russian hands such interests are predatory because Russia itself is inherently predatory? A claim like that cannot withstand scrutiny. It is also not very smart. Historically, treating regimes as inherently predatory e. Interpreting Interests So, is it appropriate, then, to consider the Putin regime inherently predatory? A number of foreign policy analysts who are not Russophobes, or do not want to be seen as such, do trace the problem not to the country but to the regime governing it. Proponents of the predatory Putin regime thesis point to the Russian invasions of Georgia and Crimea, its support of separatists in eastern Ukraine and its support of the Assad regime in Syria as evidence of an intent to recreate, insofar as possible, the geography and international influence of the Soviet Union. Their policy prescription for the United States is to contain this expansionism by replacing the Russian influence or presence with a U. In my view, there are serious problems with this interpretation of Russian intentions and the policy approach that flows from it. First, it does not stand up well to critical examination. Second, its zero-sum view of the U. The policy challenge for both the West and Russia was to manage that period of disillusionment so that it would lead to a more mature and well-grounded relationship. The two countries shared an interest. They were then and remain today the two developed, non-Islamic states that have suffered the greatest losses from terrorism. This embryonic alliance was useful to Washington when it invaded Afghanistan and overthrew the Taliban regime. When the United States moved to place anti-ballistic missile

systems in Eastern Europe and NATO, and the European Union moved to develop closer relationships with Georgia and Ukraine, the Russian regime fundamentally reassessed the prospects for relationships with the West that would respect its concerns and interests. Hardball International Politics With regard to Georgia and Ukraine, the Putin regime has made no secret of its view that it is a fundamental Russian interest that these countries not become NATO members under any conditions, and that they become European Union members only under conditions acceptable to Russia. To assert that Russia has no right to such interests is beside the point. To argue that the assertion of such interests is prima facie evidence of predatory intent is historically dubious. Britain used diplomacy, trade and military power on the mainland to pursue that objective. Its intentions were not predatory; it sought to maintain a balance of power. Was the Monroe Doctrine inherently predatory? Most Americans would presumably say no, although there are probably several Latin American states that would say, at a minimum, that the United States has used the doctrine at times to justify predatory behavior. In Georgia and Ukraine, Russia used means that were appropriate to the achievement of limited objectives in support of its national interests. Since there are many who will find every element of that statement objectionable, some clarification is in order. First of all, to say that means are appropriate to an objective is not a moral judgment, but rather a statement that the means were right-sized to achieve the objective; they were necessary and sufficient, neither too large nor too small. In neither case was the objective to occupy the country or overthrow the regime in power. The Putin regime will continue to be assertive in pursuit of its international interests, believing that the alternative is that its interests will be ignored. Rather, the objective was to force a re-evaluation, both in the country concerned and among the Western powers, of the costs involved in pursuing NATO and E. By recognizing Abkhaz and Ossetian independence and by annexing Crimea, Russia imposed an immediate cost on the countries concerned and also sent a message that there could be further costs if its interests were not taken into account. In fact, our differences with Russia on Georgia and Ukraine are not fundamental. It is not in the U. Clearly disabusing them of the idea will provide an incentive for them to work out a mutually acceptable relationship with their much larger neighbor. The economic relationship among the E. There is no fundamental reason why an arrangement beneficial to all sides cannot be foundâ€”which is not to say that finding it will be easy. The Case of Syria At the time of writing, the September ceasefire in the Syrian civil war has broken down, resulting in cruel attacks on aid convoys, civilians and medical facilities in Aleppo. Is there any basis left for finding common ground on this civil war? We are in error if we see the war in Syria as a zero-sum U. We have common interests with Russia on the first two of those objectives; on the remainder our attitude may range from indifferent to opposed. Turning those shared interests into joint action has been extraordinarily difficult because we do not always agree on which groups are terrorists, and because terrorist and non-terrorist groups are often intermingled on the ground. There is only one outcome of the Syrian civil war that would threaten vital U. On that, at least, the United States and Russia can agree. We are in error if we see the war there as a zerosum U. Russia is not the Soviet Union. We will not always be in agreement on what should be done in Syria, or more broadly in the Middle East. Prospects Militarily, Russia is a significant regional power with a superpower nuclear capability. Economically, it is rich in raw materials and has vastly improved its agricultural sector, but continues to struggle to be competitive internationally in the industrial and information sectors. Politically, it is ruled by a semi-authoritarian regime that falls well within Russian historical traditions, is far milder than the Soviet-era norm and has a substantial level of popular support. Yet a normal relationship with Russia under the Putin regime is possible. Unlike during the Soviet era, the two countries are not ideological opponents. There will be areas where our interests conflict. Resolving those conflicts constructively will require both countries to understand the limits of their interests. Raymond Smith was an FSO from to A longtime international negotiations consultant, he is the author of *Negotiating with the Soviets* and *The Craft of Political Analysis for Diplomats*

2: TASS Russian News Agency

Russia's view of the modern world, as well as its goals and objectives are reflected in the Foreign Policy Concept adopted in It evaluates the global situation and analyses the processes unfolding in the world and its regions.

This hawkish Russian foreign policy is not new. Russia also took over Crimea from Ukraine in March , after supporting a civil war in Eastern Ukraine between ethnic Russians and the Ukrainian government. This is the focus of our recent study published in the International Journal of Public Opinion Research. In democratic countries, public opinion is often viewed as a restraint on elected leaders that prevents them from engaging in military adventurism. But what happens when this is not true – like in Russia? These autocratic governments maintain power through the illusion of multiparty elections and restricted civil and political liberties. Nevertheless, these autocratic regimes still need to appear responsive to public opinion in order to maintain legitimacy. Autocratic regimes like Russia realize that public opinion and legitimacy are important for maintaining power. Therefore, they try to control what information their citizens can access by tightly controlling the press and the internet. For instance, Russian media framed the Crimean conflict as Russia lending protection to the ethnic Russians who live in Ukraine. They claimed these Russians were facing prosecution from Western puppets. At the same time, it ignored any possible economic, political and military costs associated with armed conflict. What do Russians think? In Russia, opinion polls are as important as , or possibly more so than , in democracies. They are conducted largely unhindered by government interference. These opinion polls, in turn, reflect the information bubble created by the Russian government. Since the takeover of Crimea, public support for President Putin and his foreign policy has remained high. Russian ethnic nationalism, promoted by the government-controlled media, has also grown among the Russian public over the last 15 years. On the same survey, the most frequently cited 29 percent barrier keeping Russia from being one of the leading countries in the world was resistance from the United States and European Union. The influence of Russian media, however, is only half of the equation explaining the foreign policy preferences of the Russian public. When we have strongly held beliefs, we tend to discount or avoid information that may somehow counter these beliefs. For many Russians, pro-government or strong nationalist sentiment may act as mental screens that increase the persuasiveness of Russian media and increase resistance to other points of view. Our study recruited 1, Russian internet users in March This was during the height of the Crimean conflict. Participants were randomly assigned to two groups. One group was exposed to a series of questions that led respondents to think about hawkish foreign policy considerations commonly found in Russian media. The other group was exposed to a series of questions prompting participants to consider the economic, military and diplomatic costs associated with intervening in Crimea, commonly found in independent Western media. In addition, we asked participants how much they supported the Putin government and the importance of their Russian identity. Participants also told us the frequency of both their Russian and Western media use. This influence, however, was limited to those with low to moderate nationalistic identity or partisan support for Putin. Consuming Western news media, even in small amounts compared to Russian media consumption, was significantly correlated with reduced support for Russian foreign policy. Psychology literature and our findings suggest two message strategies for correcting Russian beliefs. Research shows that individuals are more likely to change their beliefs if they can do so without rejecting core values. One strategy to avoid is encouraging nationalistic Russian audiences to reflect about the benefits and costs of Russian foreign policy. Ironically, research indicates that such deliberation leads to more motivated reasoning , not less. Promoting public buy-in to a democratic peace in authoritarian countries may be difficult, but not impossible. Public diplomacy efforts based on sound social science can have an impact on Russian public opinion and increase its resilience to manipulation by the Putin government. Even in an autocracy like Russia, public opinion has the potential to temper aggressive foreign policy agendas. Shaping public opinion through messages that highlight the costs of conflict is an important first step.

