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WORLD ECONOMIC CRISES AND EVOLVING SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Important specifications and main points:

1. In my report I have seen the global economic crisis in a broader context. I believe that the crisis of 2008–2010, is primarily a crisis of ideological, philosophical, which indicates that the current model of globalization and international relations become obsolete. The crisis — a serious impetus to the revision.
2. The report I assume that humanity is on the stage of "transition." This term, adopted in physics and mathematics, which accurately reflects the current stage of development, peace and international relations "phase transition" — a qualitative change in the entire system of international relations — political, military, economic, financial and social subsystems.
3. A full recovery from the crisis requires a fundamentally new answers corresponding to the challenges of the "phase transition". This is a new international security architecture, the new financial and economic system, the new alignment of political and economic forces in the world.
4. Measures taken by States to resolve the crisis, suggests that most countries still not ready for a paradigm shift in world development, using the old approaches and rely on old realities.
5. Of particular importance in the period of "transition" has no awareness of the fact that the **main purpose** and the **principal means of** development in the modern world, a person who has his capacity for creative work. Accordingly, the main resource of the state becomes a national human capital (NCHK).
6. The new system of international relations should be based on the development of NCHK, which stipulate not only the national foreign policy priorities, but also the future of international relations.
7. Output from the world crisis and the development of future international relations will depend on how quickly a few leading countries abandon the old liberal ideology and be able to move to a new level of cooperation. The order of the crisis is the same as the entrance to it: the solution of ideological problems (including trust), recognizing the need for new models of cooperation, (upgrading) of new mechanisms for international cooperation and security and then the solution of financial and economic problems.

1. International security and global crisis: expectation of change

«In Europe, the necessary institutions to meet the challenges of the XXI century, especially Pan-European security structure with three legs in the face of U.S. united Europe and Russia»¹

T. Graham

«The challenge today — to find a common understanding of how and what the rules will comply with all state, any administration and government structures»²

An.Torkunov

The world crisis of 2007–2010 strengthened the expectations of change in the existing system of international relations. This crisis can be called a momentum for change in the world, the growing military-political instability, inequitable world order, financial and economic dependence on the world's financial centers. In general, the crisis of 2007–2010 was the crisis worldview, ideology is much more than a financial crisis. The fact that he has not turned into a political crisis means only one thing: the old system were some reserves existence. However, the crisis for all thoughtful observers was the crisis of political confidence and last warning about the need for fundamental changes in the existing system of international relations.

The crisis has made it clear that during the "transition" is radically changing the entire system of values-oriented liberal ideology of the last century, the values and principles of liberalism. These values and principles of the ideology of liberalism must be replaced by other values and principles that will be determined by the new realities.

One of the most important of these new realities has certainly increased the role of human capital, its impact on the economy (up to 75% of the national wealth of the developed

¹ T. Graham. Looking over the geopolitical battle. Russia in Global Affairs, 2008, T. 6, № 5, pp. 169.

² An.Torkunov. The deficit of democracy and international cooperation / international processes, № 3 (21), 2009

countries), politics (the emergence of new "humanitarian" challenges and threats), social life (greatly increased importance of creative class) and international relations (the crisis policy, which was based military power). The world moves into a new reality that the great minds of the prophets were called differently. The great Russian scientist VI Vernadsky, first suggested in October 1920 the idea of science as decisive, "geological" force (later, this idea acquires form the concept of "noosphere," ie, "the scope of reason"). At that time, in war-torn Russia, when seemingly there was no case to science, he wrote: "Never before in human history has there been such a period when science is so deeply would cover life as they are now. Our whole culture is sweeping the entire surface of the earth's crust, is the creation of scientific thought and scientific creativity ... and from the not yet drawn conclusions of a social nature."³

"Social conclusions," in Vernadsky, not made in the 20's, led to the second World War. Later, in the second half of XX century, not make social findings led to the creation of a liberal model of world order, an exception to that was the Soviet Union and its allies, China, India and several other states' rules, which were developed and implemented the liberals — the leaders of globalization, have tried to called "universal and justify their processes of globalization, sometimes imposing them by force to other states. But the global crisis of 2007–2010 showed that these rules and principles of liberalism is not only not universal, but are not able to solve urgent problems in the world. Including and especially the problems of international security:

- Can not accept that some countries may violate international law, morality and authority to ignore international institutions for the sake of its national interests;
- You can not save the world's social and political injustices that have resulted from the development policy of Western countries;
- You can not ignore the increasing role of human development, national values and priorities, forcing nations to "universal standards";
- You can not use global resources for the benefit of a small group of developed countries, creating for this purpose the international security system founded to safeguard the interests of a narrow group of developed countries;
- Finally, one should not underestimate the creative, the creative role of the people of the Creative Class in the national and international politics, moral and religious norms in favor of the ideology of liberalism. In the words of the great Russian writer Nikolai Berdyaev, "Quantitative mass can not completely dominate the fate of high-quality individuals, the fate of individual and the fate of the nation's "⁴.

Summarizing we can say that the crisis which started in 2007–2010, was above all ideological, ideological crisis of the model of international relations, which was created by liberals, the United States and other Western countries in the second half of XX — beginning of the XXI century. Model, adapted globalization in the interests of a narrow circle of developed countries.

Those countries (such as China, India and several others) who have managed to use globalization to their national interests, not compromising their values, norms and

³ Vernadsky about science. T. 1. Scientific knowledge, scientific creativity, scientific thought. Moscow, RAS, "Phoenix", 1997, p.131.

⁴ Berdyaev. The fate of Russia: Collected Works. M.: AST-Press, 1998, pp. 464.

priorities, could not only be the least affected by the crisis, but also use all the benefits of globalization in their interests. Their success has shown that this approach — the only promising, but it requires a revision of the principles and norms of international security, renunciation of previous models and the principles established in the interests of a narrow group of developed liberal states.

We can say that the logic of the crisis is this: the urgent ideological problems have led to political crisis, which, fortunately, resulted only in a crisis of confidence. This crisis, in turn, became the root cause of financial crisis, which inevitably turned first to the economic crisis, and then — social. The fact that all these crises did not end war — witness a certain reserve and the capacity of international institutions. First of all, "twenty" and "Eight", as well as dramatically increased high-level contacts between the leaders of various countries. On the whole — in politics, economics, finance — it meant an increased role of national states and their ideologies. As seen in the following figure.



Should be similar to the sequence and out of the crisis seems inevitable that the search for new philosophical and ideological decisions, involving **the rejection of the old** system of international relations, models of interstate relations and alignments.

The crisis gave an impetus not only to optimize the global financial and economic system, but also showed that this optimization and modernization under the old (liberal) paradigm⁵ of a development is impossible. Looking for a new philosophical and ideological model⁶, which were not universal, "global", and accepted and acceptable to all subjects of international law.

⁵ paradigm — with respect. the most common way of seeing the world, which determines the acceptability of certain norms, principles and criteria.

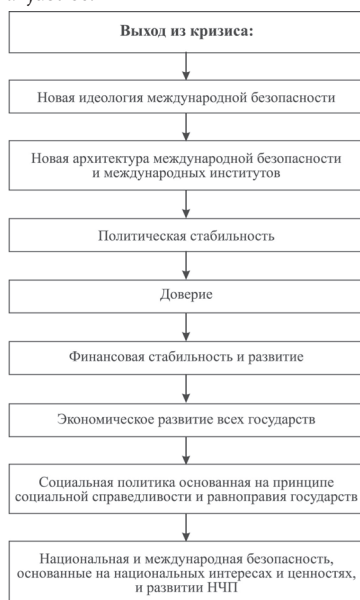
⁶ The model — image, some material or visualize an object or phenomenon, replacing simplistic original object or phenomenon.

1. International security and global crisis: expectation of change

Such models and paradigms can be developed and adopted only as a result of the joint — a deep, equitable and mutually concerned — the ideological and ideological work, based on the principles must be recognized **by all** nations, peoples and nations. In other words, you must initially recognize that "universalnye" principles of globalization, which tried to impose on the world leading countries of globalization — **is unacceptable**. They are neither universal nor universally accepted, nor, especially, required.

What you need to place these liberal principles? A need such principles, which are organically combined and taken into account, was synthesized:

- National and international interests and values;
- Sovereignty and international law;
- National and international security;
- National and human development;
- Social and international justice.



The transition of humanity to the stage of "phase" (qualitative) changes in the beginning of the XXI century will inevitably lead to qualitative changes in all areas. Even if we do not know or do not want these changes. But above all it will affect international security issues, where the unevenness of global development, a rapid and most noticeable. There is a — the acceleration of historical time, which becomes more and more humanity into some sort of closely related highly complex system. "The only dynamic characteristic (this — AP) system is the population of Earth⁷ — rightly says Professor S. P. Kapitsa. The same criterion is the main indicator of the national human capital (NCHK).

⁷ SP Kapitsa. On the acceleration of historical time in a book.: The History and Mathematics Ed. Ed. AE Grinin M. et al, 2006, pp. 15.

The world crisis of 2008–2010 showed that there are two major global trends — globalization, and the protection of national interests — are developing is not in contradiction with each other and not on an equal footing. Globalization is not an independent process, and especially to policies of developed countries. It is only **an instrument of policy of national interests**, which is used when and where and when it is profitable, ie necessary to advance the national interests of leading states. Accordingly, the assignment "in the interest of globalization", and especially the strengthening of some abstract "cooperation" are fraught with serious political and economic costs. Thus, the "reset" of relations with the United States in 2009–2010 (which was to have the effect of ratification of the START Treaty and the signing of a number of other agreements) led to a number of unjustified concessions from Russia. Only the refusal to supply military equipment to Iran, for example, cost us \$ 13 billion⁸. And the results of Russian-American friendship were largely discounted the victory of Republicans in the midterm elections in the U.S. Congress in November 2010.

By the way, in my opinion, this strategy is the U.S. ruling elite is not a new one. As soon as the U.S. wants Russia to any concessions, immediately appear "objective" reasons which do not allow the administration to fulfill its obligations. These include the shift of the congressmen, "change" public opinion, the position of the influential media, etc. The important thing — after some concessions have to follow new, and enforce its own commitments once more becoming a new promise. And so on to infinity. This frank cynicism manifested itself most clearly during the scandal with the publication of a database of correspondence of American diplomats and officials in November–December 2010. Who. However, did not reveal anything new for the professionals, but once again highlighted the selfishness and cynicism of the creators of American politics. Very well the "game of concessions" was illustrated by relations between the USSR and the U.S. in the 80 and 90 years for arms limitation and reduction. Since the number of concessions from the Soviet Union exceeded all reasonable representation and transformed into a "policy of concessions", which ultimately did not lead either to the abandonment of the ABM, or to limit the spread of NATO to the east or to the transfer of new technologies by the Americans, nor the growth of American aid. All declarations of Soviet and Russian representatives of the ruling elite to a significant, even disastrous for the Soviet Union and Russia consequences: economic, political, financial, demographic.

Most obviously this is reflected in the international security system that existed until 1990. Here are just some examples and consequences of concessions to the USSR and Russia:

- The dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) **has not led** to the dissolution of NATO. On the contrary, former members of ATS have become members of NATO;
- Reduction potentials of the START and Intermediate-Range (SS) did **not lead** to restriction of U.S. missile defense system. Vice versa. Today, discusses options for deploying a global missile defense system in Europe;
- The collapse of the **USSR led** to the creation of full-fledged and independent States. On the contrary, in the former Soviet struggle for influence on these countries. First of all Mezhyuev U.S. and Russia;

⁸ K. Belyanin. Congress restarts the "reset", Kommersant, November 11, 2010, pp. 8.

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- Reduction of armed forces and armaments of the USSR and Russia **has not led** to a similar reduction in armed forces and armaments in NATO. On the contrary, these aircraft and weapons now deployed on the territory of the former countries of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union.
- Finally, the concessions made by Russia **has not led** to a strengthening of international security and, more importantly, Russia's sovereignty.

Thus the policy of concessions (not just the U.S. but the entire system of global liberal leadership) — is absolutely meaningless and hopeless. Those states (China, India and others) who have kept their national interests and values, avoid unilateral concessions proved by example the effectiveness of national-oriented model of development.

The world crisis was just one more reason that once again forced to talk about "the return of States with their national interests in world politics", a "no confidence" against each other and even about the "distance away from all the UK ESovskih Affairs (Conservative leader to his election as prime minister D. Cameron even hinted that he "would prefer never to see Europe, not to communicate with Europe, not to hear the word "Europe")"⁹.

Even within a group of leading countries of globalization national interests prevail. According to experts, Americans tend to "decentralize and gut" the economic resources of the European Union to secure for themselves the level. It uses the traditional "antibryusselsky" tools — the UK and the country's "new" Europe. By the way, in the Greek question is where they somehow managed. London insisted on greater participation in the IMF's financial assistance to Greece. Credit in Greece for two-thirds was provided by the Euro Area, and one-third — the International Monetary Fund.

National self-interest, in any form is not the best way to deal with the crisis in the context of globalization, but it was he who prevailed. Many people think that at some time. In my opinion, this shows just about the realities. So in Germany, for example, there were two anti-crisis package, designed for the period 2009–2010, whose total value amounted to 132 billion euros (1.5% of GDP). In the first package provided funding of German development bank, its risk coverage and support local business (15 billion euros), increasing the tax-free deduction (up to 1200 euros), the introduction of 25% of the allowable level to reduce the carrying value of assets for a period of 2 years, funding for infrastructure projects (3 billion euros), an increase in federal funding and land programs, increasing the amount of tax-free, reduced fees for public health insurance, as well as a package of measures to support domestic scientific and technological projects, including automobile engines and the Internet¹⁰. All of them were clear nature of the support of the national economy.

Unresolved, although stated in the meetings G20, so far are two¹¹:

1. the challenge of reducing global imbalances (the U.S. trade deficit and surpluses in China and other countries), and;
2. the related task of ensuring the sustainable long term growth.

⁹ B. Bilan. Europe: rollback to nationalism? / <http://www.stoletie.ru>. 05/04/2010.

¹⁰ An anti-crisis program of foreign countries and the role of development institutions in their implementation. MM: Vnesheconombank, 2009, pp. 5–7.

¹¹ Crisis geography: a review of incentive programs. 26.02.2010 / <http://slon.ru/blogs/udaeva/post/293890/>.

Debate on these issues reduces the pressure on China toward revaluing the yuan. China, one must pay tribute to the responders on the basis of its own national interests. Thus, adopted in the U.S. program to stimulate the economy forced the government of China four times in one year to raise the required reserves and perhaps increase the discount rate. All this occurred against a background of growth of Chinese exports to the country and a surplus trade balance, which in summer and autumn of 2010 reached almost \$ 30 billion in the month¹². In fact, for a fundamental restructuring of American and Chinese economic growth requires investment activity aimed at increasing the share of industry and exporting sectors in the U.S. and the growth of industries, working on domestic demand in China. As long as significant amounts of this activity is not occurs.

As quoted OECD study shows that the most effective are programs that promote the growth of demand in the short term and long-term growth proposals. These programs include state investment in infrastructure, the cost of an active policy in the labor market, including the organization of compulsory refresher courses, lowering taxes on income, particularly for low-income families.

