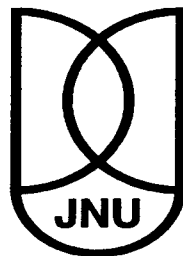


**RUSSIAN APPROACH TOWARDS BRICS
AND G-20, 2001-2012**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

JUNUGURU SRINIVAS



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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “Russian Approach towards BRICS and G-20, 2001-2012” submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.


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Dedicated
To
My Parents

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I own responsibility for all the errors or omission that might have crept, knowingly or unknowingly in the dissertation.

Srinivas Junuguru

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	: Anti Ballistic Missile
ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BASIC	: Brazil, South Africa, India, China
BRIC	: Brazil, Russia, India, China
BRICS	: Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CIIS	: China Institute of International Studies
CIS	: Commonwealth of Independent States
CSTO	: Collective Security Treaty Organization
EU	: European Union
FPCR	: Foreign Policy Concept of Russia
G-6	: Group of Six Countries
G-7	: Group of Seven Countries
G-8	: Group of Eight Countries
G-20	: Group of Twenty Countries
GATT	: General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
IBRD	: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IBSA	: India, Brazil, South Africa
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
MNC	: Multi National Companies
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OPEC	: Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PPP	: Purchasing Power Parity
RF	: Russian Federation
SAARC	: South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation
SCO	: Shanghai Cooperation Organization
START	: Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
USA	: United States of America
UNO	: United Nations Organization

UNSC	: United Nations Security Council
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	: World Trade Organization

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Chapter I

Introduction

Chapter I

Introduction

Background:

The disintegration of the Soviet Union in the early 1990's is a landmark event in contemporary political history. It led to not just major changes in power relations amongst states but also to a paradigm shift in international relations. This shift was characterized by contrasting tendencies, one comprising the rise of hegemonic ambitions of the US, the other involving globalizing phenomena with active involvement of non-state actors and the third involving the nascent rise of multipolarity with the ascendancy of emerging powers like China, India and to some extent Brazil and South Africa. Though, the US retains its military supremacy, in terms of economic powers, it is clearly more of a diffused picture with multiple states and institutions contending for power. Russia, the inheritor of the erstwhile Soviet system, was initially sidelined from framing the norms of international order but off late, thanks to pragmatic policies adopted by the Putin-Medvedev duo, has shown resurging tendencies, by consolidating power on economic and diplomatic fronts.

Several factors are at work in determining the trajectory of contemporary world order. First, is that no single actor, howsoever, powerful can alone substantially influence the ongoing international economic and political structure. Multilateralism, including, non-state actors, is the key to international politics. Second, inter-governmental and international institutions are emerging as significant actors. And finally, issues in world politics are increasingly converging and integrated, like for instance economics, culture, security are becoming interrelated.

In this context, it is scholarly relevant to analyze the significance of political groupings like BRICS and G-20, which by virtue of their nearly universal nature, have affected international politics. This dissertation attempts to do this from a Russian perspective, as being a key member of both the groups and the erstwhile superpower, Russia is keen and eager to bring the status quo in international political order, the

orientation of which is being shaped by these two world forums.

The US war on terror, especially in Afghanistan and Iraq, economic crisis/recession are some of the visible factors of present world. The US and Russia are considered to be the arch-rivals of modern day world politics, but when terrorists attacked Pentagon and WTO towers in US in 2001, Putin was the first person to call the US president and offered support for Bush declared 'war on terror' (Lo 2003; 115-130). They have of course dented the US superpower status majorly. Globalization on the other hand is making states more interdependent, especially economically, and along with it has brought to light the various diversities of human cultures, religions, and ideologies to a single political discourse. (Skillen 2005).

Prasad (2011) says that, in the last 20 years world developments have been largely punctuated by the attributes of globalization in all spheres of international life, which are characterized by a high degree of dynamism and interdependence of events, for instance, after decades of isolation from international trade Russia became a member of the WTO (Lukashevich 2012). This process of integration into WTO isolation took about 18 years till 2002. But, The economic stagnation in the West forced the G-7 to expand their exclusive club to include economically growing powers like India and China. And other rising powers states like Brazil, and South Africa from Southern World. This trend of emerging nations like India, China, Brazil and South Africa forced the International relations scholarship to talk about the multipolar world order in near future.

