

All in the Same Boat

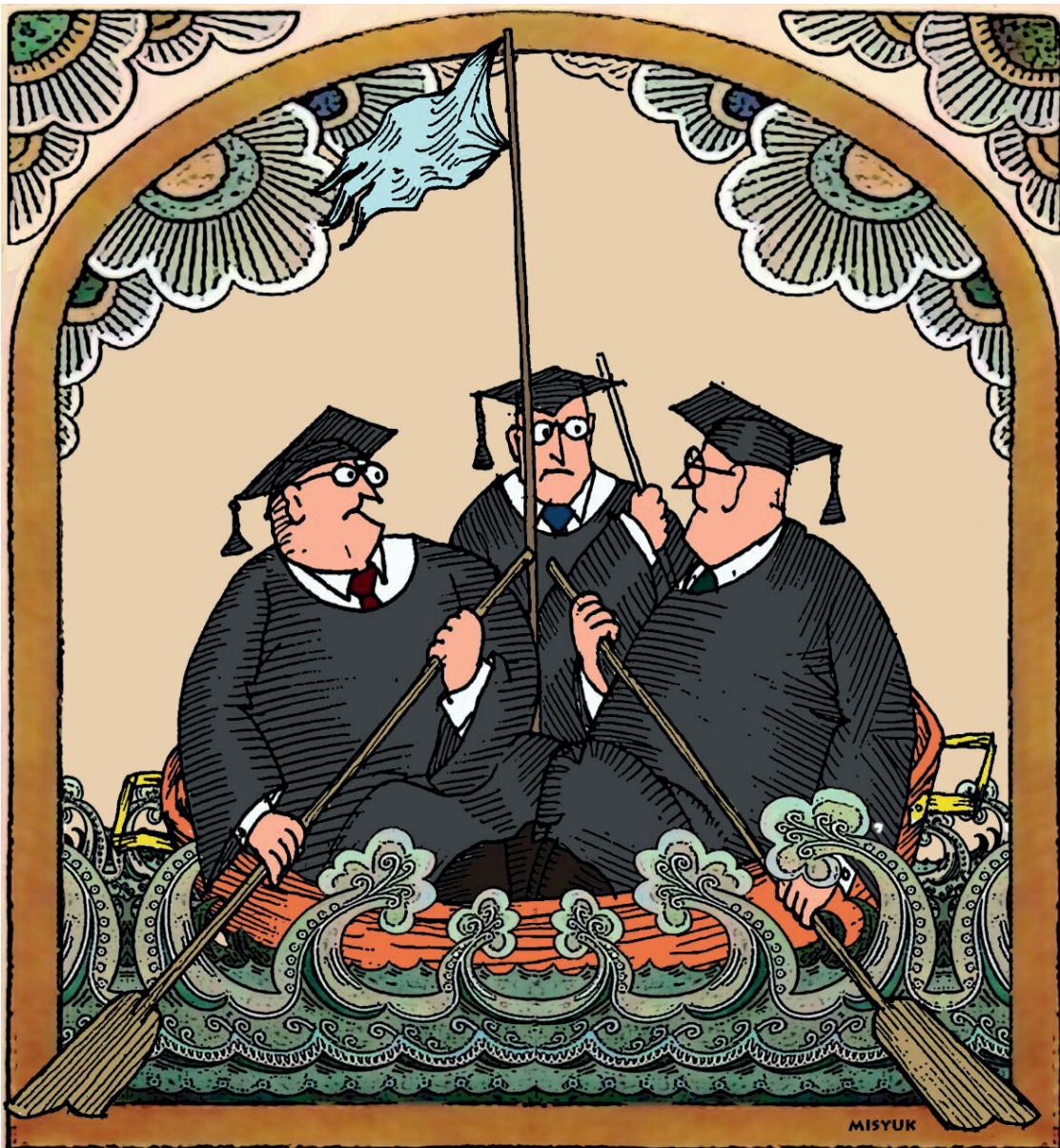
Volume 17



RUSSIA

IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

No. 3 • JULY – SEPTEMBER • 2019





RUSSIA

IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

ISSN 1810-6374

VOLUME 17 • No. 3 • JULY – SEPTEMBER • 2019

Moscow 2019



Print ISSN 1810-6374
Online ISSN 2618-9844

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Vladimir POTANIN
(Chairman)
Interros Holding Company
Igor ASHURBEILI
Chairman, Board
of Directors "Socium-A"
Ruslan YUNUSOV
Director General
of Russian Quantum Center

FOUNDERS:

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN
AND DEFENSE POLICY

•
THE RUSSIAN
NEWS & INFORMATION
AGENCY RIA NOVOSTI

•
RUSSIAN INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS COUNCIL

PUBLISHED BY
FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH
FOUNDATION
17 Malaya Ordynka Str.,
Moscow 119017, Russia

Address:
17 Malaya Ordynka Str.,
Moscow 119017, Russia
tel.: +7 (495) 980-7353
fax: +7 (495) 937-7611
e-mail: info@globalaffairs.ru
<http://www.globalaffairs.ru>

Registered with
THE MINISTRY
OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION
FOR PRESS, TV AND RADIO
BROADCASTING AND MEANS
OF MASS COMMUNICATION
PI No. FS 77-52915
20 February 2013

Printed by
Typography "GART"
Order No. 1114
Circulation: 500 copies

Published quarterly

RUSSIA IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

Volume 17 • No. 3 • JULY-SEPTEMBER • 2019

EDITORIAL OFFICE

Fyodor Lukyanov
Natalya Kostromskaya
Alexander Solovyov

Editor-in-Chief
Deputy Editor-in-Chief
Deputy Editor-in-Chief

Glenn Diesen
Associate Editor
Irina Palekhova
Administrative Director
Robert Mulcahy,
Alexander Zakharov
Copy Editors

Yevgeniya Prokopchuk
Assistant to Editor-in-Chief
Vladimir Shabalin
Web Editor
v.shabalin@itrend.ru
Yelena Blinnikova
Assistant to Chairman
of the Editorial Board

Natalia Zablotskite
Computer Makeup
Andrei Yevdokimov
Circulation
op@globalaffairs.ru

BOARD OF ADVISORS

Anatoly Adamishin

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of USSR (1986–1990), First Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia (1993–1994), Minister of CIS Affairs for Russia (1997–1998). *Moscow, Russia*

Olga Butorina

Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor. Head of Chair, European Integration Dpt., Advisor to the President, Moscow State University a Foreign Affairs. *Moscow, Russia*

Alexander Filippov

Doctor of Social Science, Full Professor with National Research University–Higher School of Economics, Head of the Center of Fundamental Social Science of the Poletayev Institute of Humanitarian Historical and Theoretical Studies. *Moscow, Russia*

Leonid Grigoriev

Chief advisor to the head of the Analysis Center under the Government of the Russian Federation, Head of the World Economy Chair of the World Economy and International Affairs Department of the National Research University–Higher School of Economics. *Moscow, Russia*

Sergey Kravets

Executive Editor of The Great Russian Encyclopedia publishers, Chief of the Religious and Research Center Orthodox Encyclopedia. *Moscow, Russia*

Andrey Lankov

PhD in History, Prof., Kookmin University, College of Social Studies. *Seoul, Republic of Korea*

Peter Paul Anatol Lieven

Professor, Georgetown University in Qatar, Senior fellow of the New America Foundation in Washington DC. *United Kingdom*

Alexander Lomanov

Dr. Sc. (History). Chief Researcher at the Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences. *Moscow, Russia*

Alexei Miller

Dr. Sc. (History). leading researcher at the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences at the Russian Academy of Sciences, and is a professor at the Central European University in Budapest. *St.-Petersburg, Russia*

Yuri Slezkine

Professor of History, Director of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. *U.S.A.*

Anatoly Vishnevsky

Dr. Sc. (Economics), Director of the Institute of Demography of the State University- Higher School of Economics. *Moscow, Russia*

The views of the authors do not necessarily coincide with the opinions of the Editors. The responsibility for the authenticity and accuracy of the facts in the published articles rests with the authors.

