

Yevgeny Maksimovich Primakov about a Multipolar World of the XXI Century

Abstract

The article is dedicated to the great public official of the USSR and Russia Yevgeny Primakov. The article analyzes a multipolar system of the international relations, promoted in his works. A multipolar system, according to Primakov, does not set the trend towards the confrontation between poles and centers of power in the world. The reasons for this trend are the integration processes between the countries and transnationalization of business activities.

Key words: Russia, Y. M. Primakov, a multipolar world, the US, China, India, unilateralism.

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Yevgeny Primakov (1929–2015) — academician, Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, statesman, public figure, scientist, politician and diplomat, director of the Institute of Oriental Studies and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (1985–1989), Chairman of the Board of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1988–1991), Director of Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (1991–1996), Minister for Foreign Affairs (1996–1998), Chairman of the Government (1998–1999), State Duma

Deputy of the Russian Federal Assembly (1999–2001), Chairman of Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

In 2014, he was awarded the State Prize of the Russian Federation for his significant contribution to scientific and analytical support of the Russian foreign policy.

In 2014, he became President Emiratus of the Russian Society of Political Scientists, Emiratus Professor (since 1998), Emiratus Doctor (since 2006) of Lomonosov Moscow state University.

Peacemaking

A prominent scientist and an outstanding politician Yevgeny Primakov gave much of his attention to peace-

making. He was an active participant of the international peace movement. Since 1970, he was the participant of Pugwash scien-

tists' movement¹. Primakov has made a significant contribution to the work of US-Soviet Pugwash Group on disarmament and research of conflicts². Moreover, his input into the preparing of the Treaty on Ballistic Missile Defense and of the Agreements on the Strategic Offensive Arms between the USSR and USA was imposing. In the years between 1970 and 2015 he was the member of the Soviet-Pugwash and later of Russian-Pugwash (since 1991) Committee. From 2002 to 2014, he was the member of the Presidium of this Committee.

We should keep in mind that the fundamental document of the Pugwash movement, that is Russel-Einstein Manifesto (1955), said «We should learn to think in a different way. We should ask ourselves not about what steps to do to achieve the victory in the side we belong to, for such steps no longer exist, but we should ask ourselves the question, what steps can prevent the armed struggle that is going to turn to be devastat-



Photo. Y. M. Primakov giving a lecture on Faculty of political science of Lomonosov Moscow State University. April 2014

ing for all the participants» [1]. That was the question Yevgeny Primakov had been trying to answer all his life, whenever political or military conflict appeared. Then he found the answer and started to act for the sake of peace.

Primakov did a lot to establish a political dialogue between the USA and the USSR, and later with Russia. He actively participated in the Soviet-American Dartmouth conferences, was the co-chairman of the working group on conflict³ situations. Based in the results of the work of this group the measures for normalization of the situation in the Middle East have been developed.

¹ Pugwash scientists' movement (Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs is an international nongovernmental scientific organization. The movement acquired its name from the town of Pugwash (Nova Scotia, Canada), where in 7–10 July 1957 the first meeting of scientists took place, where the most important aspects of the global politics and the nuclear war were discussed.

² With the growth of the Pugwash movement and after long discussions in 1964 the Standing Committee established the Soviet-American Pugwash Group on Disarmament and Arms Control. The co-chairmen of the Group that year were M. D. Millionsikov, the Head of the Soviet Pugwash Committee, and the American Professor of biochemistry P. Doty (See: Pugwash Movement of Scientists — one of the oldest leading international scientific organizations in the field of security, disarmament and scientific cooperation — Nobel peace prize 1995 // the Website of the Russian Pugwash Committee at the Presidium of the Russian Academy of science. — URL: <http://www.pugwash.ru> (accessed date: 21.06.2016).

³ Dartmouth meetings (conferences) are the conferences of the representatives of the Soviet and the American public, held alternately in the USSR and the USA. The first conference held in 1960 in the United States in Dartmouth College (Hanover, state New Hampshire). The second Dartmouth conference took place in the USSR, in the Crimea, in May 1961. The participants of the second meeting insisted on reaching of the agreement in the negotiations on the cessation of nuclear tests between the USSR, USA and Great Britain in 1958. From 1960 to 1990, 17 meetings took place. (See: The History of the United States in 4 volumes. vol.4: 1945–1980. — M.: Science — 1987. — P. 744).