The crisis has shown that one of the key factors of confidence in the economy and its development — sustainability of national fiscal policies. Therefore, these programs are most effective in countries where the fiscal budget and debt were **relatively high before the crisis, and when the programs are accompanied by convincing the market commitments** (credible commitments) for the timely cuts in programs¹³. The experts concluded Vnesheconombank make out the following form:

Stage	Characteristics of stage	Monetary policy	Fiscal policy
Stage I: Mid 2007 — March 2008	The crisis is developing in the U.S. and the UK , affecting the financial sector and housing market. Periodically, capital outflows from emerging markets, resulting in: — The Russian economy, a crisis of liquidity in the financial sector — The countries in Group 2a, heavily dependent on capital inflows and overheating of the economy, a crisis (Kazakhstan, the Baltic countries, Ireland, Spain)	Lower interest rates to prevent the transition of the financial crisis in Economics. From September 2007 to December 2008 the Fed lowered rates 10 times (from 5.25% to 0–0.25%)	In the United States adopted the first package of fiscal incentives (tax rebates), and extended the deadline for receipt of unemployment benefits. Begin to develop measures to support the housing market: tax breaks and subsidized by the state restructuring sub-prime and prime mortgages.

¹² E. Basmanov. The Chinese response to US / RBC daily, November 11, 2010, pp. 4.

¹³ An anti-crisis program for many foreign countries and the role of development institutions in their implementation. MM: Vnesheconbank, 2009, pp. 7–10.

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Stage II: March 2008 — September 2008	— The U.S. problems in fin. sector exacerbated, the government has to support Fannie-Mae and Freddy-Mac. Fast growing unemployment, although GDP still shows growth; — Developing (China, India) and some transition (Russia) countries have demonstrated a steady GDP growth and financial markets; — Oil prices break new records, the dollar is getting cheaper; — Get the dissemination of the theory of decoupling.	Stabilization of individual fin. markets and support systemically important companies. (Bear Stearns, Fannie Mae и Freddy Mac). (Bear Stearns, Fannie Mae and Freddy Mac). China: massive credit growth (30%).	
Stage III: September 2008 — February 2009	The acute phase of the crisis begins after the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers and nationalization of ING. The crisis of confidence in financial markets. Deleveridging. Risk aversion. Deleveridging. Collapse of international trade. The decline in GDP or a sharp slowdown in growth in most countries. The sharp rise in the dollar	The task of supporting the economy comes to the fore. Active reduction of interest rates and quantitative easing (quantitative easing).	Synchronized state. Support the decision of G20. Measures vary from country to country. Key components: tax breaks, subsidies for the purchase of new vehicles to replace the old, sub-federal grants provinces, investment in infrastructure, telecommunications, and the green economy, education, health, etc.
Stage IV: March — July 2009	The theory of «green shoots». Stabilization of the fall of GDP in most countries. Rally in stock markets. Purchases by China of metals and other commodities. Reduction in the dollar to other currencies. Restoring the bond market. The decline in bank lending in developed countries		

Stage V: August 2009 — present	A quick return to growth in Asia. In the equity markets significantly overvalued assets, measured by P/E. Rally slows. The markets are volatile in anticipation of the sovereign or sub-sovereign defaults: debt restructuring Dubai-world, the rating downgrade of Greece, etc. Some countries are forced to curtail support and reduce public spending. The dollar going up again , although not as much as a year earlier.	«Withering away» of emergency measures to provide liquidity. Rehearsals for exit strategies from quantitative easing.	Continuation of earlier measures: tax incentives, investment programs, subsidizing demand (except for the cash-for-clunkers). The introduction of additional measures: attention to small businesses and create jobs. As a result of Copenhagen may be additional investment in green economy.
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As can be seen from the following examples, the liberal model, exhausted political and ideological retains some (I would say tactical) resources for their development. First of all, **by their own national** resources and mechanisms of state regulation. The higher the national discipline, the effectiveness of the nation-state, ie greater preservation of the national system of **values**, the **less vulnerability to crisis**. Liberal globalization is thus proved in the crisis created by limitations of its tools of influence, which did not save the world nor of the financial crisis, no crisis in the economy or the social consequences of this crisis.

Moreover, this crisis has shown the inefficiency created by the U.S. model of international security. U.S. failed to solve any of the problems of the first decade in the field of security: either in Iraq or in Afghanistan or Iran or Korea or Cuba or the Middle East. This occurred primarily because the cover of ideas about the universal principles of international security, in practice, the U.S. sought to achieve purely national objectives. Thus, the "fight against international terrorism" would have to be not in Iraq and Afghanistan — in Pakistan (which, of course, is contrary to U.S. interests).

This leaves unresolved the key issue of international security: the **creation of common** (not only liberal states, but a majority of the world) **model** of international security that takes into account all national interests, would be accepted, not imposed from outside, would maintain and develop the national values of all States. It is — most importantly, has an irresistible, a contradiction that only clearly highlighted the global crisis.

2. International security in a crisis

"There is no doubt that the historical process are signs law-exponential acceleration"¹⁴.

I. Dkonov

"In the political-psychological sense financial crisis triggered by formation of the atmosphere in the extreme. Country and the government in such a situation are pardonable act unusually decisive, and even sharply..."¹⁵.

A. Bogaturov, Professor MGIMO (U)

Crisis of 2008–2010 showed the vulnerability, the inadequacy of the current realities of the existing system of international security. Directly or indirectly, it had to recognize all the leading politicians of the world. And not just in the West, but also in the East. "Ideal" institutions of democracy and the "ideal" values in the crisis were far from ideal. Moreover — even ineffective.

It is noteworthy that those countries (eg China) that have distanced themselves from active participation in international affairs and were able to preserve nationally oriented foreign policy, could the global crisis is not only minimally affected by its consequences, but also to gradually strengthen its international position. Thus, The same China. At the global level, suggests to increase their international positions. Thus, the same China, at the global level, plans to increase its quota in the IMF and 3.72% at the end of 2008 to 6,2–6,3% by January 2011 to exceed the quota for Japan (6.13%)¹⁶.

During these years of crisis China has initiated a form of cooperation as a **strategic dialogue** in which we establish new forms of cooperation (and the channel of influence) with the U.S., Japan and Russia.

Also less than other countries on the global financial crisis hit India, due primarily chosen in 1947 a model of import-substituting industrialization (Nehru course), but in a

¹⁴ op. By: SP Kapitza. On the acceleration of historical time in a book.: The History and Mathematics Ed. Ed. LE Grinin M. et al, 2006, pp. 19.

¹⁵ A. Bogaturov. counterrevolution of values and international security / International Processes, 2008, v. 6, № 2 (17).

¹⁶ Russia and the World: 2010. The annual forecast. M. IMEMO, 2009, pp. 93.

broader context — the commitment to national values and formulated on this basis, the strategy of sustainable development. This, in particular, explains the many ways and for political stability in the crisis, which has been provided as a favorite strategy of national development and nation-oriented political elite (Prime Minister M. Singh represented the "reliability", "continuity", "professionalism", "ability to development ") and, taken together — nationally oriented ideology of development.

Thus the crisis, as it may seem strange, strengthened the international position and international security of those countries which did not go to "universalize" their values and dictates of globalization.

This is more or less recognized by all States, especially those who are far away from the management of global processes, but claim to equal participation. This is particularly true of the BRIC countries. But not only. In varying degrees, this process involves many of the state, opening up of Russia, China, India, Brazil, new opportunities for cooperation in the interest of modernizing and strengthening international security. So, Medvedev's visit to South Korea in November 2010 showed not only the influence a new mechanism — G 20 — but also new opportunities for bilateral cooperation — a counterpart of the Russia-EU Partnership for Modernisation¹⁷. Thus we can conclude that the global crisis has not affected the security of those states which have retained their sovereignty and their own. And, conversely, to the greatest extent affected countries that are most deeply and "universalize", for example, Russia.

Another problem — has been in crisis striving for unilateral steps in the international security of great powers. For example, the main problem of international security in recent years has been the Central Asian region. Primarily due to the behavior of the U.S., which "... looks at the **region as a strategic base for long-term dominance there, and the military presence in Afghanistan**. For Washington, the preferred association of Afghanistan and Central Asian states into a single region — the Greater Central Asia in order to channel states in the region from the monopoly power of neighboring powers — Russia and China, and Afghanistan — from the orbit of influence in Pakistan and Iran. In general, such a strategy aimed at establishing and maintaining U.S. dominance in the region by strengthening the role where the Pentagon and NATO.

American experts concur that over the past decade, **the military component is dominant in U.S. relations with Central Asian countries, and often runs counter to the general policy of the Washington region**. Thus, the U.S. Department of Defense is planning to build several military facilities in Afghanistan and the region. In particular, near the Afghan city of Mazar-i-Sharif, 50 km from the Uzbek border, the U.S. plans to deploy an operational military base. In Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan is expected to build a border checkpoint and training centers, where U.S. troops to train local security forces¹⁸.

Russian initiative to establish a new international security system, admittedly, does not find support in the West, primarily in the United States. They openly in silence, even ignored. As demonstrated by the decoded letters "Vikilika, under various pretexts, the

¹⁷ Dmitry Medvedev builds a bridge from Seoul to Skolkovo, Kommersant, November 11, 2010, pp. 8.

¹⁸ A. Pabat. New Great Game in Central Asia and the events in Kyrgyzstan / World of Change, 2010, № 3, pp. 171.

West away from discussing the problem of creating a new architecture of international and European security. It seems that the logic of the ruling elite of the United States and leading Western countries, as well as associate with them on the security of other countries — Japan, Pakistan, South Korea, etc. — is: "the existing security arrangements fully satisfy us, and we see no reason to change them." Even if these mechanisms, as the situation in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran are not working.

Only this can explain the logic of the approach of the U.S. and its allies for almost all international security issues. Much explains the adoption of NATO at the Lisbon summit of a new strategic concept of this alliance. Analysis of this strategy deserves a separate discussion. As has been rightly recognized expert MGIMO (U) E. Ponomareva¹⁹, "The Historical Meaning of the new strategy, I see a number of fundamental provisions, most directly affecting the national interests of Russia.

The document recorded the new 'strategic' vector of development of NATO relations with Russia. This matter has caused a sharp debate within the Union. In particular, in the original version of the new NATO doctrine, along with the task of building a strategic partnership with Russia, has been observed the need to provide Eastern European countries, 'Additional military guarantees for their safety.' In this case, neither before, nor now, does not specify from whom to protect the country — members of NATO. Although already clear — who and what we have in mind²⁰.

It is clear that providing a guarantee for countries bordering with Russia and refusing to Moscow in the same guarantees as NATO clearly orients the direction of its military strategy to the east. Even denying formally and verbally such intentions.'s Strategy as an area of martial arts, developed by its internal logic. As a famous Russian military expert, E. I. Martynov, "Every nation in a certain period has its own political ideal of"²¹. These are ideal for the States united in NATO today are the ideals of liberal globalization. Those countries that do not share these ideals, will inevitably become the object of impact. Including military and political. Acknowledge the following countries or not — is not decisive.

How many today would not have been talking and reasoning about relations between NATO and Russia, including and the probable cooperation, even integration, the logic of military art, says that Russia and other states that are not in NATO — wherever they are — **are potential targets** of military action. Today it is Iraq and Afghanistan, and tomorrow, perhaps, Iran China, India. Illusions experience is not necessary. This — the logic which follows from the existence of military blocs and coalitions.

This logic did not contradict the foreign policy rhetoric, claiming that **union members are not** "partners", "friends" and even "allies."

NATO's new doctrine, adopted on 19 November, noted the strategic role of co-operation with Russia. First of all, the new document was first recorded: NATO not a threat to Russia "on what specifically emphasize NATO officials. "That is, until November 19, 2010 — rightly stresses A. E. Ponomareva. — NATO was a threat to our country. Accordingly, the

¹⁹ E. Ponomareva. Lisbon reboot / Portal MGIMO (U), 20.11.2010 / www.mgimo.ru/system/.

²⁰ E. Ponomareva. Lisbon reboot / Portal MGIMO (U), 20.11.2010 / www.mgimo.ru/system/.

²¹ E. I. Martynov. Policy and strategy. M. "Financial Control", 2003, pp. 15.

expansion of NATO pursued a strategic goal as to narrow the space of maneuver for Russia." For thinking people it was never a secret. However, for Russia to stop "a threat" to NATO did not mean to really make her a partner.

As noted in the new Concept of NATO, the alliance now wants "to see the real strategic partnership between NATO and Russia" and will "act accordingly, expecting reciprocity from Russia." Moreover, despite the existence of differences on certain issues, "Allies are convinced" that the security of NATO and Russia are closely intertwined, and that a strong and constructive partnership based on mutual trust, transparency and predictability can best serve our security,"²² observes E. Ponomareva.

Cooperate with Russia, NATO is ready for a very specific, very limited range of issues. This is a fight against terrorism, drugs, piracy and strengthening international security. A separate problem is the creation of large-scale missile defense.

Initially, there are two approaches. **First**, since Soviet times, is that offensive and defensive systems in strategic offensive arms is one, single "offensive-defensive systems." I wrote about it in his doctoral dissertation in 1988²³. Strengthening one of the elements — a radical, qualitative impact on the strengthening of the system.

The second approach, voiced repeatedly in the U.S. — "the protection of individual rogue states" (North Korea, Iran, Cuba, etc.). This political approach is good for returns, but it has nothing to do with any real military strategy, nor the desire to maintain stability and international security.

As you know, NATO leaders endorsed the idea of creating a Euro-Atlantic region's missile defense system capable of defending the territory of all NATO member countries. Only after that Russia proposed "posotrudnichat" with the alliance on missile defense.

Another issue — the fight against terrorism and drugs, directly affecting the interests of Russia, is associated with the gradual transfer of security control in Afghanistan, most Afghan people. "As the adviser of the President of the United States on Afghanistan, Douglas Lute, the U.S. plan to complete this process within 34 provinces by the end of 2014, starting out in 2011 that without Russia's help to do will be very difficult if not impossible.

Senior American officials say that NATO operations in Afghanistan are an integral part of an overall strategic concept. As a result of the summit Russia — NATO will be expanded to an agreement on the facilitation of transit of goods through Russian territory to NATO forces in Afghanistan and, more importantly, from Afghanistan to continue the discussion on the acquisition for the Party of Russian helicopters in Afghanistan in a single package with the services of their service and training of pilots and technicians. Finally, NATO and Russia are ready to expand the center in Domodedovo training for anti-terrorism, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asia.

An important issue of cooperation with Russia considers NATO as the reduction of armaments. On this occasion demands, it seems to me, means literally interference in internal affairs: "In the future, for any reduction, we should seek the agreement of Russia to increase the transparency of its nuclear arsenal in Europe and the redeployment of the weapons away from the territory of NATO members. Any further steps should be taken into

²² E. Ponomareva. Lisbon reboot / Portal MGIMO (U), 20.11.2010 / www.mgimo.ru/system/.