This phase of the multipolar world, unlike to the earlier world interaction, which was featured with military alliances and powerful political world order. But, now the new phase of the global order is in terms of political, economic and social order, global politics will be driven by economy, trade and social issues. Jain (2008) says, The main states are developing nations from the southern globe, they are apart from vocal supporters such as China, Russia and India. So, the new global order is undoubtedly more plural, diffused, vocal and tumultuous trends (kumar ; Messner, 2010). In this way the global south has started emerging in manifold aspects (political, economic and living standard) with high economic growth rates. Like above mentioned phenomenon the southern world is moving ahead along with developed nations, so, "rise of the rest is

inevitable” (Zakaria 2008). In this book, he explains emergence of third world countries as active international players, and its challenge to the developed world, especially he emphasized on American unipolar world order and its ramifications in upcoming international relations.

These things have led to focus of IR scholarship to shift from north to south, while emerging states cooperating immensely in multilateral level cutting across the regions, forming groups, organizations and many more developments taking place among the countries. Amongst them the main groups of the global south are BRICS, BASIC, IBSA so on and so forth. They voicing their dissent on plethora of international issues, and the current global political and financial institutional set up like UN, IBRD, IMF, WTO and so on.

However, the emerging nations raising their voice through two groups mainly, such as BRICS and G-20. the emergence of BRICS and G-20 as global forums marks an important historic turn. It is a new beginning in global affairs. The G-20 group was formed by the G-7 group finance ministers and Central Bank Governors in the year of September 25, 1999 (Kirton 2010; 8-17). In the beginning it was created as a” new mechanism for informal dialogue in the framework of the Bretten Woods institutional system, to broaden the dialogue on key economic and financial policy issue’s among the significant economies and to promote cooperation to achieve stable and sustainable growth that benefits all” (ibid). In fact, it was the result of financial crisis which led to the formation of G-20.

The other prominent group is the BRICS. The BRICS acronym was first used by Jim O Neill by projecting the growth rate of China, India, Russia and Brazil in forty to fifty years (Neill 2003). Since then, the other major developing countries from the south have been also included in the group systematically, for instance South Africa was included in the Sanya (China) summit in 2011(Graziani 2012). But, the BRICS was first initiated to form as an economic group by Putin in 2006 as part of their foreign policy doctrine ambition. The foreign policy doctrine, which was signed by the president (Putin) in 2000, says that “Russia shall seek to create multipolar system of international relations that really reflects the diversity of the modern world with its great variety of interests”

(Foreign policy doctrine 2000). Thus, Putin wanted to handle the global north dominance by coordinating with emerging nations like, China, India and Brazil in world affairs. That led to the establishment of BRICS.

Nonetheless, these two groups basically concerns about global economic governance, international trade, food and energy security, environmental issues, reform of prominent international economic and political institutions (The Kremlin 2009). Now, the question is what is common between these two groups, the BRICS and the G-20. Basically these two groups are a blend of developed and developing nations. Through this they put forward their interests as countries like India, China, Brazil rapidly developing, asserting their interests in the world on number of issues, and voicing their dissent openly at many global forums. In fact, BRICS and G-20 are the only groups which give space for the demand a revision of the established order and of their prominent norms in a ways that reflect their multipolar interests, concerns and values. Expansion of Russia-China economic relations, India-China economic relations and China-Brazil relations, and also Brazil-India actively are voicing global southern issues in WTO (Hurrell 2006).

In this scenario, Russia realized the importance of third world countries as a way to counter hegemony of the western region, and extended greater cooperation towards them. In fact that is the result of BRICS, SCO, and their WTO membership aspiration. But, NATO forces eastward expansion, US active involvement in Central Asian affairs, and the regime change of West Asian authoritarian regimes in the name of promotion of democracy, NATO's withdrawal from Afghanistan by 2014, China's rise as super power is greater threat to Russian security and foreign policy. The question here arise as how Russia will cooperate with the developed world and in what way they cop up with them? Whether they go along with them being part of their territorial region, or what is their approach. How Russia is seeing the global economic and political structure at present? What are their intentions? Their perception towards US decline? In what ways they are going to mould BRICS and G-20 being a member of the both these groups? What are their foreign policy makers' options in shaping it? These are very critical questions to answer by Russia under Putin Regime in coming international relations.