3: Understanding Russian Foreign Policy Today | The Foreign Service Journal - December

The foreign relations of the Russian Federation is the policy of the government of Russia by which it guides the interactions with other nations, their citizens and foreign organizations. This article covers the foreign policy of the Russian Federation since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in late

Putin on 12 February I. The Concept is based on the Constitution of the Russian Federation, federal laws, the universally recognized principles and rules of international law, international treaties to which the Russian Federation is a party, the Decree by the President of the Russian Federation on measures to implement the foreign policy of the Russian Federation No. In accordance with the top priority objective of the national security policy, which is ensuring the protection of an individual, society and the state, the foreign policy should be focused primarily on pursuing the following basic goals: The current stage of the world development is characterized by profound changes in the geopolitical landscape largely provoked or accelerated by the global financial and economic crisis. International relations are in the process of transition, the essence of which is the creation of a polycentric system of international relations. That process is not an easy one. It is accompanied by increased economic and political turbulence at the global and regional levels. International relations become increasingly complex and unpredictable. The ability of the West to dominate world economy and politics continues to diminish. The global power and development potential is now more dispersed and is shifting to the East, primarily to the Asia-Pacific region. The emergence of new global economic and political actors with Western countries trying to preserve their traditional positions enhances global competition, which is manifested in growing instability in international relations. With the reduced risk of a large-scale war, including a nuclear one, the balance of military power between states and groups of states is changing. Efforts to build up or modernize offensive potentials, to create and deploy new types of weapons erode the global security architecture based on international treaties and agreements in the area of arms control. Global turbulences and growing interdependence of states and peoples frustrate the attempts to build individual "oases of peace and security"; the only reliable insurance against possible shocks is compliance with universal principles of equal and indivisible security in respect of the Euro-Atlantic, Eurasian and Asia-Pacific regions. Today, traditional military and political alliances cannot protect against all the existing transborder challenges and threats. The bloc-based approach to addressing international issues is being gradually replaced by network diplomacy based on flexible participation in multilateral mechanisms aimed at finding effective solutions to common challenges. Economic, legal, scientific, environmental, demographic and IT factors become as important for states in influencing the world politics as the military power. Of increased relevance are issues related to sustainable development, spiritual and intellectual education of population, improving its well-being and promoting investment in human capital. A key factor of international stability is economic interdependence of states. Financial and economic challenges become increasingly evident as negative trends build up in the world economy. Unsolved structural problems and lingering economic depression in the leading countries of the West affect global development in a negative way. Incomplete recovery amidst the European debt crisis and ongoing recession trends in the euro area pose serious risks for the future. International efforts to create a new, more balanced world trade and monetary system meeting the needs of the globalized world gain special significance. Increased competition for strategic resources causes extreme volatility at the commodity markets. Fundamental changes are taking place in the energy sector, which is related, inter alia, to the use of innovative technologies to develop hard-to-recover hydrocarbon reserves. At a time when it becomes increasingly important for the states to diversify their presence in the world markets in order to guarantee their economic security, we are witnessing imposition of various unjustified restrictions and other discriminatory measures. For the first time in modern history, global competition takes place on a civilizational level, whereby various values and models of development based on the universal principles of democracy and market economy start to clash and compete against each other. Cultural and civilizational diversity of the world becomes more and more manifest. The reverse side of the globalization processes is the increased emphasis on civilizational identity. Similar processes can be observed

in other regions as well, which makes it a priority for world politics to prevent civilizational fault line clashes and to intensify efforts to forge partnership of cultures, religions and civilizations in order to ensure a harmonious development of mankind. Another factor which negatively affects global stability is the emerging trend towards international relations dominated, as in the past, by ideological factors. Another risk to world peace and stability is presented by attempts to manage crises through unilateral sanctions and other coercive measures, including armed aggression, outside the framework of the UN Security Council. There are instances of blatant neglect of fundamental principles of international law, such as the non-use of force, and of the prerogatives of the UN Security Council when arbitrary interpretation of its resolutions is allowed. Some concepts that are being implemented are aimed at overthrowing legitimate authorities in sovereign states under the pretext of protecting civilian population. The use of coercive measures and military force bypassing the UN Charter and the UN Security Council is unable to eliminate profound socioeconomic, ethnic and other antagonisms that cause conflicts. Such measures only lead to the expansion of the conflict area, provoke tensions and arms race, aggravates interstate controversies and incite ethnic and religious strife. New transborder threats and challenges increasingly dominate the international agenda rising in proportions and becoming more diversified in form and geography. They include, in the first place, the risk of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, international terrorism, uncontrolled traffic in arms and combatants, radicalization of public sentiment giving rise to religious extremism and ethnic and interconfessional tensions, illegal migration, maritime piracy, drug trafficking, corruption, regional and internal conflicts, scarcity of essential resources, demographic problems, global poverty, environmental, sanitary and epidemiological challenges, climate change and threats to information and food security. Globalization processes have also transformed international organized crime which acquired a new, macroeconomic dimension leading to the emergence of new criminal "power poles" that accumulate considerable resources and progressively expand their influence, including by infiltrating government agencies of various countries and financial and economic institutions, as well as by establishing ties with terrorist and extremist organizations. Global challenges and threats require an adequate response and joint efforts of the international community based on the central coordinating role of the UN and given the clear correlation of the issues of security, sustainable development and human rights. New centers of economic growth and political power increasingly take responsibility for their respective regions. Regional integration becomes an effective means to increase competitiveness of the participating states. Networks and associations, trade pacts and other economic agreements, as well as regional reserve currencies serve as instruments to enhance security and financial and economic stability. At the same time, increasing global competition and the growing crisis potential sometimes creates a risk of destructive and unlawful use of "soft power" and human rights concepts to exert political pressure on sovereign states, interfere in their internal affairs, destabilize their political situation, manipulate public opinion, including under the pretext of financing cultural and human rights projects abroad. A true consolidation of efforts of the international community requires a set of common values as a foundation for joint action, a common moral denominator, which major world religions have always shared, including such principles and concepts as pursuit of peace and justice, dignity, freedom and responsibility, honesty, compassion, and work ethic. Foreign policy is one of the most important tools to ensure the steady development of a country and guarantee its competitiveness in the globalizing world. Being a permanent member of the UN Security Council and a participant in a whole range of influential international organizations, regional structures, and mechanisms for inter-state dialogue and cooperation, having considerable resources in every area, actively developing relations with leading states and alliances throughout the world in line with its multi-vector policy, and consistently integrating into the global economic and political system as a responsible and constructive member of the international community, the Russian Federation contributes to the development of a positive, well-balanced and unifying international agenda and to the settlement of global and regional problems. Fundamental and rapid changes not only create serious risks but also provide the Russian Federation with new opportunities. Russia pursues an independent foreign policy guided by its national interests and based on unconditional respect for international law. It is consistent and continuous and reflects the unique role our country has been playing over centuries as a counterbalance in

international affairs and the development of global civilization. Russia is fully aware of its special responsibility for maintaining security in the world both on the global and regional levels and is determined to act jointly with all the interested states to address common challenges. Russia will work to anticipate and forestall events and remain prepared for any scenario in global affairs. Emergence of a New World Order