²³ A. Podberyozkin. Value systems, command, control, communications and intelligence to U.S. military doctrine. M., Diplomatic Academy, 1988

account the inequality and that Russia has a large stockpile of nuclear weapons of short-range". Here you have a strategic partnership! Let me remind you that the development of a new concept took place against a background of active work of Republicans in the U.S. Senate to freeze the ratification process of a new strategic arms reduction treaty, and ratification is likely in 2010 will not. In such circumstances, the statements of Barack Obama that the ratification of START-3 is an imperative of national security and a cornerstone in the relations between the U.S. and Russia ring hollow. A "reset" with NATO, which said the American president on the eve of the summit, only means unilateral concessions from Russia.

Also remains fixed in the Concept of issues that are of significant concern in Russia. First of all, this expansion of the Alliance, which is interpreted as an extremely positive development. "The prospect of further enlargement and the spirit of cooperation in ensuring security to foster the spread of stability in Europe (especially noticeable in Bosnia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Serbia — A.P)". Our goal — a united and free Europe, sharing common values. Achieving it would be best to contribute to the possible integration of all European countries who want to enter into Euro-Atlantic structures. "I can not bring a statement Rasmussen on this occasion, which once again convinces us that they and we speak different languages. NATO Secretary-General is convinced that "Russia has only benefited from the expansion of NATO, because the first time in its history to get a stable and predictable neighbors along its entire western border of ... that was her dream for centuries. " It turns out that the expansion of NATO — is the realization of a centuries-old dreams of Russian! Next it makes the view even to doubt his competence: "after the restoration of security in Eastern Europe for the first time since the fall of the communist dictatorship in the region's economy started to boom, if you look at the statistics, has also brought significant benefits to Russia."

The new concept is fixed, that NATO's door "remain wide open for new members. To this end, the alliance confirmed his intention to "continue and develop" cooperation with Ukraine and Georgia "in the format of Commissioners of Georgia — NATO and Ukraine — NATO". The concept is said about the timing of entry of these countries, however, states that cooperation should be built on the basis of "decisions of the NATO summit in Bucharest in 2008, and taking into account the Euro-Atlantic aspirations and orientation of each of these countries."

As you know, in Bucharest, the alliance took a few vague political declaration that "Georgia and Ukraine will eventually join NATO." In this connection it is worth recalling that even Washington's strategy in 1999 documented a strong line of NATO "to further strengthen the special partnership with Ukraine... including political consultations on issues of concern for both sides, and on a wide range of issues concerning the practical aspects of cooperation "(para. 37). And I note that on this line, the alliance does not recede. Only in Ukraine as an object of interest was added NATO Georgia, not far off, and Moldova.

And finally, last but not least, and perhaps more significant position. "The defense of specific areas is no longer the main function of NATO. Spotlight moves to the threats and challenges that may arise in different places and in different forms (italics mine. — EP). Examples — terrorism, international crime. The Strategy also mentioned energy security, even despite the fact that in this area of NATO will not play a major role. It is very

important now will be given to cybersecurity. "Implementation of these provisions also require the participation of Russia.

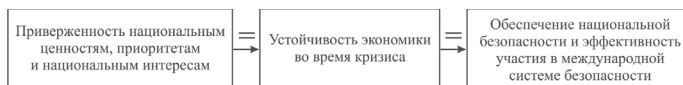
So, NATO's interest in strengthening cooperation with Russia has a very simple explanation. First, on Russia can shift the burden of material and moral responsibility for "the Afghan question." Second, Russia can not run without the project EUROPRO (need Russian radar). Third, Russia is still needed as a permanent member of UN Security Council to ensure future operations, requiring solutions that body. Fourth, as noted by advocates of rapprochement between Russia and NATO, our country "has played an important role in bridging the so-called" crisis of identification "of the alliance, out of which, without establishing a qualitatively new relationship with Russia is impossible. In addition, the strengthening of relations with Russia will contribute to showing the relevance of the alliance in the eyes of the public. Finally, a very substantial improvement in our relations will overcome the dangerous tensions in the post-Soviet space. " In other words, Russia's prestige will help the expansion of NATO.

Realizing all this, no special preferences for Russia Alliance nonetheless did not provide.

One conclusion: no valid, the more strategic, partnership between NATO and Russia on the new NATO concept can not be. "

Ultimately, an understanding that institutions such as the whole international security system should be modernized, it was the general opinion. It is important, as did Foreign Minister Lavrov, to acknowledge this very fact: "For the past 20 years, European security **became loose on all parameters**. This applies to blur the arms control regime, atrophy of the OSCE, the occurrence of serious conflict and danger of their uncontrolled escalation, attempts to turn the frozen conflicts in the hot. Saying that "everything is normal, no changes are necessary, can not persuade. In my opinion, the key to the analysis of the situation matters is the theory and practice of a comprehensive approach to security, including the future of the OSCE and Russia proposed a comprehensive and pragmatic solution to the problem in the form of a European Security Treaty"²⁴.

World crisis differently affected countries. Least of all — the countries that in recent decades have demonstrated a higher rate of economic growth — China, India²⁵, and, most importantly, the desire to preserve their national values and protect national interests. It is no accident. In 2008–2010 revealed a clear relationship between adherence to the national ideology, economic resilience to crisis and national security, which can be simplistically depicted as follows.



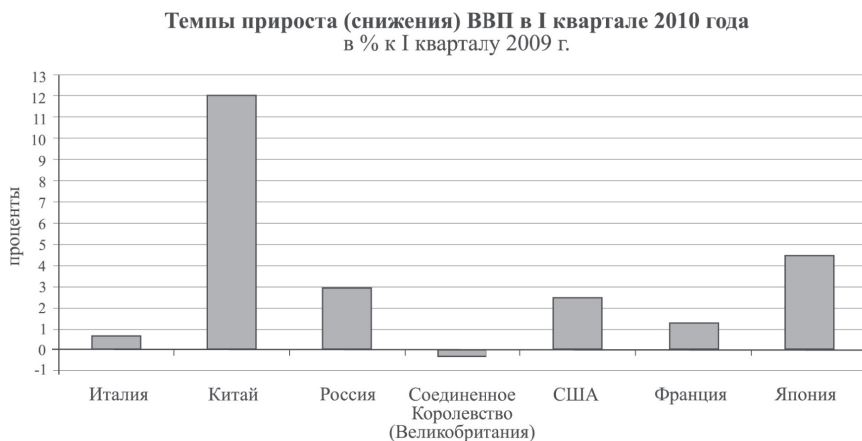
And vice versa. Those states which are integrated into the established system of international security in terms of leading countries of globalization, perceived a "universal"

²⁴ Sergey Lavrov. Full text of the article by Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, published in the journal Défense Nationale (France) in an abbreviated form, in May 2010. 24.05.2010 / Russian Foreign Ministry / http://www.mid.ru/us_dos.Nsf.

²⁵ Federal State Statistics Service. Database / URL: / http://www.gks.ru/bgd/free/b04_03/

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system of values of liberalism, were among not only the most affected by the crisis (such as Russia, Ireland, Greece), but rapidly losing their positions in the field of international security. What can be clearly seen in the following figure. Основные показатели международных сопоставлений ВВП отдельных стран мира за 2009 г.



In MX including not only those countries which are most of the country, based on the resource economies (Russia), but also developed countries.

Before the crisis, 2008–2010, Russia seemed to be steadily developed 8 years, overcoming the social and economic catastrophe of the 90's. However, its development can be more accurately described as extensive growth. This, however, led to the fact that the country has returned to the real world politics²⁶, at least, as a member.

Russia: Key Indicators 1996–2008

	1996 — 1999 (Media)	2000 — 2004 (Media)	2005	2006	2007	2008
GDP, \$ bln	316	395	764	988	1292	1673
GDP per capita, thousand USD	2,1	2,7	5,3	6,9	9,1	11,8
GDP growth,% to previous year	– 0,3	6,9	6,4	6,7	8,1	6,8
Accumulation rate,% of GDP	17,2	18,1	16,7	17,6	20,1	21,6
Savings rate,% of GDP	27,1	33,8	33,5	33,8	32,0	31,0
Exports of crude oil and petroleum products,% of GDP	6,7	12,3	15,3	14,9	15,0	16,1

²⁶ A world crisis: a threat to Russia. M. INSOR, 2009, pp. 4.

Trade balance,% of GDP	8,4	16,2	15,7	14,1	10,1	9,5
Current account,% of GDP	3,9	11,2	10,9	11,4	6,0	4,8
CPI,% to previous year (December to December)	38,5	15,5	10,9	9,0	11,9	13,2
Industrial production,% of previous year	0,8	6,5	4,0	6,3	6,3	4,0
Real incomes,% to previous year	- 5,3	11,4	9,3	10,0	10,7	7,0

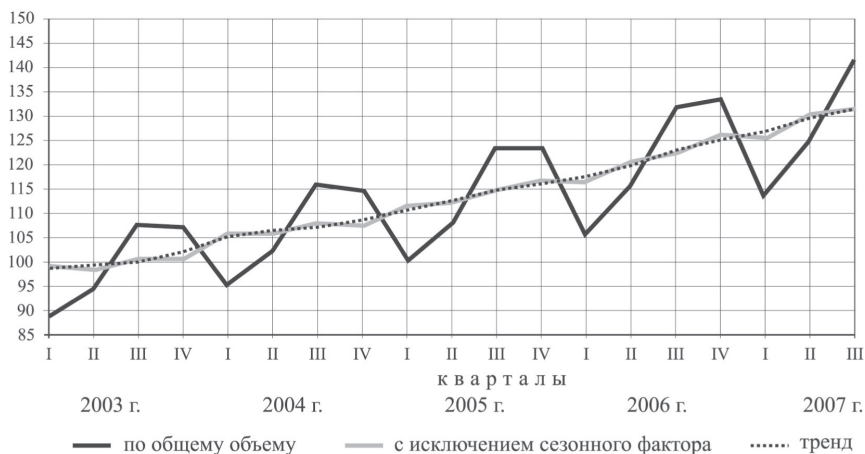
Key indicators — GDP growth and per capita GDP — have characterized it as a state with an average level of economic development and a **large untapped human potential**. Backlog in this area (education, science, culture, health care) negatively affected both the structure of the economy and the opportunities Russian influence in the world.

On the production of gross domestic product (GDP) in the II quarter of 2010²⁷.

Russia's GDP for the II quarter of 2010 amounted at current prices 10,859.4 billion. Volume index of GDP relative to II quarter of 2009 was 105, 2%, relative to I quarter 2010 — 108.0%. GDP deflator index for the II quarter of 2010 relative to the prices II quarter of 2009 amounted to 111.1%.

The volume of GDP for the I half of 2010 totaled 20,732.6 billion current prices rubles, its index of physical volume of about I half of 2009 amounted to 104.2%.

Динамика производства ВВП
в % к значению условного среднего квартала 2003 г.
(1/4 номинального значения ВВП за 2003 г.)



²⁷ On the production of gross domestic product (GDP) in the II quarter of 2010, Federal State Statistics Service. Database / http://www.gks.ru/bgd/free/b04_03/Iss.

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And in Russia, the most "weak" sectors were manufacturing industries and construction²⁸, and the most "powerful" industry — tourism. What is quite typical for economics and politics of the dependent country. This also describes Russia as a "weak link" in the international security system. Again there is correlation between the degree of development of national economy and the NSC and international security: the higher the HDI, the quality NCHK — the sovereign, independent state and the more effective system of international security. Strictly speaking, it turns out that this effective system of international security can be established:

- Sovereign, independent states;
- Nations with high levels of NCHK;
- Nations have kept the national traditions and values.

A separate theme — the structure of NCHK and its manifestation in the social sphere, which is today a more effective instrument of foreign policy than military force. We are talking about civil society institutions, "soft power", but, more importantly, such industries as tourism and international exchanges.

The role of tourism and sport is still underestimated, both in terms of strengthening international security and to promote Russia's image abroad, as well as from an economic point of view. In the meantime, if you agree with the special value NCHK Russia as a factor in international politics and the application of cultural and ideological leadership, it is massive representatives of Russia, primarily representatives of the creative class, are the force that can promote the interests of the country abroad. They are the agents of Russian values the achievements of Culture, Sports, Science and Education at the level of ordinary human contact.

No small importance is the economic side. In modern economies of the developed countries the share of the tourism industry, as well as the service sector is growing and will grow. In some countries it is the principal article of GDP and revenues, reaching 30%. In this regard, the backwardness of Russia, primarily in terms of attracting foreign tourists — discouraging. As, however, and the service sector, which is not only worse but also more expensive than in developed countries. At the same factors influencing this situation are well known, which inevitably raises the question of immediate measures²⁹.

In the first half of 2010, 59% of the total cost of services rendered by travel agencies, accounted for outbound tourism (it "is less beneficial to the economy due to the export of capital and inability to create new jobs," says the HSE), 30% — on the inside and only 7% — for Tourism. Note that in June 2010, the number of travelers abroad of Russian citizens has exceeded not only the performance crisis of 2009, but also quite successful in 2008, and since November, Russian tour operators have reported that the Christmas tours abroad have already bought.

In general, the Russian economy by the end of 2010 out of the crisis. Except for some industries it has entered the pre-crisis figures of 2008. But can it be called a success, because those countries that have chosen a different model of development, in particular India (import substitution), for the period of crisis has gone forward in its development.

²⁸ On the production of gross domestic product (GDP) in the II quarter of 2010, Federal State Statistics Service. Database / http://www.gks.ru/bgd/free/b04_03/lss.

²⁹ D. Nikolaeva. Tourism fled abroad, Kommersant, November 11, 2010, pp. 6.

**Факторы, отрицательно влияющие
на деятельность турфирм**
(доля организаций от общего числа
опрошенных, %)



Источник: ГУ-ВШЭ

**Volume index of GDP and gross value added by economic activity at constant
prices (as% of corresponding period of previous year)**

	2010			Reference 2009		
	I quarter	II quarter	I half-year	I quarter	II quarter	I half-year
Gross domestic product at market prices	103,1	105,2	104,2	90,7	89,0	89,8
including:						
agriculture, hunting and forestry	102,7	101,1	101,8	99,2	98,5	98,8
Fishing	109,4	106,5	108,0	101,0	101,9	101,5
mining	111,7	105,2	108,4	96,6	94,8	95,6
Manufacturing	113,4	115,3	114,4	75,3	80,4	77,9
production and distribution of electricity, gas and water	109,0	103,7	106,8	93,0	96,2	94,3
Construction	91,1	99,7	96,1	80,8	79,1	79,8
Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles, household goods and personal items	99,9	103,7	101,7	92,8	85,4	89,1

2. International security in a crisis

Hotels and restaurants	96,8	100,3	98,6	85,8	82,6	84,1
Transport and Communications	109,5	109,6	109,5	92,6	93,4	93,0

Immediate crisis has affected all the plans ahead of Russia's development until 2020, basically forced to abandon adopted the "Strategy 2020". And not just because of the sharp drop in GDP in 2008–2009, but due to this large deficit of the federal and regional budgets³⁰.

We must acknowledge that anti-crisis measures taken by the Russian government, have often been:

- **Too late** (because, until October 2008 for some reason it was believed that Russia would remain aloof from the crisis, some "island of stability");
- **Is not always adequate** (the government ultimately focused on measures to support financial sector to the detriment of the ideas of development);
- **Loss of a strategic perspective** (measures were aimed at the tactical, often short-term results, not the goal of "Strategy 2020").
-



In this crisis badly affected the social sphere. Primarily due to inflation and price increases on tariffs and services. The situation in this area was much worse than in EU countries.

