

**ANNUAL  
REPORT**

2019





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# 01

## GENERAL INFORMATION

Russian International Affairs Council (NP RIAC) is a Russian membership-based non-profit organization. The partnership was established by the resolution of its founders pursuant to Decree No. 59-rp of the President of the Russian Federation “On the Establishment of the Non-Profit Partnership Russian International Affairs Council” dated February 2, 2010.

## RIAC MISSION

OUR MISSION IS TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE PROSPERITY OF RUSSIA THROUGH ITS INTEGRATION INTO THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY.

RIAC SERVES AS A LINK BETWEEN THE STATE, THE EXPERT COMMUNITY, AND THE BUSINESS AND CIVIL SOCIETIES IN ADDRESSING FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES.

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**Sergey Lavrov**

Minister of Foreign Affairs  
of the Russian Federation,  
Chairman of the Board  
of Trustees of RIAC



AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WE VALUE OUR FRUITFUL COLLABORATION WITH RIAC, ONE OF THE KEY RUSSIAN THINK TANKS WHEN IT COMES TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. THE INTERLINKAGE OF OUR COMBINED INTELLECTUAL POTENTIAL IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TODAY.

В сотрудничестве с



В МЕЖДУНА

РОССИЯ

сотру  
В НОВ



МЕЖДУНАГОДНАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ  
РОССИЯ И КИТАЙ:  
сотрудничество  
в новую эпоху



# RIAC PROGRAM ACTIVITIES



## 02

# RIAC PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

**The substantive work of the Russian International Affairs Council in 2019 focused on several key issues that permeated RIAC's projects and programmes throughout the year.**

The first issue is dynamics of the current international order and contours of the future world order. The central questions related to this issue are as follows: how exactly will the new world order be structured? What parameters will determine this new world order? How will the structure of international relations affect strategies of the key actors?

The second issue is the impact of modern technological and informational realities on the international security and world politics. How will AI technologies change the face of the modern world? What is the essence of changes in the digital environment? What are opportunities and threats of these changes for Russia? How should an effective public-private partnership look like in the face of these new challenges and threats?

The third issue is international conflicts. A particular emphasis in this context is given to the open and so-called 'frozen' (latent) conflicts that pose a threat to Russia, its allies, and partners. What are some possible scenarios for the development of these conflicts moving forwards? What needs to be done to resolve them?

The fourth issue is related to instruments and institutes of the global governance. A noticeable gap has appeared between norms of the international law and fundamental principles of the key organizations on the one hand and the actual policies of a number of major actors on the other. Can 'political realism' and the international law be reconciled? How should international organizations and regimes be used in order to resolve specific problems?

The fifth issue is political risks for the Russian and international business. Rapid changes in the international environment create a high degree of uncertainty for Russian companies and their foreign partners. What are the gravest risks for Russian busi-

nesses? In what ways can the situation be changed? What should be done to minimize the damage?

The sixth issue is related to the improvement of the effectiveness of Russian institutions and organizations abroad when it comes to communicating with the international community. This applies to government bodies, as well as to businesses, universities, and other public organizations. The key issue here is the development of optimal communication strategies in the rapidly changing digital environment.

These and other issues have been discussed within a series of RIAC projects and programmes covering the country-specific, regional, and functional areas. The work under the country-specific and regional tracks was concentrated on developing relations with China and India, Russia's key international partners. The expert dialogue on the Russia-Japan relations revealed a number of difficulties in developing a partnership but was nevertheless useful in terms of gaining an understanding of the situation and formulating recommendations for further improvements. A great deal of attention has been paid to the situation on the Korean peninsula, and a significant work has been done on a wide range of Middle Eastern issues from the Syrian peace process to the Iranian nuclear programme. "Selective cooperation" between Russia and the European Union has also been an area of focus given the degree of economic and humanitarian interaction between the two despite their serious political differences. The crisis in the relations with the United States has prompted a search for areas of cooperation on narrowly defined issues, with a due account of obstacles to a full-fledged dialogue. Following the established practice, analysing the situation in the former Soviet republics became another priority area. Despite the





difficult political situation, we have managed to preserve and develop working contacts with Ukrainian experts. We have also conducted a research on issues of the Eurasian economic integration, including in dialogue with our partners in Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan.

The key directions of functional areas of our work include digital security, international migration, and university diplomacy. A great deal of attention has been paid to the issue of economic sanctions against Russia and other countries.

We place a particular emphasis on the development of RIAC website and its electronic resources. 2019 saw an increase in the number of both Russian and foreign visitors to the RIAC website. A number of new contributors joined RIAC ranks, including university students and recent graduates. RIAC has successfully developed partnerships with leading media outlets, partly through the Nationwide Contest for Young Foreign Affairs Journalists, partly through the publication of articles written by the Council's staff in the leading print media, as well as appearances on television and radio programmes..

The RIAC staff grew significantly in 2019. A number of graduates from leading Russian universities joined the Council's ranks. The recruits are trained by the former young staffers who were in their shoes when RIAC was in fledgling stages of its existence. This ensures a professional continuity within the Council, and the work of our staff is complemented by that of honored experts and other RIAC members: prominent researchers, former and current politicians and diplomats, and representatives of the business community, the media, and public organizations.

Rapid changes that are taking place in the international environment pose new challenges for the RIAC development. We are always looking for new ways to conduct research, organize and hold events, and work with our target audiences. Nevertheless, our guiding principle remains the same: a reliance on professionalism, objective and unbiased assessments, a critical understanding of research results, and a balance between continuity and openness to change.



РОССИЯ СЕГОДНЯ  
**БУЖИНСКИЙ**  
Евгений Петрович

РОССИЯ СЕГОДНЯ  
**КОРТУНОВ**  
Андрей Вадимович

РОССИЯ СЕГОДНЯ

РОССИЯ СЕГОДНЯ

РО

2 | RIAC ACTIVITIES

# REGIONAL AND BILATERAL PROJECTS



# RUSSIA AND CHINA: A PARTNERSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC

One of the top priorities of the Russian foreign policy is the development of a comprehensive interaction and a strategic partnership with China. In recent years, Moscow and Beijing have achieved significant results in a both bilateral and multilateral framework. Nevertheless, new international challenges and national development objectives require a further intensification of the cooperation.

Since its inception, RIAC has dedicated a significant research on the topic of China and the development of practical recommendations on how to improve the Russia–China partnership. The most important frameworks of this work are the annual *Russia and China: Cooperation in a New Era* conference organized by RIAC and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and the *Russian–Chinese Dialogue* report prepared by the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of International Studies at Fudan University.

In 2019, RIAC hosted the fifth international conference “Russia and China: Cooperation in a New Era,” which was attended by over 350 leading international affairs experts, diplomats, government officials, and entrepreneurs from both countries. The results of this event were summarized in the fifth joint report prepared by Russian and Chinese experts. In addition, RIAC held around ten expert discussions with representatives of various think tanks, universities, and research institutions in China.

The expert dialogue in 2019 focused on the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the People’s Republic of China as well as on diplomatic relations between Moscow and Beijing. This milestone occasion provided an additional opportunity to take stock of the totality of Russia–China relations. Experts from these two countries have agreed that common approaches to a number of issues of global and regional significance, as well as a close rapport at the highest political level, have allowed Russia and China to form an especially close partnership. A military cooperation has also intensified in recent years.

The Russia–China interaction is not driven by external factors and is not aimed against third countries, although an increasing competition with the United States demands that the two coordinate their positions on the international stage more closely. Both China and Russia see the current policy of the United States as a strategic challenge. The unilateral measures initiated by Washington against Russia and the trade war between China and the United States have simultaneously created opportunities to strengthen the Russia–China cooperation in new areas and obstacles to smooth an interface between the two. Thus, mechanisms of interaction should be debugged at all levels.



It is probably too early to talk about the future configuration of the world order. But already today we can strongly assert that Russia and China, whose combined political, economic and military potential assure their influence in the world, will form key centres of this world order.

*Igor Ivanov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (1998–2004), Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, RIAC President (speech at the “Russia and China: Cooperation in a New Era” conference, May 29, 2019)*

The joint actions of the two powers are also necessary to ensure the peace and development in Eurasia. In their discussions, experts have repeatedly emphasized the importance of ensuring that interests of both partners are fully taken into account when it comes to the neighbouring regions. It is also necessary to develop practical mechanisms with respect to integrating the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and the Belt and Road Initiative, which today Russia sees in the context of creating the Greater Eurasian Partnership. Moreover, Russia and China need to give a further consideration to the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) reform so that it can play a decisive role in the future prosperity of the region.



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Looking back at the past 30, 70, and 100 years, we see that China and Russia, the Chinese and Russian people, have made a huge contribution of historical significance to the development of the world and the progress of humankind. Thinking about the future, we are convinced that the development of both China and Russia, as well as the development of comprehensive strategic interaction and partnership, are expecting to have great success. In another 30 years, when we are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Russia, the combined power of the two countries, the degree of bilateral cooperation and the influence of the strategic engagement between our countries on international affairs will be simply incomparable.

*Dai Bingguo, former State Councillor of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Co-Chairman of China-Russia Friendship Committee for Peace and Development (speech at the "Russia and China: Cooperation in a New Era" conference, May 29, 2019)*

The achieved successes in the bilateral economic cooperation are welcomed, but it will be impossible to further increase volumes and improve the quality of interaction without new points of growth and without expanding cooperation beyond traditional spheres. Russia's priority is to increase exports of high value-added products; however, the range of such products that are of interest to the Chinese side is limited.

A rapid technological development makes this area particularly important for the Russia-China cooperation, especially in light of advanced achievements of China and the scientific potential of Russia. From this point of view, it is important to both make use of the digital economy in business cooperation and develop a joint research in innovative sectors.

Strengthening cooperation between Russia and China should go hand-in-hand with creating a positive image of both countries.

RIAC research demonstrates that it is in Russia's interests to develop an extensive cooperation with China due to the latter's growing authority in international relations by means of its powerful economy. At the same time, Moscow should pursue a balanced policy on the Asian track, developing comprehensive ties with a large number of regional actors.





## KEY EVENTS

- May 29–30: 5<sup>th</sup> International conference “Russia and China: Cooperation in a New Era” (organized in conjunction with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)
- August 22–23: “China, Russia and the World” conference (organized in conjunction with Shanghai University)

## PUBLICATIONS

1. *Report No. 46 / 2019. Russian–Chinese Dialogue: The 2019 Model* (in conjunction with the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of International Studies at Fudan University).  
Lead authors: S. Luzyanin and Zhao Huasheng.
2. *Policy Brief No. 21 / 2019. Russia–China Cooperation in Agriculture: Status and Prospects* (in conjunction with CASS). A. Osinin, Jiang Jin and Xu Poling.
3. Results of the 5<sup>th</sup> international conference “Russia and China: Cooperation in a New Era”

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website СМД

1. *Vassily Kashin. “Russia and China: Union or Strategic Uncertainty?”*
2. *Ivan Danilin. “The U.S. and China: War to Become Tech Leader.”*
3. *Vita Spivak. “The Perfect Storm: What’s the Deal with the Protests in Hong Kong?”*
4. *Pavel Gudev and Igor Mishin. “South China Sea: The Second Front of the U.S.–China Confrontation.”*
5. *Dmitry Stefanovich. “Can Russia Help China Counter Missile Threats?”*



## RUSSIA AND INDIA: TOWARDS A NEW BILATERAL AGENDA

Moscow and New Delhi have historically developed a close cooperation in all areas; however, the scale of this cooperation has been significantly reduced since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Today, Russia and India enjoy a special privileged strategic partnership and have adopted similar stances on a number of international issues, yet a practical cooperation is lacking. Moreover, there are increasing allegations of India's gradual shift towards the United States and away from Russia.

RIAC has always paid a close attention to the issue of Russia–India cooperation, and, starting from 2017, a research in this area was stepped up significantly. This work aims at developing practical recommendations for taking the interaction between Moscow and New Delhi to a new level.

In 2019, RIAC worked with leading Indian think tanks to organize a number of events in this area, including the round table "Russia and India: Global Strategy and Foreign Policy Priorities" in conjunction with the Vivekananda International Foundation (VIF) and the Third International Conference "Strategic Visions of Russia–India Relations in a Changing World Order" in collaboration with the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA). The open exchange of expert ideas and opinions allows us to make the following statement about the current state of bilateral cooperation.

Russia remains an important strategic partner for India. India pursues an independent foreign policy. While positions of Russia and India coincide when it comes to the most important issues of global governance and security, Moscow's approaches to the regional cooperation, particularly its limited



cooperation with Pakistan, are a matter of concern for the Indian side.



...at this juncture, any format of allied relations with Washington is politically unacceptable for the Indian elite, which is pushing for the preservation of the country's strategic independence. Furthermore, India cannot sacrifice its continental Eurasian partners (primarily Moscow and Tehran) – not even for the sake of friendship with Washington.

*Andrey Kortunov, RIAC Director General and Member of the Presidium, RIAC member ("Heartland Reunion: Geopolitical Chimera or Historical Chance?")*

India is suspicious of the close partnership between Russia and China and is not at all enthusiastic about the integration of the EAEU and the Belt and Road Initiative. It is a matter of priority for Moscow to reduce tensions between India and China and better coordinate positions of the three countries on key global issues, as well as to strengthen cooperation with India on political and economic matters. India's understanding of the Indo-Pacific differs significantly from the U.S. vision and relies heavily on approaches that the country has traditionally preserved towards the neighbouring regions. New Delhi is ready to cooperate with Moscow in a similar format. Russian and Indian experts believe that Russia could benefit from developing cooperation with India in this context in order to set the wheels of open and inclusive regional development in motion. It is also in Russia's interests for the Indian side to be actively involved in Eurasian affairs, particularly within the SCO. Further priorities for Moscow include getting an EAEU–India agreement signed in the near future and continuing work on the launch of the International North–South Transport Corridor.

The current economic and humanitarian ties between Russia and India leave much to be desired, and the potential for a breakthrough in the future is limited. Meanwhile, a cooperation in traditional priority areas, for example, nuclear energy, will only grow stronger. RIAC research suggests that cooperation in the field of new and future technologies could prove especially fruitful. The use of scientific and human resource potential of the two countries could lead to important scientific breakthroughs and prevent them from being behind China and the United States in such spheres as artificial intelligence. The active use of technology will provide

a boost for economic ties and humanitarian cooperation.

Some of the most promising agreements reached at the Eastern Economic Forum concern cooperation on the economic development of the Russian Far East; however, business interests and state support mechanisms need to be combined if meaningful results are to be achieved in this area.





## KEY EVENTS

- March 25: Round table “Russia and India: Global Strategy and Foreign Policy Priorities” (in collaboration with the Vivekananda International Foundation VIF).
- November 19–20: Third International Conference “Strategic Visions of Russia–India Relations in a Changing World Order” (in collaboration with the Indian Council of World Affairs).

## PUBLICATIONS

1. Results of the Second International Conference “Strategic Visions of Russia–India Relations in a Changing World Order” (in collaboration with the Indian Council of World Affairs).

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website

1. *Timofey Borisov.* “India and Pakistan: A Positive-Sum Conflict.”
2. *Aleksey Kupryanov.* “Nationwide Strikes in India: The Past and the Future.”
3. *Andrey Volodin.* “Time for Change in Kashmir.”
4. *Ilya Spektor.* “Indian Parliamentary Elections: How the Regions Determine Politics in New Delhi.”
5. *Timofey Borisov.* “India and the United States: Cooperation in Military Technology.”
6. *Aleksey Kupryanov.* “A Celebration of Saffron Democracy.”