Russia follows a policy aimed at creating a stable and sustainable system of international relations based on international law and principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs of states. The system aims to provide reliable and equal security for each member of the international community in the political, military, economic, informational, humanitarian and other areas. The United Nations should remain the center for regulation of international relations and coordination in world politics in the 21st century, as it has proven to have no alternative and also possesses unique legitimacy. Any decisions on the expansion of the Security Council should be based on a general consensus of the UN Member States. The status of the five permanent members of the Security Council should be preserved. Russia attaches great importance to ensuring sustainable manageability of global development, which requires collective leadership by the major states of the world, which, in turn, should be representative in geographical and civilizational terms and fully respect the central and coordinating role of the UN.

Rule of Law in International Relations Russia consistently advocates the strengthening of the legal basis of international relations and complies with its international legal obligations in good faith. The maintenance and strengthening of the international rule of law is among its priorities in the international arena. The rule of law is intended to ensure peaceful and fruitful cooperation among states while preserving the balance of their often conflicting interests as well as safeguarding the stability of the global community in general. Arbitrary and politically motivated interpretation of fundamental international legal norms and principles such as non-use of force or threat of force, peaceful settlement of international disputes, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, right of peoples to self-determination, in favor of certain countries pose particular danger to international peace, law and order. Likewise, attempts to represent violations of international law as its "creative" application are dangerous.

Strengthening International Security Russia consistently advocates reducing the role of the use of force in international relations while enhancing strategic and regional stability. To these ends, the Russian Federation:

International Cooperation in the Sphere of Economy and Environment Due to high rates of its economic growth based on steady external and growing internal demand, unique natural and accumulated financial resources, and responsible social and economic policy, Russia makes a considerable contribution to ensuring stability of the global economy and finances and participates in international efforts to prevent and address crisis developments. Russia intends to actively facilitate the creation of an equitable and democratic global trade, economic, monetary and financial architecture, definition of international development targets assuming that common modernization challenges provide new opportunities for strengthening international economic cooperation. To achieve these objectives, the Russian Federation:

The Russian Federation is in favor of widening international cooperation with a view to ensuring environmental security and addressing climate change on the planet, including through the use of advanced energy- and resource-saving technologies in the interests of the entire global community. Russia views sustainable social and economic development of all countries as an indispensable element of the modern system of collective security, and believes that measures to facilitate international development should be aimed at finding effective ways to support efforts to eliminate imbalances in the development of various regions. To that end, Russia is using its donor potential to pursue active and targeted policies in the area of international development both at the multilateral and bilateral levels. Russia supports international cooperation in the area of health protection with the leading role of the World Health Organization as one of the priorities of the global agenda and an integral part of efforts to ensure sustainable development. Another priority is an effective use of sea and ocean spaces in view of their growing importance in terms of ensuring both economic development and security. The Russian Federation will work to promote relevant regimes in the areas of safe navigation, including maritime piracy control, responsible fisheries and ocean-related scientific research, in combination with measures to protect maritime environment and combat international terrorism. It is going to establish, in accordance with international law, outer limits of its continental shelf to provide additional opportunities for the exploration and development of its mineral

resources. International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights As a country committed to universal democratic values, including human rights and freedoms, Russia views its objectives as: Information Support for Foreign Policy Activities An important element of the foreign policy activities of the Russian Federation is providing the broad world public with full and accurate information about its stand on major international issues, foreign policy initiatives and actions of the Russian Federation, its domestic social and economic development processes and plans, as well as on the achievements of Russian culture and science. In its public diplomacy, Russia will seek to ensure its objective perception in the world, develop its own effective means of information influence on public opinion abroad, strengthen the role of Russian mass media in the international information environment providing them with essential state support, as well as actively participate in international information cooperation, and take necessary measures to counteract information threats to its sovereignty and security. Possibilities offered by new information and communications technologies will be widely used in these activities. Russia will seek to develop a set of legal and ethical norms for the safe use of such technologies. Priority areas of Russian foreign policy include the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the CIS Member States, further strengthening of the CIS as a basis for enhancing regional interaction among its participants who not only share common historical background but also have great capacity for integration in various spheres. Relations of strategic partnership and alliance are developed with those states that show willingness to engage in them. Russia sees as a priority the task of establishing the Eurasian Economic Union aiming not only to make the best use of mutually beneficial economic ties in the CIS space but also to become a model of association open to other states, a model that would determine the future of the Commonwealth states. The new union that is being formed on the basis of universal integration principles is designed to serve as an effective link between Europe and the Asia-Pacific region. Particular attention will be paid to providing support to compatriots living in the CIS Member States, as well as to negotiating agreements on the protection of their educational, linguistic, social, labor, humanitarian and other rights and freedoms. Russia will build up cooperation with the CIS Member States in ensuring mutual security, including joint efforts to combat common challenges and threats, primarily international terrorism, extremism, drug trafficking, transnational crime, and illegal migration. Priorities here are the neutralization of the above-mentioned threats coming from the territory of Afghanistan and the prevention of destabilization of the situation in Central Asia and Transcaucasia. The task of transforming the CSTO into a universal international organization capable of counteracting current challenges and threats under the growing pressure of diverse global and regional factors in the area of its responsibility and the adjoining regions remains relevant. To these ends, Russia will: Russia will maintain its active role in the political and diplomatic conflict settlement in the CIS space; it will participate, in particular, in the settlement of the Transdniestria problem on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutral status of the Republic of Moldova while providing a special status for Transdniestria, contribute to the settlement of the Nagorny Karabakh conflict in collaboration with other OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chairs, building on the principles contained in the joint statements made by the Presidents of Russia, the USA, and France in Russia is interested in the normalization of relations with Georgia in the areas in which the Georgian side shows its willingness, while taking into account the existing political environment in Transcaucasia. Priority is given to relations with the Euro-Atlantic states which, besides geography, economy and history, have common deep-rooted civilizational ties with Russia. In light of the increased importance of combining efforts of all the states in the face of transborder challenges and threats, Russia stands for building up a truly unified region without dividing lines through developing genuine partnership relations between Russia, the European Union and the United States.

4: Discussion Focuses Russian Foreign Policy, Apr 17 | Video | www.enganchecubano.com

A Russian policeman looks at TV screens in a shop in Moscow on Feb. 1, , during the broadcasting of Russian President Vladimir Putin's annual address to Russian and foreign media.