Russian Foreign Policy and its Evolution

The collapse of the USSR in 1991 led to integration of world with perpetual political and economic power gravity United States, it got sole super power status ever since. Yeltsin took control the power baton of federal Russia after the disintegration. It was geographically and socially disordered, demographically, politically fractured, economically dilapidated and militarily humiliated for a movement at that time when Boris Yeltsin became to represent the nation (Hall ; Grant 2008). After the disintegration, Russia was under neck deep trouble's, politically and economically it was shattered, foreign policy was western oriented and guided by Western interests only, in fact, it was in desperate need of economic aid of western countries promoted economic organizations like IMF. Internal political instability caused hugely to the stability of firmness of the state in international level.

In the beginning, Russia's economic, political and societal problems paved Russia seep into the deep economic and political chaos, the administration was deeply clouded by corruption scandals, political instability, meander foreign policy, influenced and promoted with the introduction of market economy and shock therapy policies. Democratic heart Yeltsin, introduced Washington consensus under the guidance of the US to introduce market economy in Russia, in the beginning it was partly successful, but, in later part of the period it was hugely effected on its economy (Rutland 2012). It was wholly undermined on myriad global influenced affairs, to succinct, the first half of 1990's Russian foreign policy was guided by western nations in it, Russia was in so mayhem that it was unable to retaliate Western influence in their so called near abroad, NATO's expansion and on many unwanted sanctions imposed by them. Mankoff said (2008; 67)'. Russia was immensely over depended on Western countries that it couldn't object its wicked and trickery political, economic, and military politics throughout the 1990's'.

Hence, Yeltsin had to change the one sided foreign policy minister Kozyrev in 1996, When Yevgeny Primakov became foreign minister it was completely changed unlike Kozyrev. He worked in Russian intelligence, basically Oriental tendency and worked in Middle East too. It was totally pragmatic foreign policy since then, primarily

promoted basic Russian foreign policy interests (Hall ; Grant 2008). Primakov started giving importance to the so called 'near abroad' states, and Third World countries. He visited all major developing nations with effective diplomatic entourage. There was the Russian foreign policy makers focus was started tilting towards the southern countries. It lasted till the arrival of Vladimir Putin in Russian politics.

When Putin first came to Duma, his first and foremost objectives of his foreign policy was to strengthen the Russian state economic growth and stabilization and revival of manufacturing and managing energy resources, restoration of Russia's pride in international diplomacy (Wallander ; Celestic 2007). Putin in his pragmatic statement in 1999 when he became Prime Minister he stated that, "Russia at the turn of the Millennium, it was and will remain a great power, For the first time in 200-300 years, Russia was in danger of falling to the second or third level of states. To remove this threat, Russians had to strain all intellectual, physical, and moral forces of the nation" (Larson ; Shevchenko 2010). That shows how Putin was in desperate to change the structure, means, norms and ways of international politics. And he altered the roots, goals, objectives of the Russian foreign policy as soon as he became President. It unleashed new energetic politics in international relations, Putin used it as pivot in his foreign policy promotion.

During his early days, Putin maintained and carried which were essential to make Russia a super power status country, like he made Russia politically strong, economically independent and actively participated (paid all international debts like IMF and EU goodwill debts) (Wallander ; Celestic 2007) in many global forums, to raise their voice on many international affairs to show that they are coming head to lead the world affairs. Since then, whole international political structure started changing substantially in myriad manner. Russia, never before, coming ahead to tackle the issues of international affairs, Putin knew where to go, what to do, and with whom to go to handle Western hegemonic domination in plethora of international affairs, and focused on multipolar world order within the principle of international law and United nations (Foreign Policy concept 2000), which clearly states the intention to establish the democratic world order in international relations with the focus on developing nations. That phenomenon in Russian

foreign policy is still lasting.

Review of Literature:

There is much literature available related to the BRICS, G-20 and Russian foreign policy. Many scholars have explored the evolution of the groups of BRICS and G-20, and, Russia's participation in that. Inter-state trade dependence is the major tool of the globalized world (21st century). Diplomacy and discord comes in myriad-manner, in fact it is the stellar-point in their strategies. Russian foreign policy doctrine says that "they believe in the diverse economic and political diplomacy according to the context of present international relations' (Foreign Policy Doctrine 2000), that's why they became part of BRICS and G-20 and started promoting SCO also as these are the only groups having developed and developing countries controlling 80 per cent of the global trade and consisting more than half of the world population (Goldman Sachs 2003). These are major cooperating groups at present international relations, though there are many inter-regional and intra-regional groups, for instance, BASIC, SCO respectively.