Photo. Y. M. Primakov with Rector of Moscow State University V. A. Sadovnichy (on the left) and Dean of Faculty of Political Science A. Y. Shutov (on the right) before the lecture in MSU. April 2011

In 2007, Primakov became the co-chairman of the Russian-American group in the public dialogue «Russia-USA: looking to the future». The group targeted to improve Russian-American relations and to develop appropriate recommendations to the political leaders of the two countries. The American side of the group was headed by former

State Secretary Henry Kissinger. The agenda of the group included the following questions: geopolitical reviews focused on the relationships of Russia and the United States, the world economy, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, energy, the coincidence of the interests of Russia and the United States.

Multipolar or unipolar world?

In Russia, Yevgeny Primakov is considered as the theorist of the concept of a multipolar world. This concept presupposes the development of the world in a peaceful way. The unipolar development model leads inevitably to suppression of independent political and economic centers, which interact independently, and not through the unified center, sometimes applying military force. Multipolar world serves an arena for different world actors to coordinate their foreign policy through the dialogue and in the framework of international formal and informal or-

ganizations (such as UN, «Group of 20» (G20) and others).

The concept of a multipolar world proves an alternative to the concept of unipolar world. Primakov's opinion was that American neocons (neoconservatives) were the ideologists of the concept. They developed the doctrine of American unilateralism.

According to this doctrine, after the cold war the United States gained the right to determine which countries present the threat to the world community, and without the decision of the UN Security Council and



Photo. Y. M. Primakov on Faculty of Political Science of Lomonosov Moscow State University. April 2014

without the consent of NATO bloc allies, can apply armed force against such countries.

The doctrine was based on the following statements:

1. The United States won the «cold war», and only one dominating power in the world left;
2. The United States after the «cold war» preserved all the qualitative and quantitative indicators of a superpower and joined a number of the countries that submitted their foreign policy to the US interests in order to provide their own security.

Regarding the first argument, even during the «cold war» period there existed more than two global centers in the world as far as the countries-participants of the Non-Aligned Movement existed¹.

¹ The history of the Non-Aligned Movement started in September 1961, when on the initiative of Nehru, Nkrumah, Nasser, Tito, Suharto the First Conference of Heads of Developing Countries held in Belgrad. The Conference of Heads of Government and Non-Aligned Movement is the second largest after the United Na-

As for the victory of the USA in the «cold war», according to Primakov, «the collapse of the Soviet Union could not be treated as the defeat in the cold war» [2]. For former republics of the Soviet Union did not sink into chaos, and the nuclear missile potential was preserved in Russia (the successor state of the USSR).

Considering the second statement, it is important to mind the fact that the integration around the United States is possible only in the presence of a global or regional military threat from any country (or a group of countries). In case there is no such threat, then it must be created and maintained by all means, including mass media. Otherwise, the partners of the United States would not need much support. Isn't that the real reason for the United States to create such a threat from Russia, especially in the eyes of Europeans? Imaginary military threat from Russia allows the US to develop military-political bloc of NATO, and to affect military and economic potentials of the European countries.

tions international forum. At that moment, the Movement includes 120 countries.



Photo. Yevgeny Primakov speaks at the conference of the Russian Society of Political Scientists «Transformation of the role of the state in modern world» at MSU. At the conference, the presentation of the book by Y. M. Primakov «Challenges and alternatives of a multipolar world: the role of Russia» took place. On the photographs Yevgeny Primakov (on the left) and Sergei Stepashin (on the right). December 2014.

Primakov considered the two statements justifying the doctrine of American unilateralism insolvent, and appealed to opinions of American politicians, who denied the doctrine of a unipolar world order. Among such politicians, a former US Ambassador in Moscow Jack Matlock¹ and respectful politician George Kennan² should be noted.

¹ Jack F. Matlock, 1929 was the US Ambassador in the USSR in 1987–1991. The author of fundamental researches concerning the collapse of the Soviet Union («Autopsy on an Empire», 1995), the ending of the «cold war» («Reagan and Gorbachev», 2004), the drawbacks of the USA international policy of President George Bush Jr. («Superpower illusions», 2010).

² Georg F. Kennan, 1904–2005, was the US Ambassador in the USSR in 14 May — 19 September 1952. He wrote 21 books. J. Kennan was the author of the Doctrine of the Restraint of the USSR. In 1974–1975 J. Cannon founded Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian studies, named after George Kennan Sr.

In one of the conversations, Matlock noted that «The Soviet Union disintegrated not because of an external pressure. In addition, the cold war ended not because of the collapse of the Soviet Union. It ended due to the agreement, profitable for both sides. The end of the Communist Government came because of Michael Gorbachev's actions, which deprived it of the hegemonic power. The idea that the United States somehow won the victory over the Soviet Union, led Washington to the mistaken and bankrupt policy... USA did not win the „cold war“, but US leaders began to behave the way as if they did» [3].