This chapter concludes with an analysis of these forces in the Russian-Georgian conflict. Like China Chapter 6 and Brazil Chapter 13 , for example, Russia has perceived multilateral forums as a way to counter American hegemony. Russian concern with its image, identity, and how its behavior fits in with international norms can also be seen in the foreign policies of Germany Chapter 4 and Turkey Chapter 9. Like South Africa Chapter 12 , Russia has recently experienced a dramatic regime change and its institutional structure is still somewhat uncertain. And although public opinion is not 2 irrelevant to foreign policy, decision making is highly centralized, as in China Chapter 6 and Iran Chapter . As with other countries in this book, Russian foreign policy illustrates some of the complex relationships between internal and external factors. Quickly, however, another incident captured the center stage of international news. Russia poured its ground troops, hard artillery, and air force into the republic of Georgia in response to the earlier attempt of the Georgian military to retake its breakaway territory, South Ossetia, by force. The roots of the recent confrontation between South Ossetia and Georgia go back to the early s, when South Ossetia and another breakaway territory, Abkhazia, gained de facto independence from the Georgian state. That year, a newly elected president of Georgia, Mikhail Saakashvili, declared national unification as a top priority for his cabinet. It was the first militarized dispute involving Russia since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in and the biggest crisis between the West and Moscow since the end of the Cold War. During the s, the world had become accustomed to viewing Russia as a dysfunctional, poor, and weak state. Russia was isolated from Western political, security, and economic forums and assailed with stinging criticisms from the West. By launching a five-day long war with Georgia, Russia sent to the world a clear message that it had fully recovered after the hardships of transition and had again become a formidable force. The impetus to understand and explain the foreign policy of the modern Russia comes at the juncture of several important developments in the world. The first, of course, is the resurgence of the Russian Federation, which is no longer insolvent and weak. The country has regained the necessary capabilities and posture for launching a military assault on a sovereign state, defying international condemnation. The second development encompasses ongoing changes in the structure of international relations as well as economic and political influences on the global order managed by the United States. If the West hopes to engage Russia in solving global problems, it must have a solid grasp of the Russian foreign policy interests and how they align with international priorities of Western states. The latter efforts have been complicated by intense political battles and intellectual debates in Russian foreign affairs and an ongoing quest for a new identity for the Russian state. This chapter examines external and internal circumstances of Russian foreign relations, and sheds light on the most contentious questions and debates in the study of Russian foreign affairs. In light of the latest resurgence of the 4 Russian Federation, what can explain its renewed quest for regaining the great power position and instituting a multipolar structure in the international system? This chapter addresses these themes and questions. It begins with a brief historical overview of Russian foreign policy followed by two parts addressing external influences and domestic factors in Russian foreign policy actions. These international- and domestic-level perspectives are put into action to explain Russian foreign policy toward the former republics of the Soviet Union in general, and Georgia in particular, including the Georgia-Russia war. Historical Context It is difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend present-day Russian foreign policy or make any forecasts about its future without some understanding of the past. There have been stark continuities in the foreign policy of pre-Soviet, Soviet, and post-Cold War Russia, despite the important changes in the domestic environment that the country has undergone during this time. Viewed from a historical perspective, Russian foreign policy has exhibited a persistent pattern of expansion of state authority over the vast territories adjacent to the Russian heartland. Russia was a continental empire occupying vast and open territory but had no natural barriers to protect its immense landmass. The prospects of an easy invasion contributed to an enduring feeling of insecurity, and expansionism was viewed as essential

to survival of the Russian state. It also contributed to the emergence of ambivalent attitudes toward the West and Europe, manifested in the famous domestic divide between two opposing groups of Russian philosophers, known as Westernizers and Slavophiles. Therefore, Russian foreign and defense policies had to be adjusted to the economic weaknesses of the empire. In February, the last Russian monarch, Nicholas II, was deposed from the throne and a few months later, all state power was captured by the Bolsheviks. It is undeniable that Soviet Russia was different from its Tsarist predecessor in some important ways. Still, the same geopolitical realities and imperial ideology provided important continuities in the foreign policy of the tsarist and Soviet regimes. The Soviet Union continued to pursue the strategy of territorial expansion, especially prior to the Second World War. It exercised direct control over the annexed territories and an indirect command in other states through its support of communist regimes. Its idling economy struggled to provide sufficient backing for national independence movements in the Third World. The military industrial complex of the USSR was caught up in the arms race with its Cold War adversary, but unable to match the heavy military spending of the United States. The Soviet Union lagged behind the leading industrial nations in technological and scientific fields. Mikhail Gorbachev, a new Soviet leader who came to power in 1985, understood the seriousness of the situation and consequences of competing demands on the stability and economic prosperity of the USSR. He launched historical political and economic reforms of the Soviet Union by introducing liberal ideas of global interdependence and cooperation between states into the Marxist-Leninist foundations of Soviet domestic and foreign policy. His liberalizing policies of glasnost openness and perestroika restructuring brought about greater transparency in the activities of the Soviet institutions and caused irreversible changes in the structure of the Soviet political and economic system that eventually led to the fall of Communism. The Soviet Union, whose unity and stability was already shaken by the loud secessionist calls, finally disintegrated in 1991. Russia became an official successor of the Soviet Union by assuming its legal obligations, membership in international organizations, and ownership of the nuclear arsenal. The collapse of the Soviet Union accompanied by the loss of territory, division of the military and industrial property, and division of the infrastructure emasculated Russia. The result was that the country plunged into a profound identity crisis that noticeably affected its relations with Western and post-Soviet states. Boris Yeltsin, who became the first president of Russia, was initially a passionate supporter of pro-Western liberal orientation for Russia. He and the first Russian foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, advocated for the rapid integration of Russia into the West. Russian leaders were disheartened with the minimal volume of assistance from Western institutions, and upset with what they viewed as the desertion of Russia by Western states. Left to its own devices to tackle domestic and international problems, Russia became determined to resurrect its great power position and regain its influence in the post-Soviet space. Under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, Russia has vehemently opposed the institution of the unipolar global order managed from Washington and advocated for the virtues of multipolarity and multilateralism. What follows from this brief historical investigation is that Russian foreign policy has been affected, to a certain degree, by the size of the country and its geographical position. The lack of natural barriers in the vast and open Russian territory, combined with the economic, technological, and military weaknesses of the state resulted in an enduring fear of invasion and occupation. Russia has always been insecure about the openness and indefensibility of its borders as well as the encirclement by what it has perceived as enemies or moderately hostile states. The Russian state formed and joined military alliances, conquered and controlled weaker states, built its military capabilities, and even supported the role of international institutions and ideas of multilateralism. The Russian aspiration of acting and being viewed as a great power nation had also endured through the pre-Soviet, Soviet, and post-Cold war epochs. It is to the analysis of these external and internal circumstances of Russian foreign policy that this chapter turns next.

External Factors Although, there is a considerable debate about the relative weight of internal and external circumstances in shaping the direction of Russian foreign policy, nobody disputes the prominent impact of the international environment on foreign activities of the Russian state. For analytical purposes, all explanations that underscore the impact of external factors on Russian foreign affairs can be classified into two groups. According to this metaphor, based on the realist perspective discussed in Chapter 1, the international arena is anarchic, which means that there is no central authority overriding sovereign states. In the absence of a central