# RUSSIA AND JAPAN: HOW TO SOLVE PROBLEMS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS



Russia–Japan relations have moved far beyond the traditional humanitarian cooperation in recent years to embrace various aspects of interaction that are being implemented at all levels. There is no doubt in the potential for the development of trade, economic, and investment cooperation. Nevertheless, significant differences remain in terms of the political dialogue between the two countries. The only way to overcome them and increase a mutual trust is through open dialogue and in-depth study of all the relevant issues.

The project “Russia and Japan: How to Solve Problems in Bilateral Relations” represents RIAC contribution to the achievement of these goals. The purpose of the project is to develop an expert dialogue on a range of issues concerning possible interactions between Moscow and Tokyo.

In 2019, the Russian International Affairs Council hosted the Russia and Japan: Mutually Beneficial Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region international conference, a large-scale event organized in conjunction with the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) with the support of the ministries of foreign affairs of the two countries. The annual “Russia–Japan–United States”

trilateral dialogue was held on the margins of the conference. RIAC also published a working paper “Russia–Japan Relations: New Stage of Development,” which presented a comprehensive analysis of the interaction between the two countries on global and regional issues.



Being an ally of the United States, Japan is paying a considerable attention to the issue of how it intends to build a partnership with Russia [...] Furthermore, the question of what the Russia–Japan cooperation, in the context of the North Korean issue and the rise of China, should be is becoming increasingly important. A new strategic picture is being formed today [in the Indo-Pacific], and the role of Russia–Japan cooperation in this context needs to be clearly defined. If we do not do this now, then it will become an obstacle to interaction in the future, and we will need to think about what has caused it and how to overcome it.

*Kenichiro Sasae, President and Director General of the Japan Institute of International Affairs (speech at the “Russia and Japan: Mutually Beneficial Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region” conference on March 4, 2019)*

The Russian and Japanese sides agree that it is in interests of both Moscow and Tokyo to develop a dialogue between the two countries. Russia hopes that trade and economic cooperation with Japan will facilitate country's involvement in regional interaction processes, provide a boost to its research and development, and serve as an impetus for the economic developments of its far eastern regions (and of the country as a whole). For Tokyo, Russia is an important partner in terms of maintaining stability in the region. In addition, the cooperation on an equal footing with Moscow in the context of maintaining its military and political alliance with the United States represents a chance for Japan to pursue a more independent policy that is in line with its status on the international arena.

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The cordial relations existing between our leaders have allowed us to build a horizontal dialogue between our countries' parliaments, governments, regions, cities, and businesses. I am convinced that efforts at the regional diplomacy will provide us with a further strengthening of bilateral relations.

*Evgeny Shulepov. Deputy of the State Duma of the Russian Federation, Coordinator of the Deputy Group for Communications with the Parliament of Japan (speech at the "Russia and Japan: Mutually Beneficial Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region" conference on March 4, 2019)*

According to observers, 2019 was in many respects a breakthrough year for Russia–Japan relations. All the signs point at the fact that the two countries have moved to a new stage of development in their bilateral ties: the series of summits, the resumption of dialogue between the regions of the two countries, the conclusion of various agreements, and the organization of numerous cultural events as part of the Cross Years of Russia and Japan.

All this notwithstanding, the issue of signing a peace treaty looms, and a rapprochement between the two countries is suffering because of this. Negotiations have been stepped up significantly, but Moscow and Tokyo have not reached a compromise on a number of key issues yet. In light of these difficulties, efforts should be concentrated on actively developing trade, implementing investment projects, and deepening a mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries.



## KEY EVENTS

- March 4: “Russia and Japan: Mutually Beneficial Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region” International Conference (in conjunction with the Japan Institute of International Affairs).

## PUBLICATIONS

1. *Working Paper No. 50 / 2019. Russia–Japan Relations: New Stage of Development.* A. Panov, D. Streltsov, A. Kireeva and V. Nelidov.

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website

1. *Anna Kireeva. “Russia and Japan: The Thorny Path to New Relations”*
2. *Alevtina Larionova. “The Emperor of Japan: The Last Winter of the Heisei Era”*
3. *Gleb Toropchin, Anastasia Tolstukhina. “Semiconductor War between Japan and South Korea”*
4. *Vladimir Nelidov. “Elections in Japan: Who Won, Who Lost and What’s Next?”*
5. *Dmitry Streltsov. “The Putin and Abe Summit: Some Outcomes and Thoughts”*



## RUSSIA AND SOUTH KOREA: PROSPECTS FOR BILATERAL RELATIONS

The Russian Federation has historically paid a close attention to its relations with South Korea. While cooperation has been stepped up in recent years, much still needs to be done in terms of making a major leap forward in bilateral ties. Moscow is keeping an eye on developments on the Korean peninsula and has repeatedly called for the inclusion of all stakeholders in the negotiation process, thus demonstrating its commitment to the use of multilateral mechanisms for ensuring regional security.

In the context of existing tensions in the region and the need to find a common ground, the open exchange of opinions among all stakeholders acquires a vital significance. Since its inception, the Russian International Affairs Council has paid a special attention to developing an expert dialogue on the Korean issue, frequently inviting leading Russian and international experts to take part in its various events on the subject.

Two major events involving international affairs experts and leading Korean studies scholars were held in 2019 as part of the project: the Russia–Korea Next Generation Policy Experts Network Forum organized jointly with the Korea Foundation in cooperation with the Asia-Pacific Research Center at Hanyang University and the round table “Denuclearization and Peace Settlement on the Korean Peninsula: Cooperation between Russia and South Korea” hosted in conjunction with the Sejong Insti-

tute. The issue of inter-Korean settlement has been repeatedly raised at RIAC events on regional problems.



... While for Washington liquidation of the North Korean state in its current form is considered to be a victory, the only acceptable form of victory for Seoul is the prevention of war.

*Gleb Ivashentsov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation, RIAC Vice-President (“Prospects for Resolving the Nuclear Issue in the Korean Peninsula”)*

In their discussions, Russian and Korean experts have focused on the most significant events of the inter-Korean dialogue in 2019. The North Korea–United States Hanoi Summit in February 2019 was roundly criticized by experts from both countries. Given Washington’s tendency to flip-flop on key issues, any unilateral guarantees that it may give are seen by both sides as insufficient in terms of putting an end to the North Korean nuclear missile program. The Russian side has repeatedly called for discussions involving all stakeholders while South Korea has thus far shied away from taking a more independent role in the settlement process, which has also been evident at expert-level meetings.



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Today, Kim Jong-un must understand that there is no guarantee that Donald Trump’s successor will not renege on the agreements signed by Trump on the grounds that they do not meet U.S. national interests and instruct the U.S. government to ignore them. Who will bring the United States to account in this case for violating international law?

*Konstantin Asmolov, Senior Research Fellow at the Korean Studies Center, Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, RIAC expert (“Analysis of Kim Jong-un’s visit to the Russian Federation”)*

The issue of economic integration has been repeatedly raised during discussions of regional security problems. Both sides stress the need to discuss the future of North Korea and conditions for its integration into the global community. Implementing trilateral economic projects with the involvement of the two Koreas and Russia could contribute to a smoother integration process.

## KEY EVENTS

- June 28: the “Russia–Korea Next Generation Policy Experts Network Forum” (in conjunction with the Korea Foundation and the Asia-Pacific Research Center at Hanyang University)
- September 20: “Denuclearization and Peace Settlement on the Korean Peninsula: Cooperation between Russia and South Korea” round table (in conjunction with the Sejong Institute)

## PUBLICATIONS

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website

A large number of articles on various aspects of Russia–South Korea relations and inter-Korean settlement were published on the RIAC website in 2019, including:

1. *Gleb Ivashentsov*. “Prospects for Resolving the Nuclear Issue in the Korean Peninsula”
2. *Georgy Bulychev*. “Are Sanctions Conducive to Korean Settlement?”
3. *Konstantin Asmolov*. “The Kim Jong-nam Murder Case: A Retrospective Analysis”
4. *Georgy Toloraya*. “Trump and Kim Jong-un Agree to Not Agree on Anything Right Now”
5. *Konstantin Asmolov*. “Summit 2.5: How Trump Popped into North Korea for a Minute and What Will Happen Now”

# RUSSIA AND THE ASIA-PACIFIC: A CONCEPTUAL BASIS FOR SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

One of Russia's foreign policy priorities is to develop multifaceted ties with Asia-Pacific countries in order for the country to be intimately involved in the regional cooperation.

The Russian International Affairs Council has always paid a special attention to Russia's interests in the Asia-Pacific. In addition to large-scale projects that are concentrated on Russia's relations with China, India, Japan, and South Korea, RIAC implements targeted and long-term joint initiatives in collaboration with experts and think tanks across the region. It also develops recommendations on how to expand Russia's participation in multilateral mechanisms.

In 2019, RIAC held open and frank expert discussions with its partners from Sri Lanka, Vietnam, New Zealand, Australia, and Cambodia that proved to be the most productive. RIAC has traditionally focused on conceptual aspects of regional development and security in its work.



Making Russia a permanent fixture at high-level ASEAN events would help reinforce the country's initiatives to build a regional architecture in Asia on the basis of non-aligned relations.

*Igor Istomin, Senior Lecturer at the Department of Applied International Analysis, Senior Research Fellow at the Laboratory of International Trends Analysis, MGIMO University, RIAC expert (Working Paper "U.S. Politics in the Asia-Pacific: The Fallout for Russia")*

The growing rivalry between China and the United States, which the regional actors see as a serious threat to further development, was the focus of attention in 2019. Moreover, the concept of Indo-Pacific is becoming increasingly important in regional discourse. RIAC dialogue with experts from various Asia-Pacific countries has demonstrated that there is still no common under-





standing of the region's contours. Many countries in the region deliberately formulate approaches that differ significantly from that pursued by the United States, which is based on containing China and preventing Russia from becoming actively involved. A further increase of tensions in the region would not serve Moscow's interests. At the same time, as the expert discussions have shown, Asia-Pacific countries could benefit in the current circumstances from strengthening cooperation with the Russian Federation as a third party, independent force.

In the eyes of Moscow, the Asia-Pacific region is a part of the Greater Eurasia. As far as regional cooperation is concerned, Russia's priorities remain the same – to create a comprehensive regional architecture of equal and indivisible security and form the Greater Eurasian Partnership as a broad and flexible integration association based on cooperation within the framework of EAEU, SCO, and ASEAN. At the same time, the only way to achieve real results in these areas is to fill them with substantive contents and step up a practical cooperation.

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The SCO is becoming increasingly confident in the path it is treading towards becoming the crucial foreign political hub of the broadly understood Eurasian space. The expanding multidimensional participation of its members in large-scale trans-regional economic projects and initiatives is laying solid economic foundations for such prospects.

*Mikhail Konarovsky, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation. Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of East Asian and SCO Studies, MGIMO University under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, RIAC Member (“What the SCO Summit in Bishkek Confirmed”)*

In order to strengthen its positions within the Asia-Pacific, Moscow needs to pay a greater attention to bilateral and multilateral cooperation mechanisms in the region and allocate additional, in particular, political resources to this goal. Russia's potential is, of course, limited. This, coupled with numerous challenges the country faces both at home and in other regions, means that its contributions to the economic development of the Asia-Pacific will be limited in the coming years. In the meantime, Moscow can solidify its role as a 'security provider,' primarily in countering terrorism and extremism.





## KEY EVENTS

- March 19: Lecture on Russia's interests in the Indian Ocean held at the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka.
- June 26: Expert discussion with the Bien Dong Institute for Maritime Studies at the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam.
- September 16: Round table "Regional Development and Security: Russia's and New Zealand's Approaches."
- October 23: Lecture on "The Relations between ASEAN and Russia" by Minister of Education, Youth and Sport of the Kingdom of Cambodia Dr. Hang Chuon Naron.

## PUBLICATIONS

1. *Working Paper No. 49 / 2019*. U.S. Politics in the Asia-Pacific: The Fallout for Russia. Author: Igor Istomin.
2. *Policy Brief No. 24 / 2019*. International Relations in South Asia: Russia's and Sri Lanka's Views (in conjunction with the Pathfinder Foundation).

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website

1. *Alexander Korolev*. "Russia-ASEAN: The Search for New 'Points of Growth'"
2. *Mikhail Konarovsky*. "What the SCO Summit in Bishkek Confirmed"
3. *Ksenia Kuzmina*. "Russia and the Indian Ocean Security and Governance"
4. *Gleb Toropchin*. "New Zealand: A Dance without an Umbrella"
5. *Alexey Kupriyanov*. "BRICS, SCO and Kashmir Terrorism"



## SECURITY SYSTEM IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### Three projects are being implemented in this area:

1. Conflicts in the Middle East: Tools and Strategies for Settlement
2. Russia–Turkey Relations: Bilateral Cooperation in the Regional Context
3. Russia–Iran Relations on the Modern Stage



The situation in the Middle East resembles that of Europe following the First World War in the sense that there is an ongoing struggle for absolute power and a dominating role in the region.

*Davood Kiani, First Deputy Director at the Institute for Iran–Eurasia Studies (IRAS) at the “Russia–Middle East” International Expert Forum in Kazan*

**The Middle East is a key area of RIAC activities. The discourse on this subject was dominated in 2019 by security and economic issues (mostly energy-related), Russia’s interaction with the countries in the region, the Syrian peace process, and the role that armies play in Middle Eastern and North African states. RIAC continued its cooperation with think tanks in Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, Syria, Turkey, and other countries. The Middle East track was an important part of RIAC work with experts from**

## the European Union, the United States, India, and China.

The work within RIAC Middle East projects resulted in the preparation of analytical materials on the future of Russia's politics in the Middle East and approaches of Russia and the European Union to the post-war reconstruction in Syria and Russia's oil and gas interests in the Arab Mashreq. The publication of the anthology "Armies and Security in the Middle East and North Africa," which reveals key trends in the development of the armed forces of the countries in the region in the context of the most pressing security challenges, was a highlight of RIAC Middle Eastern research activities in 2019.

A great deal of RIAC analytical work in 2019 was devoted to the issue of the Syrian peace process and its place in the Russia's Middle East policy. Overcoming the humanitarian crisis in Syria is a question of both political settlement and the need to restore the country's socioeconomic infrastructure. One possible way to help rebuild the Syrian economy regardless of the course that the political process may take is to provide a humanitarian aid. On June 20, 2019, RIAC experts hosted the "Consultation on Regional Problems and Humanitarian Challenges in Cross-Border Regions of Syria" with representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to discuss humanitarian consequences of the Syrian crisis.



Russia is making every effort to ensure peace and stability in the region through peaceful diplomatic and political activities and economic and humanitarian leverage, and, unlike some of our partners in the West, does not pursue a policy of exerting pressure on or interfering in the domestic affairs of the countries in the region.

*Vitaly Naumkin, Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Director of Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies  
of the Russian Academy of Sciences, RIAC member (speech  
at the "Russia–Middle East" International Expert Forum in Kazan)*

In 2019, RIAC published a report on approaches of Russia and the European Union to the restoration of Syria, which was a result of the collaborative research carried out with the International Crisis Group's MENA Program Director Joost Hiltermann. Russia and the European Union agree that the Syrian reconstruction requires major foreign investments and a large-scale assistance from other countries. This assistance cannot

replace targeted actions of the Syrian authorities, but it can serve as a catalyst for uncovering and subsequently maintaining sources of growth and development inside the country. Russian experts believe that the sanctions against Damascus are counterproductive in this respect.

