



ISSN 1810-6374



VOLUME 22 • No. 4 • OCTOBER - DECEMBER • 2024



Print ISSN 1810-6374 Online ISSN 2618-9844

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Vladimir POTANIN (Chairman) President Interros Holding Company

Ruslan YUNUSOV Co-Founder Russian Quantum Center

FOUNDERS:

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY

NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

RUSSIAN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COUNCIL

PUBLISHED BY FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH FOUNDATION 29 Malava Ordvnka Str., Moscow 115184, Russia

Address:

29 Malaya Ordynka Str., Moscow 115184, Russia tel.: +7 (495) 980-7353 fax: +7 (495) 937-7611 e-mail: info@globalaffairs.ru 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 GART Printing House Order No. 855 Circulation: 500 copies

To subscribe online: https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/ subscription/

RUSSIA IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

Volume 22 • No. 4 • OCTOBER-DECEMBER • 2024

EDITORIAL OFFICE

Fyodor Lukyanov Natalya Kostromskaya Alexander Solovyov

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

Irina Palekhova Executive Director Alexander Zakharov Copy Editor Dylan Royce Copy Editor Yevgeniya Kulman Production Editor

Yevgeniya Prokopchuk Assistant to Editor-in-Chief Yuliva Prokhorova Assistant to Chairman of the Editorial Board Natalia Zablotskite Computer Makeup

Valeriya Chistyakova promo@globalaffairs.ru Deputy Executive Director for Marketing Yuri Kotov op@globalaffairs.ru Deputy Executive Director for Development

BOARD OF ADVISORS

Anatoly Adamishin

Olga Butorina

Da Wei

Ilter Turan

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR (1986-1990), First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (1993-1994), RF Minister for Cooperation with the CIS (1997-1998), Moscow, Russia Dr. Sc. (Economics), Deputy Director of the Institute of Europe; Corresponding Member, Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow, Russia Director of CISS; Professor, School of Social Sciences, Tsinghua University,

Glenn Diesen PhD in Politics and International Relations, Professor, University

of South-Eastern Norway, Vestfold, Norway

Alexander Filippov Dr. Sc. (Sociology), Professor, National Research University-Higher School of Economics: Head of the Center for Fundamental Social Science.

Poletayev Institute for Historical and Theoretical Studies in the Humanities. 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

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

Alexey Kuznetsov Dr. Sc. (Economics), Director, Institute of Scientific Information for Social

Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences (INION RAN), Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow, Russia

Andrey Lankov PhD (History), Prof., Kookmin University, College of Social Studies.

Seoul, Republic of Korea

Marlene Laruelle Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, Research Professor,

Director, Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES),

George Washington University. Washington, DC, USA.

Peter Paul Anatol Lieven Director of the Eurasia Program at the Quincy Institute for Responsible

Alexander Lomanov Dr. Sc. (History), Head of the Center for Asia-Pacific Studies, Institute of

World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Moscow, Russia

Rasigan Maharajh Founding Chief Director of the Institute for Economic Research on

Innovation, Tshwane University of Technology, Pretoria, South Africa Fabiano P. Mielniczuk Professor of Political Science, Federal University of Rio Grande. Brazil Alexei Miller Dr. Sc. (History). Professor, European University at Saint-Petersburg. St.-

Petersburg, Russia

Yakov Rabkin Professor Emeritus of History at the Université de Montréal. Canada Mehdi Sanaei

PhD (Political Science), Senior Advisor to the Foreign Minister of Iran, former Ambassador of Iran to Russia; Professor, Senior Lecturer, University of Tehran; Head of the Center for Iranian and Eurasian Studies. Tehran, Iran

Yuri Slezkine Professor of History, Director of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies at the University of California. Berkeley, USA

Andrei Tsygankov Professor, International Relations and Political Science San Francisco State

University. San Francisco, USA

Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the Istanbul Bilgi University, President of the International Political Science Association (IPSA). Turkey

Yahia H. Zoubir Professor of International Relations and International Management, Director of Research in Geopolitics, KEDGE Business School. France