Russia is the part of both these groups and participating actively in all summits to influence the global affairs for promoting their foreign policy and economic interests. With this groups Russia can influence the global economic and political affairs since some of them are already members of the UN Security Council, IMF, World Bank, and WTO.

BRICS

The US dominated unipolar world has given way for multipolarity spurred by two casual mechanisms; and economic, financial, and domestic political constrains that may erode US capabilities in very near future (Layne 2008). At this intrinsic phase of international relations the power shift from north to south via east has created ambiguity amongst many developed countries. In this instance, Prof. Borzel (2012), pointed out, the short period of unipolar dominance after the USSR disintegration is over. China is rising as an emerging super power, economically it is today the second largest after the US, and will probably get ahead of the US by 2030. India is still far behind but also potential to become super power in the long run. Already today the role of the country in the

international level is rapidly increasing. The same is with Brazil as well. Also Russia is trying to play a big power role again. Especially, with its tremendous potential of natural resources and it's still important nuclear military power, and it is an actor to counter western domination in global affairs with in the future (Wahl 2012). These countries might emerging in terms of economy or trade, militarily and in security aspects, they are not emerged as yet. But, it is clear that these countries emerging rapidly as global powers. That reflected with the groups like BRICS and G-20 in present international relations.

The term BRIC (now known as BRICS), coined by Jim O'Neill, chief economist of the investment Bank Goldman Sachs, puts under a common label the four largest fastest growing and emerging countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) (Neil 2006). The BRIC in its first summit only, they clearly stated to the world that, their main ambition to replace the existing world with the multipolar world order by reforming the global major organizations like, IMF, World Bank, Security Council, and they want to strive for the betterment of southern world providing food security, environmental hazards and so and so forth (BRIC first summit, Kremlin 2009). Larionova (2012) says that, basically these two groups (BRICS and G-20) are more concerned about the global economy, and financial issues, global economic governance, international trade, food security, environmental issues, strengthening the principles and standards of international law, and more voice of the global south on many international issues. In this way, BRICS want to create a democratic world order with the immense emphasis on southern world and emerging world, (the basic principle of Russia foreign policy concept is to fight for the democratic world order). So, it's going to play a major voice of the global south against the unilateral decisions of the northern world on many aspects and we can build bridge between north and south when relations get sour on any issue.

In fact, these two groups will become trouble shooters too as Russia, China, India and Brazil are the prominent members of the major international organizations, groups and forums, hence they can be vocal on any move which is against them. Therefore, they are the alternative solutions for containing western dominated world order. Chinese President Hu Jintao said that "BRICS organization is the defender and promoter of the global south interests in the years to come" (The Hindu 2012). However they are not

considering it as opposite to Western World, Officials at the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS), a think-tank under the Chinese Foreign Ministry, told reporters recently that BRICS's aim is to broadly focus on larger issues related to international governance. It called the group an "ad-hoc political club" of developing nations and insisted that it was not an "anti-U.S. bloc" (Gordon 2011).

It is true that by the end of next decade these countries(BRICS) are going to replace the multipolar world from single international community which is emphasizing the nation state, global power will be stretched to the multitude of regions of the world, and new international players would bring new international system (Global trends-2025, 2012). Individually, In many of the things these countries are very diverse, either in politics or in economy, but they all are federal states, only Brazil and India are well established and institutionalized democratic countries, where as Russia is declared democratic, and China is Marxist's people republic. All of them possess modern industrial sectors, with ever deepening link to the global capitalist economy (Armiji 2007).

Stated as the "rise of the rest" in international politics (Andrew F 2010), though, all these countries show many commonalities in terms of big land size, large population and fast economic growth, In the years to come these countries are going to dominate the world in international trade and international politics constructively as these countries currently are sharing almost 43 per cent of the world population, 18 per cent of the world economy aggregately and it also shares 15 per cent of the international trade (Gonkalves 2010). The highly impressive aspect of these countries is that they are attracting 53 per cent of the FDI's from around the world, but they do have differences as well, due to their different models of economic development and resource endowments. Brazil is domestically oriented service economy, Russia's economy heavily dependent on energy and raw material, The Indian economy is essentially service oriented supported by exports, and China's economic development is driven by manufacturing exports and investment (Ghosh,Havlik ; etal 2009).

