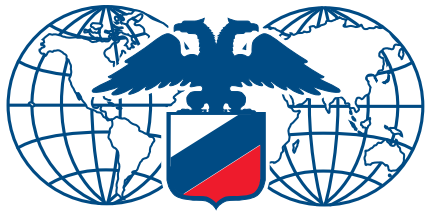


# *New Names—New Games*

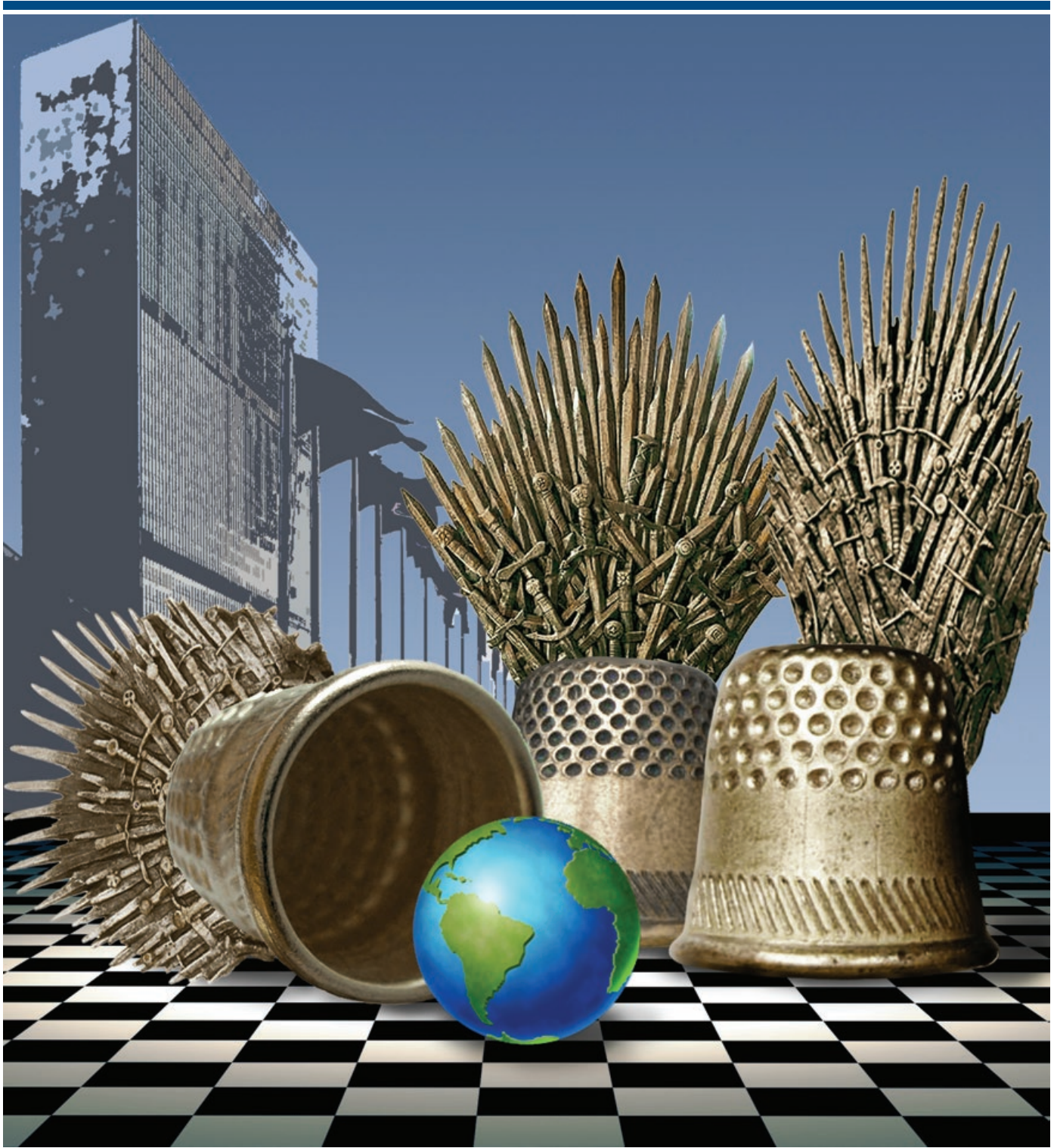
Volume 17



# RUSSIA

## IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

No. 2 • APRIL – JUNE • 2019





# RUSSIA

---

## IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

ISSN 1810-6374

VOLUME 17 • No. 2 • APRIL – JUNE • 2019

Moscow 2019



---

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Vladimir POTANIN  
(Chairman)  
*Interros Holding Company*

Igor ASHURBELLI  
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](mailto: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. 793  
Circulation: 500 copies