There are more differences, though, rather than convergences in views of Russia and the European on how to rebuild Syria. The differences in how the two sides tackle the issue stem from dynamics of Russia's relations with the West on issues that are not related to Syria. Substantive and detailed discussions are required in order to overcome differences and achieve a consensus on the country's reconstruction. Given the sensitivity of a number of practical issues in this area, Track II diplomacy would appear to be a sensible option for moving talks along in a constructive manner (possibly with the participation of technocrat policymakers from both countries). RIAC plans to expand upon this topic in 2020 alongside Syrian think tanks. Work with these research organizations intensified in 2019, for example, on April 27, RIAC and the Damascus Center for Research and Studies held a seminar



on the Syrian settlement. RIAC Vice-President and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation Aleksandr Aksenok and Director of the Damascus Center for Research and Studies Hames Zreik both gave keynote speeches at the event. The parties discussed dynamics of the Syrian conflict, problems of restoring the country's economy, and prospects for the development of Russia–Syria relations. RIAC and the Damascus Center for Research and Studies expressed their intention to establish partnership relations and continue to cooperate in joint research projects.

Moscow's successes in Syria have allowed Russia to gain a foothold in the Middle East, acting as a catalyst for the advancement of Russian interests both in Syria and in the region as a whole. In 2019, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation presented its Concept of Collective Security in the Persian Gulf, a move that can be viewed in a broader context. In August, RIAC and the Primakov Center for International Cooperation hosted the Russia–Middle East International Expert Forum in Kazan. At the event, Director of Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and RIAC member Vitaly Naumkin elaborated on Russia's new role as a 'security provider,' noting that Russia's take on this institution should not be viewed in the "traditional sense." The key element of the Russian approach is relying on regional powers and bringing interests of various states involved together. RIAC experts discussed provisions of the Concept of Collective Security in the Persian Gulf and its future with the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), the Institute for Iran–Eurasia Studies (IRAS), the Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS), the International Crisis Group, and other think tanks.



Only de-escalation of tension can make it possible to find a formula that would satisfy Israel's real security needs and allow Iran to outline acceptable limits for its influence in the region, including political and economic positions in Syria.

*Aleksandr Aksenok, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation, RIAC Vice-President ("Jerusalem Format: Searching for a Solution to the Crisis in the Middle East")*

Moscow's policy in the Middle East is slowly changing. The focus is no longer on the risk mitigation, but rather on the search for opportunities. Russia's support for Syrian state institutions and actions

of the Russian military inside the country have swung the situation in favour of the Syrian government. This has forced regional actors to coordinate their actions with Moscow, especially since Russia has been able to build stable relations with them. Moscow's calls for the preservation and restoration of state institutions of those countries that have been affected by the conflict, primarily Syria and Iraq, are growing louder and louder. Russia's sudden activity in the Middle East comes at a time when the country is being systematically included in oil-and-gas and infrastructure projects in the Arab Mashreq. The RIAC working paper "Russia's Interests in the Arab Mashreq: Analyzing the Future of Oil and Gas in Iraq and Syria" published in September 2019 was devoted to this very issue. In the paper, the authors argue that in the medium term Russia should formulate a uniform policy regarding the construction of oil and gas facilities in Syria and Iraq. This requires drawing up the inventory of such projects and running a preliminary analysis of how profitable sub-regional energy integration within the Mashreq could be for Russian companies, given costs that will invariably arise during the implementation of this strategy. The authors also analyse Iraq's oil prospects in the post-war period in light of the sanctions against Iran. A special attention is paid to the Kurdish factor and the role the Kurds play in the future of energy in the region, the possibility of sub-regional integration in the Arab Mashreq, and the increasing influence of Russian energy companies in regard to gas projects located in the Eastern Mediterranean.

## PUBLICATIONS

1. *Report No. 48 / 2019. Squaring the Circle: Russian and European Views on Syrian Reconstruction.* A. Kortunov, J. Hiltermann, R. Mamedov, T. Shmeleva.
2. *Policy Brief No. 22 / 2019. Russia and the Arab Mashreq: The Post-Conflict Period in Syria.* T. Makhmutov, R. Mamedov.
3. *Working Paper No. 48 / 2019. Russia's Interests in the Arab Mashreq: Analysing the Future of Oil and Gas in Iraq and Syria.* V. Katona, R. Mamedov.
4. *Anthology. "Armies and Security in the Middle East and North Africa."* T. Makhmutov, R. Mamedov and O. Pylova.
5. *Working Paper No. 51 / 2019. Russian Policy in the Middle East: Dividends and Costs of the Big Game.* I. Zvyagelskaya, N. Surkov

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website

1. *Andrey Kortunov and Michel Duclos. "Helping Iran to Make the Right Choice"*
2. *Julien Barnes-Dacey. "A Framework for European-Russian cooperation in Syria"*
3. *Nikita Smagin. "After Tankers and a Drone. What Will the Confrontation between Iran and the U.S. Lead to?"*
4. *Vitaly Naumkin. "Two Events: What Kind of Peace Does the Middle East Need?"*
5. *Aleksandr Aksenok. "Jerusalem Format: Searching for a Solution to the Crisis in the Middle East"*
6. *Maxim Suchkov. "From the Potomac to the Euphrates: The Future of U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East"*
7. *Andrey Kortunov. "The Future of the Middle East: Horizons of Challenges and Opportunities"*

## KEY EVENTS

- March 20: Seminar hosted by RIAC with representatives of the Southern Transitional Council of Yemen.
- April 17: "Conflict Resolution in Syria and Ukraine: The Russian and French Approaches" seminar hosted by RIAC and Institut Montaigne (France) under the auspices of the Embassy of the French Republic in the Russian Federation.
- April 27: Seminar hosted by RIAC and the Damascus Center for Research and Studies on the Syrian settlement.
- September 9: "On the Way to De-Escalation in the Persian Gulf: Regional Rivals and External Actors" round table hosted by RIAC and the International Crisis Group.
- October 25: "Political Mosaic of the Middle East: Russia's Strategy and Inside View" conference held as part of the "Dialogue in the Name of the Future – 2019" research and educational programme (in cooperation with Primakov Center for International Cooperation and Gorchakov Public Diplomacy Fund).
- December 16, Tehran: "Iran, Russia and the Collective Security System in the Persian Gulf" round table held by RIAC and the Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS, Iran).
- December 24, Ankara: "Russia and Turkey: Approaches to Regional Security in the Middle East" round table hosted by RIAC and the Centre for Strategic Research (SAM) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey.



# RUSSIA AND THE EURO-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

## Six projects are being implemented in this area:

1. Russia and the EU: Partnership Opportunities and Building a ThinkTank Network
2. EU–Russia Relations in the Context of Finland's Presidency of the Council of the EU
3. The Mediterranean Dialogue: Regional Conferences in Moscow
4. Defining Dialogue: How to Manage Russia–UK Security Relations
5. Russia and the U.S.: Problems in Bilateral Relations, Regional and Global Challenges
6. Towards a More Stable NATO–Russia Relationship

A high degree of tension remains in Russia's relations with the European Union and the United States. The Ukrainian crisis, accusations of Russia to "interfere" in the EU and the U.S. affairs, and disagreements on the arms control and the European and international security architecture clearly reflect the scope of contradictions that have accumulated over recent years. At the same time, the key issue hampering relations is the lack of an open dialogue between political leaders, government agencies, businesses, and civil societies. Also worrying are attempts to use ideological doctrines of the Cold War era to resolve issues today.

The Russian International Affairs Council has always paid a great attention to Russia's relations with the Euro-Atlantic community. At present, RIAC is working diligently with its partners in Russia and abroad to develop unified approaches to stabilizing Russia's relations with the European Union and the United States, as well as to find areas of common interest that could form a basis of pragmatic interactions in the future. At the same time, its project activities ensure that Russia's relations with the countries that make up the Euro-Atlantic community are seen not only from





the standpoint of dynamics of bilateral relations, but also in terms of interactions with countries in other regions, as well as with broad multilateral institutions, mechanisms, and integration initiatives.

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Donald Trump’s presidency should serve as a wake-up call for the international community, forcing it to arise from the sweet slumber of recent decades, take stock of the growing threats to security and take real steps towards the formation of a safer, fairer and more stable world before it gets too late.

*Igor Ivanov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (1998–2004), Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, RIAC President (“Why Should We Be Grateful to Donald Trump?”)*

On the one hand, 2019 did not provide us with a way out of the seeming dead end in Russia’s relations with the West. Inconsistencies and claims against each other continue, outweighing benefits of the “selective cooperation” between Russia and the European Union. The collapse of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF Treaty) is yet another confirmation of the deep and painful transformation that the world order is experiencing. USA–Russia relations play an important, if not always decisive, role in this world order, where traditional mechanisms of interaction and protecting own national interests lose their significance. At the same time, modest achievements on the Ukrainian track suggest that it may be possible, slowly but surely, to resolve one or even several pressing issues.

Despite the multitude of differences, there is still a potential for Russia to develop cooperation with the countries of the European Union and North America. The arms control; the non-proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction; the dialogue on European security issues; the fight against international terrorism; the global migration – these are just a few of the areas in which interaction is possible, and the list has grown over the past year to include the development of integration initiatives in Eurasia, the problem of introducing new technologies and how they affect global and regional security and the economy, and cooperation in the Arctic. A sharp deterioration in USA–Russia relations stemming from the so-called “interference in



internal affairs” prompted RIAC to work together with the RAND Corporation in the United States to develop recommendations for overcoming the crisis and gradually resolving thorny issues in the bilateral relations.

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If we want to prevent conflict, or even just military incidents, then stability, predictability, transparency, confidence-building measures, and deconfliction should be in the joint priorities of EU and Russia.

*Markus Ederer, Ambassador of the European Union to the Russian Federation*



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Most of the strategic challenges for both Russia and the EU, from my point of view, are likely to come from the changing international context. For instance, the MENA region will continue to be a source of instability for a long, long time [...] Global climate change and its likely repercussions also constitute a formidable challenge. Today, both sides are wasting precious time today and are not getting ready for a 'perfect storm,' which is already looming on our common horizon.

*Andrey Kortunov,  
RIAC Director General and RIAC member*

## PUBLICATIONS

1. *Joint RIAC–CSIS report. Key Challenges in U.S.–Russian Relations: Are Collaborative Approaches Possible?* A. Kortunov, S. Charap, I. Timofeev, J. Dobbins, A. Zagorsky, R. Ellehuus.
2. *Report No. 44. Towards a More Stable NATO–Russia Relationship.* K. Kubiak
3. *Report No. 49. Envisioning Opportunities for U.S.–Russia Cooperation in and with Central Asia.* A. Kortunov, M. Laruelle.
4. *Working Paper No. 47. Why the G7 Never Became the G8. Or 30 Years of Relations between Moscow and the G7.* A. Kortunov.
5. *Working Paper No. 53. The United States in the Balkans: Evolution of Presence, Priorities and Prospects.* M. Suchkov, E. Entina, A. Pivovarenko

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website

1. *Statement by the Euro-Atlantic Security Leadership Group (EASLG). “Support for Crisis Management Dialogue and Strategic Stability in the Euro-Atlantic Region”*
2. *Areg Galstyan. “The Alignment of the American Elites in the Run-Up to the 2020 Elections”*
3. *Samuel Charap and Ivan Timofeev. “Can Washington and Moscow Agree to Limit Political Interference?”*
4. *Natalya Supyan. “Nobody in Germany is Happy with the New ‘Climate Package’”*
5. *Natalia Eremina. “EU Foreign Policy: Challenges and Prospects”*
6. *Alexander Kramarenko. “A Europe Whole and Free: A Utopia or, After All, a Future?”*
7. *Ivan Timofeev. “Meeting in Osaka: A Path Towards Stabilization”*
8. *Andrey Kortunov. “Is Socialism the Bright Future Awaiting America?”*
9. *Vladislav Belov. “Germany: The Scorching Political Summer of 2019”*

## KEY EVENTS

- February 5, Moscow: Meeting with former Minister of Europe and Foreign Affairs of France Hubert Védrine
- February 18, Moscow: “How to Resolve an Armed Conflict?” round table with special guest Robert Malley
- March 1, Moscow: Seminar “Transition to Digitalization and Connectivity: Prospects for Economic Cooperation between Russia and the EU in the Conditions of Sanctions”
- April 25–26, St. Petersburg: Seventh Meeting of the Contact Group on Russia–West Relations (in conjunction with the European Leadership Network)
- June 3–4, Vologda: “Fort Ross Dialogue” international conference (in conjunction with Transneft and Rossiyskaya Gazeta)
- June 23–25, Berlin: Ninth Meeting of the Younger Generation Leaders Network on Euro-Atlantic Security (YGLN)
- July 4–5, The Hague: Seminar “How Can the EU and Russia Improve European Security?”
- October 8, Copenhagen: Round table “Russia and the European Union in the Baltic Sea Region” (in conjunction with the Danish Foreign Policy Society)
- October 22, Washington: Joint RIAC–CSIS seminar
- October 31 – November 1: Seminar “Russian and EU Participation in Multilateral Diplomacy”
- November 13, Moscow: “EU–Russia Relations in the Context of Finland’s Presidency of the Council of the EU” joint seminar at the Embassy of Finland
- November 21–22, Moscow: Tenth Meeting of the Younger Generation Leaders Network on Euro-Atlantic Security (YGLN) (YGLN)

# DEFINING DIALOGUE: HOW TO MANAGE RUSSIA–UK SECURITY RELATIONS

Given the elevated tensions in UK–Russia relations and the lack of a consistent dialogue at the highest political level, RIAC supported the Royal United Services Institute’s initiative to launch a long-term project aimed at analysing security problems in bilateral ties, searching for opportunities to resume a dialogue and subsequently, rebuild relations between the two countries through the Track II diplomacy.

The annual project involves expert discussions on current issues relevant to both countries: European and international security; nuclear non-proliferation and arms control; the balance of powers and confidence-building measures; cybersecurity and unconventional warfare; the fight against terrorism and extremism; cooperation in conflict resolution; and maritime security. The project also includes the ongoing dialogue on UK–Russia bilateral relations.



It is a sound project that appears to meet the needs of our country. Detailed discussions of such global issues as security risks and threats, the principles of “containment” and confidence-building measures are needed, while at the regional level, we need to talk about peaceful settlement in the Middle East and Central Asia (Syria, Iran, the Israel–Palestine conflict, Afghanistan) and eliminating the drug threat emanating from the region.

*Vladimir Shamanov, Chairman of the State Duma Committee on Defence (review of the project’s report)*

In September 2019, the Russian International Affairs Council and the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) hosted a seminar on polit-economic interests of Russia and the United Kingdom in Africa. The participants discussed points of com-



mon interest, as well as areas in which UK and Russian interests diverged, and also touched upon investment priorities of the two countries. The event was a preliminary part of the Russia–Africa Economic Forum held in Sochi on October 24, 2019. The changing political landscape in Africa has opened up opportunities to identify points of common interest and strengthen relations with new partners on the African continent. It was stressed that Russia has an advantage in this regard because, unlike the United Kingdom and other countries in the West, it does not have a colonial baggage weighing it down.