Table 1.1: BRIC countries trends in World in 2001

	GDP (PPT) Weights; 2000 US\$bn	Share of GDP World Total (%) (1)	of GDP (Current prices);200 0 US\$bn	Share of GDP World total (%) (2)	of Difference in Share (1-2)	Population (mns)	GDP Per Capita (Current Prices)
China	5230	12.59	1080	3.59	9	1266,80	852
Brazil	1214	2.92	588	1.96	0.97	167.72	3507
Russia	1120	2.7	247	0.82	1.88	145,49	1696
India	2104	5.06	474	1.58	3.49	1002.14	473

Source: Global Economics Paper No 66. P.No.S.04. Goldman Sachs.2001

However, emerging countries have their own political and economic goals, but, when it comes to global forums they come under one umbrella except certain pitfalls not often thought. There have been four meetings held in different parts of the globe, they are in Yekaterinburg (Russia-2009), Brasilia (Brazil-2010), Sanya (China-2011), and New Delhi (India-2012) (Xin 2012), and they are greatly successful. The interesting aspect of them is that, these have attention across the world more than any other group in contemporary international affairs. The reason behind them is, probably, the status seekers, China and Russia, and balance weapons, India, Brazil and South Africa (Shevchenko 2010). BRIC foreign ministers have started meeting annually since 2006, finance ministers and central bank heads also meet frequently too. The first summit was held in Yekaterinburg, but it was not that fruitful as it was the first summit though it has greater recognition in global affairs, But the succeeding summits were great successful. The regular annual meeting of the state heads became common affair.

In fact those five countries, South Africa included in the recent Sanya conference in China, 2011 (Yan 2011), have started emerging as global powers in diverse

perspectives. Then question arises why these countries only. Hurrell (2006) has given four reasons for that,

They are as below:

- ❖ These countries have high level of same economic, military, political power resources, and, they have the capacity to some degree of cohesion regionally and inter-regionally. The interesting aspect of this group is, they have the capacity to create new world order in the international system.
- ❖ They have the same ambition of becoming influential international players in very soon.
- ❖ The flow of these four countries relations is hastened since the recent period among them, i.e. regionally and inter-regionally.
- ❖ BRICS have some sort of differentiation compare to other developing countries.

The G-20

Another powerful international group is, “the group of twenty (G-20)”, which consists twenty most dominant economic powers in the world. The interesting aspect with this group is part of so called center of the unipolar world, United States. The other major countries of this group are, Russia, India, China, Japan, Indonesia, Republic of Korea, Saudi Arabia, Australia, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Canada, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom, Turkey, South Africa, France, and European Union (G-20 official Website). The G-20 countries mostly cooperate on the most important aspects of the global economic and financial agenda; it is a blend of developed and developing countries. Its basic objectives are,

- ❖ There should be greater cooperation amongst the group countries for international economic stability, sustainable growth.
- ❖ Promotion of financial regulations to reduce the risks and to prevent future financial crises.

- ❖ And to strive for create new international financial architecture (Strategic Digest, July, 2012).

The proponent of idea of G-20 was initiated by George W. Bush, the then US president. Basically it was unleashed by economic crisis in 2008, In fact it was already there in the form of finance ministers, supervisors and central bankers' body, meeting annually, but, it started meeting summit level since 2008. Seven summits were held till today, the most recent was Mexico's, in July, 2012. They still are rushing towards greater cooperation in diverse level amongst them in the days to come (Cammack 2012).

At this juncture Russia can garner support from different countries to tackle US hegemony and EU'S economy clout from emerging world. The statement history repeats itself is one way corrects. During 18th and 19th century Spain, France, Germany used to cooperate amongst them for tackling Britain's hegemony. So, it is the time of Russia to realize the current status of global affairs, though Moscow never gave up the status of a major center of world politics regardless of its ability to meet this status. However, Russia's adequate reaction to the transformation of power as the key structuring factor in international relations played a decisive role in that its future as an international player now depends on only on its ability to overcome stagnation trends in domestic development since Putin came into the helm of affairs (Bordachev 2012).

So, to prove Russian status as a re-emerging super power it has to promote its foreign interests around the world cutting across the regions. It is true that, G-20 cannot perform all functions of global governance in all areas, it cannot be solve all problems, and it cannot be handled by the existing global institutions, support the processes of collective management in such areas as political cooperation, security and nonproliferation of weapons mass destruction (Larionova 2012), but we all know that G-20 basically emerged for solving the existing economy and financial issue's where as BRICS can be used as a political, cultural and security interests of Russia. All in all, though, G-20 can be a platform for Russia to promote their long-term economic interests, such as, for strengthening foreign trade, execution of international financial operations and accumulation of national currency reserves, and also can be put forward the Ruble

effectively throughout the globe (ibid).