In his turn, George Kennan called «silly and childish» the election speech of Georg Bush Sr. in 1992, where he announced the US victory in the «cold war».

Unipolar doctrine found its expression in the following aggressive actions of the United States:

- The expansion of NATO and acceptance into its members the former republics of the Soviet Union, although the govern-



Russian President Vladimir Putin:

— *The modern world is really multipolar, complex, and dynamic. This is an objective reality. And any attempt to build a model of the international relations, in which all the decisions are made out in the framework of a sole pole, is ineffective, stumbling and doomed to failure.*

ment of the Soviet Union was assured of that the expansion wouldn't happen;

- The withdrawal of the United States from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. The Treaty helped to keep the arms race;
- The bombing of Yugoslavia without the UN sanctions and despite the opinion of the leaders of the countries — NATO members;
- The occupation of Iraq, which was the result of fabricated by US Special services data, proving that Iraq was producing nuclear weapons.

It is obvious, that the US after the cold war made a lot of errors, based on unipolar doctrine of the world. Moreover, such a doctrine could not make the world safer, but rather created conditions for the emergence of the military conflicts. And absolutely true was the book «Illusions of the Superpower» by D. Matlock, which noted that the United States in its foreign policy after the collapse of the Soviet Union failed to take the advantage of the «post-cold war» situation.

More than that, in the result of the military action in Iraq the US lost about 5 thou-

sand soldiers and officers killed and about 32 thousand wounded. Iraq lost its statehood and, according to various estimates, from hundreds of thousands to a million of dead Iraq citizens. US military action in Iraq destroyed the balance of power in the region, and caused the appearing of the group «Islamic State» (banned in Russia). This appears to be the result of the implementation by the United States the doctrine of a unipolar world. Probably, in the same doctrine proves to be the cause of the crisis in the relations between the USA and Russia, as far as Russia adheres to the concept of a multipolar world. The President of Russia Vladimir Putin repeatedly confirmed its commitment to the system of international relations, in particular, in one of his interviews before the BRICS summit in 2014 [4].

Y. Primakov outlined several objective indicators of the fact, that the world becomes multipolar, and not unipolar.

First, economic indicators confirm that the US is losing its leadership in the global economy.

In fact, according to the IMF¹ in 2015, the leader of the world's GDP is China with a share of 17.08 %. USA the second with a share of 15.81 %.

Second, there is a shift in the position of the Developing countries in the global financial flows. The Developing countries become the investors, depositing their financial resources all around the world.

An example of such an investment was the purchasing of Swedish volvo from American Ford made by the Chinese concern Geely, with the cost of the transaction of \$ 1.8 billion. Earlier, in 2008 the Indian Tata Motors bought from English Ford Automobile Company Jaguar and Land Rover. The cost of this transaction covered 2.3 billion dollars.

Third, the US share of the world expenses on research and development work

¹ World Economic Outlook Database, April 2016 // Site of the IMF — URL: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2016/01/weodata/index.aspx> (accessed date: 21.06.2016).



President of The People's Republic of China Xi Jinping:

— *The further development of Russian-Chinese partnership and strategic interaction are based on the mutual interests and the necessity to support justice and equality in the world, establishing of the peace in the world, prosperity of both Russia and China, which is an inevitable choice coming out of the process of forming of a multipolar world.*



Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi:

— *I see in Russia a powerful partner in the economic transformation of India and in the process of forming of a balanced, stable and inclusive multipolar world.*

trend to reducing, which is unlike China and other countries. Russian researcher Y. I. Nikonova, basing on the objective data analysis states, that «in the forming multipolar world there formed four main centers of the scientific progress by 2011 — the United States (31 % of the world expenditure to parity the purchasing power), the European Union (24 %), China (14 %) and Japan (11 %)» [5].

Multipolarity of the modern world is likewise confirmed by the ranking of the most Innovative countries in the world, provided by Bloomberg Agency. In 2016, South Korea was recognized as the most innovative country. Then comes Germany, Sweden, Japan and Switzerland. USA takes the 8th place, Russia — the 12-th, China — the 21-st, India — the 45-th¹.

According to Yevgeny Primakov's foreknowledge, USA in the first two decades of the XXI century will be still the strongest military and economic country in the world. At the same time, the new centers of power, such as Brazil and South Africa will grow. Integration processes will continue in Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East. That will lead to the formation of the new «group centers» of the world economy and policy.