---

Indexed in Scopus

**Scopus**<sup>®</sup>

EDITORIAL OFFICE

Fyodor Lukyanov  
Natalya Kostromskaya  
Alexander Solovyov

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

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

Yevgeniya Prokopchuk  
*Assistant to Editor-in-Chief*  
Vladimir Shabalin  
*Web Editor*  
[v.shabalin@itrend.ru](mailto:v.shabalin@itrend.ru)  
Yelena Blinnikova  
*Assistant to Chairman*  
*of the Editorial Board*

Natalia Zablotskita  
*Computer Makeup*  
Andrei Yevdokimov  
*Circulation*  
[op@globalaffairs.ru](mailto: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

**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

<b>Sergei Karaganov</b> (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>	<b>Sergei Lavrov</b> (in a personal capacity)	Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
<b>Martti Ahtisaari</b>	President of Finland, 1994–2000. <i>Finland</i>	<b>Vladimir Lukin</b>	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>
<b>Graham Allison</b>	Douglas Dillon Professor of Government, John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. <i>Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A.</i>	<b>Fyodor Lukyanov</b>	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>
<b>Alexei Arbatov</b>	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>	<b>Vladimir Mau</b>	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>
<b>Alexander Avdeyev</b> (in a personal capacity)	Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<b>Thierry de Montbrial</b>	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>
<b>Lev Belousov</b> (Deputy Chairman)	Dr. Sc. (History), Prof. of Moscow State University, Head of the Department of Modern History of European Countries, Moscow State University. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<b>Vyacheslav Nikonov</b> (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>
<b>C. Fred Bergsten</b>	Ph.D. (Economics), Senior fellow and director emeritus, Peterson Institute for International Economics; former Assistant Secretary, Treasury Department. <i>Washington, D.C., U.S.A.</i>	<b>Sergei Prikhodko</b> (in a personal capacity)	First Deputy Head of the Russian Government Office. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
<b>Carl Bildt</b>	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>	<b>Gideon Rose</b>	Editor-in-Chief of Foreign Affairs; member of the Council on Foreign Relations. <i>U.S.A.</i>
<b>Vladimir Grigoryev</b> (in a personal capacity)	Deputy Head of the Federal Agency on Press and Mass Communication of the Russian Federation. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<b>Vladimir Ryzhkov</b>	Dr. Sc. (History), prof., NRU Higher School of Economics. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
<b>Igor Ivanov</b>	Dr. Sc. (History), President, Russian Council on Foreign Relations, Prof., Moscow State Institute of International Relation. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<b>Horst Teltschik</b>	Head, Foreign Policy Office of the Chancellor of Germany (1982–1998); headed the Munich Security Conference (1999–2008). <i>Rottach-Egern, Germany</i>
<b>Karl Kaiser</b>	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>	<b>Anatoly Torkunov</b>	Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Prof., Director, Moscow State Institute of International Relations; Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
<b>Irina Khakamada</b>	Dr. Sc. (Economics), Politician, lecturer (Moscow State Institute of International Relation), journalist, civic leader. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<b>Yuri Ushakov</b> (in a personal capacity)	Aide to the Russian President. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
<b>Ivan Krastev</b>	Chairman of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, permanent fellow at the IWM (Institute of Human Sciences) in Vienna. <i>Bulgaria</i>	<b>Lord William Wallace</b>	Prof., London School of Economics; in the past Council Member of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. <i>London, U.K.</i>
<b>Andrei Kokoshin</b>	Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences; Director, Institute of International Security. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<b>Xiong Guangkai</b>	General (ret.), Adjunct Professor at Qinghua University and Beijing University. <i>China</i>
<b>Mikhail Komissar</b>	Director General, Interfax News Agency. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<b>Igor Yurgens</b>	Dr. Sc. (Economics), Chairman of the Board, Institute of Contemporary Development (INSOR). <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
<b>Konstantin Kosachev</b>	PhD (Law); Charman of International Affairs Committee of the Federation Council (upper chamber of Russian Parliament). <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<b>Sergei Zverev</b>	President, KROS Public Relations Company; member of the NRU Higher School of Economics's Academic Council. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>
<b>Yaroslav Kuzminov</b>	Dr. Sc. (Economics), Rector, National Research University—Higher School of Economics. <i>Moscow, Russia</i>		

# Contents

*Fyodor A. Lukyanov* Nothing Is Alien 5

## A WORLD IN TRANSITION

*Igor A. Istomin* The Logic of Counterpoint 8

*Alexey S. Avtonomnov* Public Conflicts, Democracy  
and Authoritarianism 35

*Paul Robinson* Symmetric versus Asymmetric Rule 41

*Sergei A. Karaganov* A Predictable Future? 60

## CREATIVE DISRUPTIONS

*Maria A. Nebolsina* Private Military and Security Companies 76

*Greg Simons* Digital Communication Disrupting Hegemonic  
Power in Global Geopolitics 108