Braterski says (2012) that, where as BRICS would be fit for increase Russia's political influence on solutions in the global economy and finance, at the same time BRICS could initiate the dialogue as a force willing to change the status quo, but the dialogue itself should be conducted in a different format. At this phase, Russia has got the right time to re-establish their super power status with active cooperation and involvement in global politics with the succour of G-20 and the BRICS groups. The reason behind the bringing of Third World in their foreign policy doctrine is to counter the western world involvement in them though G-20 was promoted by the US. Roberts says (2012) that Russia has been the leading actor of BRICS for transforming it from economic body to political element bearing in mind the US and Western world decline with the assistance of developing world. The Russians opposed the concept of unipolar world, and wanted to create a multipolar world. For this thing they need stronger alliances who want an independent, strategic perspective. Though G-20 and BRICS groups have fundamentally formed on the basis of economic cooperation there is possibility of becoming politically active in the future, as we have been already seeing it in the Arab crisis in the recent past, the BRICS has not supported as Russia and China are the Security Council members, so Russia has the potential to garner support from China as they are very vocal members of the emerging world (Bordachev 2012).

Theoretical Perspective, it is slight exaggeration to say that, most of the IR pedagogy scholars conclude that IR is primarily realism. In one way its true, that power politics, balance of power, anarchy are all concepts that apply to twentieth century world politics. The bi-polar world ended with the dissolution of the USSR in 1990 in the form of cold war. The realism also talks about the strength of a larger population, the larger the territory, stronger the economy and a more affective it's military and state power, but there are other multiple aspects which determine state power, especially, changing world politics. Nonetheless, realism has remained the dominant theory of IR, because for any state national interest is their ultimate concern (Morgantho ; waltz 1953, 1984).

But, globalization has shifted the power politics, balance of power, and anarchy too. Many of discords are solved by mediation, in the form of institutions, emissaries, for

instance, the UN send Kofi Annan as their mediator to Syria even though it failed. It is the age of globalized political economy. The Global South is moving ahead in equality, formal groups, institutions, free trade, and emergence of regional and inter-regional organizations. Interdependence is the key concepts of present day international affairs states remained high, there revival of Liberalism in international affairs. Basically, Liberalism speaks of fundamental actors in world politics are individuals and privately constituted groups with autonomous preferences; governments represent some subset of domestic and social actors; and interstate behavior is shaped by the pattern of state preference, not state power (Moravcsik). According to him Liberalism influences the current international relations.

The global south is emerging in the form of China, Brazil, India, and South Africa. These are the prominent players of the upcoming international affairs. These states have been actively participating in many global forums, and taking independent position as for example, on the Iran issue, the Kyoto protocol and WTO trade agreements. These BRICS powers have started forming regional and inter-regional institutions and organizations for greater cooperation amongst them. The BRICS are taking, and BRICS bank. They are talking step to create out many global issues, such as, food security, environmental issues, and agrarian reforms for the concerned states.

Then, one question arise here, what was the reason behind for emergence of this sort of groups, it is because Western world development model in making the world global village and conventionalities that have been hurting the South, who now seeks alternatives. Hence, this sort of things compelled other states to go for greater cooperation among them. As stated above we see between China-Russia relations, and cooperation on many global issues, for instance, Iran nuclear program issue, Libya issue, BRICS and SCO. India and China had a longer border dispute, and even went for war twice, but, are cooperating in trade and multiple areas, and, individually all BRICS have their own aspiration greater power status, and still also cooperating in a greater manner. But, one proponent of Liberal theory, Stiglin (2008), is cynical, because, he says liberal institutions may become power centers of dominant actors of the institutions.

Mithrany (1990), who is a proponent of Functionalism, says that integration

among states, it was first applied to Western Europe integration. They agree that, in the beginning states should cooperate in economic and cultural aspects in tackling existing societal problems by establishing agencies, institutions and cooperative groups. In fact, the global south is in such a gradual process. They have formed regional, inter-regional groups and organizations for greater cooperation in tackling existing global problems among them. The fundamental objective of these groups is like BRICS, SAARC and SCO is to facilitate the global governance and global social problems in their collective interests.