In other words, the Russian economy has demonstrated all of its negative characteristics and vulnerability to external factors. Including in the social sphere³¹. The model of economic development in Russia was antisocial, though Dmitry Medvedev and Vladimir Putin seemed to do everything in a crisis, not to hurt social programs, even in the unexpected deficit.

³⁰ A Federal State Statistics Service. Database / http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new/finans/fin299.htm

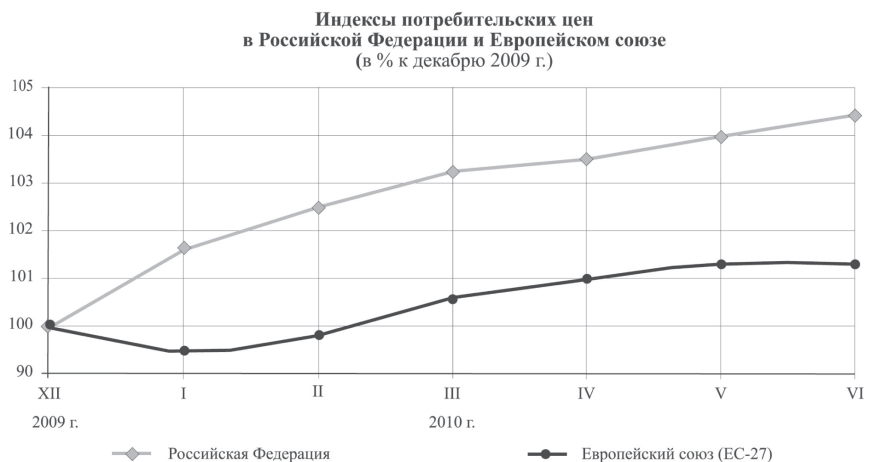
³¹ Federal State Statistics Service. Database / URL: / http://www.gks.ru/bgd/free/b04_03/

It is important to emphasize that during this crisis period, Russia was unable to implement politically declared in 2007–2008, plans for the accelerated development of national human capital, innovation and modernization of the economy. The crisis has forced in 2008–2010 practically stop these plans.

As the stabilization in 2010 and there has been a return not only in political rhetoric to the ideas of innovation and modernization of the economy. In my opinion, too narrow, referring only **to the technological modernization**, or rather — borrowing the achievements of developed countries. This explains the adjustment of the foreign policy of which actually said Dmitry Medvedev speaking at a regular meeting with the ambassadors at the Foreign Ministry in the summer of 2010. This adjustment was rightly regarded by many as one-sided orientation towards the EU countries in order to upgrade.

This, of course, the obvious simplification, although the focus on technological upgrading through borrowing inevitably pushes for it.

Antisocial politics — a reality, although personally Dmitry Medvedev and Vladimir Putin did everything in 2008–2010 that did not happen. This — the paradox of anti-personal efforts they have created the same logic of economic development.



Obviously, the selfish behavior of the crisis was the most effective model of behavior. In my opinion, this is not accidental, but reflects the pressing tendency to "nationalize" foreign policy in the context of globalization.

Nevertheless, there is another approach, whose adherents believe that the joint action — a more promising model of behavior in a crisis. Especially in the security field. As rightly noted by Professor MGIMO (U) A. Bogaturov, "The financial crisis in 2008 did not trouble overshadowed a more general — the crisis of world-system. Politicians, business world and the public more worry because the first one. That's understandable. But the financial losses — not the only threat. **Degrades the international order created after the Soviet collapse, and with it — a model of partnership between Russia and the West** (bold. A. P). Meanwhile, this model is clearly useful, let the conditions of Russian-Western

relations, and were developed with a clear predominance of the interests of U.S. and EU³².

With the last thought of my colleagues on the "incontestable value of Russian-Western relations," I do not quite agree. The value of such relations after the collapse of the Soviet Union, ie over the past 20 years, is highly questionable. I got the distinct impression that, in response to a completely logical and consistent model and strategy of the West toward Russia, our elite did not offer the same logical and coherent strategy. Foreign policy doctrine of the Russian elite towards the West ranged from full acceptance in the 90th years of Western values and priorities, to not always coherent situational response.

Moreover, in Russia in recent years, ultimately as a whole came to a consolidated view of the need to improve international institutions, and, if need be, and create new mechanisms for cooperation and security. This attitude of the elite in relation to Europe is well formulated the Academy of Sciences. Torknov, contrasting its alternative position of security: "Moscow is following with interest the progress of European integration project. It seems very promising. In the framework of a large number of European countries combine their efforts to address common challenges and solutions to common problems. Created in the EU conditions for economic prosperity and social peace shows that it turns out they have quite successfully. Lisbon Treaty will allow the EU to operate more efficiently ...

Russia offers a more realistic in the foreseeable future and a more democratic vision of a "Greater Europe". In accordance with the Russian Federation, European Union, all third European countries must work together to create a world in which want to live. It is important that it was built on an equitable basis, and it felt comfortable to all countries and peoples.

In the short to medium term speech that the remaining non-EU European countries joined in, not going. This one is not ready. The EU itself can not stand. Joining the EU "Wider Europe" is also not true. On the one hand, the EU is already in the "Greater Europe". On the other — "Wider Europe" yet, but rather, the hope for a better future than the reality.

But before that, a better future we must also live in peace and tranquility. Therefore, Russia is seeking, in agreement with other countries to reform the framework for ensuring security in Europe. If it needs to renegotiate previously signed contracts or sign new ones, then it should do quickly³³.

Fundamental conclusion is this: the global crisis has shown that a **new level of international cooperation**, which can represent a **system of security measures** in such areas as:

- Finance and international trade;
- Use of resources;
- Creation of a unified transport and communications infrastructure;
- Joint action against international terrorism;
- Control over critical technologies and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD);

³² A. Bogaturov. counterrevolution of values and international security / International Processes, 2008, v. 6, № 2 (17).

³³ An.Torkunov. The deficit of democracy and international cooperation / international processes, № 3 (21), 2009

- But, more importantly, the formation of **a common framework of international law and the conduct of States in the world**, which inevitably require cooperation in the search for common values and the development of general principles, ie, **cooperation even at the ideological level**, the level of understanding of global threats that are common to the security of nation states.

Sometimes it seems that such cooperation does not prospects. This is untrue. World experience tells a different story. In particular, when it comes to helping developed nations, we can state that only in the last decade has made substantial progress. So, in 2001 adopted a recommendation to make the whole unrelated to least developed countries, which traditionally accounts for about a third of all ODA. Conditioned by the fact that the "binding" the procurement of goods and services within the ODA becomes more expensive on average, 15 — 30% and it is necessary that the poorest countries do not lose this amount.

Most DAC member countries followed this recommendation and present (see table). The total amount of untied aid on a bilateral basis country-members is 92%, while in Britain it is 100%, from Germany — 93%, France — 95% , Japan — 90% (in the early 2000's. it reached 96%). Thus, national self-interest can yield to a common understanding of objective need.

The structure of bilateral development assistance of the Group of Eight (except the U.S. and Russia) in 2000–2005. (% of total)³⁴

YEAR		2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
All countries of the OECD Development Assistance Committee	H	81,1	79,9	85,3	91,8	91,3	91,8
	H	2,7	2,6	3,3	1,6	0,4	1,8
	C	16,1	17,5	11,3	6,5	8,3	6,5
Canada	H	24,9	31,7	61,4	52,6	56,7	59,4
	H				0,0	0,3	0,3
	C	75,1	68,3	38,6	47,4	43,0	40,3
France	H	68,0	66,6	91,5	93,1	94,2	94,7
	H	25,5	24,3	5,1	3,9		0,2
	C	6,6	9,1	3,4	3,1	5,8	5,1
Germany	H	93,2	84,6	86,6	94,6	92,2	93,0
	H						
	C	6,8	15,4	13,4	5,4	7,8	7,0

³⁴ D. A. Degterev. Report on research on the topic: "International development assistance as an effective tool to promote the foreign policy interests (for example, the U.S., leading EU countries, Japan, China). Moscow, Moscow State Institute (S), 2010, pp. 32.

2. International security in a crisis

Italy	H	38,2	7,8				92,1
	H						
	C	61,8	92,2				7,9
Japan	H	86,4	81,8	82,8	96,1	94,4	89,6
	H	0,5	1,4	8,1	0,5	1,0	6,0
	C	13,1	16,8	9,1	3,4	4,6	4,4
United Kingdom	H	91,5	93,9	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
	H						
	C	8,5	6,1				

Note: H — untied aid; P — partially connected, S — related development assistance.

Source: Author's calculation based on data from the OECD-DAC.

In relation to Europe and the European Union, these sentiments of the Russian elite found expression in the draft special programs developed and offered by the Foreign Ministry Russian President of the Russian Federation in 2010. The draft document was named "Program of effective use in a systematic way of foreign policy factors for long-term development of the Russian Federation"³⁵.

In a sense, Europe has to an object on which Russia has validated the ideas of cooperation in a multipolar world. It is noteworthy that Russia in recent years has sharply stepped up its efforts on all fronts, "in all directions." Visits Dmitry Medvedev and Vladimir Putin to China, Vietnam, Turkmenistan, South Korea, Japan, India (December 2010) and other countries show that concerns about a unilateral orientation on Russia to EU countries in vain.

Russia is fully aware of his position and responsibilities as not only the world but a great power whose interests are equally distributed, not only in Europe but in Asia. Therefore, it can not, and should not be attributed only European interests.

The process of national identity in Russia, including foreign policy is far from over. But it is clear that the policy of accelerated development and modernization would require participation in the creation of a fundamentally new model of international relations and the conduct of States in the world.

³⁵ A program of effective use in a systematic way of foreign policy factors for long-term development of the Russian Federation / <http://www.runenewsweek.ru>.

3. International security and the new balance of power

*"Russia has repeatedly argued that can do what others thought impossible"³⁶.
Vladimir Putin*

*"The world needs a new philosophy international relations"³⁷.
An.Torkunov, Rector of Moscow State Institute (U)*

At the end of the first decade of this century, it became clear that the European system of values, more and more openly opposed to other civilizational value system — above all the Islamic and Chinese — which will provide economic and other interests behind these ideologies States. But not only. In the ratio of world forces is taken into account first and foremost economic power of states, expressed in GDP and the level of technology, quality of life, human development index, etc.

These quantitative measures do not account for but the most important factors that determine the total power of the state, above all, an effective ideological, cultural and spiritual heritage of the nation's commitment to its values and its readiness to defend the national interests. These and other factors today are not amenable to precise measurement and are not yet the subject of ratings, although the ratio of national human capital (NCHK) individual countries makes such comparisons possible and relevant. Lack of appropriate techniques and a willingness to use them severely limit the possibility of measuring the balance of power (and, moreover, the measurement of its dynamics) in the world. Therefore, we have that in his analysis relies on quantitative measurements of the state's economy. Or the dynamics of their development. For example, in an annual forecast IMEMO "Russia and the World: 2010. Economics and Foreign Policy, an analysis based on GDP growth"³⁸.

³⁶ Vladimir Putin. Speech at an enlarged meeting of the State Council on the development strategy of Russia till 2020 »/ <http://www.Viperson.8.02.2008>.

³⁷ An.Torkunov. is fundamental in the social sciences / Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 07.12.2007.

³⁸ Russia and the World: 2010. The annual forecast. M. IMEMO, 2009

3. International security and the new balance of power

GDP growth rate. %

	Evaluation of the IMF		Score IMEMO	
	2009	2010	2009	2010
Whole world	-1,1	3,1	-0,2	3,4
Developed countries			-2,2	2,0
U.S.	-2,7	1,5	-0,5	3,5
Japan	-5,4	1,7	-3,0	1,5
Euro Area	-4,2	0,3	-3,4	0,9
EU 27	-4,2	0,5	-3,3	0,9
Germany	-5,3	0,3	-3,5	1,5
France	-2,4	0,9	-2,0	1,4
Italy	-5,1	0,2	-4,0	0,9
United Kingdom	-4,4	0,9	-3,5	1,3
Developing countries			3,5	5,6
China	8,5	9,0	9,0	10,0
India	5,4	6,4	5,8	6,8
Brazil	-0,7	3,5	-0,5	3,5
Countries with economies in transition			-4,9	1,8
Russia	-7,5	1,5	-8,0	2,5

And further, the scientists IMEMO commented: "The IMF predicts drop in U.S. production in 2009 to 2,7%, while our calculations indicate that the U.S. economy will be reduced a maximum of 0,5%. Our forecast is based on an assessment of the dynamics of the main elements of U.S. gross domestic product for use: the growth of household consumption, investment, government spending, reduce the negative balance of trade in goods and services. On the quantitative evaluation of all the above parameters, also based our forecast on the growth of U.S. GDP in 2010 to 3 , 5% (IMF estimate — 0.5%)³⁹.

It is also evident from comparisons of GDP for 146 countries and territories worldwide, conducted, for example, to 2005 World Bank.

The aggregate GDP **of countries** involved in global round of data for 2005 was about 55 trln.dollarov dollars at purchasing power parity (PPP). In terms of GDP the first ten countries in the world is as follows: U.S. (12.4 trln.dollarov), China (5,3 trln.dollarov),

³⁹ Russia and the World: 2010. Economics and foreign policy. The annual forecast. M. IMEMO, 2009, pp. 20.

Japan (3,9 trln.dollarov), Germany (2,5 trln.dollarov) , India (2,3 trln.dollarov) United Kingdom (UK) (1,9 trln.dollarov), France (1.9 trillion. dollars), Russia (1,7 trln.dollarov), Italy (1,6 trln.dollarov) and Brazil (1,6 trln.dollarov).

In terms of GDP **per capita** in PPP **the most prosperous** countries and territories are Luxembourg (70,014 dollars per person.) Qatar (68,749 dollars per person.), Norway (U.S. \$ 47,551 per person.), Brunei (47,465 dollars / people), Kuwait (U.S. \$ 44,982 per person.) United States (41674 U.S. \$ / pers.), Singapore (U.S. \$ 41,478 per person.) Ireland (38,058 dollars per person.), Macau (U.S. \$ 37,259 per person.) Hong Kong (35,680 dollars / person).

World's poorest countries are in Africa, these include Burundi, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Malawi, Niger, Zimbabwe, Mozambique. Per capita GDP in these countries is in ranging from 250 to 750 dollars per person.

Among CIS countries, the largest amount of per capita GDP in Russia — 11 861 USD, or 28,5% of the U.S. level. According to this indicator, Russia occupies 51 th place in the world. In Kazakhstan, the figure was 8,699 dollars (62 th place in the world), Belarus — 8541 U.S. dollar (65-th place in the world). The poorest CIS country of Tajikistan — 1413 U.S. \$ (119 th place in the world). CIS average level of GDP per capita was 9,202 U.S. dollars. Among the CIS countries, this level exceeded only by Russia, which accounts for nearly three quarters of the total GDP of the CIS countries.

The most expensive countries in the world are Iceland — 154% on the price level the U.S., Denmark (142%), Switzerland (140%), Norway (137%), Ireland (127%). For Russia, comparable to the price level was 45%. Cheapest countries — Islamic Republic of Iran, Laos, Vietnam, Bolivia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia⁴⁰.