authority, all states are left to their own devices for protecting themselves. States pursue a wide range of national goals but interests in national security always prevail. What states can do to ensure their security depends on their relative power position in the international system which is determined by their military and economic strength, the availability of resources, and the number of power poles competing for influence in the international realm. For Russia, these actions of the United States and NATO diminish its influence and autonomy in the world politics, threaten security, and the very survival of the Russian state. The Russian political and security elite developed a conviction that a multipolar world dominated by a handful of great powers, including Russia, was inherently more stable and considerably less threatening to Russian national interests. Western-sponsored projects advocating political pluralism and democratization in the post-Soviet states have been portrayed as clandestine attempts to encircle and suppress the Russian state. Russian legal documents have presented the United States as both the key Russian partner and the main Russian rival. Vladimir Putin at the beginning of his first term as the Russian president was elated over the development of the U. When the true partnership failed to materialize, the Kremlin became increasingly outspoken against the White House. Since the s, Russia has eagerly promoted the ideas of multipolarity exemplified in the Russian support of the enhanced role of the United Nations and its Security Council in global affairs. Through multipolarity and multilateralism Russia sought to transcend the U. It has also attempted to balance U. The counterbalancing strategy has also been problematic. A full-fledged alliance of Russia with China has been out of question as both countries have strong disincentives for breaking their ties with the United States. The Russian leadership has lingering fears of Chinese hegemony, while the Chinese economy is interdependent with that of the United States. Energy is envisioned as an invaluable instrument for both enriching the country and elevating its international status and influence, especially in relations with European states and former republics of the Soviet Union. The share of Russian gas in the European market and volume of profits from energy resources have been on decline due to a combination of factors, including the loss of reputation as a reliable partner after gas disputes with Ukraine, the global economic crisis, changes in technologies of gas production, and the rise in Central Asian gas prices. In this way, the international environment, in which states operate exerts a decisive influence on their actions. The difference, however, is in the emphasis that is placed on either material or social factors in explaining foreign policy. Realists underscore the importance of material factors, such as military and economic strength. Constructivists emphasize the impact of socialization, the weight of social recognition, and the self-image of states in 12 accounting for their foreign policy actions and relations with other states. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Russia longed to be a part of Europe. After the Bolshevik revolution, Soviet Russia needed legitimization by the West. In the s, it looked for Western respect of its great power position, and sought recognition of its superpower status at the height of the Cold War. The first Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, approved in , clearly identified Russia with the West, which was represented as an embodiment of democratic and liberal ideas and as an association of material political entities, including the United States and other European states. Achieving the main characteristics of the West, i. The idea of the West as an embodiment of certain norms, values, and institutions has been decoupled from its material constituents, such as NATO and the United States. This meaning can be inferred from the 13 repeated appeals to the importance of parity in international relations, couched in terms of equal partnership, mutual benefits, and strategic cooperation with the West. It has been argued that by integrating Russia into the West and Europe, and recognizing it as a Western state sharing the same values and aspirations as other states of the West and Europe, the western community could have contributed to the internalization of liberal democratic norms by Russia. Other perspectives informed by the tenets of Liberalism discussed in Chapter 1 place Russian foreign policy within the context of global and regional economies shows the importance of growing economic interdependence of their economy with the economies of other states and the effects on their foreign policy. Unlike the previous security doctrines, the Strategy utilizes a broader understanding of security. Various domestic oriented approaches to foreign policy offer explanations about the impact of manifold internal factors on foreign policy outcomes and decision making processes that lie beneath important decisions. As discussed in Chapter 1, cumulatively these perspectives assume that foreign policy making authority is dispersed within the state among government agencies, interest groups, and individual

political leaders. The Constitution of the Russian Federation defines Russia as a democratic state, which guarantees political freedoms and holds regular, free, and fair elections. However, in practice Russia lacks many features of a truly democratic state. When the formal rules come into conflict with informal rules, which often serve particularistic interests of the ruling elite, the formal rules get compromised. According to the Russian legislation, the President and his administration, the Prime Minister and the government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the military, and the 15 security and intelligence agencies are the key players in foreign policy. The actual role of these institutions in foreign policy making does not, however, match their formal authority as described in the constitution and other legal documents.

5: Foreign policy of Vladimir Putin - Wikipedia

Russian Foreign Policy Research and analysis regarding all aspects of Russia's foreign policy. Russia's foreign policy has in recent years become more assertive than it had been in the first two decades since independence.

This Concept provides a systemic vision of the basic principles, priority areas, goals and objectives of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation. This Concept is based on the Constitution of the Russian Federation, generally recognized principles and rules of international law, international treaties of the Russian Federation, federal laws, Executive Order of the President of the Russian Federation No. The world is currently going through fundamental changes related to the emergence of a multipolar international system. The structure of international relations is becoming increasingly complex. Globalization has led to the formation of new centres of economic and political power. Global power and development potential is becoming decentralized, and is shifting towards the Asia-Pacific Region, eroding the global economic and political dominance of the traditional western powers. Cultural and civilizational diversity of the world and the existence of multiple development models have been clearer than ever. Tensions are rising due to disparities in global development, the widening prosperity gap between States and growing competition for resources, access to markets and control over transport arteries. This competition involves not only human, research and technological capabilities, but has been increasingly gaining a civilizational dimension in the form of dueling values. Against this backdrop, attempts to impose values on others can stoke xenophobia, intolerance and conflict in international affairs, leading ultimately to chaos and an uncontrolled situation in international relations. Consequently, preventing fault lines from emerging in relations between civilizations and promoting partnerships across cultures, religions and civilizations are regarded as priorities for a harmonious development of humankind. The attempts made by western powers to maintain their positions in the world, including by imposing their point of view on global processes and conducting a policy to contain alternative centres of power, leads to a greater instability in international relations and growing turbulence on the global and regional levels. The struggle for dominance in shaping the key principles of the future international system has become a key trend at the current stage of international development. Force is becoming an increasingly important factor in international relations amid escalating political, social and economic contradictions and growing uncertainty in the global political system and economy. Efforts to expand and upgrade military capabilities and to create and deploy new types of weapons undermine strategic stability and pose a threat to global security which is underwritten by a system of arms control treaties and agreements. Although a large-scale war, including nuclear war, between major powers remains unlikely, they face increased risks of being drawn into regional conflicts and escalating crises. Existing military and political alliances are not capable of countering the full range of challenges and threats the world is currently facing. As people and States become increasingly interconnected, attempts to ensure stability and security within a single territory are doomed to fail. The universal principle of equal and indivisible security has special significance and relevance for the Euro-Atlantic, Eurasian and Asia-Pacific regions, among others. Network diplomacy has gained prominence as a flexible approach to participating in multilateral mechanisms for the sake of finding effective solutions to common issues. Alongside military might, other important factors allowing States to influence international politics are taking centre stage, including economic, legal, technological and IT capabilities. Using these capabilities to pursue geopolitical interests is detrimental to efforts to find ways to settle disputes and resolve the existing international issues by peaceful means on the basis of the norms of international law. In addition to traditional methods of diplomacy, "soft power" has become an integral part of efforts to achieve foreign policy objectives. A new global economic reality is taking shape amid the accumulation of crisis events. This new reality is characterized by lower growth rates, volatility on financial and commodity markets and fragmentation of the global economic space into regional structures with competing tariff and non-tariff restrictions. Against this backdrop, regional integration in accordance with the norms and rules of the World Trade Organization WTO and bolstering the role of regional reserve currencies help strengthen competitiveness, security and financial and economic stability. Among the ideas gaining