EDITORIAL BOARD

| Sergei Karaganov (Chairman) | Dr. Sc. (History), Honorary Chairman, Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy; Academic Supervisor, Faculty of World Economy and International Relations of the National Research University—Higher School of | 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. Moscow, Russia |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Nikita Anisimov | Economics. Moscow, Russia PhD (Physics and Mathematics), Rector, National Research University—Higher School of Economics. Moscow, Russia | Vladimir Mau | Dr. Sc. (Economics), Director of the Russian Academy of the National Economy and Public Administration in 2010-2022. Moscow, Russia |
| Alexander Avdeyev (in a personal capacity) | Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. <i>Moscow, Russia</i> | Thierry de Montbrial | Director, French Institute of International Relations; Member, Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Institut |
| Lev Belousov (Deputy Chairman) | Dr. Sc. (History), Professor, Head of the Department of Modern and Contemporary History; Acting Dean of the History Faculty, | | de France; Founder and Chairman of the World Policy Conference (WPC). <i>France</i> |
| Vladimir Grigoryev | Moscow State University. Moscow, Russia Director of the Department of | Vyacheslav Nikonov (Deputy Chairman) | Dr. Sc. (History), Prof., Chairman, Polity Foundation; First Deputy Chairman, State Duma Committee on International Affairs; Dean, |
| (in a personal capacity) | Government Support for Periodical Press and Book Industry, RF Ministry of Digital Development, Communications and Mass Media. | | School of Public Administration at Moscow State University. <i>Moscow,</i> <i>Russia</i> |
| Arvind Gupta | Moscow, Russia Director of the Vivekananda | Yevgeny Primakov (in a personal capacity) | Head of the Federal Agency for the Commonwealth of Independent States, Compatriots Living |
| • | International Foundation; Deputy National Security Adviser and Secretary, National Security Council, Government of India | | Abroad and International Cultural Cooperation (Rossotrudnichestvo). <i>Moscow, Russia</i> |
| Igor Ivanov | (2014-2017), New Delhi, India Dr. Sc. (History), President, Russian | Leonid Slutsky | Dr. Sc. (Economics), Chairman of the State Duma Committee on International Affairs of the RF Federal Assembly. <i>Moscow, Russia</i> |
| | Council on Foreign Relations, Prof., MGIMO University. <i>Moscow, Russia</i> | Anatoly Torkunov | Member of the Russian Academy |
| Andrei Kokoshin | Member of the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Deputy Academic Supervisor, NRU Higher School of Economics. <i>Moscow, Russia</i> | | of Sciences; Prof., Director, Moscow State Institute of International Relations; Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Moscow, Russia |
| Mikhail Komissar | Director General, Interfax News Agency. <i>Moscow, Russia</i> | Yuri Ushakov (in a personal capacity) | Aide to the Russian President. Moscow, Russia |
| Konstantin Kosachev | PhD (Law); Deputy Speaker of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. <i>Moscow, Russia</i> | Xiong Guangkai | General (ret.), Adjunct Professor at Qinghua University and Beijing University. <i>China</i> |
| Yaroslav Kuzminov | Dr. Sc. (Economics), Academic Supervisor, National Research University—Higher School of Economics. <i>Moscow, Russia</i> | Igor Yurgens | PhD (Economics), Chairman of the Board of the Institute of Contemporary Development; President of the All-Russian Insurance Association; Director of the MGIMO Center for Sustainable |
| Sergei Lavrov (in a personal capacity) | Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. <i>Moscow, Russia</i> | | Development; Member of the Board of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. <i>Moscow, Russia</i> |
| Vladimir Lukin | Dr. Sc. (History), Prof., Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation. <i>Moscow</i> , <i>Russia</i> | Sergei Zverev | President, KROS Public Relations Company; Member of the Academic Council, NRU Higher School of Economics. <i>Moscow, Russia</i> |

Age limitation 18+

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, 2024

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

Contents

| Fyodor A. Lukyanov Out of Order | 5 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| THE COST OF SECURITY | |
| Andrei P. Tsygankov The Paths of Russian Militarism | 10 |
| Alexander D. Chekov Five Years without the INF Treaty: Lessons and Prospects | 24 |
| Jacques de Larosiere On Ukraine: To Understand before Making Peremptory Judgments | 48 |
| Raza Muhammad Military Alliances of the Great Powers | 55 |
| ENGAGEMENTS AND CHALLENGES | |
| Konstantin V. Bogdanov, Boris E. Frumkin, Irina Ya. Kobrinskaya A Race for the Global South or a Battle for the Global Majority: Russia's Prospects | 64 |
| Nivedita Kapoor India's South Asia Policy Revisited: A Role for Russia | 82 |
| Kheir S. Diabat, Mohd Khier Aljarwan, Muyassar Suleiman The GCC-SCO Relationship Dynamics | 105 |
| OLD AND NEW THINKING | |
| Nikolai Yu. Silaev Middle Powers Revisited: "Good Citizens" of the World Majority | 118 |
| Olga A. Baysha, Kamilla D. Chukasheva Russia's Radical Othering in the Global Academic Discourse | 136 |
| Ivan Yu. Zuenko Between Cooperation and Alarmism: Problems of Common History Interpretation in Russia and China | 155 |
| OLD AND NEW GAMES | |
| Mariia M. Bazlutckaia, Anna N. Sytnik The Game Space of "Information Disorder" | 172 |
| Ivan N. Timofeev Trump or Harris: No Difference for Moscow | 188 |