The main findings are summarized in the accompanying table WB. Additional information, including indicators of per capita and comparative price levels for the three components of GDP (actual final consumption of households, the actual government final consumption and gross fixed capital formation), together with the explanation published on the website at www.worldbank.org / data / icp .

Attention is drawn to the uneven development of different regions of the planet, which leads to a drastic change in the balance of power in the world in the very near future. So, obviously, that the world economic center quickly moved to the Pacific. And global recession apparently strengthened this trend. This is evident both from the dynamics of development over the past decade, and three years of crisis⁴¹.

APEC members have different trends in GDP growth in the period 2000–2008. China, Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines were the leaders in economic growth rate up to 2007 inclusive.

Canada, USA, Mexico, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia and Singapore, and Russia showed the highest growth rates in 2000. In Australia and New Zealand recorded the highest rates of economic growth in 2002, in Chile, Hong Kong and Taiwan — in 2004

⁴⁰ A purchasing power parity of the Russian ruble was 12.74 rubles per 1 U.S. dollar.

⁴¹ Two anti-crisis program APEC and the role of development institutions in their implementation. MM: Vnesheconombank, 2009, pp. 3–5.

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GDP growth rates of countries — members of APEC in 2000–2008, %

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Canada	5.2	1.8	2.9	1.9	3.1	3.1	2.8	2.7	0.5
U.S.	3.7	0.8	1.6	2.5	3.6	3.1	2.9	2.2	1.1
Mexico	6.6	0.0	0.8	1.4	4.2	2.8	4.8	3.3	1.3
Chile	4.5	3.5	2.2	4.0	6.0	5.7	4.0	5.0	3.2
Peru	3.0	0.2	5.0	4.0	5.1	6.7	7.6	9.0	9.8
Russia	10.0	5.1	4.7	7.3	7.2	6.4	7.4	8.1	5.6
Australia	3.4	2.1	4.1	3.0	3.8	2.8	2.8	3.9	2.1
Japan	2.9	0.2	0.3	1.4	2.7	1.9	2.4	2.1	-0.6
China	8.4	8.3	9.1	10.0	10.1	10.4	11.1	11.4	9.0
Indonesia	5.4	3.6	4.5	4.8	5.0	5.7	5.5	6.3	6.1
Malaysia	8.7	0.5	5.4	5.8	6.8	5.0	5.9	6.3	4.6
Singapore	10.1	-2.4	4.2	3.5	9.0	7.3	8.2	7.7	1.1
Thailand	4.8	2.2	5.3	7.1	6.3	4.5	5.1	4.8	2.6
Taiwan	5.8	-2.2	4.6	3.5	6.2	4.2	4.9	5.7	0.1
South Korea	8.5	3.8	7.0	3.1	4.7	4.2	5.1	5.0	2.2
New Zealand	3.9	2.7	5.2	3.4	4.5	2.8	1.5	3.0	0.3
Philippines	6.0	1.8	4.4	4.9	6.4	4.9	5.4	7.3	4.6
Hong Kong	8.0	0.5	1.8	3.0	8.5	7.1	7.0	6.3	2.5
Vietnam	6.8	6.9	7.1	7.3	7.8	8.4	8.2	8.5	6.2
Brunei	2.9	2.7	3.9	2.9	0.5	0.4	5.1	0.4	-1.5
Papua New Guinea	-2.5	-0.1	-0.2	2.2	2.7	3.4	2.6	6.2	7.0

Source: International Monetary Fund

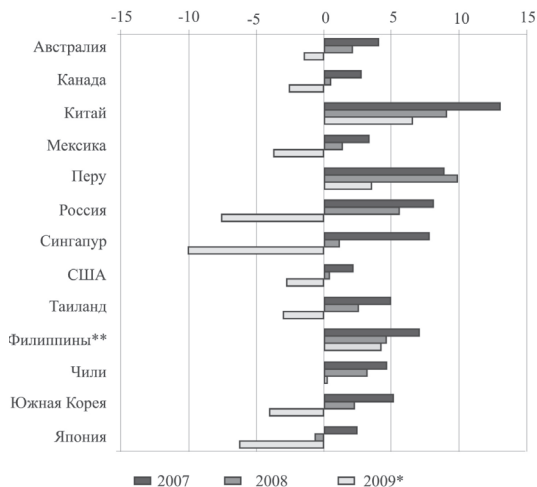
The crisis has made major adjustments in the pace of development of individual countries. Thus, China's economy was less vulnerable to the negative effects of global crisis, there has been little slowdown in economic growth in 2008. Moreover the pace of China's development in crisis conditions were exceptionally high. It turns out that China won the most from globalization in a crisis. This naturally affected the balance of power in the world and China's foreign policy in 2010.

Most affected by the crisis were the country's export-oriented goods and services, as well as countries which are major financial centers such as Singapore, South Korea, Thailand, Japan, USA, Mexico, Canada and Australia.

Less prepared for the current global financial and economic crisis were Brunei, Japan, Taiwan, New Zealand, Canada, Singapore, in these countries has been the most severe recession in 2008.

The growth rate of the U.S. economy relative to previous periods in 2007 was already lower economic growth rates of other leading countries of APEC. This can be explained by the fact that the modern world financial and economic crisis began in the USA in mid-2007. In subsequent years, the U.S. took unprecedented measures, but the general trend of reducing the role of the U.S. economy in the world survived.

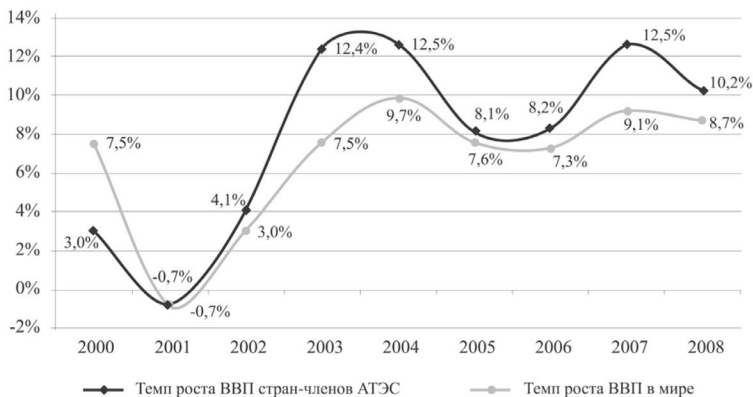
Темпы роста ВВП ведущих стран-членов АТЭС в 2007–2009 гг., %



* Прогноз Международного валютного фонда

** Прогноз Национального ведомства экономики и развития Филиппин по состоянию на 9 сентября 2009 г.

Темпы роста ВВП в мире и в странах-членах АТЭС в 2000–2008 гг., %



Источник: Рассчитано по материалам Международного валютного фонда

Obviously lag in general — in the dynamics and pace of development — post-Soviet countries of the world level, and especially from the APEC countries. On all major indicators can be described as a country belonging to the group of developing countries. Not only the leaders of the former Soviet Union — Russia and Kazakhstan — but more so the other former Soviet republics, is **rapidly falling behind by APEC in its development**. This lag considerably both in absolute terms or relative.

3. International security and the new balance of power

Key indicators of international comparisons of GDP for 2005⁴²

Countries and territories	GDP (Billion \$ U.S. PPP)	Share countries in aggregate Mr. GDP PPP (world = 100%)	GDP per capita population on PPP (U.S. \$)	GDP per capita population PPP (U.S. = 100%)	PPP (National currency units U.S. \$ 1)	Comparable level Price (%)
CIS						
Azerbaijan	38,4	0,07	4648	11,2	1631,6	35
Armenia	12,6	0,02	3903	9,4	178,6	39
Belarus	83,5	0,15	8541	20,5	779,3	36
Georgia	15,3	0,03	3505	8,4	0,7	41
Kazakhstan	131,8	0,24	8699	20,9	57,6	43
Kyrgyzstan	8,9	0,02	1728	4,1	11,4	28
Republic of Moldova	8,5	0,02	2362	5,7	4,4	35
Russian Federation	1697,5	3,09	11 861	28,5	12,7	45
Tajikistan	9,7	0,02	1413	3,4	0,7	24
Ukraine	263,0	0,48	5583	13,4	1,7	33
TOTAL	2269,2	4,13	9202	22,1		43

On the background of rapid change in the balance of power in the world grows understandable concerns on the future economic and technology leaders will behave in the international arena. So, until the end of 2010, China waged a cautious foreign policy throughout the decades of reform, but gain the objective of China leads to an increase of activity in its foreign policy. According to the expert MGIMO (U) V. Korsun, "I do not exclude the emergence of armed conflict, the more that Chinese submarines have been repeatedly spotted in the vicinity of Okinawa, in close proximity to the Japanese islands. China concerned over strengthening the Japan-US alliance, so the Chinese are rather defiantly and brazenly. Is a kind of projection of power in the immediate vicinity of Japan. Small indulgences, and hopes were connected with the Prime Minister Hatoyama, but he had been relieved, and again denote some uncertainty. On the one hand, the PRC strongly emphasizes the need for Japan to distance itself from the U.S.. But in fact, China is interested in the fact that the United States as long as possible provided nuclear umbrella for Japan"⁴³.

⁴² The results of the Global Round of international comparisons of GDP / http://www.gks.ru/bgd/free/b02_18.

⁴³ V. Korsun. Return of the Colossus / Portal MGIMO (U). 29.10.2010 / <http://www.mgimo.ru/system/>.

With respect to India from China also has problems that exist for many years. V. Korsun, they are characterized as follows: "The problem of Sino-Indian division has a special character. In China there is still no agreement on borders with India. There is only a conventional line of control along the border. And it is also used as leverage to Delhi. The total area of Indian claims — 35 thousand square meters. km. This is a real territory, which China seized during the conflict years 1959–1960. And China, claims to 92,000 sq km, assuming that the boundary should not pass on the so-called McMahon Line (which was agreed by Seoul agreement in 1914) and on the river Brahmaputra, which would mean the loss of India's Arunachal Pradesh. Incidentally, in this state is about 40% of India's proven oil reserves and a half cultivation of Indian tea. It's in Chinese: to change something you did not belong on something real — a package deal of Deng Xiaoping (failure from all claims by India) — is one of the Chinese stratagems. In my opinion, this is number 17, it sounds like: 'Change the broken tiles on jasper.' This problem seriously and permanently, from that leverage the Chinese will not give up, especially in India's aspirations to become a nuclear power" one ⁴⁴.

So, at this time apparently there was a surge of Chinese nationalism, which has made no secret of its international ambitions. As noted Russian researcher Alexander Lukin, "... the secret ... is fully revealed after the recent publication of **several official military analysts, which expressed the same thoughts**. For example, in immediately has acquired great popularity the book "Chinese dream" professor at the University of National Defense (login Defense PRC) Senior Colonel Liu Minfu believes that **in the XXI century, China should become the first nation in the world**. Otherwise, the U.S. efforts, the fight (and maybe a war) for the leadership that inevitably, he will be thrown to the margins of global development. Enumerating all the claims that the cause of American hostility — not an ideology, and geopolitics. And "even if China becomes more capitalist than the United States, they will still be determined to restrain him." According to Liu, the fight against Beijing and Washington — a competition for global leadership, **and to save yourself, save the world, China must prepare to become a helmsman**." "If China does not set out to surpass the U.S. military power and Russia, he would condemn himself to the fate of third-rate military power" — writes Liu Minfu and urges: "Make some money bags in the cartridge"⁴⁵.

There are many ways to treat these statements. During my meetings in China, for example, I heard from Chinese diplomats, scholars and military applications, that such speech is "marginal", "show the Chinese Democracy." However, in the ideological "forge" of China — Higher partshkole — its leaders did not fully disavow those statements, saying that "such a view exists."

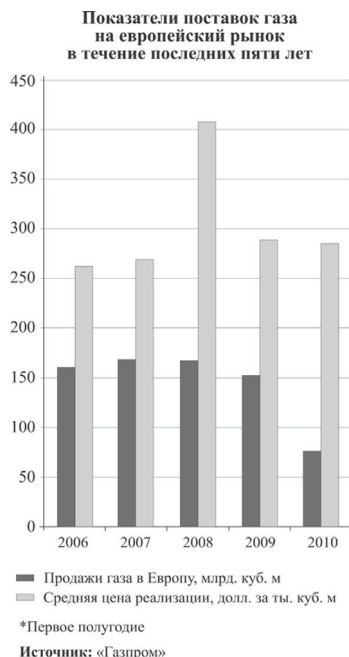
Whatever it was Russia has in its long-term strategy guided not by a statement of intent, and the possible correlation of forces and capabilities. Intention, as we know, can change quickly, but the possibilities are changing slowly. Thus, great importance for Russia in the coming years will be the Asian energy market, which can reach to the 2015–2018 year 100 billion cubic meters. meters of Russian gas and become comparable with EU⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ V. Korsun. Return of the Colossus / Portal MGIMO (U). 29.10.2010 / <http://www.mgimo.ru/system/>.

⁴⁵ A. V. Lukin. China's foreign policy — a new twist? / Russia in Global Affairs, № 2, March-April 2010.

⁴⁶ Y. Shishkova. The second Europe for Gazprom / RBC daily, November 11, 2010, pp. 5.

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Even with a lower selling price (up to \$ 200. For a thousand cu. m), this can amount to several billion dollars of annual revenue.

Assumed, and other processes that objectively demonstrate the loss of their EU positions⁴⁷. First of all, in the financial area, where the struggle for the improvement of public finances ", which EU institutions were the last 15 years after the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, has gone awry. To return to the national debt pre-crisis level, the European Union countries will take another 15 years. How it will be important in 2025 and by that time will look like the world economy is hard to say. Increase in debt is dangerous for several reasons"⁴⁸.

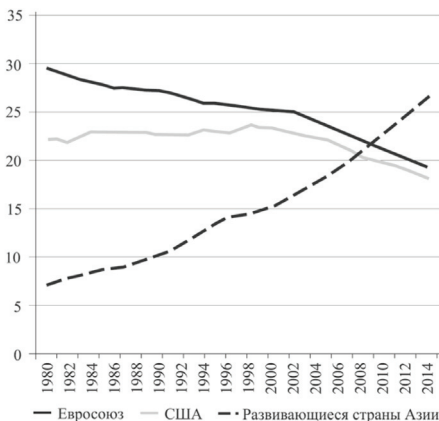
- It leads to increasing dependence of individual countries from the "old" Europe;
- This leads to a worsening of social situation;
- It leads to the abandonment of social programs.

But not only. Overall, the share of the European Union in the global economy has decreased since the beginning of the century, from 25% to 21% in 2008, but, more importantly, has a **strong tendency to reduce further**. It is not excluded that by 2025 EU countries will be represented by at least 15% of the world economy, giving the United States, China and India.

⁴⁷ Thus, the need to talk separately about the financial measures needed to stabilize the situation with public debt. See, for example: Financial News, August 26, 2010, pp. 3.