All three (BRICS, G-20 and G-8) multilateral institutions are long term factors of the world politics. The next few years will be particularly important for Russia's participation in multilateral diplomacy. Russia is to preside over several prominent international meetings; G-20 in 2013, G-8 and BRICS in 2014. Such coincidence creates an opportunity for elaborating and implementing an integrated strategy aimed at developing common approaches to addressing global risks of the coming decade and promotion of the Russian nation national interests (Larionova, 2012). Therefore, in this critical juncture of international affairs Russia's role is enormous being an erstwhile super power. The interesting aspect of this as Russia is part of BRICS, G-8, G-20 and UN Security Council, and it also became member of WTO recently. Their role as a 'sherpa' in guiding their bodies is therefore instrumental.

Rationale and Scope of Study

The above mentioned literature shows the prominence of the two major groups BRICS and G-20 in international relations. The study of Russian approach towards BRICS and G-20 is an under researched area, since Russia is also part of those two groups, and its re-emergence in global society under the Putin regime is a major cause that need to be considered. In fact, nowadays, the two famous international cooperative groups BRICS and G-20, and their role in world politics is widely explored in international scholarship. The basic reason behind that is the rapid evolution of the third world countries in global politics and their active participation in diverse aspects of international relations, though, these two groups presently focusing on economic and trade relations, and their nominal cooperation on world politics, they are the key players

in the upcoming international politics indeed.

The proposed study basically discusses the emergence of BRICS and G-20. It analyzed Russia's perception towards the emergence of these two groups in tackling the western world, and it deals with the Russia's foreign policy, predominantly with BRICS and G-20 groups in global affairs. The research also discusses the concerns of US and EU in that process. The study examines Russia's role with emerging economies as well as these plurilateral institutions. Finally, it also explores Russia's re-emergence in global politics under Putin regime.

Research Objectives

- ❖ To examine the evolution of BRICS and G-20 as a major blocks.
- ❖ To critically analyze Russia's role in that process.
- ❖ To study the role of BRICS and G-20 in world politics.
- ❖ To explain evolution of the global south.
- ❖ To explain Russia's foreign policy in upcoming international relations

Research Questions

- ❖ Why did BRICS and G-20 emerge as major cooperative groups?
- ❖ What is the role of BRICS and G-20 in today's world politics?
- ❖ In what way Russia considering their evolution?
- ❖ Do these two groups (BRICS and G-20) really play prominent role?
- ❖ Can Russia play key role in upcoming international relations?
- ❖ What would be the role of Putin in shaping the world politics in coming decade?

Hypotheses

- ❖ Russia played prominent role in evolution of BRICS and G-20 to construct a multipolar world order.
- ❖ BRICS as a political and G-20 as economic power centers creates space for Russia's assertion in world politics.

Research Methodology

The proposed study basically explains the Russian perception towards the evolution of third world countries in global politics; it explains some theoretical approaches to the emergence of BRICS and G-20 as major blocks in international politics. It would be both analytical and descriptive; it demands comparative analysis too. The research methodology would include historical and Qualitative methods and Quantitative data analysis. It will also be analytical and descriptive in the nature. This study will check and testify the hypotheses in the context Russia's involvement in world politics. The proposed research work will be based on both primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include government documents, records, data reports, policy statements and speeches of political personalities. Documents published by the International Organizations like United Nations (UN), National and International Non-Governmental Organizations and other institutions would also be used for the study. Secondary sources would include books, journals, articles, newspapers, scholarly papers and other published and unpublished resource material relevant for the study.

Plan of Study/Organisation Chapters:

The proposed research classified into the following five chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The introductory chapter explains research theme, statement of the problem, a brief overview of scenario of world politics and the importance of BRICS and G-20 in contemporary politics.

Chapter 2: Re-emergence of Russia in contemporary International Politics

This chapter will dwell to Putin's arrival on helm of affairs; basically it focuses on Russia's emergence from dark stage as important player of world politics.

Chapter 3: Role of Russian Federation in the evolution of BRICS and the G-20.

This chapter will deal with the emergence of BRICS and G-20 as a power block in global society; it also explains the changing dynamics of IR politics with reference to the global south, and power decline of US and EU, and Russia's role in this context.