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«It would be advisable to build relations in the form of constructive, stable, and predictable cooperation on the principles of equality and mutual respect for the interests of all stakeholders. The legal framework for cooperation needs improvement and joint work in the fight against terrorism, uncontrolled illegal migration, organized crime (the trafficking in human beings, drugs, psychotropic substances and arms) and cybercrime needs to be intensified.

*Viktor Ozerov, Chairman of the Council of the Federation Committee on Defence and Security (review of the project's report)*

In October 2019, Northern (Arctic) Federal University (NArFU) hosted a seminar on the maritime security in UK–Russia relations that was organized jointly by the RIAC and RUSI. The discussion on maritime security concepts in the United Kingdom and Russia demonstrated that the development of common and understandable terminologies on the subject could serve as a basis for improving mutual understanding between the two countries. The parties also agreed on a special role that the members of the Arctic Council (Russia, the United States, Norway, Finland, Canada, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland) play in this area. At the same time, they expressed concerns about the Arctic potentially becoming the centre of a military standoff between NATO and Russia.

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«We need to work together in countering terror, cutting off channels for terrorist financing, and combatting terrorist ideologies. We also need to come together to resolve regional crises – as permanent members of the UN Security Council, the United Kingdom and Russia are constantly engaged in this work, so we need to be ‘on the same page’ in terms of our understanding of the agreements reached. We need a joint work in the field of the post-conflict reconstruction of Middle Eastern and African states.

*Mikhail Bogdanov, Special Presidential Representative of the President of the Russian Federation on the Middle East and Africa, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (review of the project's report)*

## KEY EVENTS

- September 4–5, London: Seminar “The Rise of Africa” (in conjunction with the Royal United Services Institute, RUSI).
- October 13–14, Arkhangelsk: Seminar “UK–Russia Dialogue: The Problems of Maritime Security” (in conjunction with the Royal United Services Institute, RUSI).

## PUBLICATIONS

1. *Report No. 45 / 2019. UK–Russia Security Relations: Talking To, Not Past Each Other.* A. Kortunov, Emily Ferris

# THE MEDITERRANEAN DIALOGUE: REGIONAL CONFERENCES IN MOSCOW

The Mediterranean Dialogues (MED) are a series of high-level international conferences organized annually by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Italy and the Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI). MED is a global platform for dialogue that is aimed at developing a positive agenda for Mediterranean countries. The fifth edition of the MED Conference was held in 2019.

Regional conferences are held throughout the year in various countries for a selected audience as part of preparations for the MED event in Italy. In 2017, RIAC was invited by ISPI to join the MED initiative and subsequently hosted an international meeting and two regional conferences in Moscow. In September 2019, RIAC organized the regional conference “From Battlefields to Negotiation Tables. What Role for International Actors in the MENA Crises?”

Numerous ongoing wars continue to stain the Middle East and North Africa (the MENA region). The situation is complicated by the fact that both external and internal actors, such as Iran, Turkey, the Persian Gulf monarchies, the United States, and Russia, that are involved in wars and crises in the region maintain ties with various parties of conflicts depending on their own interests. This makes conditions inside the countries even more volatile and leads to a greater instability in the region as a whole.

The purpose of the regional conference in Moscow was to provide an objective analysis of the situation in the region. The participants noted that the influence of external actors and domestic political decisions are inextricably intertwined, which in turn is an obstacle to the political settlement of crises. External actors use the situation to increase their influences in various areas, yet no one is able to propose a strategy for resolving conflicts. As regards Syria and Libya, Russia is one of the only international actors capable of conducting a dialogue with all the parties involved.

The influence of the United States and European countries in the region has weakened and is less effective in terms of its impact on regional dynamics. Their policies are characterized by passive approaches to regional problems and

are often simply not up to the task, as they are incapable of adapting alongside the rapidly developing situation on the ground. The participants in the regional conference noted that, in the current climate, Russia was the only influence actor capable of mediating all major crises in the region and holding a constructive dialogue with all stakeholders. Russia’s proposal to develop a collective security concept for the Persian Gulf based on the joint and equal efforts of all the parties involved and the adoption of confidence-building measures was discussed in detail.

## KEY EVENTS

- September 10, Moscow: Regional conference “The Road to MED 2019. From Battlefields to Negotiation Tables. What Role for International Actors in the MENA Crises?”



## TOWARDS A MORE STABLE NATO–RUSSIA RELATIONSHIP

Launched in 2018, the project run jointly by the RIAC and the European Leadership Network (ELN) for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation aims to analyse confrontational risks in NATO–Russia relations.

In 2019, the project focused on looking for ways to reduce tensions between NATO and Russia. Owing to the insufficient number of common grounds between the two sides, measures proposed are advisory in nature.

The talks included discussions of a basic package of measures to stabilize relations, as well as in case of a possible improvement in the relation a so-called “expanded package” of measures for future initiatives that includes the arms control, the resumption of the NATO–Russia dialogue on military doctrines and positions, and the restoration of additional formats of political debates through meetings of the NATO–Russia Council at the ministerial level.

### KEY EVENTS

- March 5: Round table “Are Stable Relations between Russia and NATO Possible?” with the participation of European Leadership Network (ELN) Director Adam Thomson.
- November 11–12: Conference “Russia–UK Dialogue on Nuclear Safety Issues. The Approaches of Russia and the United Kingdom on the Prospects for Preserving the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons until 2020” (in collaboration with the European Leadership Network (ELN) for Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation).

### PUBLICATIONS

1. *Report No. 44 / 2019. Towards a More Stable NATO–Russia Relationship.* K. Kubiak

# RUSSIA AND THE POST-SOVIET COUNTRIES

The Russian International Affairs Council has been implementing projects related to the post-Soviet states since 2011. The number of frozen and “burning” conflicts in these countries means that the issue is taking a more prominent role in international affairs.

In 2019, RIAC continued to develop cooperation with expert communities in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, focusing primarily on the development of Track II diplomacy as a way to resolve the conflict in Ukraine, as well as on the situation in the South Caucasus. RIAC has been a prominent participant in the expert dialogue on the Ukrainian peace process. The prospects of an upswing in Russia–Ukraine relations seem to be more optimistic following the latest presidential and parliamentary elections in Ukraine and the establishment of the new government there than they ever did during the presidency of Petro Poroshenko. It is entirely possible that the new Ukrainian leadership will re-evaluate the country’s

foreign policy and security concepts as the military rhetoric temporarily fades into background; however, those who expect a quick settlement of the conflict will likely be disappointed, given the domestic and foreign policy restrictions.



... An interesting transformation will likely take place in the geological confrontation between external forces, which Ukrainian politicians tend to see as the cause of everything that happens. The role of Russia and the West (primarily the United States) should not be seen as a cure-all in Ukrainian politics, as experience has shown, many of the processes that are taking place in the country are proceeding in accordance with an internal logic. It would be folly, however, to deny the existence of external influence altogether.

*Fyodor Lukyanov,*

*Editor-in-Chief of Russia in Global, RIAC member*





The fundamental problem in resolving the conflict, according to Russian and Ukrainian experts, is the lack of trust and continuing “security dilemmas.” The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the sides have been effectively ignoring each other for the past five years, as well as by the poor communication at the expert and political levels.

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We will fight for productive relations with Georgia. The people of Russia and Georgia have the patience and common sense to work towards constructive approaches.

*Grigory Karasin, State Secretary, Deputy Minister  
of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation*

As for discussions on the development of Russia–Armenia relations, experts assign a special role to the prospects of expanding regional cooperation and strengthening the existing economic and security integration. Armenia’s proximity to the Middle East increases the country’s security risks. This is a big contributing factor in terms of stepping up cooperation with Russia, which continues to be a major actor in the region.

Another topic that is high on the expert agenda is Russia–Belarus relations, primarily as they relate to the development of integration within the Union State. In 2019, experts discussed prospects for economic integration, both at the bilateral level and within the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU).

In terms of EAEU development, the Russian International Affairs Council pays particular attention to an expert analysis of pressing issues in the Eurasian economic integration, as well as to the development of the Belt and Road Initiative.



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Russia has long ago reiterated its commitment to resume a dialogue with Ukraine, as long as Kiev is willing to do the same. However, Ukraine should be ready to address problems and not simply make empty promises, putting everything on Russia's shoulders. We hope that President Zelensky's sense of responsibility will prevail over his desire to be liked at home and abroad.

*Konstantin Kosachev, Chairman of the Committee on International Affairs of the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, RIAC member*



## PUBLICATIONS

1. *Working Paper No. 54/2019. Ukraine after Euromaidan. Five Years of Crisis and Hope.* A. Gushchin, A. Levchenkov.
2. *Policy Brief No. 23/2019. Russia and Armenia in the Regional Security System.* V. Gegamyayn, S. Melkonyan, L. Nersisyan.

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website

1. *Igor Ivanov. "Helping Ukraine to Help Ourselves"*
2. *Olga Pylova and Ekaterina Chimiris. "New European Mythology for Ukraine"*
3. *Mikhail Krivoguz. "How's the Ukrainian Economy Looking Today?"*
4. *Igor Ivanov. "The Belt and Road Initiative: Towards a New World Order"*
5. *Mikhail Konarovskiy. "What the SCO Summit in Bishkek Confirmed"*
6. *Alexander Gushchin. "The Election Campaign in Ukraine: The Latest Trends in the Presidential Race"*
7. *Artem Dankov. "Crossing the River by Feeling the Stones: The 2019 Presidential Elections in Kazakhstan"*

## KEY EVENTS

- February 6: Round table "Russia and Armenia in the New International and Political Climate" (in partnership with DIALOG NGO)
- February 13: Visiting expert session "The Security of the Union State of Russia and Belarus" (in partnership with the Russian–Belarusian Expert Club)
- April 16: Expert discussion via teleconference "Russia and Ukraine: Strategies for the Development of Bilateral Relations (in conjunction with the Civil Diplomacy Fund, Kiev)
- April 29: Expert Seminar "Opportunities for Conflict Resolution in Eastern Ukraine" with the participation of Martin Sajdik, Special Representative of the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office in Ukraine and the Trilateral Contact Group
- April 30: Expert Seminar "Russia and Belarus: In Search of an Effective Alliance Formula During a Period of Geopolitical Turbulence" (in partnership with the expert initiative Minsk Dialogue and Creative Diplomacy Center for Support and Development of Public Initiatives).
- September 5: Expert workshop with the leader of the United Georgia Party Nino Burjanadze and leading Russian specialists on the Caucasus
- September 6: Presentation of the Crisis Group Report and Expert Discussion "Rebels without a Cause: Russia's Proxies in Eastern Ukraine"
- September 29: Round table and presentation of the RIAC–ARDI Lab policy brief "Russia and Armenia in the Regional Security System"



# FUNCTIONAL PROJECTS



# INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION PROCESSES: TRENDS, CHALLENGES, AND PROSPECTS

**International migration processes have long been a key element of the global agenda. A further increase in migration flows around the world will lead to greater tensions between the migrant and host communities and failures of traditional methods for integrating newcomers. At the same time, bringing working-age migrants into a country is one of the most effective ways to address the issue of redistributing labour resources and economic growth.**

In 2019, RIAC hosted the Fifth International Conference “Migration, Displacement and Urban Development” in collaboration with the Center of Theoretical and Applied Political Science of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The Conference has become the largest expert event on migration issues in Russia, bringing together representatives of the expert and academic communities, international organizations, and NGOs.

In the deliberative process the experts noted that global mobility not only leads to more ethnic and cultural diversity, but it also brings about changes to the urban landscape. Migrants affect dynamics of the qualitative and quantitative parameters of the human capital of cities, which in turn alters conditions of their economic and sociocultural development. Moreover, armed conflicts and other forms of violence are forcing an increasing number of refugees and internally displaced persons to move to urban areas, changing landscapes and social makeups of cities around the world.



Adam Smith’s sacramental question ‘Why Are Some Countries Rich and Others Poor?’ is starting to provoke heated discussions once again. We are dealing with a different kind of inequality at the turn of the 21st century, an inequality that is not determined purely by economic reasons. This new type of inequality is showing up within other disciplines and sciences, as a complex composition of socio-economic factors. A different kind of inequality that is not determined by quantitative methods alone and is growing before our very eyes [...] It would seem that the era of purely quantitative growth is coming to an end [...] This complexity, this paradigm shift forces us to look at things in a new light, including the concepts of migration, the urban population and urban development.

*Sergey Zuev, Director of the Institute for Social Sciences of RANEPA (excerpt of his speech at the opening of the Fifth International Conference “Migration, Displacement, and Urban Development”)*

The participants in the conference touched upon such issues as contributions that migration makes to the development of human capital, which is in many ways hampered by the fact that newcomers often have difficulty gaining an access to social infrastructures in modern cities. In this context, the problem of ‘ethnic enclaves’ and the integration of migrants and displaced persons into the urban environment remains. Even so, several examples of the successful integration of newcomers into the existing local city settings were noted.



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The consequences of [...] discrepancies between the norms defined by legislative acts and the actual practice of regulating migration can be most serious for Russia [...]. The risks are weakening the migration potential of the CIS countries directed towards Russia, if not eliminating their potential altogether, and decreasing the possibility of the influx of labor the country needs. In addition, there may be serious geopolitical consequences, such as claims from the Central Asian states about violations of the rights of their citizens who come to Russia for the purpose of employment. All this means weakening of integration tendencies in the space where Russia claims (quite reasonably) to be a leader.

*Irina Ivakhnyuk, Professor, Member of the Global Migration Policy Associates, RIAC expert (“Discrepancy Between Enforcement and Policy: Reforms Needed with Russian Labor Migration?”)*

## KEY EVENTS

- September 26–27: Fifth International Conference “Migration, Displacement and Urban Development” (in partnership with the Center of Theoretical and Applied Political Science of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration and the International Committee of the Red Cross, ICRC).

## PUBLICATIONS

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website

1. *Interview with I. Ivakhnyuk: “Discrepancy Between Enforcement and Policy: Reforms Needed with Russian Labor Migration?”*
2. *Interview with D. Poletaev: “How to Stop Corruption: It Should Be Easier to Register than to Bribe”*
3. *Interview with F. Lelie, M. Cruĳ, A. Çağlar and J. Schneider: “How Migration Affects Human Capital”*

# INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF CYBERSECURITY

Information security has become a hot topic within the most important international and regional forums and platforms, including the World Economic Forum in Davos, the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), the Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE), BRICS, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and, of course, the United Nations. And there is a more than adequate reason for this. The World Economic Forum's 2018–2019 Annual Report lists cyberattacks among the top five global risks, alongside natural disasters and the climate change. According to Sberbank of Russia, the damage to the global economy as a result of hacker attacks could reach \$8–10 trillion by 2022.

It is not only the economy that suffers from the ongoing information security problem, though. The planet's strategic stability and security also feel its effects. The fact that some countries have openly announced offensive cyber security policies is a particular cause for concern. The Russian International Affairs Council has been carefully developing an expert dialogue on the information security since 2012, bringing in the most knowledgeable on the subject from across the country and around the world.



We are firm in our belief that the era of 'club-house' agreements has come to an end and that today, every single country, regardless of the level of technological development, has the right to be directly involved in negotiations on IIS in the UN and have a voice when it comes to decision-making.