⁴⁸ O.V. Butorina. The eurozone at a bend of the crisis / Russia in Global Affairs, № 2, March–April 2010

Доля отдельных регионов в мировом ВВП в 1980–2014 гг. %

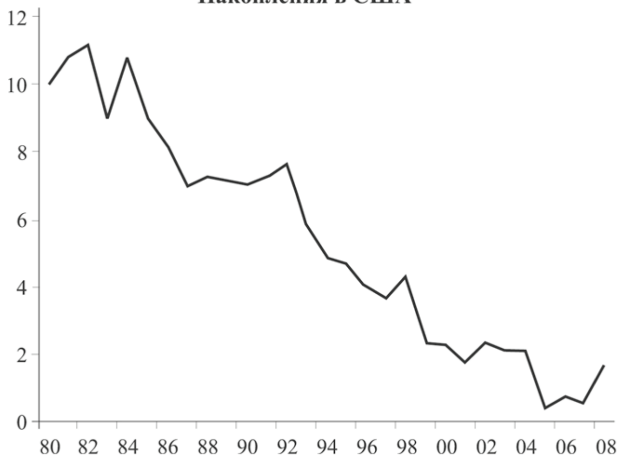


Источники: World Economic Outlook, IMF

It is clear that, depending on the balance of power will change and the political and financial, and military role of the individual states.

Can not help but worry all the country (especially fast-growing) and the problems the U.S. economy, which on a background of economic growth of the BRIC countries and APEC becoming rampant. The crisis of 2007–2010, as is well known, largely was caused by increasing distrust of the existing financial system, controlled by the United States. Which, in turn, depends on the state of the U.S. economy. So, can not disturb the growth of external debt of the United States and the decline in domestic savings, which are observed with the 80-ies⁴⁹.

Накопления в США



⁴⁹ J. O'Ntill. The Outlook for Dollar in the Next Decade / Global Economics Paper № 180, February 17, 2009, p. 10.

These trends suggest that in the period 2010–2020 will **decisively change the balance of forces in the world**. This change will inevitably manifest itself in a change in the role of individual nations and international institutions. And not in favor of the U.S. and the EU. Of course, that after this there is a change in the ratio of political and military forces. In the new configuration of world powers will inevitably raise the question of the establishment of **new military-political alliances and coalitions** as members of "the total military and political power" ideology and near civilization.

So, already noteworthy massive and active policy of China in organizing aid to developing countries, which is accompanied by increased political influence of China.

In the past few years have seen a significant increase in the amount of aid provided by the PRC. PRC assistance to international development assistance is directed mainly to large-scale infrastructure projects, especially building of energy facilities and commercial cooperation. **The new priorities are the creation and support of institutional capacity and human resource development**. In the modern politics of China to promote the development of individual countries, there are several new features:

1. Increased resources directed at improving institutional capacity and human resource development. These changes may open the door to new opportunities for partnerships between China and international donors to provide assistance to developing countries.
2. More resources for projects in Africa. In the next five years, China could become the largest donor in Africa.
3. Based on the experience of cooperation with multilateral organizations in promoting development in the Central Asian region and in the Greater Mekong Region, China creates a new multilateral partnership, including through the UN Development Programme (UNDP).
4. Currently, the PRC government is supporting research to develop new opportunities for creating international partnerships, conducting research for development through dialogue South — South cooperation in Beijing⁵⁰.

If by that time will not be an effective system of international security or significantly improve existing, including the institutions that provide it, the new centers of power would require carving up the world, resources and spheres of influence.

Obviously, the new centers of power and probable military coalitions will largely **be guided by their ideology**. Not only have economic and even military power. Need an idea, even ideological leadership, which could focus and devote resources to achieving this goal.

It is therefore necessary, firstly, to follow not only the political and economic but also ideological changes that inevitably will occur and dynamically in the years 2011–2020 in the new centers of power, and, secondly, to make every effort to try to avoid a new confrontation between the military and political coalitions. Alternative to the bloc-building can become a new concept of international security and the idea of a new European security architecture.

In Russia, are becoming increasingly beginning to understand the need for long-term strategic forecasting and planning, including and security. This explains the new conceptual approach in Russia. As one of the oldest members of the Russian elite, the former mayor of

⁵⁰ D.A. Degterev. Report on research on the topic: "International development assistance as an effective tool to promote the foreign policy interests (for example, the U.S., leading EU countries, Japan, China). Moscow, Moscow State Institute (S), 2010, pp. 89.

Moscow Yuri Luzhkov, "If socialism was a systemic advantage to capitalism, then it must have consisted precisely in the long-term planning..."⁵¹.

In my opinion, it is necessary and **strategic planning in the field of international and European security**. Moreover, with the participation of other states. We need today not only to predict the development of world economy and its implications for international security system. The experience of the second World War in Europe, in my opinion, showed that the old diplomacy, bilateral negotiations, secret agreements and retaliatory action against an aggressor — ineffective⁵². Conversely, if a European policy in the 30th years of last century have been more proactive and able to negotiate a **collective security system** (namely, to this day calls on all European countries, Dmitry Medvedev), the war and tens of millions Victims could have been avoided.

Thus, in connection with a rare change in the balance of power in **the new international security system can be several points of reference**:

- **First**, international law and obligations of States to follow its rules, rather than concentrating on "political expediency" and only "national interest". Here we should keep proven effective international institutions. Moreover, to strengthen and modernize them, and perhaps create new international institutions;
- **Secondly**, you need an organization capable of uniting all European nations from Vancouver to Vladivostok, to become a platform for harmonizing the interests of all states and dialogue for collaborative decision making. For Asia also needs a similar international organization. I would say need an analog of the OSCE for Asia;
- **Thirdly**, the general ideological and civilizational values, rules and regulations, taking into account national circumstances, to bring together not only Europeans but also other nations. And here the great role belongs to the ancient civilizations of China, India, Russia;
- **Fourth**, the overall economic, customs, fiscal space, which is not confined to the EU, but includes the leading Asian states;
- **Fifth**, the overall strategy of scientific, cultural and educational development of the world's leading nations. It is these areas will define the face of civilization, economy and society in the XXI century.

And finally, most importantly — successful implementation of plans to modernize Russia, which will turn the country into a global leader in the NCHP, especially in the field of culture, science and spirituality. The same result will confirm the **ideological leadership of Russia**, as well as military-technical and economic self-sufficiency, ie, Russia's sovereignty in the world. **It is a national and state sovereignty, based on leadership in NCHP will remain the main guarantor of international security.**

Today, the Russian leadership rightly worried about turning the country into a state whose prosperity is based on energy exports. Global investment community considers Russia primarily oil power that now, perhaps more than ever is valid, taking into account

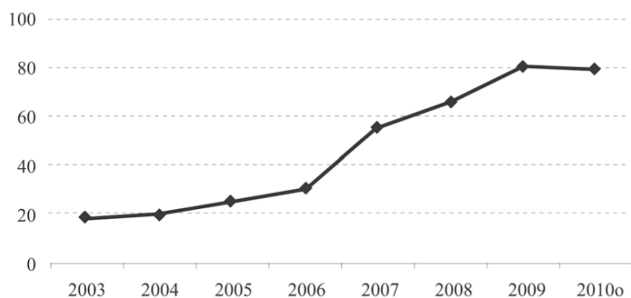
⁵¹ Yuri Luzhkov. Capitalism and Russia. prolapse of the future? Moscow: Moscow books and cartography, 2009, pp. 79.

⁵² Two great detail, this process is shown in basic research, equipped with a huge number of documents 65 years of Victory: 6 tons / under total. Ed. SE Naryshkin Acad. Torkunov well. Moscow: Moscow State Institute-University, 2010

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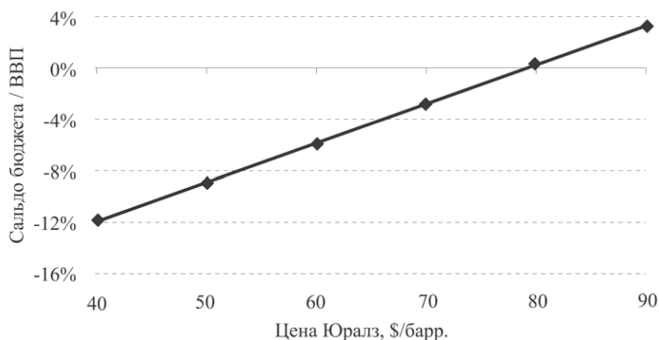
increased in recent years, the dependence of the federal budget on oil prices, despite the large reserves accumulated in several public collections. If the 2005 budget was deficit-free with the price per barrel of \$ 25, then in 2009 — already at about \$ 80. The Government is trying to get rid of this dependency and have taken the first step to fix the planned budget expenditures in 2010 at the 2009 level⁵³.

Цена нефти, при которой бюджет России бездефицитен, \$/барр.



Источник: Тройка Диалог

Зависимость бюджета от цен на нефть в 2010 году



As is evident from these data, Russia in recent years it has become extremely dependent on energy prices. It also indicates that about any leadership on NCHP today we can not go. And that means, and to strengthen national security. This logic can be shown in the following figure.



⁵³ Russia. Fixed Income / Troika Dialog, in December 2009, pp. 10–11.

As can be seen, "starting position" begins with the formulation of development objectives NCHP ideology. What, indeed, and were dedicated to all the speeches of the President and Prime Minister of Russia in 2010, especially following message from President of the Federal Assembly on 30 November 2010.

You must consider both the strengths and weaknesses, and prospects and dangers in the development of Russia. According to, for example, American scientists, they are as follows⁵⁴:

SWOT-matrix for the development of innovations in Russia

Strengths

- High scientific and educational potential, recognized in the world, the presence of major scientific and educational centers and major technological stock.
- Large domestic market.
- Significant funding for state initiatives in support of high technology.
- Geographical location and historical ties to the center of Eurasia, with direct access to European, Asian and Middle Eastern markets.

Weaknesses

- Insufficient development of demand for innovation in the domestic market.
- Weak infrastructure (access to office space, housing, telecommunications, etc.).
- Weak financial system (debt financing and private equity, stock exchanges).
- Unfriendly to high-technology business-friendly tax and legal system.
- Lack of entrepreneurial tradition.
- Lack of knowledge of international markets, poor communication in the national business.
- The bad reputation of the country from international investors.

Prospects for Development

- Growth of demand in the domestic and global markets for products and services in the sphere of high technologies.
- The existing gap between the strong Russian science and the ability to create on the basis of this science new products and new companies, creating the potential for rapid growth in the case of the introduction process of commercialization.
- Public infrastructure projects: draft Skolkovo, industrial parks, special economic zones and technology clusters.
- Use state-supported institutions of development, actively promote international cooperation and encourage local investments: Rosnano, the Russian Venture Company, Rosinfocominvest.
- The growing interest of Russian business and government elites in the innovation processes.
- A recession in developed countries, reducing employment opportunities and opens the window to attract global talent in Russia.

⁵⁴ Yaroslavsky Plan 10–15–20: 10 years of road, 15 steps, 20 warnings. Report New York — Academy Sciences / The New York Academy of Science, August 20, 2010. p. 104.

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- Increased global investment institutions and venture capital, seeking access to external markets.
- A large Russian diaspora, especially in the U.S. and Israel.

Danger

- Rapid uncontrolled growth in costs, including expenditures on wages and real estate acquisition.
- Competition from foreign companies.
- Brain drain and technologies, the emergence of human hunger.
- Corruption and administrative barriers.
- Aggressive and often unfair competition from large Russian companies.
- Inconsistent government policies /

I must say that if you carefully analyze these processes, we found that in all areas of their development. And are developing quite positively. Even though the temporary difficulties caused by the crisis or other reasons. And these processes produce a normal, natural fears in the West.

From solving these problems depends on a lot. And above all, what **place** will take Russia in the future balance of power in the world. **What is the impact** it can have on processes of global development.

This is well understood in the nation, tying with plans to modernize Russia's foreign policy strategy. Ultimately, international relations will form the most powerful States. Today, as a small mistake, it is a monopoly the U.S. (which has ceased to be a monopoly in the last century). Tomorrow — the monopoly of developed countries or unions of developed countries, where outsiders view of world development will simply not be ignored.

The influence of international law and international institutions have not become independent. As before in history, they will be allowed to interpret events. Sometimes it is not just flexibility, but frankly in the interests of powerful states, which undoubtedly will continue to be to enjoy these benefits.

That is why it is crucial not to give effect to monopolize it and turn it into an instrument of foreign policy of individual states. This can be done under two conditions:

First of all, when other nations will come to a comparable level of development (according to per capita GDP, HDI, NCHK, etc.);

Second, when other states will create **its own system** of international security, to oppose a military-political coalition — another.

4. Future challenges to international security: "Security through Development"

"... Our prosperity and leadership in an increasingly depend on our ability to provide our citizens the necessary education, attracting the best human capital"⁵⁵

Barack Obama

*"The reaction to foreign Russian initiative suggests that our emphasis **on the formula of 'security through development'** has led many partners to take a fresh look at prospects for deepening relations with our country"⁵⁶*

Sergei Lavrov

In U.S. National Security Strategy of 2010 security, leadership, modernization are directly related to leadership in education at all levels, and in general, the leadership of NCHP. This is — a warning to us and our policy in this area. International relations, including the security can be built in the modern world only on the relative equality NCHK States, which allows you to save them not only imaginary, but real sovereignty.

International institutions, including international law and alliances that can only be complementary, reinforcing this factor instruments.

What today may not be a problem for international security, does not mean that it will not appear in the near future. World crisis showed that international institutions are ineffective, and the State in case of emergency, will conduct themselves in accordance with **how elites understand their national interests** rather than follow the established in relatively calm conditions, rules and norms of behavior.

In my opinion, in the coming years — we wish it or not — happens a sharp intensification of international relations in the struggle for resources. This will be due to the fact that the global market will come new giants — both producers and consumers

⁵⁵ A National Security Strategy, Wash.: May 20, 2010, p. 29.

⁵⁶ Sergey Lavrov. "Russian diplomacy in a changing world" / "directory of federal, Vol 23 / 30/04/2010 / Russian Foreign Ministry / http://www.mid.ru/us_dos.nsf

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of goods and services: China, India, Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia and other states that will change position as the commodities market, and competitors will be trying to keep the market high-tech products.

Another aspect of the problem — the active development of new energy sources, which in the medium term could seriously change the situation on the world market. Thus, the rapid growth in shale gas production could reach China, Canada and Europe. If these countries will repeat the success of gas U.S., then Russia could lose a significant total export revenues. As chief economist of the International Energy Agency (IEA), Fatih Birol, the position of the leading exporting countries will soon be seriously undermined. Domestic experts believe that Gazprom in the new environment will have at least change their pricing policies, as well as a maximum — has reservations concerning the new and costly pipeline projects⁵⁷.

Finally, there is, unfortunately, a group of internal problems hindering the development of Russia, without which **you can not talk about national security** and, therefore, and international security. First of all we are talking about Russia's competitiveness in the economy. In particular, in creating the conditions for business development. This is a lot of talk for more than 20 years, but in reality the situation is getting worse every year in virtually every area where Russia is under international comparisons, one of the last few years in the world. For example, a World Bank study "Doing Business 2010"⁵⁸.