We should also mention a very important characteristic of the modern multipolar world order. Yevgeny Primakov affirmed that multipolarity does not set the trend for confrontation of different poles and centers of power in the world. The reasons for this trend are integration processes between the countries and the transnationalization of the business activities.

¹ These Are the World's Most Innovative Economies // Site of Bloomberg — URL: <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/arti->

[cles/2016-01-19/these-are-the-world-s-most-innovative-economies](http://www.bloomberg.com/news/arti-cles/2016-01-19/these-are-the-world-s-most-innovative-economies) (accessed date: 21.06.2016).

Multipolar or «nonpolar» world?

In his book «Thoughts aloud» Y. Primakov wrote, that «after the end of the cold war a multipolar world system started its forming» [6].

In the process of forming of such a system, according to Primakov, integration associations of the countries in the field of economic and political agreements occur, bringing the stabilization of different regions of the world. In addition, just for the sake of the stabilization of the relations in the vast Eurasian region Primakov proposed the idea of a strategic triangle «Russia — India — China». And this idea, in his opinion, will serve the rapprochement between China and India, and thus, will reduce the tension between these great countries.

Primakov noted that «the transition to a multipolar system is a process, not a single finite action. Therefore, different and sometimes contradictory tendencies appearing with the process are of great importance. Some of them are connected with the unevenness of their development, success or failures of integration associations. Proves to be of great importance the unstable ratio between, so to say, the course to reset the relationship and the inherited from the cold war line of conduct, which countries used to apply during the confrontation. These two tendencies appear in political, military and economic areas. Therefore, the valid conclusion is that a multipolar world order itself in conditions of globalization does not lead to conflict situations and military collisions, but it does not exclude a very complicated environment in which the transition to such a system takes place» [7].

However, not all the theorists of international relations agree with the thesis of a multipolar world of Yevgeny Primakov. President of the Council on Foreign Relations (USA) Richard Haas is considering the modern world order as «nonpolar». This system assumes that different actors (countries,

international organizations, social organizations, armed groups, corporations, the national networks of media, etc.) can dominate in the international relations. Such a supposition is based on the following statement: «In today's world the power is not concentrated; it is more and more scattered» [8]. However, behind the idea of nonpolarity Y. Primakov saw the attempt to restore the unipolar system. Ideologists of nonpolarity see the results of its development in destabilization and chaos, which will create the background for establishing of a new system of the global management of the United States. In his work Haas, actually says that «non-polarity» will inevitably course the «coordinated nonpolarity», which supposes the «establishment of a Central group» of the countries and other actors, inclined to the idea of multilateralism [8].

Yevgeny Primakov expressed disagreement with the position of Haas that the influence of national countries in the international relations declines. According to Primakov it is just the national countries that are still dominant in the regulation of different conflicts.

E. Primakov regarded the Russian-American journalist Nikolai Zlobin, the author of the book «The Second New World Order», as the ideologist of a «nonpolar world» [9]. Zlobin considers, that the agenda of the present day world is set not by superpowers, but by small and medium countries. Y. Primakov considered such an assessment of the world too superficial.

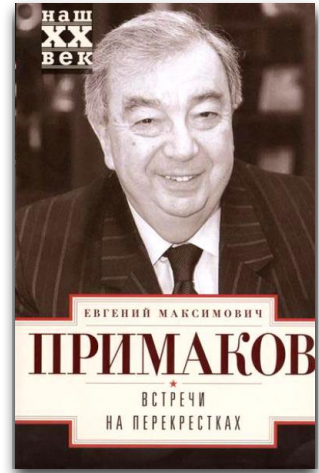
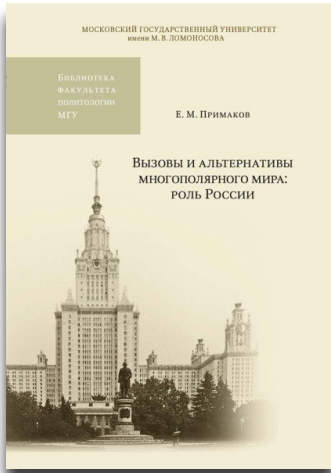
The idea that the modern world is becoming multipolar, is supported by the leaders of many leading countries of the world.

In the support of the multipolar world order spoke in May 2014 President of China Xi Jinping [10]. and in December 2015 Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi [11].

Such statements made by the world leaders confirm that Yevgeny Primakov was right in his assessment of the modern world as a multipolar world.

We recommend the following books of Y. M. Primakov

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