*Ernest Chernukhin, Special Coordinator of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation on the Political Use of Information and Communications Technologies (from a seminar held on February 4, 2019)*

In 2019, RIAC joined efforts with the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) to organize a seminar entitled "Ensuring Information Security in Russia and the United Kingdom: The Search for Common Problems and Ways to Solve Them." The milestone event attracted prominent information security experts, as well as a wide variety of representatives of business communities, from both countries, which made it possible to conduct a frank discussion on current issues, exchange experiences, and form a number of proposals on how to improve the situation in the future: using specialized UN structures to discuss information security issues; sharing experiences of repelling cyberattacks; creating a new, depoliticized platform for establishing a dialogue between Russia and the United Kingdom, etc.

Also in 2019, RIAC teamed up with the Creative Diplomacy Center to host a discussion on "Russian Approaches to Ensuring Cybersecurity." The event was aimed at familiarizing foreign participants in the Meeting Russia program with Russia's position on a wide range of cybersecurity issues, including the attribution of cyberattacks, strengthening cooperation and trust between states in the use of ICT. A particular emphasis was placed on the latest achievements of Russian diplomacy at the United Nations in international information security (IIS).

In April 2019, RIAC joined the so-called "Garmisch Process" – the International Forum "Partnership of State Authorities, Civil Society and the Business Community in Ensuring International Information Security" held every year in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. The forum, which is organized by the National Association for International Information Security (NAIIS) with the support of *International Affairs* magazine, has become known as the "Davos of information security." RIAC presented a report at the 13th edition of the Forum entitled "Business Initiatives in Forming Rules and Standards for Responsible Behaviour in the Digital Space."





Critical infrastructure protection is in many ways a national task. At the same time, there are a number of problems that can only be solved at the international level. It seems that right now the only productive way to tackle these problems is to develop mechanisms for introducing and implementing the relevant norms, rules and principles of the responsible behaviour of states – rules that will be common for all.

*Pavel Karasev, Research Fellow, MSU Institute of Information Security Issues (“Cyberwarfare without Rules”)*

In the era of digital economy, global business is starting to invest trillions of dollars into various infrastructure projects in which the latest ICT developments (blockchain, robotics, the Internet of Things, etc.) are going to be involved; however, experts note that the technological progress is being hamstrung by the problem of information security. International companies lose confidence in new technologies when cyberattacks like NotPetya cause them to suffer huge losses. In these circumstances, it is global business that has to put forward various initiatives and stress the need to agree upon the rules of the game, pushing politicians to take concrete actions. It is becoming clear that the human progress hinges upon us finding a solution to the problem of information security.

It is encouraging to note that political negotiations on international information security were relaunched at the United Nations in 2018 following a year-long hiatus. In the summer of 2019, the UN General Assembly approved two resolutions on state actions in the information space, one put forward by the United States and another one by Russia, which led to the creation of the UN Open-ended Working Group (OEWG) on Cybersecurity (the Russian initiative) and the UN Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) on Advancing Responsible State Behaviour in Cyberspace (the American initiative). The general belief among experts in this field is that these platforms can serve as a catalyst for the development of the rules of the game in the digital space.

## KEY EVENTS

- February 4: Fourth seminar as part of the joint project developed by the Russian International Affairs Council and the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) “Ensuring Information Security in Russia and the United Kingdom: The Search for Common Problems and Ways to Solve Them.”
- March 29: Discussion on “Russian Approaches to Ensuring Cybersecurity” (in conjunction with the Creative Diplomacy Center).

## PUBLICATIONS

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website

1. *Alexey Kupriyanov.* “India in the Era of Cyber Wars”
2. *Natalia Romashkina.* “Information Sovereignty, or Why Russia Needs an Information Security Strategy”
3. *Anastasia Tolstukhina.* “Two Cyber Resolutions Are Better Than None”
4. *Arthur Khetagurov.* “The Cyber Might of Iran”
5. *Ernest Chernukhin.* “International Information Security: Russia’s Successes in the UN”
6. *Natalia Romashkina.* “The Logic of Global Confrontation in the 21st Century: The Information Detonator”

# THE SANCTIONS AGAINST RUSSIA: AREAS OF ESCALATION AND COUNTERACTION POLICIES

2019 was marked by the emergence of new – and the tightening of existing – trends in the international sanctions agenda. Three key trends are of particular importance to Russia. While the pace at which new restrictive measures are introduced has slowed somewhat, the policy of the West (primarily the United States) remains the same – to increase the sanctions pressure on the Russian Federation. Both Russian and international agendas have become dominated by issues relating to the extension of sectoral sanctions against Russia, the introduction of the “second package” of sanctions in connection with the “Skripal case,” and the repeated submission of the DASKAA and DETER acts and numerous similar bills. The constant threat of restrictive measures being expanded further to include sanctions against Russian sovereign debt and banking and technology sectors limits the country’s development opportunities, increasing risks both for the state and for private investors.

The second trend was the ongoing development of institutions and mechanisms of the sanctions policy. The establishment in the U.S. Department of the Treasury of six strategic working groups; the creation of new common sanctions mechanisms in the European Union; the launching of the Department of External Restrictive Measures Control at the Ministry of the Finance of the Russian Federation – these point to the fact that more attention is now being paid to the use of sanctions as a foreign policy mechanism.

Finally, the third key trend of 2019 was the continued increase in the number of so-called secondary sanctions. The “weaponization” of the dollar and the increasing number of fines levied against companies in the European Union and the Asia-Pacific have made it even more important for private and public companies to develop compliance programmes and improve knowledge of international sanctions policies.

The Russian International Affairs Council has been studying the sanctions problem in depth since 2017. The RIAC sanctions work involves preparing analytical materials, monitoring legislations

of initiating and target countries, and keeping an eye on restrictive measures implemented, creating databases, working with the expert community in Russia and abroad, and developing educational programs, including a specialized course at Moscow State Institute of International Relations under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.



The key elements of the conflict unfolding before our eyes are trade wars and economic sanctions, which are aimed at changing the policy of a country or a group of countries. However, if trade wars pursue economic goals through maximizing the benefits of national producers, sanctions most often reflect foreign policy goals.

*Aleksandr Shokhin, President of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, Member of the RIAC Board of Trustees (article for the Valdai Discussion Club)*

In 2019, RIAC was the first Russian think tank and one of the first analytical centres in the world to focus on the issue of the so-called “secondary sanctions” that the United States levies against private businesses. RIAC experts studied 205 cases of restrictive measures imposed by U.S. regulators against international companies. The research showed that despite frequent statements about the formation of a new multipolar order, the world remains decidedly America-centric, at least in terms of the global economy. As a rule, countries do not react well to external pressures while private businesses in almost all cases choose to fall in line with U.S. requirements.



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We set ourselves rather specific tasks – to understand how, when, and why sanctions are introduced, how effective they are, and what measures are taken by ‘target countries’ to protect their sovereignty, because, after all, sanctions are essentially an instrument of interference in the affairs of sovereign states. We obtained initial findings in 2017, and in 2018, we published two reports, developed a methodology for continuously monitoring the issue, and set about creating a database on various aspects of sanctions – legal documents, political decisions, actions taken against individual companies, etc.

*Ivan Timofeev, Director of Programmes at the Russian International Affairs Council, RIAC member (interview with International Affairs magazine)*

## KEY EVENTS

- February 6: Round table “Sanctions against Russia: Inevitable Escalation?” (in conjunction with the Rossiya Segodnya international news agency)
- June 5: “Sanctions and World Energy” Round Table
- December 11: Conference “Sanctions Risks: Results of 2019 and Forecast for 2020”

## PUBLICATIONS

1. *Report No. 51 / 2019. Sanctions against Russia: 2019 Review and Forecast for 2020.* I. Timofeev and V. Morozov.
2. *Policy Brief No. 25 / 2019. The Secondary Sanctions of the United States. Analysis of 205 Cases of Restrictive Measures Against Private and Public Companies (2009–2019).* I. Timofeev and V. Morozov.
3. *Anthology. “The Sanctions Policy: Goals, Strategies and Instruments.”* Second edition, expanded and amended
4. Special Edition of the *International Organisations Research Journal* “Economic Sanctions, Global Governance and the Future World Order” (in conjunction with the National Research University Higher School of Economics.

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website

1. *Ivan Timofeev. “America’s Polyphonic Russian Policy”*
2. *Ivan Timofeev. “Europe Under Fire from U.S. Secondary Sanctions”*
3. *Yulia Timofeeva. “In the World of Sanctions: What Should a Compliance Programme Be?”*
4. *Vladimir Morozov. “Review of the International Sanctions Policy (January–December 2019)”*

# FORECASTING INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT DYNAMICS

**The world today is characterized by the increasingly complicated dynamics of the international environment. The growing number of factors affecting global political, economic, and sociocultural processes is greater than the possibility of carrying out a detailed study of prospects for global development, whose nonlinear nature not only further complicates making foreign and domestic political decisions in most countries, but it also clouds forecasting of the process itself.**

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Trump's presidency has very clearly and unequivocally marked a new historical milestone in the development of international relations. Before Trump came to power, there were still hopes that everything would somehow 'work itself out'; that the outdated world order would somehow manage to stay in place and that some minor repairs would fix the old system. I think it is obvious to everyone today that minor repairs will not do the trick and that a fundamental restructuring of the entire world order is needed.

*Igor Ivanov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (1998–2004), Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, RIAC President*

In 2019, the Russian International Affairs Council presented the results of its Global Forecast for 2019–2024 research project, which includes articles on various aspects of the global, regional, and country-specific development in short and medium terms. In their forecasts, RIAC experts noted main development trends for individual countries and regions from the Euro-Atlantic to the Asia-Pacific and from the Arctic to the countries of Africa and South Asia. A particular attention was paid to dynamics of global governance and integration mechanisms, as well as problems that affect the entire world, including international migration, the development of artificial intelligence technologies, cyberthreats, as well as the exploration and use of the outer space.

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Naturally, the foundation of the emerging new world order cannot be limited to the Belt and Road Initiative. This is just one example of the formats in which the new world order will develop. The main principle of building a new world order 'from the bottom up' is the creation of regional and continental 'coalitions of likeminded states' – states that share common approaches to various measures of international interaction. The Belt and Road Initiative meets these criteria, as do the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Eurasian Economic Union, and many other entities. Maybe something will come of the resurgent Russia–China–India triangle.

*Igor Ivanov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (1998–2004), Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, RIAC President*

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It is difficult to predict exactly when the current relatively favourable situation in the global economy will worsen dramatically. A year ago, many economists confidently stated that a new crisis would break out in the first half of 2019. The date was later moved back to the second half of this year, and now experts are talking about 2020. This is not a reflection of the forecasters' incompetence, rather an objective complexity of the problem.

*Evsey Gurvich, Head of the Economic Expert Group, member of the Economic Council under the Russian President, RIAC expert (article on the RIAC Website "Is a New Economic Crisis Coming?")*

## PUBLICATIONS

1. *Anthology*. RIAC Global Forecast for 2019–2024.
2. *Working Paper No. 52/2019*. Between Polycentrism and Bipolarity: On Russian Narratives of the Evolution of the World Order. A. Kortunov.

### Key Publications on the RIAC Website

1. *Igor Ivanov*. "The Belt and Road Initiative: Towards a New World Order"
2. *Igor Ivanov*. "Why Should We Be Grateful to Donald Trump"
3. *Andrey Kortunov*. "Who Will Build the New World Order?"
4. *Andrey Kortunov*. "What We've Learnt About Globalization"
5. *Andrey Kortunov*. "The Future of the Middle East: Horizons of Challenges and Opportunities"
6. *Ivan Timofeev*. "A New Anarchy? Scenarios for World Order Dynamics"
7. *Aleksey Arbatov*. "Doomsday Dialectics: The Arms Race and Arms Limitation"
8. *Evsey Gurvich*. "Is a New Economic Crisis Coming?"
9. *Natalia Piskulova*. "Challenges for the Environmental Reconstruction of the Global Economy"

# ORGANIZING INTERNATIONAL PEER REVIEW FOR OF THE RUSSIAN SCIENCE FOUNDATION PROJECTS

**The role of international cooperation is becoming increasingly important in scientific research today. A growing number of breakthrough developments are being made by teams of researchers from around the world. This is facilitated, on the one hand, by the rise in economic independence: the globalization of the economy has a knock-on effect on science, and developments in the fundamental and applied sciences in turn serve as drivers of the economic growth. On the other hand, universities and research centres globally are becoming more international than ever before, and this also has a positive effect on the scientific development.**

International expert evaluations are an integral part of global educational, scientific, and innovative networks and communities today (primarily in relevant scientific disciplines and interdisciplinary fields). Existing practices show that international assessments of various scientific, educational, and innovative projects, big and small, allow us to perform several interrelated tasks:

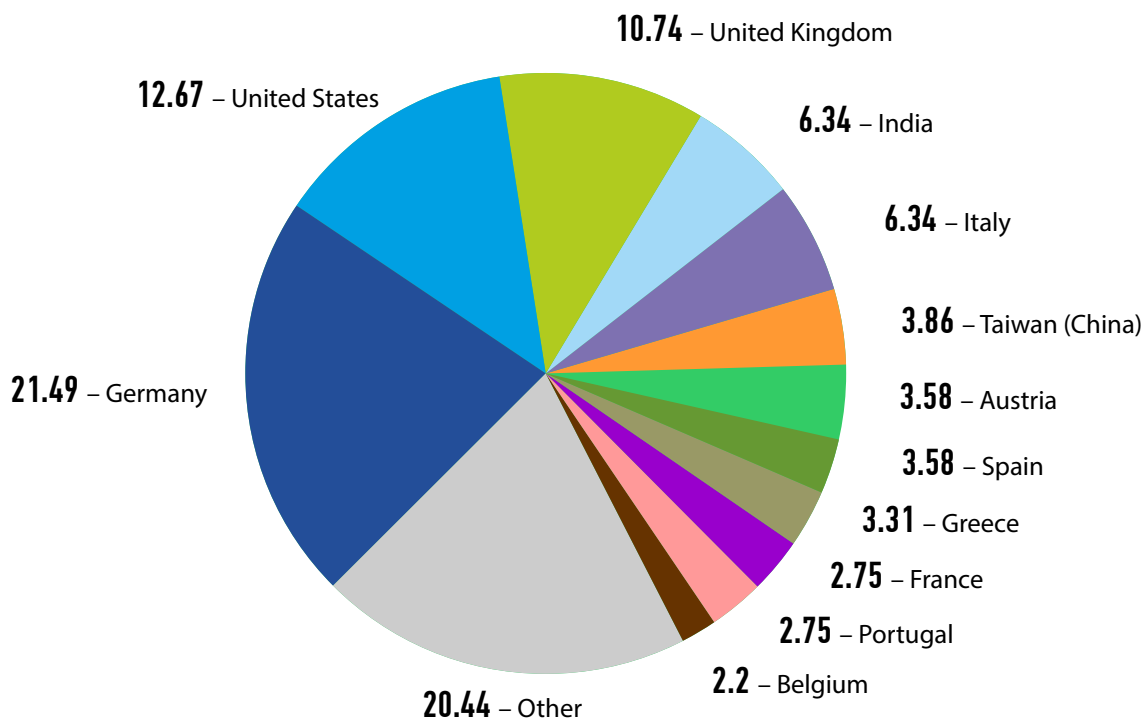
- They allow for the most objective, impartial, and independent assessment of projects and ideas submitted for consideration and minimize possible personal and other factors that could influence an internal peer review;
- They provide an idea of the general level of projects and programs submitted for consideration compared to their leading foreign counterparts (schools, research teams, individual researchers, etc.);
- They are one of the most effective tools for promoting Russian science and education on the global market. Expert evaluations provide the opportunity to familiarize the international expert community with project ideas, concepts, and methodological approaches that are being developed, as well as with scientific infrastructures of countries that organize respective tenders. As a rule, experts and organizations that are involved in evaluating projects do their part in terms of developing various forms of international scientific, educational, and innovative cooperation.

