## RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN TRANSITION

Concepts and Realities

Edited by: Andrei Melville and Tatiana Shakleina



Central European University Press Budapest New York

## **Table of Contents**

Intro	oduction by Andrei Melville with Tatiana Shakleina	ix
PAR	T 1: DOCUMENTS	
1. '	"Belovezhskiie Agreements" (1991)	3
2. 0	Collective Security Treaty (1992)	9
3. (	Charter of the Commonwealth of Independent States (1993)	13
4. l	Foreign Policy Conception of The Russian Federation (1993)	27
a t	Agreement Between the Russian Federation, the Republic of azakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Republic of Tajikistan and the People's Republic of China on Confidence-Building in the Military Field in the Border Area ("Shanghai Declaration") (1996)	65
,1	Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security Between the Russian Federation and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1997)	75
7.1	Union Treaty Between Belarus and Russia (1997)	85
8. ]	Foreign Policy Conception of the Russian Federation (2000)	89
9. 1	Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation (2000)	105
10. 1	National Security Conception of the Russian Federation (2000)	129
]	Dushanbe Declaration by the Heads of State of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the People's Republic of China, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation, and the	
]	Republic of Tajikistan (2000)	147

12. Joint Statement by the Presidents of the Russian Federation and the United States of America on Principles of Strategic Stability (2000)		153
13. Treaty on the Establishment of the Eurasian Economic Community (2000)		155
14. Strategy for Development of Relations Between the Russian Federation and the European Union 2000–2010 (2000)		165
15. Declaration on the Creation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (2001)		181
16. Treaty Between the Russian Federation and the United States of America on Strategic Offensive Reductions (2002)		185
17. Declaration by Heads of State and Government of the Russian Federation and NATO Member States (2002)		187
PART 2: STATEMENTS		
1. Strategy for Partnership		193
2. International Relations on the Eve of the 21st Century: Problems and Prospects		207
3. Russia at the Turn of the Millennium		221
4. Russian Foreign Policy on the Eve of the 21st Century: Problems of Formation, Development and Continuity  *Igor Ivanov**		235
5. On the New Version of the National Security Conception of the Russian Federation		269
PART 3: ANALYSIS		
1. International Relations after the Kosovo Crisis	• • • • •	281
2. The Syndrome of "Absorption" in International Politics Aleksei Bogaturov	• • • • •	291
3. Russia's Security in a Multipolar World		311

	The Phenomenon of Globalization and National Security Interests . Andrei Kokoshin	327	
5.	A New Turn in Russian–American Relations	349	
6.	The Russian Bridge Over the Atlantic	375	
7.	Back to the Concert	383	
8.	The Backside of Foreign Policy: Internal Factors in the System of International Ties, Obligations and Projects of the Russian Federation	403	
9.	Foreign Policy Therapy "a la Dr Putin"	435	
10.	Putin's "New Course" Is Now Firmly Set: What Next?  Dmitri Trenin	443	
11.	The Chances and Challenges of the New World	453	
12.	Do We Need Reform of Russian Foreign Policy?	463	
Abo	About the Contributors		
Ind	ndex		