*Stanislav L. Tkachenko* WikiLeaks as Rubicon and Zeitgeist 131

*Nicholas Ross Smith* Could Russia Utilize Cryptocurrencies  
in Its Foreign Policy Grand Strategizing? 134

## EASTERN DIMENSION

*Yevgeny N. Grachikov* Chinese School of International Relations 154

*Konstantin V. Asmollov* Lessons of Korean Democratization  
for Modern Russia 174

## INTERVIEW

*Vladimir P. Lukin* Geopolitics in Space and Time 202

# Nothing Is Alien

*Fyodor Lukyanov,*

*Editor-in-Chief, Russia in Global Affairs*

*Research Professor, Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs, NRU Higher School of Economics*

“The wacky Ambassador that the U.K. foisted upon the United States is not someone we are thrilled with, a very stupid guy... I don’t know the Ambassador but have been told he is a pompous fool...” This is not an exchange of courtesies at a marketplace but an official remark made by the president of one country about the ambassador of another country, a close ally. Donald Trump was badly hurt by a secret cable leak from U.K. Ambassador to the U.S. Kim Darroch, who described the American administration as “inept” and “incompetent” and warned London that President Trump’s career could end in “disgrace.”

The diplomatic row broke out on the same day a Georgian TV channel Rustavi-2 announcer brought national television to a qualitatively new level, by making offensive comments about the Russian president and his family. It is not quite clear what exactly this impertinent son of the mountains was guided by, but the incident in no time turned into a political uproar and strained Russian-Georgian relations so much that one careless touch would be enough to wreck bilateral ties, shaky as they are.

These are just two coincidences which, however, illustrate the current international environment. Sometimes it looks like mass insanity. The 2018/2019 world political season ended in an atmosphere of some fated madness, with tragedies degrading into a farce in line with Hegel’s trite aphorism. But the atmosphere of farce makes everyone fear that the situation may spiral out of control for the most trivial of reasons.

Here are some of the landmark events of the past months.

The INF Treaty went belly up, paving the way for short to medium-range arms race. The Iran nuclear deal is in limbo. Great Britain gets stuck in the European Union, having raised the degree of absurdity immensely. Residents of the country which was supposed to leave the EU in March voted in the European parliament elections in May. In the European Union itself, which for years has been trying to persuade itself and all those around that it is entering an era of democratism and openness to the needs and aspirations of people, key countries have conspired to distribute positions and powers in European institutions in a manner looking

so much like a backroom crony deal that it dwarfed all the previous ones.

The United States has wrapped up the electrifying “Robert Muller Probe” sitcom, but its outcome is just as disappointing as that of the *Game of Thrones*. Muller failed to find any collusion between Trump and Russia but could not help alluding to the American leader’s censurable actions to obstruct justice. And of course, he once again spoke of Russia’s interference but did not say it had affected voting results. Now both sides are trying to make the most of Muller’s evasiveness. The show is going on.

China has been astounded by the U.S. pressure in trade and technological confrontation. Attempts to find a rational solution have been unsuccessful so far.

Ukraine has elected a trained comic actor its new president—a sign of people’s utter despair, total mistrust towards the political elite and complete lack of understanding as to what is to be done next.

Practically all international institutions are degrading—all together but every one for its own reasons. When institutions become weaker, persons come to the fore. And if persons and leaders get in the limelight, their manners and habits begin to prevail in international processes much more than they ever did when institutions were capable and efficient. A vivid example is the spontaneous Trump-Kim meeting in the demilitarized zone between the two Koreas and the U.S. president’s historical decision to set foot in North Korea. Has that brought about any significant change in the Korean settlement? Clearly, not. But even Trump’s opponents have grudgingly

admitted that it was a spectacular show that has helped reduce tensions which started to mount after the Hanoi summit failure. This is a result in itself.

And what do G20 leaders focus on? Their general discussions on prepared topics are nothing new. This is exactly what they did five or six years ago and certainly got much more attention back then. Now they are engaged mostly in bilateral meetings and one-on-one talks, sometimes in private.

When individuals replace institutions, international communication drifts into the “nothing human is alien” category. A non-institutional world is impulsive, emotionally unsteady and definitely unstable. Donald Trump is its embodiment both in personality and outlook. And this state of the international system is likely to keep deteriorating.

Another characteristic of the modern period, which manifested itself quite vividly in the past season, is that the domestic agenda steamrollers the foreign one everywhere. As people want the authorities to solve their daily problems, no leader, no matter what political system he heads, can afford to ignore public sentiments.

In these months thirty years ago, when the Cold War-era international system was crumbling, it seemed that successful institutions—new or adapted old ones—would guarantee peace, stability and prosperity. Today that order no longer works and rules are disappearing. The world is again in the hands of leaders to whom nothing is alien. And this is a really spine-chilling prospect.