traction are collective approaches to international economic governance and regulation, enhancing transparency in the global economy and trade, building universal trade, and monetary and financial systems that are more open, balanced and better correspond to the reality of a globalizing world. Qualitative changes are taking place in the sphere of energy, which is primarily attributed to the introduction of new technologies to extract hard-to-recover hydrocarbon reserves and the expanded use of renewable sources of energy. At the same time, groundless restrictions and other discriminatory measures in this area are being strengthened despite the fact that States need to diversify their presence on global markets to ensure their energy security. The technological shift that is beginning to take shape in various economic sectors may further escalate economic competition, accelerating the redistribution of power in the international arena. As financial, information and migration flows become increasingly globalised, domestic social processes are having a greater effect on international relations. The spread of extremist ideology and the activity of terrorist groups in a number of regions primarily, in the Middle East and North Africa are the result of systemic development problems that globalization processes have laid bare. External interference has also played a major role. Combined, these two factors have led to the destruction of traditional governance and security mechanisms and the illegal spread of weapons and ammunition at an even larger scale. The ideological values and prescriptions imposed from outside these countries in an attempt to modernize their political systems have exacerbated the negative response of their societies to current challenges. Extremist forces have exploited these trends using distorted interpretations of religious values to promote violence in pursuit of their goals in the political, interethnic and interreligious rivalry they are engaged in. The global terrorist threat has reached a new high with the emergence of the Islamic State international terrorist organization and similar groups that have descended to an unprecedented level of cruelty in their violence. They aspire to create their own state and seek to consolidate their influence on a territory stretching from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to Pakistan. The main effort in combating terrorism should be aimed at creating a broad international counter-terrorist coalition with a solid legal foundation, one that is based on effective and consistent inter-State cooperation without any political considerations or double standards, above all to prevent terrorism and extremism and counter the spread of radical ideas. Transnational organized crime is gaining momentum with the emergence of new centres of criminal power that accumulate substantial resources and consistently expand their sphere of influence, including by infiltrating government bodies in various countries, as well as financial and economic institutions and by establishing ties with terrorist and extremist organizations. The international community needs to respond to global challenges and threats in an adequate and comprehensive manner, and combine efforts under the coordinating role of the UN building on a shared recognition that human rights, security and sustainable development are closely intertwined. A genuine consolidation of efforts of the international community requires a set of common values as a foundation for joint action, based on the common moral force of the major world religions, as well as principles and concepts such as aspiration to peace and justice, dignity, freedom and responsibility, honesty, compassion and hard work. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council and a participant in a number of influential international organizations, regional frameworks, inter-State dialogue and cooperation mechanisms, the Russian Federation contributes to the development of a positive, well-balanced and unifying international agenda by relying on substantial resources in all areas of human activity and pursuing a foreign policy that actively seeks to develop relations with the leading States, international organizations and associations in various parts of the world. Russia conducts an assertive and independent foreign policy guided by its national interests and based on unconditional respect for international law. Russia is fully aware of its responsibility to support peace and security in the world both at the global and regional levels and is committed to working with all interested States to address common challenges. It is characterized by consistency and continuity and reflects the unique role Russia has played for centuries as a counterbalance in international affairs and the development of global civilization. Any decisions to expand membership in the UN Security Council should be based on the broadest possible agreement among UN member States. The status of the five permanent members of the Security Council should be preserved. Russia attaches great importance to ensuring the sustainable manageability of global development, which requires collective leadership from the major States that should be representative in geographic and civilization terms

and fully respect the central and coordinating role of the UN. Rule of Law in International Relations Russia consistently advocates strengthening the legal foundation of international relations and complies with its international legal obligations in good faith. Maintaining and strengthening international rule of law is among its priorities in the international arena. The rule of law in international relations is intended to ensure peaceful and fruitful cooperation among States while seeking to balance their interests, as well as to guarantee the overall stability of the global community. Strengthening International Security Russia consistently advocates strengthening international security and enhancing strategic and regional stability. To this end, the Russian Federation: Russia takes necessary measures to ensure national and international cyber security, counter threats to State, economic and social security emanating from cyberspace, combat terrorism and other criminal threats involving the use of information and communication technology; deters their use for military-political aims that run counter to international law, including actions aimed at interfering in the domestic affairs of States or posing a threat to international peace, security and stability; and seeks to devise, under the UN auspices, universal rules of responsible behaviour with respect to international cyber security, including by rendering the internet governance more international in a fair manner. Russia supports international efforts to combat illicit trade in small arms and light weapons. In the context of efforts to strengthen regional stability in Europe, the Russian Federation seeks to bring the conventional arms control regime in Europe in line with current realities, as well as ensure unconditional compliance by all States with the agreed confidence and security-building measures. Believing international peacekeeping to be an effective tool for settling armed conflicts and facilitating post-crisis nation-building, Russia intends to participate in international peacekeeping efforts under the UN leadership and in cooperation with regional and international organizations, and actively contribute to improving the preventive potential of the UN peacekeeping. When preparing UN Security Council resolutions regarding international security, including to carry out new peacekeeping operations or renew the mandate of existing ones, Russia stands for issuing realistic and clear peacekeeping mandates that do not allow arbitrary interpretations, especially those related to the use of force, and for ensuring that the implementation of these mandates is subject to strict oversight. Russia views Article 51 of the UN Charter as providing an adequate legal basis for the use of force in self-defense that is not subject to revision, including the use of force in the face of threats to peace and security such as international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Russia views combating international terrorism as an essential government task and a key priority for international security. In this regard, the Russian Federation: Russia facilitates the resolution of regional conflicts by political and diplomatic means through collective action by the international community, believing that such conflicts can only be resolved through inclusive dialogue and negotiations involving all sides rather than by isolating any of them. The Russian Federation counters organized crime related to illicit trafficking in narcotic substances, psychotropic substances and their precursors by cooperating with other States both multilaterally, first and foremost within specialized international bodies, and bilaterally, including for the purpose of maintaining and strengthening the international control system in this area. Russia supports the establishment, under the auspices of the United Nations and other international and regional organizations, of efficient platforms for cooperation in the response to natural disasters and large-scale man-triggered disasters, as well as to other emergencies, including disaster response capacity-building and enhancement of early warning and forecast systems. With its unique expertise, technical and human resources, the Russian Federation is an important and effective element of the global disaster relief system. Russia participates in international cooperation aimed at regulating migration processes, ensuring the rights of migrant workers, including by promoting integration formats and mechanisms in the receiving country that suit migrants best, and setting conditions for obtaining citizenship or asylum from persecution; rejects the use of migration processes to achieve political ends. In seeking to ensure sustainable economic growth based on stable exports and growing domestic demand, its unique natural resources, using the accumulated financial resources and by implementing responsible socio-economic policy, the Russian Federation makes a significant contribution to ensuring global economic and financial stability, contributes to international efforts aimed at preventing and overcoming global economic and financial crises. Russia intends to proactively contribute to the creation of an equitable and democratic trade, economic, monetary and financial architecture, the

