

# **The Emergence of Russian Foreign Policy**



# THE EMERGENCE *of* RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY

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Kenneth M. Jensen, Editors



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## Preface

With the exception of the editors' contributions, the ideas from which the essays in this volume originate were first presented at an international conference held March 17–19, 1993, in Washington, D.C. Entitled "The Emerging National Security Doctrine of a New Russia," the conference was sponsored by the United States Institute of Peace as part of its continuing efforts to monitor the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union since 1989.

March 1993 was an important time for the United States, as a new administration was beginning its foreign policy work in a vastly complicated international atmosphere. One of the aims of the conference was to bring Russian parties to foreign policy debates into contact with the new policymakers of the Clinton administration, thereby improving understanding and cooperation on both sides. Accordingly, the event gathered together a wide variety of Russian and American policymakers, scholars, and other expert participants for a broad-ranging discussion of the development of Russian foreign policy.

On the Russian side, fortunate timing brought us such key players in that country's debates as Evgenii Ambartsumov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Committee on Foreign Affairs and member of the Presidential Council; Andranik Migranian, Presidential Council member, advisor to the Foreign Affairs Committee, and originator of the "Russian Monroe Doctrine"; Russian arms control expert Andrei Kortunov; and Vladimir Lukin, then ambassador to the United States and now chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the new Russian Parliament. On the American side, we were pleased to have the insights of former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, Ambassador Max Kampelman, former UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, Policy Planning director Samuel W. Lewis, scholar Michael Mandelbaum, Ambassador Paul Nitze, Joseph Nye of the National

Intelligence Council, and scholar Peter Reddaway, among others. Needless to say, we were also pleased to have the analyses and views of all the Russian and U.S. authors whose contributions are gathered in this book.

Given the richness of the conference presentations, we determined that they should go into print in revised form to benefit a broader audience. What follows is a substantial primer on the developing foreign policy of a new Russia—a primer that, by dint of its Russian contributions in particular, also serves to document the substance and manner of the Russian debate both at the time and as it continues.

The editors owe a debt of gratitude to the many people who made this book possible. Charles E. Nelson, who was acting president of the Institute of Peace at the time of the conference, gave unqualified support to the conference and book projects. Without the support of the Institute's new president, Dr. Richard Solomon, our work would not have been completed.

We would like to thank Dr. Joseph Klaitz of the Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program of the United States Institute of Peace for assistance rendered on the conference and book projects during, and beyond, Leon Aron's fellowship year at the Institute. We would also like to thank the staff of the Research and Studies Program of the Institute—Dr. Sheryl Brown, Dr. David Wurmser, Ms. Kimber Schraub, Ms. Shirley Bekins, and Ms. Victoria Sams—for their hard work in staging the conference on which this book is based. We also owe substantial thanks to the Publications and Marketing Department of the Institute for making this book possible. In particular, editorial manager Dan Snodderly and editor Nigel Quinney greatly eased our burden in bringing the book into its ultimate form.

A special note of gratitude must be made with regard to the contribution of Ms. Laura Libanati. As Dr. Aron's research assistant both during his fellowship year and since, Ms. Libanati rendered enormous assistance with the conference and with the preparation of the book manuscript. Not only did she keep the editors hard at their task, but also she played a significant part in making the essays accurate and readable. Dr. Jensen, in particular, would like to thank Ms. Libanati for her attempt to make his introduction an apt summary of the book's contents.

Needless to say, any deficiencies in this volume are fully the responsibility of the authors and editors. The views expressed in the following pages are those of the contributors and do not necessarily reflect those of the United States Institute of Peace.

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