RIAC attaches a high priority to expanding the international cooperation of Russian educational and research institutions, encouraging the international academic and educational mobility and promoting Russian research abroad.

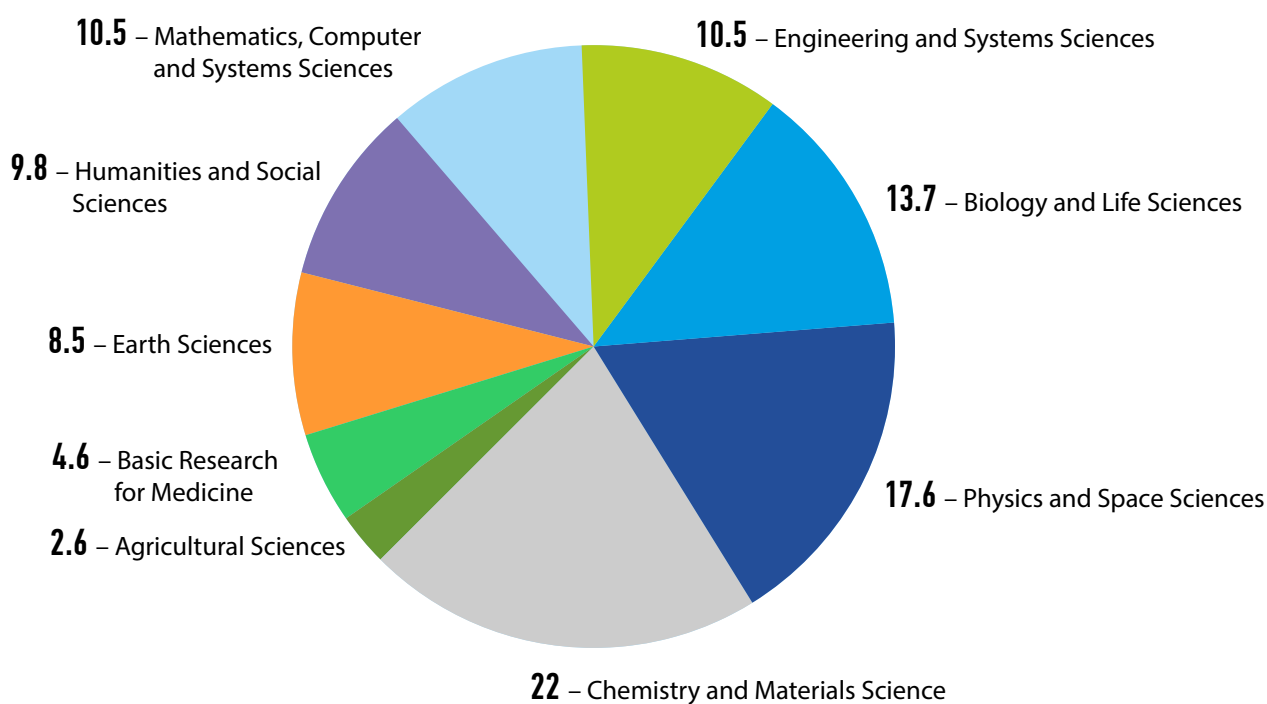
In 2019, the Russian International Affairs Council continued its work with the Russian Science Foundation (RSF), organizing and supporting international expert evaluations of scientific and technical programs and projects submitted to the RSF for consideration. RIAC organized international peer review of 690 projects submitted to the Russian Science Foundation competition "Scientific Research Conducted by Research Teams Led by Young Scientists" as part of the Presidential Programme for Research Projects Carried out by Leading Scientists, including Young Professionals in 2019. It also selected 153 foreign researchers to be included in the RSF pool of international experts and prepared recommendations on the basis of its research on improving programs to support young researchers and criteria for assessing the impact of these programs, taking the best international practices into account.

# STATISTICS

COUNTRIES OF RESIDENCE OF FOREIGN RESEARCHERS TAKING PART IN PEER REVIEW OF PROJECTS SUBMITTED TO THE RUSSIAN SCIENCE FOUNDATION FOR CONSIDERATION IN 2019, %



FOREIGN EXPERTS SELECTED BY THE RSF IN 2019, % BY RESEARCH FIELD



# EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS









## DIGITAL INTERNATIONALIZATION OF RUSSIAN UNIVERSITIES

One of RIAC primary tasks is to build the reputation of Russian universities in the global educational space. The development of the Internet and the rise of social media, as well as the growing role of English as the primary means of global communication, makes Russian universities compelled to improve their online English language resources, which, after all, are among the main tools for marketing the national higher education globally. It has become extremely important to harness the full potential of electronic resources in terms of exporting of educational services and increasing the attractiveness of Russian higher education abroad.

The Russian International Affairs Council has spent the last five years researching the English language resources of leading foreign and Russian universities. We developed a methodology that separates university websites into individual semantic blocks for the purpose of conducting a meaningful analysis. These blocks reflect various aspects of the university functioning, as well as many needs of potential students looking for information on the university's website or social media accounts. This allowed us to audit the Eng-

lish language content of 67 Russian universities in 2019.



As things stand, increasing the export of Russian educational and research services is out of the question unless universities work hard in a long-term on improving their internet resources.

*Ivan Timofeev, Director of Programmes  
at the Russian International Affairs Council*

The results of the most recent research (2019) were published in Report No. 47 / 2019 “Web Internationalization of Russian Universities (2019).” Our analysis allowed us to draw a number of conclusions:

- Most universities continue to work on improving their websites. Of the 65 universities that were audited last year, 38 (or 58.4 per cent) had made improvements. It is worth mentioning that a number of universities demonstrated significant improvements, some by more than 15 points;

- At the same time, several universities are not exploiting the full potential of their websites. Only 8.9 per cent of the websites that were analysed had 67 per cent or more of their content available in English. The most complete sections on university websites in terms of the availability of information in English are “About the University,” “Contact Information,” “Admissions,” “News,” “Social Life,” and “Mission and Strategic Objectives.” As before, sections that are generally lacking information in English are the “Library,” “Alumni,” and “Careers” pages;

- The 5–100 and Education Export projects set specific goals in terms of promoting research activities and attracting overseas students and young research and teaching staff. Only 28 per cent of universities participating in the 5–100 project and 10.26 per cent of those participating in the Education Export project are achieving these goals. There has been a noticeable increase in the pace at which participants in the 5–100 project have been developing their English language websites, and positive trends can be observed at these universities in terms of promoting research projects and scientific achievements, as well as in terms of improving their personnel policies and attracting research and teaching staff from abroad. The same cannot be said, however, about the majority of universities taking part in the Education Export project, whose English language websites either include only the bare minimum of information or do not exist at all; pages advertising their study programs to the international market are also severely lacking.

In 2019, the RIAC team developed a methodology for assessing how effective Russian universities are on the social media. The research revealed that Russian universities are doing little to nothing on English language social networks to achieve their strategic goals. Even though the majority of Russian educational institutions (64 per cent) have accounts in English, their official websites do not even include links to them. Moreover, only 7.7 per cent of Russian universities post daily on these accounts, so the level of feedback is extremely low. In order to increase the effectiveness of their social media presence, Russian universities need to develop a clearly formulated long-term social media marketing strategy to help achieve their individual goals. The user support needs to be improved and users need to be offered the opportunity to become integrated into the process of creating content for the university’s social media accounts. Partner relations should be established,

and the content of unofficial university communities should be better integrated into that of the official one, with university staff, student organizations, and the media being invited to take part in the development of the official community. It is important to engage the target audience directly and monitor their interests in order to provide them with relevant information. Even though universities do generally publish information that is useful for users, we should keep in mind that working with the social media, which by definition cannot be a one-sided affair, is different from working with the classical media..

## KEY EVENTS

- May 23: RIAC City Breakfast *Úrbi et órbi* “Internationalizing Universities: A Blessing or a Curse for Russian Education?”
- May 27: “Social Networks in University Marketing Strategies” Seminar (in conjunction with Ural Federal University)
- June 19–20: Seminar on updating the English-language version of the I. M. Sechenov First Moscow State Medical University website).

## PUBLICATIONS

1. *Report No. 47 / 2019. Web Internationalization of Russian Universities* (2019).

# RIAC EXPERT SCHOOLS

In 2019, the Russian International Affairs Council hosted two schools for young specialists in collaboration with its partners. The main aim of RIAC schools is to provide advanced training for participants and create a network of young experts in various areas of global political and international affairs.

The key topic at the expert school entitled “The Role of the Astana International Financial Centre in Integration Processes and the Establishment of the EAEU Financial Space” was the financial integration of the EAEU space. The event was attended by 24 young specialists and mentors from Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, Russia, and Belarus. Over the course of five days, the participants and their mentors produced a draft foresight document on the financial integration of the EAEU space and Astana International Financial Centre’s role in this process. This produced three group projects in addition to the final foresight project that was agreed upon by all participants.

The practical courses under the “European Union: Training for Teachers” were devoted to the latest teaching methods in Europe. The educational event was attended by 30 young experts and instructors from Russian universities in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Barnaul, Belgorod, Irkutsk, Nizhny Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Penza, Perm, Rostov, Saratov, Tomsk, and Tyumen. The work at the school resulted in the development of three educational course projects on the EU.



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Improving the way courses on the European Union are taught will contribute to the professional development and improve the overall competencies of graduates of Russian universities in the fields of international relations, political science, and law.

*Nikolay Kaveshnikov, Head of Integration Processes Chair at MGIMO University under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Leading Research Fellow at the Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences, RIAC expert*

## KEY EVENTS

- May 25–28: Expert school “The Role of the Astana International Financial Centre in Integration Processes and the Establishment of the EAEU Financial Space” (organized by the Astana International Financial Centre with the participation of the Russian International Affairs Council).
- June 24–28: Practical courses on the “European Union: Training for Teachers” (organized by the Association of European Studies with the support of the Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Russian International Affairs Council and the ERASMUS+ programme).

## INTERNSHIPS

More than 80 students from Russian universities (Moscow State University, Moscow State Institute of International Relations, the Higher School of Economics, Russian State University for the Humanities, Peoples’ Friendship University of Russia, State Academic University for the Humanities, Moscow State Linguistic University and the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration, among others) and universities around the world (Princeton University, Johns Hopkins University, LUISS School of Government, London School of Economics and Political Science, and Seoul National University) completed internships at RIAC in 2019. It is noteworthy that Russian interns included students from universities in different regions of Russia. Each intern was assigned a mentor from among RIAC program managers and coordinators. During their internships, students were able to work on RIAC projects that especially interested them. The internship combined the work on these projects (helping to prepare events, researching information, compiling databases) with that on students’ own papers and research projects under the close supervision of their mentors.





## PUBLIC OUTREACH ACTIVITIES

**In 2019, RIAC held a number of public outreach activities aimed at young experts and anyone interested in various aspects of international affairs.**

The new season of the *Urbi et Orbi* city breakfasts kicked off at the start of the year. The range of topics covered at these breakfasts was expanded significantly in 2019 to highlight troubling global developments and included foreign policy telegram channels, international legal aspects of human genetic modification, international political memes, and the future of think tank factories around the world. Eleven city breakfasts were held in total in 2019, with *International Affairs* magazine serving as the RIAC's official media partner for all the events.

RIAC continued its close cooperation with the State Central Museum of Contemporary History of

Russia, where it offers monthly lectures about current international issues as part of the Tverskaya XXI project. A total of eleven lectures were held in 2019 in cooperation with *International Affairs* magazine as the official media partner.

The International Fair for High-Quality Fiction and Non-Fiction turned out to be one of the highlights of the year for RIAC, where it showcased its publishing program and introduced hundreds of attendees to its work.

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RIAC manages to do the impossible – engage young people, who, as a rule, are extremely sceptical when it comes to “boring” and “dry” topics. I was at one of RIAC current affairs breakfasts – at 10 o’clock at the Dostoevsky Library – and the place was packed, mostly with Generation Z. Respect!

*Fyodor Lukyanov, Editor-in-Chief of Russia in Global Affairs magazine, RIAC member*

## KEY EVENTS

### City Breakfasts:

- January 24: How to Manage Migration Processes
- February 28: Brexit – A reminder of what the EU is Really About
- March 21: International Telegram. Do We Need to Read Foreign Policy Telegram Channels?
- April 17: Human Genetic Modification: Towards a Brave New World?
- May 22: The Development of Education in Russia: Internationalization or Mobilization?
- June 20: From Pepe the Frog to Trump the Centipede: RIAC Breakfast on Memes
- July 18: What Should Russian ‘Thought Factories’ Be Like?
- September 19: The New Ukrainian Government: Is there a Chance to Improve Relations?
- October 24: Arms under Control: Will Russia and NATO Agree? Expert Assessment

### Lectures at the State Central Museum of Contemporary History of Russia:

- January 30: V. Nelidov. “Russia and Japan: An Eternal Peace
- February 20: E. Chimiris. “The Ukrainian Elections: One Last Chance?”
- March 27: V. Kozlov. “Russian Family and Demographic Policy in the Context of World Practices”
- April 10: P. Gudev. “The Northern Sea Route: Economic Potential, Legal Status, Development Prospects”
- May 19: A. Pivovarenko. “20 Years Later: How the Bombing of Yugoslavia Changed the World”
- June 5: D. Kiku. “Can the Sanctions Resolve the Nuclear Problem?”
- July 3: A. Likhacheva. “The Sanctions Policy: Global Challenges and the Consequences for Russia”
- October 2: V. Spivak. “Brothers Changing Positions: Russia–China Relations in 2019”

## JOURNALISTS' COMPETITION

The Russian International Affairs Council launched the Nationwide Contest for Young Foreign Affairs Journalists in 2012 in conjunction with the Russian Union of Journalists and the *International Affairs* magazine with the support of the Interfax news agency and *Russia in Global Affairs* magazine. The competition is open to full-time and freelance journalists of Russian print and online media who are under the age of 35 years.

On March 19, 2019, RIAC presented the results of the VII Annual Nationwide Contest for Young Foreign Affairs Journalists. A total of 177 papers were received, 134 of which were accepted for consideration. During its eight-year existence, the contest has proved itself as one of the leading platforms for young foreign affairs journalists.

The latest edition of the Contest was launched in June. According to the tradition, information partners for the project included *Gazeta.ru* internet news portal, the Expert media holding, and the School of Future International Relations Experts at the National Research University Higher School of Economics.

In 2019, RIAC continued its work with the school as part of the educational program for students in grades 10-11. Former winners of the Annual Nationwide Contest for Young Foreign Affairs Journalists and representatives of the flagship Russian publications were invited to give speeches at the School of Future International Relations Experts. A new competition cycle was opened by 2018 winner Galina Dudina.