determination of global sustainable development guidelines and achievement of the UN sustainable development goals, assuming that a common approach is needed to tackle the current global economic challenges, which offers new opportunities for international cooperation. The Russian Federation favours expanding international cooperation with a view to ensuring environmental security and fighting climate change, primarily taking into consideration the importance of preserving and increasing the ecological potential of forests and building on the need to use the state-of-the-art energy and resource saving technologies for the benefit of the international community. The Paris Agreement adopted within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change of May 9, offers a solid regulatory framework for long-term climate policy. Priorities in this area include further efforts to develop research-based approaches to preserving a favourable environment and expanding cooperation with all States on this track in order to satisfy the needs of the current and future generations. The Russian Federation opposes far-fetched attempts to politicize environment protection and use it as a pretext for restricting State sovereignty over natural resources or for encouraging unfair competition. Russia views sustainable socio-economic development of States as an essential prerequisite for shaping an international system that would be more efficient and crisis-resilient, as a factor of well-being and prosperity for all of humanity, and firmly believes that facilitating global development is one of the mechanisms for resolving global and regional issues, strengthening international security and political stability. The Russian Federation is proactive and consistent in its bilateral and multilateral efforts to facilitate global development relying, among other things, on the capabilities offered by the UN and its specialized agencies. Russia plays an active role in international cooperation in healthcare with the leading role of the World Health Organization, with the belief that preserving human lives and health is a global priority and an important factor in terms of ensuring sustainable socio-economic development. With maritime space and routes becoming increasingly important in terms of economic development and security, the Russian Federation seeks to comply with sea navigation safety requirements that meet the national interests in accordance with the norms of international maritime law, including those related to the fight against international terrorism and sea piracy; promotes responsible fishing; carries out research in the global ocean and protects the maritime environment. Russia intends to delimitate the outer limits of its continental shelf in accordance with international law so as to create more opportunities for the exploration and extraction of minerals. International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights As a nation committed to universal democratic values, including human rights and freedoms, Russia pursues the following objectives: Russia seeks to ensure that the world has an objective image of the country, develops its own effective ways to influence foreign audiences, promotes Russian and Russian-language media in the global information space, providing them with necessary government support, is proactive in international information cooperation, and takes necessary steps to counter threats to its information security. New information and communication technology is used to this end. Russia is intent on promoting a set of legal and ethical norms regarding the safe use of such technology. Russia asserts the right of every person to access unbiased information about global developments and various points of view. The foreign policy priorities of the Russian Federation include developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation with member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States CIS and further strengthening integration structures within the CIS involving Russia. Russia is committed to expanding strategic cooperation with the Republic of Belarus within the Union State with a view to promoting integration in all areas. Russia views as a key objective strengthening and expanding integration within the Eurasian Economic Union EAEU with the Republic of Armenia, Republic of Belarus, Republic of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyz Republic in order to faster steady development, comprehensive technological modernization and cooperation, enhance the competitiveness of the EAEU member States and improve living standards of their populations. The EAEU is intended to ensure for the free movement of goods, services, capital and workforce, and offer a platform for implementing joint infrastructure and investment projects. The EAEU is based on universal principles of integration, and is designed to play an important role in harmonizing integration processes in Europe and Eurasia. Russia makes efforts to further unleash the CIS potential, establish the Commonwealth as an influential regional organization, a platform for multilateral political dialogue, as well as a mechanism for multi-faceted economic and humanitarian cooperation, and for

countering traditional and new challenges and threats. While respecting the right of its partners within the CIS to establish relations with other international actors, Russia expects the CIS member States to fully implement their obligations within integration structures that include Russia, as well as further promote integration and mutually beneficial cooperation in the CIS space. To these ends, the Russian Federation: Russia undertakes to make every effort to promote political and diplomatic settlement of the internal conflict in Ukraine in cooperation with all the interested States and international agencies. Assisting the establishment of the Republic of Abkhazia and the Republic of South Ossetia as modern democratic States, strengthening their international positions, and ensuring reliable security and socioeconomic recovery remains a priority for Russia. Russia strongly advocates a political and diplomatic settlement of conflicts in the post-Soviet space, specifically, Russia works within the existing multilateral negotiating mechanism to find an inclusive solution to the Transnistrian issue, respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutral status of the Republic of Moldova in determining the special status of Transnistria, to settle the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict by working together with the other States that are co-chairs in the Minsk Group of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe OSCE and basing on principles set forth in joint statements by the presidents of Russia, United States of America and the French Republic in Russia is interested in normalizing relations with Georgia in areas where the Georgian side is willing to do the same, with due consideration for the current political environment in the South Caucasus. Systemic problems in the Euro-Atlantic region that have accumulated over the last quarter century are manifested in the geopolitical expansion pursued by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization NATO and the European Union EU along with their refusal to begin implementation of political statements regarding the creation of a common European security and cooperation framework, have resulted in a serious crisis in the relations between Russia and the Western States.

6: How Do You Say “Fake News”™ in Russian? “ Foreign Policy

Russia's activities on the international stage are a key interest for the programme. Research focuses on Russia's interests and involvement in its immediate neighbourhood and the Middle East, its relations with the US, EU and China as well as its foreign policy toolkit.

Oct 22, Ivan Timofeev Opinion After the Ukraine crisis and military intervention in Syria, the key principles and ideas underpinning Russian foreign policy are becoming easier to understand. Syria and especially Ukraine appear to be inflection points in the trajectory of Russian foreign policy, representing a shift towards a qualitatively new line of policy. The new configuration is already taking shape. With the shock of Ukraine and Syria now over, predictability is beginning to return to Russian policy, as evidenced by the seven trends below. Air, sea and cyber incidents will happen again. But the threat here is escalation resulting from an accidental collision, not a pre-planned operation. We are likely to see a local arms race on both sides and periodic flare-ups in the Baltic-Black Sea region. Trend 2 Any attempt by the West to penetrate the post-Soviet space militarily or economically will be perceived in Russia as hostile and disproportionate. Whereas such intrusion was once diluted by partnership, it is now viewed unequivocally as a zero-sum game. The post-Soviet space is seen as an arena of geopolitics, not partnership. The problem is exacerbated by the inherent weakness of many post-Soviet states. Even without conspicuous outside interference, they could still fall into crisis. Such crisis could provoke yet more rivalry between Russia and the West, both of which will try to take advantage of its consequences. Russia will try to solve the problem for itself by enhancing alliances with the more stable countries in the region and engaging with the weaker ones for example, through institutions such as the Eurasian Economic Union. Paradoxically the West can benefit from the success of these alliances. The other members especially Kazakhstan and Belarus are bound to play a major role in them. This idea will run counter to the theory of democratization as the guarantor of stable development. Russia will build situational or even long-term alliances with other regional and global players around this idea, which might be successfully used for the domestic audience. Russia could assume the role of leader in the area of global conservative politics, pursuing cautious, pragmatic change as per the specifics of each particular state. Russia will probably seek out China as a partner in the promotion of this doctrine. Trend 4 Russia is becoming a more active military-political player outside its own territory. However, this activity will be selective and targeted due to limited resources. Besides Syria, a possible point of Russian intervention could be the implementation of treaty obligations in Central Asia, especially in the event of a terrorist threat posed by militants not based in Afghanistan. Such an intervention would be carried out by highly mobile units with active air support. But the functionality and workability of these institutions remains an open question. Russia itself will maintain and develop economic relations with the West in the knowledge that business on both sides has already factored the risks of political crisis into its plans and projects. Russia is not about to tumble out of the world economy and become an outcast. Trend 6 Institutions of European security and key treaties with Russia will be eroded, but Moscow is hardly likely to seek their dismantlement. But this dialogue is likely to go hand in hand with the development of strategic weapons on both sides. This precedent will have a negative impact on future dialogue. Trend 7 The economy and public expectations about economic modernization are set to become increasingly important elements of Russian foreign policy. The crisis offers an opportunity to implement reforms that would be impossible in a climate of stability. Economic reform should open up new resource niches for growth, although the process is fraught with major risks. The ability of the state to guarantee the rule of law and breathing room for private initiative is one of the key conditions for successful reform. Today, Russia and other players face processes beyond their control. Religious radicalism, migration and disintegration of statehood are only a small part of the picture. Sooner or later, everyone will be affected, and both Russia and the West will have to coordinate their policies and act together. The opinion of the author may not necessarily reflect the position of Russia Direct or its staff.