Russian Federation Region: Europe and Central Asia Support height revenue: Income Average		Population: 141,800,000 The per capita gross National income (USD \$): 9622,53	
Ease	Doing Business 2010 ranking countries	Doing Business 2009 ranking countries	Change rating
Business	120	118	- 2
Registration of enterprises	106	88	- 18
Obtaining building permits	182	182	0
Hiring of labor	109	104	- 5
Registering property	45	49	+4
Lending	87	109	+22
Investor protection	93	88	- 5
Taxation	103	108	+5
International trade	162	160	- 2

⁵⁷ Kulikov. Chinese Institute of slate on the heels of "Gazprom" Nezavisimaya Gazeta, September 16, 2010, pp. 4.

⁵⁸ Cm.: Doing business in Russia. 09.09.2010 / <http://russian.doingbusiness.org/> Expbare Economics

Enforcing contracts	19	19	0
Liquidation of companies	92	92	0
Note: Doing Business in 2009 has been recalculated taking into account the methodological and the addition of two new countries			

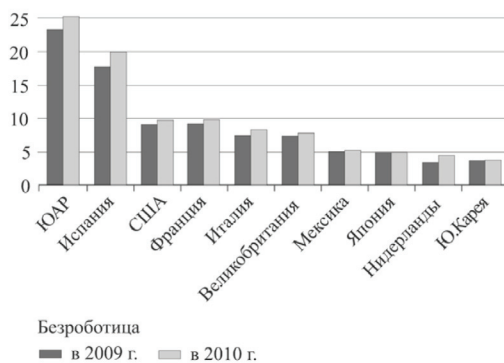
Critical to ensuring international security of Russia is the development of national human capital (NCHK), whose role in the XXI century began on the value not less than the role of military force in the previous stage of human development. Country's place in the world, its role in international relations today is determined primarily by its place in the development of human capital. That is why any change (in social structure, financing, scientific and educational areas, etc.) is crucial for the international positions of Russia and its foreign policy.

Within the context of the leading states for problems such as unemployment, the acute problem of preserving international security **through joint efforts of** the States concerned. The desire of individual states to ensure national interests at the expense of other countries may lead to increased social tension and, consequently, the political instability that manifested itself in 2010 in Greece, France, Italy and Spain.

Thus, it is obvious that in times of crisis the G 20 does not have coped with unemployment⁵⁹.

The number of unemployed people in the world today has reached 210 million, reported the International Labour Organization (ILO) in a special report prepared for the G 20 meeting in Seoul. In the countries of the "big twenty" the unemployment rate ranges from 5 to 25%. This year's increase in unemployment occurred in ten countries of G 20, including five countries in G 7. The ILO estimates that to maintain current employment levels in the world must annually create 44 million new jobs, of which 21 million will be on the G 20.

Страны G20, в которых отмечается рост безработицы, %



Источник: Международная организация труда

⁵⁹ RBC daily, November 11, 2010, pp. 4.

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Another aspect — the rapid change in social structure in society, which is characteristic for countries with rapidly growing economies. First of all — India, China and Brazil. This is partly true for Russia, where "... one of the main outcomes of the decade has been a noticeable change in social-property structure of the Russian society. Judging by the Levada Center, self-assessment of their financial position in society are growing significantly. If the 2000 primary, the most prominent income groups were those who said that "enough money for food, but buying clothes is a serious difficulty" (there were 42), now the largest group were answered: "enough money for food and clothes, but buying things durables is a problem for us" - 48%. The first group during this time reduced to 27%, the second increased from 28% — they swapped.

The bottom group of the poorest, those who are "barely making ends meet," fell from 23% to 9%, and those who "can easily buy things durables, rose from 7% to 16%.

No change has remained only a fraction of the wealthiest, who "can afford to purchase relatively expensive — apartment, cottage and more" — less than 1%.

The country now had the two social majority: provided food and clothing — their only two-thirds — 65%, and those who can not buy their stuff durables — 84%. Ten years ago, the first was 36%, Second — 92–93%. Then it was possible to identify two other most: those who have enough money on products — 77–78%, and those who did not have on clothes — 65%.

Turning point here can be considered 2006–2007 — that's when those who could not buy clothes, were in the minority — 48% and 43%. At the same time sharply reduced the proportion of poor amid growing proportion of better-off. To some extent this can be attributed to the results of the exercise of power of so-called "left turn" autumn 2005⁶⁰.

Thus, in all countries — from China, India, Brazil and Russia to the EU countries — there have been serious, even radical, changes that will certainly impact on international relations. "Socialization" of international relations inevitably formulate new priorities, even a new agenda in international relations in the XXI century. At the heart of the new agenda will be the person providing the conditions for its development.

Thus the future system of international relations will be determined primarily by the degree of cooperation between States in the development of human potential — more precisely, the national human capital (NCHK). Where this collaboration will ensure the development, we should expect the most rapid development of bilateral and multilateral relations.

And vice versa. Where the development will take place at the expense of other states, ie constrain the development potential NCHK these relations will coagulate, into the realm of confrontation.

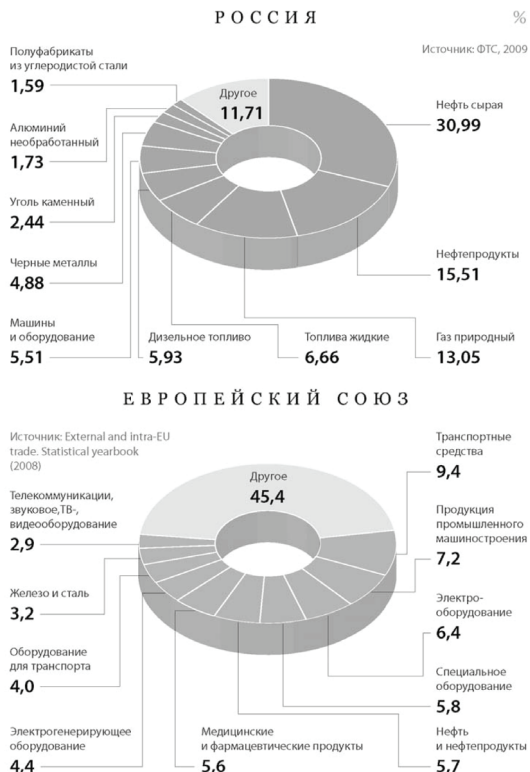
Russia has its own rescue about the intentions of other states⁶¹. First of all, with regard to post-Soviet space. Thus, the greatest mistrust from Moscow may cause the goal of creating a network of free trade areas (FTA) between the European Union and partner countries, announced in a platform of "Economic integration and convergence with EU policies." In principle, according to the multilateral system requirements within the

⁶⁰ S. Chernyakhovsky. Of the poorest in poor / Portal «Viperson». 09.09.2010 / <http://www.Viperson.Ru>.

⁶¹ I.V. Bolgova. On the influence of the EU's Eastern Partnership on integration processes in the CIS. Moscow: Moscow State Institute, 2010, pp. 3–4.

agreements of GATT / WTO, the transition to free trade should be — as we have said I. V. Bolgova — to stimulate trade among these countries and **not create additional barriers to third countries**. Regional agreements designed to **complement the principles of the multilateral trading system under the WTO, rather than opposed to it**. Also, such an agreement, WTO members should enter only with the other member states, whereas with non-member countries — only in exceptional cases, although in practice, compliance with this requirement is ambiguous.

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Thus viewed the electoral interest of the EU to countries in post-Soviet space⁶².

Place of Belarus in this process has not been determined. There are additional difficulties associated with the country's accession to the WTO, the absence of a clear list of sectors that may be subject to liberalization of trade. Meanwhile, in Russia as a whole there is reason for concern based on the experience of the customs union with Belarus.

⁶² to the European Union. Analytical report of the Russian group of international Valdai Club. "August-September 2010, pp. 1 5.

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As recognized by Russian experts from HSE A.I. Suzdaltsev, "... customs area within the Union State of Russia and Belarus has demonstrated its ineffectiveness. The structure of the zone and its contractual base contributed to the unilateral benefit of the Belarusian side, which eventually led to the halt of economic integration between Minsk and Moscow"⁶³.

In the long term, the EU intends to create an "Economic Community Neighborhood" («Neighbourhood Economic Community»), which should provide the conditions for the participation of former Soviet countries in the single European market.

Adaptation of the partner states of the European norms and standards laid down in the foundation and other related platforms, "Energy Security", whose objectives are to develop transport infrastructure and the diversification of energy supplies. The implementation of this platform is complicated primarily by the fact that a single EU energy market is just in its infancy, and its development prospects depend on the outcome of intra-European struggle to liberalize gas and electricity markets in the EU.

In the energy platform of the Eastern Partnership provides a number of contradictions at the bilateral level. The European Union is directly linked the conclusion with Armenia "Memorandum of Understanding on energy issues" with the closing Medzamorskoy accident. In this case, from the Ukraine in exchange for signing a similar "memorandum" did not want to close nuclear power plants, although there are reactors of the same type as that of the Armenian NPP⁶⁴. The reason for closing the plant Medzamorskoy European experts lead the seismic hazard in the region. Critics of the position EU in this issue point to the fact that the Spitak earthquake in 1988 the station has experienced a sufficient margin of safety, in addition, it is not clear where Armenia will take up to 40% of electricity provided by the current nuclear power plants if it is closed.

As written by famous Russian expert, professor MGIMO (U) Igor Tomberg, "in Copenhagen in April 2010, Dmitry Medvedev recalled the Russian initiative to improve the international legal framework for energy cooperation, including a new version of the Energy Charter Treaty"⁶⁵. This initiative is under a very good reason. Energy has now become not only an object of policy, but also the subject of much speculation, which largely determine the state of the economy, stock and currency markets. Russia, perhaps more than any other country interested in stability and security of the market reliable international legal mechanisms. As emphasized by leading energy industry worldwide in the spring of 2010, "We are deeply concerned that the global energy market today is not protected from speculative volatility and systemic risks that could cause serious damage to world economic development. Development of world energy is still hampered by **geopolitical rivalries and political conflict of global proportions**. These contradictions can not be eliminated either by individual countries, nor in the bilateral relationship"⁶⁶.

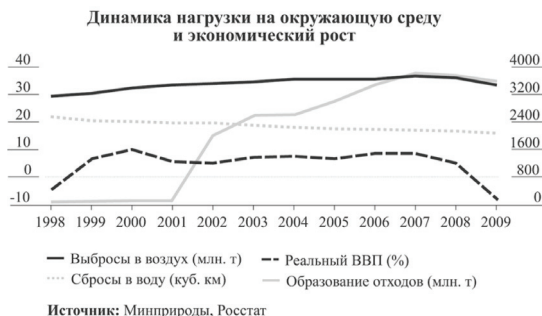
⁶³ A. Suzdaltsev. Policy ahead of the economy. Russia in Global Affairs. 2010, v. 8, № 1, January–February, pp. 84.

⁶⁴ In addition, to characterize the current phase of the EU eastern policy should be recalled that Lithuania, Bulgaria, Slovakia in mid-1990. agreed to the closure of nuclear power is actually in exchange for full membership in the EU.

⁶⁵ I. Tomberg. On new rules of the game in the energy field. Strategic Culture Foundation / <http://www.Fondsk.Ru>. 30.04.2010.

⁶⁶ The final joint declaration. Moscow International Energy Forum "Fuel and Energy Complex of Russia in 21 century". April 10, 2010, Moscow.

Among these deep contradictions insurmountable without a high degree of international cooperation, should be attributed primarily environmental problems. Russia, of course, have to decide many of them. So, obviously, that economic development in the country for extensive scenario leads to increased environmental stress. Even during the crisis of 2008–2010, when there was a noticeable drop in industrial output, the load is not reduced⁶⁷.



As can be seen from the graph, real GDP growth in Russia in 2009 were the same as in 1998, and environmental damage — much higher. This situation is not only the internal Russian, but inevitably will also become the subject of international debate and, possibly, of conflict.

Particularly clearly Russia's dependence on the state of the global energy market, manifested in the crisis period of 2008–2010, when the price of hydrocarbons is largely, if not a major determinant of the Russian budget revenues. It is estimated that an increase in the cost of a barrel of oil per dollar increase in income yields approximately the Russian treasury \$ 1 billion a year. But the volatility is such that, for example, in the spring of 2010 the price per barrel has changed within one — two weeks at 15–20 U.S. Moreover, factors affecting the price may be the most unexpected — from the volcano and the activation of an accident on an oil platform to the information the rating agencies on the state budget in Portugal.

Energy policy issues directly related to the problems of international and European security, moreover, are their **consequence**. The fact that importing and exporting countries cooperate today as part of the bipolar model, designed to achieve **different** and sometimes diametrically **opposed** strategic objectives. Therefore, the question is of fundamental importance in achieving a **political, strategic compromise and balance of interests** as a consequence of which would have to ensure energy security, including major issues: transit, pricing and investment.

April 20, 2009, during his visit to Finland, Russian President raised the need to radically improve the legal framework of world trade in energy resources. The idea was that with "eight", "twenty", the EU, CIS, SCO and other international and regional organizations to develop a **universal, legally binding document**. Meanwhile, Russia called for the parties to the agreement have all the major producing countries and countries — transit countries and consumers.

⁶⁷ A. Shapovalov, O. Sapozhkov. Nature outlined new laws, Kommersant, October 25, 2010, pp. 6.

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This is what the Russian government said since the summit of "Big Eight" in 2006. And the same issue devoted to "**conceptual** approach to the new legal framework for international cooperation in the energy sphere," which purport to replace the "Energy Charter", or enter into it part of it.

Let me remind you that the Treaty of the Charter, Russia has not ratified, not wanting to prevent infringement of its interests, ie, The Charter does not meet the national interests of Russia. And above all, because the key issues of energy security — transit, pricing, international regulation, investments, ie everything that affects the interests of producers, remains outside its responsibility. In the energy field there is the same as in the field of security — to change the realities did not affect the existing arrangements, moreover, makes cooperation and interaction of unequal power. As is the case with the problem of European security requires essentially the same set of measures and the same principles: joint action, international law, dialogue among all interested parties (in the case of energy security — exporters, transporters, importers). Accordingly, as in the case of European security is needed and a **new mechanism of cooperation**, taking into account the interests of all parties and the dominance of international law. The essence of a new concept: to distribute the responsibility for "global energy security" as both suppliers and consumers and transit of energy resources. Consequent requirement to Europe: in exchange for the safe delivery of gas, firstly, to ensure the security of demand, which is understood as a transparent and predictable distribution, and secondly, to ensure open and nondiscriminatory access to international energy markets⁶⁸.

As well as in the field of European security could not push Russia's conceptual approach to the new legal framework for international cooperation in the energy sector "as an alternative to the Energy Charter. This means that the European hydrocarbon market there are no common rules of the game, which would suit the producers and consumers, and transit. In other words, Russia is proposing to develop uniform legal rules of the game, but most of Europe, these proposals ignore the fact.

As in the case of European security, Russia in the field of energy security is directly interested in a predictable and long-term relationships with European states. And it is understandable why: Today the market prices for oil and gas mainly generates consumer, ie European states. But Russia is already investing heavily in new construction and modernization of old pipelines. The question is not in vain if these investments? Pay off if they do. Respond to it only in case the possession of long-term (strategic) contracts and effective international mechanisms for their maintenance.