© Foreign Policy Research Foundation, 2019

All rights reserved. Reproduction in part or whole is allowed only with the explicit authorization of the publisher.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Sergei Karaganov (Chairman)	Dr. Sc. (History), Honorary Chairman, Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy; Dean of the Faculty of World Economics and World Politics of the National Research University Higher School of Economics. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	Vladimir Lukin	Dr. Sc. (History), Prof., Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Russian Federation, member of The Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of Russian Federation; research professor at NRU Higher School of Economics. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
Martti Ahtisaari	President of Finland, 1994–2000. <i>Finland</i>	Fyodor Lukyanov	Chairman of Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy; Editor-in-Chief, Russia in Global Affairs, research professor at NRU Higher School of Economics. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
Graham Allison	Douglas Dillon Professor of Government, John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. <i>Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.</i>	Vladimir Mau	Dr. Sc. (Economics), Prof., Director, Russian Academy of the National Economy and Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
Alexei Arbatov	Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Director, Center of International Security, Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	Thierry de Montbrial	Director, French Institute of International Relations; Member, Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Institut de France; Founder and Chairman of the World Policy Conference (WPC). <i>France</i>
Alexander Avdeyev (in a personal capacity)	Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	Vyacheslav Nikonov (Deputy Chairman)	Dr. Sc. (History), Prof., Chairman, Polity Foundation; Chairman, Russky Mir Foundation; Chairman, State Duma Committee on Education; dean, School of Public Administration at Moscow State University. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
Lev Belousov (Deputy Chairman)	Doctor of History, Professor; Head of the Chair of Modern and Contemporary History, Acting Dean of the History Faculty, Moscow University <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	Sergei Prikhodko (in a personal capacity)	First Deputy Head of the Russian Government Office. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
C. Fred Bergsten	Ph.D. (Economics), Senior fellow and director emeritus, Peterson Institute for International Economics; former Assistant Secretary, Treasury Departmen. <i>Washington, D.C., U.S.A.</i>	Gideon Rose	Editor-in-Chief of Foreign Affairs; member of the Council on Foreign Relations. <i>U.S.A.</i>
Carl Bildt	Prime Minister of Sweden (1991–1994), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden (2006–2014), Co-Chair European Council on Foreign Relations. <i>Halmstad, Sweden</i>	Kevin Michael Rudd	President of Asia Society Policy Institute; Prime Minister of Australia in 2007 -2010, and in 2013
Vladimir Grigoryev (in a personal capacity)	Deputy Head of the Federal Agency on Press and Mass Communication of the Russian Federation. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	Vladimir Ryzhkov	Dr. Sc. (History), prof., NRU Higher School of Economics. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
Igor Ivanov	Dr. Sc. (History), President, Russian Council on Foreign Relations, Prof., Moscow State Institute of International Relation. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	Horst Teltschik	Head, Foreign Policy Office of the Chancellor of Germany (1982–1998); headed the Munich Security Conference (1999–2008). Rottach-Egern, Germany
Karl Kaiser	Prof., former director, German Council for Foreign Policy; Senior Associate Emeritus, Harvard Kennedy School; Professor emeritus at the University of Bonn. <i>Bonn, Germany</i>	Anatoly Torkunov	Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Prof., Director, Moscow State Institute of International Relations; Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
Irina Khakamada	Dr. Sc. (Economics), Politician, lecturer (Moscow State Institute of International Relation), journalist, civic leader. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	Yuri Ushakov (in a personal capacity)	Aide to the Russian President. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
Ivan Krastev	Chairman of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, permanent fellow at the IWM (Institute of Human Sciences) in Vienna. <i>Bulgaria</i>	Lord William Wallace	Prof., London School of Economics; in the past Council Member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. <i>London, U.K.</i>
Andrei Kokoshin	Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Director, Institute of International Security. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	Xiong Guangkai	General (ret.), Adjunct Professor at Qinghua University and Beijing University. <i>China</i>
Mikhail Komissar	Director General, Interfax News Agency. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	Igor Yurgens	Ph.D. (Economics), Chairman of the Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR); Member of the Board of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs; President of the All-Russia Insurance Association. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
Konstantin Kosachev	PhD (Law); Charmain of International Affairs Committee of the Federation Council (upper chamber of Russian Parliament). <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	Sergei Zverev	President, KROS Public Relations Company; member of the NRU Higher School of Economics's Academic Council. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
Yaroslav Kuzminov	Dr. Sc. (Economics), Rector, National Research University—Higher School of Economics. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>		
Sergei Lavrov (in a personal capacity)	Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>		

Contents

<i>Fyodor A. Lukyanov</i>	Everything on Display	5
---------------------------	-----------------------	---

RECONFIGURATION

<i>Richard Sakwa</i>	The International System and Models of Global Order	8
<i>Vassily B. Kashin</i>	Is the Conflict Inevitable? Not at All.	32
<i>Timofei V. Bordachev</i>	Russia and Europe: Between Integration and Diplomacy	38
<i>Dmitry V. Yefremenko</i>	From Heaven to Earth	64

WARFARE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

<i>Ivan N. Timofeev</i>	Rethinking Sanctions Efficiency	86
<i>Anastasia B. Likhacheva</i>	Unilateral Sanctions in a Multipolar World	109
<i>Konstantin V. Bogdanov</i>	Flexible Coalitions: Origins and Prospects	132

OVERCOMING CONFLICTS

<i>Igor Yu. Okunev</i>	Where There's a Will, There's a Way	152
<i>Alexander G. Aksenyonok</i>	Per Aspera ad Pax	175

INTERVIEW

<i>Václav Klaus</i>	"The EU in its current form is a tragic mistake of the European history"	198
---------------------	--	-----

REVIEW

<i>Alexei I. Miller</i>	Admonishing the Doubting Flock	204
-------------------------	--------------------------------	-----