**BEST ANALYTICAL ARTICLE  
ON INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS:**

Kristiana Denisenko  
– “On the Home Stretch of  
Brexit” (*Expert* magazine)

**BEST INTERVIEW  
ON INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS:**

Tatiana Smaylovsky  
(Kalmykova)  
– “Robert Malley: The U.S.  
Will Pay for Withdrawing from  
the Nuclear Deal with Iran”  
(RIA Novosti)

**BEST REPORT ON  
INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS:**

Yekaterina Selivanova  
– “What Life is Like for the  
Persecuted Rohingya Muslims  
in Myanmar and Bangladesh  
and How a Blogger from  
Dagestan is Helping them”  
(*Dozhd* television channel)

**BEST PHOTOGRAPH  
ON INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS**

Kristina Kormilitsyna  
– “Photo Series ‘Fidel’s Black  
Square’” (*Kommersant*)

**NOVICE FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
JOURNALIST:**

Alyona Zhabina  
– “Cinema with a Chinese  
Flavour” (*Expert* magazine)

**STATISTICS**

NUMBER  
OF PAPERS  
SUBMITTED:

177

NUMBER OF PAPERS  
ACCEPTED FOR  
CONSIDERATION:

134

OF THE PAPERS ACCEPTED:

**MOSCOW**

57%  
(76 PAPERS)

**ST. PETERSBURG**

4%  
(5 PAPERS)

**KRASNOYARSK**

3%  
(4 PAPERS)

PAPERS WERE ALSO  
RECEIVED FROM AUSTRALIA,  
ARMENIA, BELGIUM, CHINA,  
GERMANY, LEBANON,  
MEXICO, POLAND, SERBIA,  
SPAIN, AND THE UNITED  
STATES

**FEMALE ENTRANTS**

50%

**MALE ENTRANTS**

50%

THE AVERAGE AGE OF ENTRANTS WAS 27,  
WITH THE YOUNGEST BEING 16.

AS IN PREVIOUS YEARS, THE MOST POPULAR  
CATEGORY WAS “BEST ANALYTICAL ARTICLE ON  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS”

(38% OF APPLICATIONS), FOLLOWED BY “BEST  
INTERVIEW ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS” (21%).

# 03

## RIAC IN THE MEDIA

In 2019, the Russian International Affairs Council consolidated its position as one of the most recognizable and respected sources of information on international relations and Russian foreign policy. RIAC holds regular round tables and news conferences with its partners and experts at the Rossiya Segodnya Press Center.

RIAC was cited 6,800 times in various publications in 2019, up 8% from the previous year. At the same time, the number of reports dedicated to our activities has also increased.

RIAC has established partner relations with a number of leading Russian internet media. In 2019, projects were either launched or continued to develop with Expert.Online, *International Affairs* magazine, and the *GlagolevFM* online radio station. Articles and analytical pieces by RIAC experts are frequently published in *Kommersant*, *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, RBC, and *The Moscow Times*. RIAC also develops cooperation with leading Russian news agencies: Rossiya Segodnya, TASS, Interfax, and Sputnik. RIAC members and experts regularly appear on major Russian and international television channels and comment on international affairs issues. In addition, the Russian International Affairs Council collaborates with popular media outlets from the United States, China, France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and other countries.





## Цена вопроса

Гендиректор Российского совета по международным делам Андрей Кортунов — о будущем контроля над ядерными вооружениями



Газета "Коммерсантъ" №18 от 01.02.2019, стр. 5



ИСТОРИИ

### Успехи российской внешней политики в последние месяцы несомненны. Пять факторов, которые делают Россию такой влиятельной (и в чем подвох)

09.00, 30 октября 2019  
Источник: Meduza

Владимир Путин договорился с президентом Турции Реджепом Эрдоганом: он отводит войска из Сирии, а большую часть территории, очищенной от курдских формирований, займут сирийские правительственные войска и российская военная полиция. Получается, Россия опять всех во внешней политике переиграла. А чуть раньше президент Украины Владимир Зеленский согласился на «формулу Штайнмайера» в Донбассе, которую активно лоббировала Москва и которую длительное

Скрыть баннеры

Мнение, 13 мар, 06:51

52 130

### Иван Тимофеев Неприкосновенный запас: насколько реальны прямые санкции США против КНР

Вашингтону сложно сформировать настроенную против Пекина международную коалицию, сопоставимую с антироссийской, поэтому масштабные антикитайские санкции со стороны США вряд ли будут введены



Международная экспертиза с РСМД

### За кем пойдет Канада: парламентские выборы 2019 года



Наталья Вяхирева, к.полит.н., профессор  
2019, 13:32

21 октября в Канаде пройдут федеральные выборы, в результате которых будет избран новый премьер-министр и сформирован новый кабинет министров нижней палаты канадского парламента

Международная экспертиза с РСМД

### Мягкая сила России в Африке: новые перспективы и вызовы

Ольга Кульцова, к.и.н., с.н.с. Центра изучения российской внешней политики стран Африки Института Африки РАН  
Россия необходимо в ближайшие годы выработать стратегию развития отношений с Африкой



The Moscow Times  
INDEPENDENT NEWS FROM RUSSIA

NEWS OPINION BUSINESS MEANWHILE ARTS AND LIFE PODCASTS VIDEOS IN-DEPTH

ОПИНИОН

### Helping Ukraine to Help Ourselves

# 04

## RIAC WEBSITE

RUSSIANCOUNCIL.RU

AVERAGE MONTHLY TRAFFIC IN 2019:

287,000

Growth from previous year

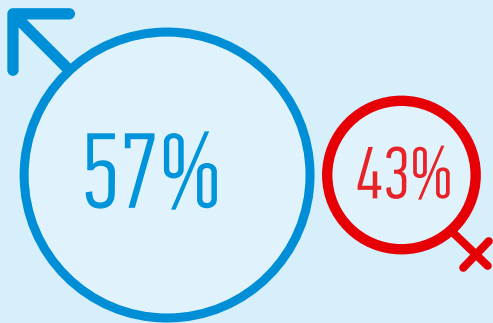
≈ 14%

Annual traffic in 2019

3.5 million

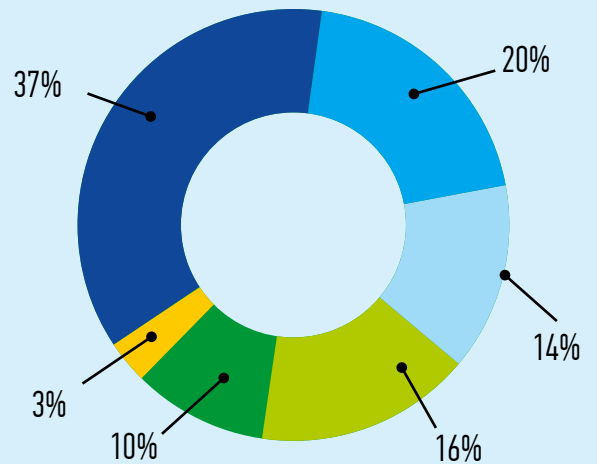
The RIAC website is rightfully considered one of the leading internet resources on international affairs. Our professional audience places the highest demands on materials that are published on the website, which ensures that we maintain its broad appeal without compromising on the quality of our expert analyses. Our primary goal in 2019 was to enhance the credibility of the RIAC website – we have moved towards the secure https protocol, improved protection against cyberattacks and spam, and tightened requirements for submitting analytical materials in terms of the reliability of sources and the rationale for arguments and recommendations presented.

### GENDER



### AGE

- < 1
- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- > 55



### MAIN SOURCES OF TRAFFIC



Search engines

42%



Social media and messenger services

34.5%



Links or bookmarks

20%



Other websites

2%



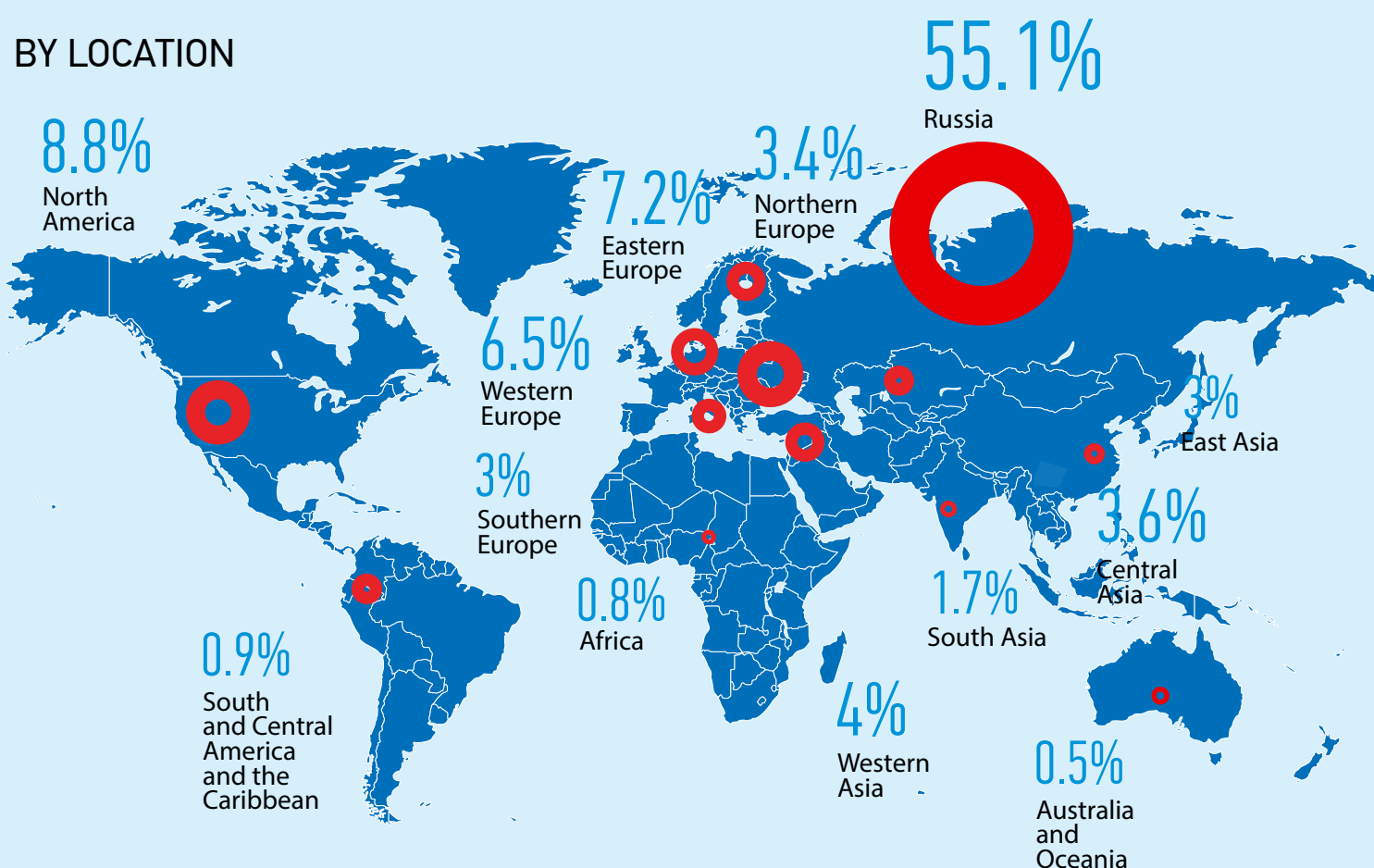
1.5%

## WEBSITE VISITOR DYNAMICS 2012–2019

2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
408,000	884,000	1,003,641	1,100,000	1,560,000	1,836,000	3,066,406	3,445,913

One of the key initiatives that contributed to the growth in the number of visitors to the RIAC website in 2019 was the restructuring of our social media presence – adopting a segmented approach to our work on social networks and messenger services (Facebook, VK, Twitter, Telegram) helped increase social traffic on the RIAC website by 25 per cent.

### BY LOCATION



## TOP-10

COUNTRIES  
BY NUMBER  
OF VISITORS

- 1 Russia
- 2 United States
- 3 Ukraine
- 4 France
- 5 Kazakhstan
- 6 United Kingdom
- 7 Germany
- 8 China
- 9 Belarus
- 10 Armenia

# 05

## FINANCIAL INDICATORS

### 2019 BUDGET

134,500,000  
roubles

- Subsidies – 84,300,000 roubles
- Membership fees – 24,600,000 roubles
- Commercial activities – 13,000,000 roubles
- Money raised – 10,000,000 roubles
- Donations – 2,600,000 roubles



### SPENDING BY PROGRAM ACTIVITY IN 2019



- Events – 65%
- Analysis – 25%
- Publications – 10%

## RIAC MANAGEMENT

### GOVERNING BODIES

#### GENERAL MEETING

The RIAC General Meeting is the highest governing body of the Partnership. The key function of the General Meeting is to ensure the compliance with goals of the Partnership. The General Meeting consists of 177 RIAC members.

#### BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The RIAC Board of Trustees is a supervisory body of the Partnership that monitors activities of the Partnership and their compliance with statutory goals.

#### PRESIDIUM

The Presidium of the Partnership is a permanent collegial governing body that consists of not less than five and no more than 15 members, including the President and Director General of the Partnership, who have a vote in the decision-making process. The President of the Partnership chairs the work of the Presidium. The members of the Presidium have a renewable four-year term of office.

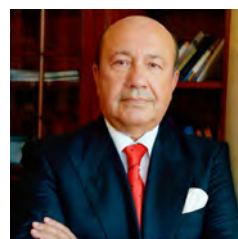
#### SCIENTIFIC COUNCIL

The main task of the RIAC Scientific Council is to formulate sound recommendations for strategic decisions in RIAC expert, research, and publishing activities.