"Unfortunately — rightly notes I. Tomberg, — the desire of the Russian leadership to create a firm legal international framework of energy strategy of the country **do not find support not only in the Western media, but also in Russian and even the expert community**. Without broad support, advocacy, promotion, finally, the Russian proposals in this area the problem and will articulate only the top management without any response at home and abroad"⁶⁹. Obviously a direct analogy with the efforts of Russia in European

⁶⁸ I. Tomberg. On new rules of the game in the energy field. Strategic Culture Foundation / <http://www.Fondsk.Ru>. 30.04.2010.

⁶⁹ I. Tomberg. On new rules of the game in the energy field / <http://fondsk.ru/article.php?id=2987>.

security in recent years. And chronologically, both politically and methodologically Russia strictly adheres to create a dialogue mechanism for all partners, the international legal and political framework for such dialogue. Europe — ignores.

Summing up, one can refer to an old shaping contemporary Russian foreign policy, which implies and our vision of European security, formulated An.Torkunovym: "The foreign policy of Russia is far from idealistic notions. In particular, he is free from illusions about the true nature of relations with the West, in which cooperation in some areas — where interests coincide, — combined with rivalry and competition. The latter, however, is typical not only for relations between Russia and its Western partners. Relationship in the world in general are characterized by intense competition for markets, investments, economic and political influence. As a result, Russia's place in the world system is determined and will be determined by its ability to overcome the current weakness, modernize society, political system, economy and armed forces"⁷⁰.

Indeed, the history of diplomacy taught that treaties are not just begging, arguing endlessly in their objective necessity. Fair and effective international agreements are concluded only when all parties are interested not only for objective reasons, but for reasons completely subjective, determined by the balance of forces in the world and the attitude of the elites. Today, objectively fair agreement, proposed by Russia, did not meet the support, not because they are bad or biased, but because Russia, its position is weak. Weak in technology, energy, economic and social fields. Where they are relatively strong (as For example, in the field of strategic nuclear weapons) — Agreement with difficulty, but are achieved: an example to the START-3.

It follows inevitably, and a different conclusion: the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty on European security, which primarily require weak (like Russia), and that limit the arbitrariness of the strong, — not, as both parties will take "a position of strength", which in today's international relationship means no position of weakness. "

What should make foreign policy in these circumstances? What are its priorities? In my opinion, the answer is obvious: first, **strengthen Russia's position in the socio-economic and scientific-technical fields, ie create conditions for accelerated development and, secondly, to develop international cooperation in all directions, strengthening Russia's position in the world, wherever possible**. Actually, this idea of "modernization, foreign policy, Dmitry Medvedev, and became apparent in 2010.

And the "strengthening of the position" should be seen not only in the economic sense (which is its understanding of the elite), but, above all, **in social terms — as support for their own people** the course of modernization. This social component of today — the priority. She has become a leitmotif of modernization. Thus, unemployment and low incomes not only reduces the domestic market and restrains the growth of GDP and productivity, but also **deprives the ruling elite of political support of most citizens**. According to opinion poll, for example, only 34% of citizens feel secure in the labor market even in circumstances where their pay is certainly lagging behind inflation, 2008–2010⁷¹.

⁷⁰ An.Torkunov. The world becomes different. Peace and Politics, № 1 (28), January 2009.

⁷¹ A situation in the labor market: 2009 results and prospects in 2010 VTsIOM. March 2010

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Страх потери работы остаётся довольно сильным

Индекс вероятности увольнений

33 пункта

Минимальное значение за последний год – 30 пунктов в ноябре-декабре 2009 г.), максимальное значение – год назад, в феврале 2009 г. (48 пунктов)



- 3%** Уверены, что так и будет
- 23%** Считают вполне возможным
- 39%** Считают возможным, но маловероятным
- 29%** Считают практически невозможным
- 5%** Затруднились с ответом



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Март

Remarkably, and another aspect of this phenomenon. Expert at Harvard conducted a study "Regulation and distrust" (http://www.economics.harvard.edu/Faculty/Shleifer/files/distrust_qje2.pdf), which implies the following conclusion: the lower the quality of governance in the country, the more people advocating a greater role for government in the economy⁷².

This strategy was rector of Moscow State Institute (Y) An.Torkunov described as follows: "In this light, Russia's foreign policy should be aimed at facilitating the solution of national problems. These include increasing the competitiveness of our economy, a radical increase of GDP, further integration of Russia into the global economic system. As a foreign-policy priorities identified to protect national economic interests, raise the investment attractiveness of Russia's opposition to discrimination on foreign markets"⁷³.

This seemingly abstract statement has many specific dimensions: financial, economic, social and others that are well-defined correlated with each other. Thus, a positive trend in the modernization of the country might well be compared with an increase in its credit rating, which is literally made the leading rating agency «Standard & Poor's». Russia, according to the agency, from 2000 to 2006, passed the following way:

Improving Russia's rating agency Standard & Poor's⁷⁴

September 4, 2006	BBB +
December 15, 2005	BBB
January 31, 2005	BBB-
January 27, 2004	BB +
December 5, 2002	BB

⁷² Fear Factor / Offices, 2 December 2010, pp. 1, 4.

⁷³ An.Torkunov. The world becomes different. Peace and Politics, № 1 (28), January 2009

⁷⁴ How to catch up with America / Stantard & Poor `s.

July 26, 2002	BB-
December 19, 2001	B +
June 28, 2001	In
December 8, 2000	B-

However, it will still have **7 stages** (from A to AAA), consistently outstripping other countries, until recently, the seventh stage.

Bahamas, Israel (Phase 1), China, Lithuania, Slovenia (second round), Iceland, Italy (fourth stage), Belgium (second stage) and, finally, a group of leaders — Singapore, Shveyspriyu, USA other countries (seventh round), with the highest AAA credit rating.

Likewise, should be drawn up a **phased plan for advancing development**, the core of which are criteria that determine NCHK — education, income, health, science, spirituality, etc. — with the understanding that **leadership in NCHK identically security of the nation and the state**, not only military, but universal, including economic, social, informational, environmental, food and other security concerns.



Own military, and especially the military-technical component of national security in the XXI century is just one component of national security, not the most important. The financial, social and human components of national security becomes an important factor of military force, which until the XXI century has played a crucial role. And indeed the military force is largely derived from the quality NCHK.

And this attitude reflects the attitude of the majority of Russian elites, who **does not want** too active foreign policy, especially with the dual economic costs. Elite wants it considered to be in the world, not ignoring its interests openly, not stated publicly about shortcomings. No more. Today there is no other ambitions. And since everyone knows that the main foreign policy problem for Russia is Russia itself, the efficiency of its power elite.

Hence, in many ways and the desire to broaden the foreign partners of Russia. Up to unpopular regimes in Latin America. As rightly pointed An.Torkunov — "The key elements of foreign policy is a provision of multi-vector nature of Russian foreign policy. In fact, the point is that Russia must build a constructive relationship with all of those states that represent Russia's interest in solving the in each case the specific issues important to Russia. The key elements of foreign policy of Russia became a pragmatic perception of the external world and the country's national interests in terms of its security, an adequate view of the need radical revision of international security architecture, geo-economic orientation and the replacement of "unipolar" multi-vector strategy. urgent task today is to complete implementation of the updated strategic installations in order to make maximum advantage of the opening of international legal opportunities in Russia's interests"⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ An.Torkunov. The world becomes different. Peace and Politics, № 1 (28), January 2009

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This is Russia's position is objectively reduces its too dependent on Europe — and as a politician and as an economic partner. "Different vectors" allow us not only to diversify exports and imports, but also demonstrate to European countries to the global nature of the foreign policy interests of the Russian elite, which is not going to be dependent on the attitude and sentiment of Europe.

Separately, it should be said about the need to strengthen existing international security institutions, primarily the UN, and the establishment of new institutions, or upgrade the old, such as the OSCE. As rightly pointed Dmitry Medvedev at the summit of this international organization in Astana on 1 December 2010, the OSCE has begun to lose its capacity and needs to be modernized... "Russia has consistently advocated that in order to breathe new life into the principles of Helsinki, translating them into practice. It needs to modernize the OSCE, the style and forms of its activity — the Russian president said. — I am convinced that the production of all new commitments and tools for solving them has exhausted itself, but needs a clear legal framework and universal rules of the organization's resources. "

Medvedev said that Russia in collaboration with its partners submitted a draft charter of the OSCE with proposals to streamline the work of its structures, and that in creating the organization of the participating States were able to rise above the then ideological differences and reach consensus. "Today there are no ideological barriers, there is no military confrontation, we can and must unite to solve problems," — said Medvedev.

Dmitry Medvedev also said that the OSCE needed common principles for resolving conflicts in the organization. According to him, among these principles — the use of force, to reach an agreement by the parties themselves, respect the agreed negotiation and peacekeeping formats, ensuring the rights of civilians caught in the conflict zone. "Perhaps most important is the development of common principles for resolving conflicts, and adhere to them in all crisis situations, and not in some cases, polling" — the Russian president said⁷⁶.

Strengthening the UN, Russia retains the international security structure, which, even with known costs, provided the world for over 65 years. Today, in my view, the challenge is **to strengthen** the structure, including and through the extension of its global concept of security in post-crisis world. For this is a necessary experience gained by the UN over the past decade.

International Development Strategy for the UN

1960	the proclamation of the First Decade of Development and adoption of the International Development Strategy
1970	proclamation of the Second Decade of Development and adoption of the second International Development Strategy
1980	the proclamation of the Third Development Decade by the adoption of the next International Development Strategy

⁷⁶ Compiled by D. A. Degterev. Report on research on the topic: "International development assistance as an effective tool to promote the foreign policy interests" (for example, the U.S., leading EU countries, Japan, China). Moscow, Moscow State Institute (S), 2010, pp. 32.

1990	the proclamation of the Fourth Development Decade and the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the period up to 2000
1994	publication and dissemination of the report of UN Secretary General «An Agenda for Development»
1995	the World Summit on Development
1997	adoption of the Agenda for the UN Development
2000	UN Millennium Summit, the adoption of UN Millennium Declaration and Millennium Development Goals
2002	International Conference on Financing for Development and adoption of the Monterrey Consensus
2005	the World Summit on UN

I must say that this Russian elite have some justification. First and foremost objective the weakening of European countries in the world whose economies are gradually giving way to the primacy of not only Japan but also China and India. Huge prospects of developing relations with Russia and the countries of Southeast Asia. Here she has a big geopolitical and transport benefits outfit European countries.

In my opinion, these circumstances should be considered in European capitals, where the need radical reform of policy toward Russia and the compatibility of the Russian-European problem. In view of the processes that over the next two decades will change the geopolitical map of the world, the objective trend of convergence of Eastern and Western Europe will inevitably become universally accepted, even inevitable. The sooner the EU governments understand this, so it will be better and more profitable for all of Europe. All without exception. It is therefore necessary to abandon the practice of nominating all sorts of conditions. Such that accompany rejection of the abolition of visa restrictions. At the same time, continuing its initiatives, (such as at a summit in Astana on 1 December 2010⁷⁷, Russia should not make political concessions.

While in the European elite dominated sentiment that former Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating described as "destructive arrogance of the West"⁷⁸. And this arrogance hinders EU leaders understand that the world is changing rapidly and, along with U.S., EU and Japan on the world scene there are new global players and even the regional leaders. As rightly noted American scholar I. Wallerstein, "We are dealing not with a complete anarchy, but with a massive geopolitical mess..."⁷⁹. And in Europe, and Russia in this geopolitical mess much more overlapping security interests than differences.

The idea of "Security through Development" has been concretized by President Dmitry Medvedev, in his annual address on Nov. 30, 2010, in respect of Russian foreign policy. In

⁷⁷ Medvedev said that Russia will continue to seek the abolition of the visa regime EU. December 1, 2010 / <http://www.interfax.ru/politics/news>.

⁷⁸ P. Keating. Sixteen years lost. Why not work out "new world order." Russia in Global Affairs, 2008, v. 6, № 5, pp. 13.

⁷⁹ I. Wallerstein. Where is our world? Multipolarity and the relative decline of American power. Russia in Global Affairs, 2008, T. 6, № 5, pp. 9.

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fact it is — a pragmatic foreign policy program, which reduces to the following areas⁸⁰:

("Fifth") "We need to step up economic diplomacy, directly correlating its results with the practical benefit for modernization, primarily to upgrade. Foreign policy should be expressed now not only missiles, but also in specific and understandable to our citizens achievements: the establishment in Russia joint ventures and the emergence of high-quality low-cost goods, the increasing number of modern jobs and visa facilitation.

I will note that this pragmatic approach is understood by our foreign partners, they are willing to share their experiences and innovative development. I believe that we need targeted work with those countries and those companies that are ready for this. Due to this mutual interest we have already forming, indeed, modernization partnership with, say, Germany and France. Great potential in building an innovative component of cooperation with China, India, Brazil, Korea, Singapore, Japan, Canada, Italy, Finland, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and some other countries. These partnerships will focus on five priorities for technological modernization of Russia.

Significant reserve in achieving these goals, I see in expanding cooperation with the European Union and the United States of America. Mechanisms of Russian-US partnership should be used to establish a full-scale economic cooperation, improve the investment climate and cooperation in the sphere of high technologies.

Agreement between Russia and the EU's Partnership for modernization, we have formulated this idea just a year ago, should work on three fronts. First, a mutual exchange of technology, harmonization of technical standards and regulations, practical assistance to the EU in Russia's accession to the WTO.

Second, this simplification of visa regime with the near-term to total abolition.

And, thirdly, it is a significant expansion of professional and academic exchanges. It is in this vein, next week I'll talk with our partners in Brussels on Russia-EU summit.

Sixth. Highly relevant objective of the regional integration of Russia in the economic area the Asia-Pacific region. It is necessary to actively use the potential of Russian participation in the APEC forum in other forums, they have recently just passed. Expansion of ties with the region becomes for us a strategic character. This, incidentally, is well exemplified in our relations with China. Unprecedentedly high level of bilateral cooperation and is projected to our partnership in the international arena and in turn affects the growth of authority and influence of such entities as the BRIC countries and the SCO. Serious reserve we have in the development of long-term mutually advantageous cooperation with countries in Latin America and Africa.

Seventh. Special and priority of our foreign policy, of course, remains the CIS space and acting on its structure — the EurAsEC and the CSTO. We have already formed a customs union and create a single economic space within the Community. aprobiruem in this modern integration schemes and the concept of effective economic cooperation. Ultimately we must act in the direction of forming a single economic space — from the Arctic to the Pacific Ocean, across Eurasia.

Eighth. Russia, drawing on his unique experience, technical and human resources can become the initiator of global and trans-European system of emergency management.

⁸⁰ Dmitry Medvedev. Message from the President of the Federal Assembly / President of Russia. Official Website / November 30, 2010 / <http://news.Kremlin.Ru/transcripts/9637>.

About six months ago, at the summit "Big Twenty," I took the initiative to join forces in order to preserve the marine environment from oil spills. Now we need to be close to our main problem — the exchange of best practices in this area and to prevent or eliminate the effects of oil spills.

And the last of the international issues. Should actively foster international cooperation in combating piracy. We have launched an initiative to establish an international mechanism for the trial of pirates. We believe that this will help solve the problem of attracting pirates to justice, as a key driver of piracy still remains the most important — the impunity of pirates.

I look forward to the Foreign Ministry of concrete results on all these fronts."