7: Senator Mark Warner Delivers Speech Russian Foreign Policy, Mar 1

The Caucasus is a complex ethnic and religious patchwork, and only a shared identity can help Georgians push back against Putin.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs Russia and Foreign policy of Vladimir Putin Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russian foreign policy is seen as being born from the conflict between three rival schools: Atlanticists , seeking a closer relationship with the United States and the Western World in general; Imperialists , seeking a recovery of the semi-hegemonic status lost during the previous decade; and Neo-Slavophiles , promoting the isolation of Russia within its own cultural sphere. While Atlanticism is the dominant ideology during the first years of the new Russian Federation, under Andrei Kozyrev , it will come under attack for its failure to defend Russian preeminence in the former USSR. The promotion of Yevgeny Primakov to Minister of Foreign Affairs will mark the beginning of a more nationalistic approach to foreign policy. In international affairs, Putin made increasingly critical public statements regarding the foreign policy of the United States and other Western countries. He said the result of it is that "no one feels safe! Because no one can feel that international law is like a stone wall that will protect them. Of course such a policy stimulates an arms race. Russian nationalists objected to the establishment of any US military presence on the territory of the former Soviet Union, and had expected Putin to keep the US out of the Central Asian republics, or at the very least extract a commitment from Washington to withdraw from these bases as soon as the immediate military necessity had passed. After the official end of the war was announced, American president George W. Bush asked the United Nations to lift sanctions on Iraq. Putin supported lifting of the sanctions in due course, arguing that the UN commission first be given a chance to complete its work on the search for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. During the Ukrainian presidential election , Putin twice visited Ukraine before the election to show his support for Ukrainian Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich , who was widely seen as a pro-Kremlin candidate, and he congratulated him on his anticipated victory before the official election returns had been in. In , Russo-Estonian relations deteriorated further as a result of the Bronze Soldier controversy. So, Vladimir Putin said at the anniversary of the Victory Day, "these threats are not becoming fewer but are only transforming and changing their appearance. These new threats, just as under the Third Reich, show the same contempt for human life and the same aspiration to establish an exclusive dictate over the world. On the eve of the 33rd Summit of the G8 in Heiligendamm , American journalist Anne Applebaum , who is married to a Polish politician, wrote that "Whether by waging cyberwarfare on Estonia , threatening the gas supplies of Lithuania, or boycotting Georgian wine and Polish meat, he [Putin] has, over the past few years, made it clear that he intends to reassert Russian influence in the former communist states of Europe, whether those states want Russian influence or not. At the same time, he has also made it clear that he no longer sees Western nations as mere benign trading partners, but rather as Cold War -style threats. There are no mass purges in Russia today, no broad climate of terror. But Putin is reconstituting a strong state, and anyone who stands in his way will pay for it". One Cold War was quite enough. Bush with a counterproposal on 7 June of sharing the use of the Soviet-era radar system in Azerbaijan rather than building a new system in Poland and the Czech Republic. Putin expressed readiness to modernize the Gabala radar station, which has been in operation since Putin proposed it would not be necessary to place interceptor missiles in Poland then, but interceptors could be placed in NATO member Turkey or Iraq. Putin suggested also equal involvement of interested European countries in the project. Of course we must have new targets in Europe. British Foreign Secretary David Miliband said that "this situation is not unique, and other countries have amended their constitutions, for example to give effect to the European Arrest Warrant". Russian-British relations will develop normally. On both the Russian side and the British side, we are interested in the development of those relations. The Russian government also announced that it would suspend issuing visas to UK officials and froze cooperation on counterterrorism in response to Britain suspending contacts with their Federal Security Service. This was the first visit of a Russian president to Australia. Bush failed to resolve their differences over U. Putin made clear that he does not agree with the decision to establish sites in the Eastern European countries, but said they

had agreed a "strategic framework" to guide future U. Putin expressed cautious optimism that the two sides could find a way to cooperate over missile defense and described his eight-year relationship as Russian president with Bush as "mostly positive". That summit also highlighted differences between Washington and Moscow over U. Russia opposes the proposed expansion, fearing it will reduce its own influence over its neighbours. He suggests that it was a major strategic blunder, turning neighboring nations such as Ukraine to embrace the United States and other Western nations more. It has nothing to do with isolationism or confrontation, and provides for integration into global processes We will continue strongly defending the United Nations Charter as a basis of the modern world order, and we will continue to push for everyone to proceed from the fact that only the United Nations Security Council has the right to make decisions in cases requiring the use of force" â€”.

8: Foreign Policy – Johnson's Russia List

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Eastern Bloc during the Cold War. The Russian leadership under Putin sees the fracturing of the political unity within the EU and especially the political unity between the EU and the US as among its main strategic goals. The major Indian exports to Russia are pharmaceuticals; tea, coffee and spices; apparel and clothing; edible preparations; and engineering goods. Putin wrote in an article in the *Hindu*, "The Declaration on Strategic Partnership between India and Russia signed in October became a truly historic step". Almost every department from the Government of India attends it. Russia did not fulfill the contract of selling to Iran the S-300, one of the most potent anti-aircraft missile systems currently existing. Putin was quoted as describing Iran as a "partner", [6] though he expressed concerns over the Iranian nuclear programme. In April, Putin visited Libya where he met the leader Muammar Gaddafi, the country welcomed the idea of creating an OPEC-like group of gas-exporting countries, Putin became first Russian President who visited Libya, he remarked the visit as "We are satisfied about the way in which we resolved this problem. I am absolutely convinced that the solution we have found will help the Russian and Libyan economies. It resembles medieval calls for crusades. Is that what they call a democracy? Putin opposed any foreign intervention. He asked "But how many of peaceful people were killed by so-called militants? There are also hundreds of victims. Did they become safer? Where are they heading? Nobody has an answer. Color revolutions, Russia-Ukraine gas disputes, Russia-Ukraine relations, Belarus-Russia relations, Georgia-Russia relations, Moldova-Russia relations, Kyrgyzstan-Russia relations, and Eurasian Union A series of so-called color revolutions in the post-Soviet states, namely the Rose Revolution in Georgia in 2003, the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004 and the Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan in 2005, led to frictions in the relations of those countries with Russia. In spite of so much frustration we have stabilized the situation. In old days we concluded agreements with Ukraine year after year, and then included transit fees. The West Europeans had no idea that their energy security was a cliffhanger. By now we have a five-year agreement for transit to the EU. This is an important step in the direction of European energy security". In 2007, Ukraine did abandon these plans. Putin, in his relations with Russo-centric neighbor and former Soviet Republic Belarus, continued the general trend towards closer bi-lateral ties between the two countries, which has thus far stopped short of extending the depth of the Union of Russia and Belarus proposed and speculated by many media outlets both inside and outside Russia. Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. In August 2008, Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili attempted to restore control over the breakaway South Ossetia, claiming this action was in response to Ossetian border attacks on Georgians and to alleged buildups of Russian non-peacekeeping forces. Russian "peacekeepers" fought alongside the South Ossetians as Georgian troops pushed into the province and seized most of the capital of Tskhinvali. However, the Georgian military was soon defeated in the resulting South Ossetia War after regular Russian forces entered South Ossetia and then Georgia proper, and also opened a second front in the other Georgian breakaway province of Abkhazia together with Abkhazian forces. The Customs Union of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia has already brought partial economic unity between the three states, and the proposed Eurasian Union is said to be a continuation of this customs union. Putin endorsed the idea of a Eurasian Union in 2007, [7] [8] [9] the concept was proposed by the President of Kazakhstan in 2006. On 18 March 2014 Putin made a well-publicized speech about the situation in Crimea.

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After the Ukraine crisis and military intervention in Syria, the key principles and ideas underpinning Russian foreign policy are becoming easier to understand.

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