**Sergey Lavrov**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Chairman of RIAC Board of Trustees



**Igor Ivanov**

President of the Russian International Affairs Council, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences



**Andrey Kortunov**

Director General of the Russian International Affairs Council



**Aleksandr Aksenok**

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation, Vice-President of the Russian International Affairs Council



**Evgeny Buzhinsky**

Chairman of PIR Center, Vice-President of the Russian International Affairs Council



**Aleksandr Dzasokhov**

Deputy Chairman, Commission of the Russian Federation for UNESCO, Vice-President of the Russian International Affairs Council



**Gleb Ivashentsov**

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation, Vice-President of the Russian International Affairs Council



**Mikhail Margelov**

Vice President of PJSC Transneft, Vice-President of the Russian International Affairs Council



**Vyacheslav Trubnikov**

Member of the Board of Directors of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO RAS), Army General, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation, Vice-President of the Russian International Affairs Council



**Ivan Timofeev**

Director of Programs at the Russian International Affairs Council





# RIAC MEMBERS



# RIAC MEMBERS

## A

- 01 **Eugene Abov**  
Deputy Director General of Federal State Budgetary Institution Rossiyskaya Gazeta
- 02 **Anatoly Adamishin**  
Honorary President of the Non-Governmental Organization "Association of Euro-Atlantic Cooperation," Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation
- 03 **Dmitry Afanasiev**  
Chairman of the Partners Committee of the Egorov Puginsky Afanasiev & Partners Law Firm
- 04 **Sergey Afontsev**  
Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- 05 **Aleksandr Aksenok**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation
- 06 **Vagit Alekperov**  
President of PJSC LUKOIL
- 07 **Anatoly Aleksandrov**  
Rector of Bauman Moscow State Technical University
- 08 **Olga Alekseeva**  
Editor-in-Chief of Gazeta.ru
- 09 **Anatoly Antonov**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the United States of America
- 10 **Aleksey Arbatov**  
Head of the Center for International Security at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO RAS), Full Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- 11 **Aleksandr Avdeev**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the Holy See and Representative of the Russian Federation to the Sovereign Military Order of Malta
- 12 **Pyotr Aven**  
Chairman of the Board of Directors of ABH Holdings S.A., Chairman of the Board of Directors of Alfa-Bank (Russia)
- 13 **Vladimir Baranovsky**  
Head of Research, Center for Situational Analysis at the Russian Academy of Sciences, Member of the Board of Directors of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO RAS), Full Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- 14 **Yury Baturin**  
Vice-President of Public and Media Relations at the Tsiolkovsky Russian Academy

## B

- of Cosmonautics, Chairman of the Russian Union of Art Photographers, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- 15 **Aleksandr Belonogov**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation
- 16 **Aleksandr Berdnikov**  
RIAC member
- 17 **Aleksandr Bessmertnykh**  
President of the International Foreign Policy Association, Chairman of the Global Council of Former Ministers of Foreign Affairs, President of the Alumni Association of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation
- 18 **Viktor Blazheyev**  
Rector of Kutafin Moscow State Law University
- 19 **Mikhail Bogdanov**  
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Special Presidential Representative for the Middle East and Africa
- 20 **Nikolay Bordyuzha**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation
- 21 **Sergey Borisov**  
Chairman of the Board of Trustees of All-Russian Non-Governmental Organization of Small and Medium Business OPORA RUSSIA
- 22 **Sergey Brilev**  
Deputy Director of the Rossiya TV Channel, Manager and Presenter of "News on Saturday with Sergey Brilev"
- 23 **Olga Butorina**  
Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- 24 **Evgeny Buzhinsky**  
Chairman of PIR Center, Lieutenant-General (retired)
- 25 **Artur Chilingarov**  
State Duma Deputy, President of the "Association of Polar Explorers" Interregional Public Organization
- 26 **Vladimir Chizhov**  
Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the European Union
- 27 **Vladimir Chkhikvadze**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation
- 28 **Aleksandr Chubaryan**  
Academic Director of the Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Full Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences

## C

29 **Evgeny Chuprunov**  
Academic Director of the Lobachevsky State  
University of Nizhny Novgorod

D

30 **Vladimir Davydov**  
Academic Director of the Institute of Latin  
American Studies of the Russian Academy  
of Sciences, Corresponding Member  
of the Russian Academy of Sciences

31 **Oleg Demchenko**  
First Deputy Director General and Chief Designer  
of PJSC Irkut Corporation, Director General and  
Designer General of the OJSC A.S. Yakovlev  
Design Bureau

32 **Andrey Denisov**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
of the Russian Federation to the People's Republic  
of China

33 **Vladimir Dmitriev**  
Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce and  
Industry of the Russian Federation, Co-Chair of  
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Executive Director of the Aleksandr Gorchakov  
Public Diplomacy Fund, Ambassador  
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
of the Russian Federation

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of the Remuneration and HR Committee  
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36 **Aleksandr Dynkin**  
President of the Institute of World Economy  
and International Relations of the Russian  
Academy of Sciences (IMEMO RAS), Full Member  
of the Russian Academy of Sciences

37 **Aleksandr Dzasokhov**  
Deputy Chairman, Commission of the Russian  
Federation for UNESCO

E

38 **Aleksey Egorov**  
Senior Vice-President, Communications  
and Government Relations of PAO Severstal

F

39 **Mikhail Fedotov**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Juridical  
Science, Professor, Faculty of Law at the Higher  
School of Economics

40 **Vladimir Filippov**  
Rector of the Peoples' Friendship University  
of Russia

41 **Vladislav Fronin**  
Editor-in-Chief of Rossiyskaya Gazeta

42 **Andrey Fursenko**  
Aide to the President of the Russian Federation

G

43 **Eduard Galazhinsky**  
Rector of Federal State Autonomous Educational  
Institution for Higher Education National  
Research Tomsk State University

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Chairman of the Board of Directors  
of Eurocement Group Holdings

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Director of the Institute for U.S. and Canadian  
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Research University Higher School of Economics

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for Press and Mass Media

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Academic Director of the Institute of  
Economics of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy  
of Sciences

50 **Aleksey Gromyko**  
Director of the Institute of Europe of the Russian  
Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member  
of the Russian Academy of Sciences

51 **Aleksandr Grushko**  
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Federation

52 **Vladimir Gruzdev**  
Chairman of the Board, Association of Lawyers  
of Russia

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First Deputy Director General, TASS Information  
Agency

I

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President of the World Association of Russian  
Press Foundation (WARP Foundation)

55 **Vladislav Inozemtsev**  
Founder and Director of the Center  
for Post-Industrial Society Studies

56 **Sergey Ivanets**  
Rector of the Far Eastern Federal University  
(2012–2016)

57 **Igor Ivanov**  
President of the Russian International Affairs  
Council, Professor at the Moscow State Institute  
of International Relations (MGIMO) under  
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian  
Federation, Corresponding Member  
of the Russian Academy of Sciences

58 **Gleb Ivashentsov**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
of the Russian Federation

K

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Vice-Rector for Academic Affairs at the All-Russian  
Academy of Foreign Trade

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Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Comprehensive European and International Studies at the National Research University Higher School of Economics, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- 63 **Ulvi Kasimov**  
Sole founder of UKCI Russia
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- 65 **Vladimir Kazimirov**  
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- 66 **Irina Khaleeva**  
Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences, Professor, Member of the Russian Academy of Education
- 67 **Anton Khlopkov**  
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- 68 **Aleksandr Khlunov**  
Director General of the Russian Science Foundation
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- 70 **Fares Kilzie**  
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- 72 **Andrey Klemeshev**  
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- 73 **Andrey Klepach**  
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- 74 **Andrey Kokoshin**  
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- 78 **Mikhail Konarovsky**  
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- 79 **Valentin Korabelnikov**  
Army General
- 80 **Andrey Kortunov**  
Director General of the Russian International Affairs Council
- 81 **Konstantin Kosachev**  
Chairman of the Federation Council Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation
- 82 **Mikhail Kovalchuk**  
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- 83 **Eugeny Kozhokin**  
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- 85 **Nikolay Kropachev**  
Rector of Saint Petersburg State University
- 86 **Elena Kudryashova**  
Rector of Lomonosov Northern (Arctic) Federal University
- 87 **Anatoly Kulikov**  
Army General
- 88 **Aleksey Kuzmichev**  
Member of the Supervisory Board of the Alfa Group
- 89 **Yaroslav Kuzminov**  
Rector of the National Research University Higher School of Economics
- 90 **Aleksey Kuznetsov**  
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- 91 **Vasily Kuznetsov**  
Director of the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences

L

- 92 **Viktor Larin**  
Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Editor-in-Chief of the "Russia and the Pacific" journal
- 93 **Sergey Lavrov**  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Chairman of RIAC Board of Trustees
- 94 **Sergey Lebedev**  
Chairman of the Executive Committee – Executive Chairman of the CIS, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation
- 95 **Yaroslav Lissovlik**  
Chief Managing Director of Sberbank, Head of the Global Markets Analytics Department at Sberbank Investment Research
- 96 **Dmitry Livanov**  
Special Presidential Representative for Trade and Economic Relations with Ukraine (2016–2018)
- 97 **Viktor Loshak**  
Vice-President of the Kommersant Publishing House
- 98 **Vladimir Lukin**  
Deputy Chairman of the Federation Council Committee on Foreign Affairs, President of the Russian Paralympic Committee
- 99 **Fyodor Lukyanov**  
Editor-in-Chief of Russia in Global Affairs magazine, Chairman of the Presidium of the Council for Foreign and Defence Policy
- 100 **Sergey Luzyanin**  
Director of the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences

M

- 101 **Ziyavudin Magomedov**  
RIAC member
- 102 **Artem Malgin**  
Vice-Rector for General Affairs at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation
- 103 **Georgy Mamedov**  
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Vice President of PJSC Transneft
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Rector of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration
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Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the National Research University Higher School of Economics, Professor
- 107 **Andrey Meshkov**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to France and the Principality of Monaco

- 108 **Dmitry Mezentsev**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Belarus
- 109 **Evgenia Mikhailova**  
Rector of North-Eastern Federal University
- 111 **Andrey Molchanov**  
Chairman of the Board of Directors of PJSC LSR Group
- 112 **Igor Morgulov**  
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation
- 113 **Igor Morozov**  
Deputy Chairman of the Federation Council Committee on Science, Education and Culture
- 114 **Farit Mukhametshin**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation, Deputy Chairman of the Federation Council Committee on Foreign Affairs
- 115 **Vitaly Naumkin**  
Supervisor of Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Full Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- 116 **Vladimir Nazarov**  
Deputy Secretary of the Security Council of the Russian Federation (2006–2016), Adviser to the Chairman of the Management Board of PJSC NOVATEK
- 117 **Aleksandr Nekipelov**  
Director of the Moscow School of Economics at the Lomonosov Moscow State University, Full Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- 118 **Vyacheslav Nikonov**  
Chairman of the State Duma Committee on Education, Chairman of the Management Board of the Russkiy Mir Foundation
- 119 **Armen Oganesyan**  
Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs Magazine
- 120 **Yury Osipov**  
Full Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- 121 **Aleksey Ostrovsky**  
Governor of the Smolensk Region
- 122 **Efim Ostrovsky**  
President of the Piatigorsky Foundation
- 123 **Aleksandr Panov**  
Head of Department of Diplomacy at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Chief Research Fellow of the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation

N

O

P

- 124 **Victoria Panova**  
Vice-President for International Relations,  
Far Eastern Federal University
- 125 **Dmitry Peskov**  
Deputy Chief of the Presidential Executive Office,  
Press Secretary of the President of the Russian  
Federation
- 126 **Efim Pivovarov**  
President of Russian State University for the  
Humanities, Corresponding Member of the  
Russian Academy of Sciences
- 127 **Yury Pivovarov**  
Academic Director of the Institute of Scientific  
Information in Humanities of the Russian  
Academy of Sciences, Full Member  
of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- 128 **Sergey Plekhanov**  
Chairman of the Committee for International Ties  
of the Moscow Branch of the Russian Writers'  
Union
- 129 **Ivan Polyakov**  
Director General of Interstate Corporation  
for Development
- 130 **Veniamin Popov**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
of the Russian Federation, Director of the Center  
for Partnership of Civilizations at the Moscow  
State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO)  
under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
of the Russian Federation
- 131 **Sergey Prikhodko**  
First Deputy Head of Russian Federation  
Government Staff
- 132 **Evgeny Primakov**  
Adviser to the Chairman of the State Duma  
of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation  
of the VII Convocation on International Issues  
and Humanitarian Projects
- 133 **Ruslan Pukhov**  
Director of the Centre for Analysis of Strategies  
and Technologies
- 134 **Aleksey Pushkov**  
Member of the Federation Council Committee  
on Constitutional Legislation and State Building
- R** 135 **Grigory Rapota**  
State Secretary of the Union State of Russia  
and Belarus
- 136 **Sergey Razov**  
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary  
of the Russian Federation to the Italian Republic  
and the Republic of San Marino
- 137 **Sergey Rogov**  
Academic Director of the Institute for U.S. and  
Canadian Studies of the Russian Academy of  
Sciences, Full Member of the Russian Academy  
of Sciences
- 138 **Sergey Ryabkov**  
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian  
Federation
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Rector of Lomonosov Moscow State University,  
Vice-President of the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Full Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- 140 **Andrey Sakharov**  
Counsellor at the Russian Academy of Sciences,  
Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy  
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- 141 **Sergey Sanakoev**  
President of the Asia-Pacific Research Centre
- 142 **Yuri Shafranik**  
Founder and Chairman of the Board of Directors  
of International Group Soyuzneftegaz
- 143 **Andrey Sharonov**  
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SKOLKOVO
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and Entrepreneurs
- 145 **Dmitry Shugaev**  
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Cooperation
- 146 **Mikhail Shvydkoy**  
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Federation for International Cultural Cooperation,  
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Affairs of the Russian Federation
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- 148 **Nikolay Skvortsov**  
Dean of the Faculty of Sociology at St. Petersburg  
State University, Professor
- 149 **Leonid Slutsky**  
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on International Affairs, Chairman of the Board  
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- 150 **Valentin Sobolev**  
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- 151 **Nikolay Spassky**  
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International Relations Department of Rosatom  
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and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation
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of the Russian Federation
- 153 **Sergey Stepashin**  
Chairman of the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian  
Society, President of the Russian Association  
for International Cooperation

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- 154 **Valentina Tereshkova**  
State Duma Deputy of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, Deputy Chair of the State Duma Committee on Federal System and Issues of Local Self-Government, cosmonaut
- 155 **Ivan Timofeev**  
Director of Programs at the Russian International Affairs Council
- 156 **Valery Tishkov**  
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- 157 **Boris Titov**  
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- 158 **Vladimir Titov**  
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159 **Anatoly Torkunov**  
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160 **Aleksandr Torshin**  
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161 **Dmitry Trenin**  
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163 **Yury Ushakov**  
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V

164 **Evgeny Vaganov**  
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165 **Tatyana Valovaya**  
Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva

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167 **Evgeny Vinokurov**  
Deputy Executive Director of the Eurasian Fund for Stabilization and Development (EFSD), Chief Economist at the EFSD Project Unit

Y

168 **Stanislav Voskresensky**  
Governor of Ivanovo Oblast

169 **Fyodor Voytolovsky**  
Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Ph.D. (Politics), Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO RAS)

170 **David Yakobashvili**  
President of the Russian-American Council for Business Cooperation

171 **Alexander Yakovenko**  
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172 **Inga Yumasheva**  
State Duma Deputy, Member of the Committee on International Affairs of the State Duma

173 **Igor Yurgens**  
President of the All-Russian Insurance Association, Member of the Board of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs

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174 **Andrey Zagorsky**  
Director of the Department for Disarmament and Conflict Resolution of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IMEMO RAS)

175 **Pavel Zenkovich**  
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[www.transneft.ru](http://www.transneft.ru)



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[www.eurocement.ru](http://www.eurocement.ru)



PJSC ROSSETI  
[www.rosseti.ru](http://www.rosseti.ru)



Federal Grid Company  
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[www.fsk-ees.ru](http://www.fsk-ees.ru)



PJSC Irkut Corporation  
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Russian Technologies State  
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Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal  
University  
[www.kantiana.ru](http://www.kantiana.ru)



Russian State University  
for the Humanities  
[www.rgggu.ru](http://www.rgggu.ru)



Siberian Federal University  
[www.sfu-kras.ru](http://www.sfu-kras.ru)



Moscow State University of  
International Relations (MGIMO)  
under the Ministry of Foreign  
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[www.mgimo.ru](http://www.mgimo.ru)



Saint Petersburg State University  
[www.spbu.ru](http://www.spbu.ru)



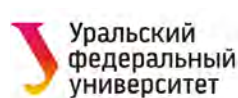
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Moscow State Linguistic  
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[www.linguanet.ru](http://www.linguanet.ru)



Northern (Arctic) Federal  
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[www.narfu.ru](http://www.narfu.ru)



Ural Federal University named  
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B. N. Yeltsin  
[www.urfu.ru](http://www.urfu.ru)



Lobachevsky State University  
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[www.unn.ru](http://www.unn.ru)



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