Chapter 4: Russia's Foreign Policy in Multipolar world

This chapter will explain the process of International relations have reached at zenith with the decline of US and EU power as power centers, now it is the period of multipolar world, at this stage active promotion of foreign policy is very important activities in coordinating with developed world and developing world.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The concluding chapter will summarize the major findings and observations of the research.

Chapter II

Re-Emergence of Russia in Contemporary International Politics

Chapter II

Re-Emergence of Russia in Contemporary International Politics

Background:

The collapse of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) broke the bipolar nature of international relations to unipolar with the US as sole superpower. But, Russia still remains one of the great powers in international system, though it has declined from Super Power status at the helm of Cold War¹. The new Russian federation has continued to play a prominent role in changing the structure of international diplomacy (Aalto, 2007). This chapter deals with the Russian foreign policy since it got separated from USSR in 1991. The evolution of foreign policy is discussed phase by phase while touching upon the role of US and EU in the process.

Joseph De Maistre, a French Diplomat during 1753-1821, he said once,

“There is no one who desire as passionately as a Russian, if we could imprison a Russian desire beneath a fortress, that fortress could explode” (Dein and Heslier 1990: 1).

That shows how Russian image was throughout the history. The early period of Russia's great power status went to the zenith when Peter² the great was in power and was a major player in European politics. Since then, Russia had been one of the great powers till the Soviet Union disintegration in 1991. The foreign policy during the early period of new Russia after Soviet disintegration was largely ambiguous. However, it was in desperate need to uplift the morale of Russian people which was caused by the explosion of the USSR collapse, to be true, because, it was severely shattered after 1991 incident. There was no other way except accepting western direction. On top of that,

1 . Cold War refers to the war between West and Eastern countries, West was represented by the US and east represented by the USSR. It is a war without war, fought on the ideological gains. It has greater importance on international relations, world was divided different parts on the basis of their national interests and ideology. Especially it has greater importance between Western Countries relations.

2 . Peter was the king of Russian empire in the period, between 1672 and 1725, he is known to be the first social, economic and cultural reformer in Russian politics with his scientific and nationalist temperament, and made it modern state. His role was priceless in making Russia one of the dominant powers at that point time.

Yeltsin was incapable leader to lead Russia at that unfortunate juncture.

In the early period of Russian federation after Soviet Union disintegration Yeltsin wanted to integrate Russia into the Western World. However, the Russian economy collapsed and USA and EU did not deliver the investment and aid that Russia required (ibid). Further, NATO expansion that included giving membership to the former East European states and the Baltic States was opposed by the Russian Federation (Kanet 2010 204-205). However, in the beginning Yeltsin was basically pro-Western sort, but, when North Atlantic Treaty organization³ (NATO) started moving towards East Europe expansion he became critical of Western interests. It ushered in new foreign policy objectives (ibid).

The West ignored Russian concerns on many global affairs. Later, the US attempted to influence in Central Asian affairs in the form of Color Revolutions⁴. Western campaign on human rights violations in Chechnya annoyed the Russian federation (ibid). The biggest fillip to Russian diplomacy in the 1990's was it sorted out the boundary issue with Communist China; in fact, this was one of the great successes for Russian diplomacy. It led to the evolution of one more security organization in the international arena, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)⁵. The SCO got immense global attention, the reason behind to get that sort of scope and fame was due to the inclusion of Russia and China, two Security Council⁶ permanent members (Kanet 2010: s162-163). Since then, it has been one of the key international groups to handle the security scourges in most volatile region in Central Asia, besides Russia and China. All these changes took

3 . NATO was established by US and Europe in the year of 1949 during the Cold War period, it is a collective defense intergovernmental organization having 28 countries membership. Basically strive for protecting security interests of them. It has huge importance in global politics due its immense strength.

4 . The color revolutions were held in former Soviet Republics during 2002 to 2006 to overthrow the existing regime by people movement, in fact, it was held elsewhere in the world, but in Central Asia, it held in Georgia, referred as Rose Revolution (2004), in Ukraine it is Orange Revolution(2005), in Kyrgyzstan it is known as Tulip revolution. It had larger implications on US and Russia relations.

5 . Was established in 2001 in Shanghai (China) by China and Russia, and five Central Asian Republics to eliminate three evils, Terrorism, Extremism, and Separatism from their region.

6 . Security Council is part of the United Nations Councils Six Principle; strive to protect international peace and security. The council have 15 members, five have permanent membership, and ten have non-permanent membership, they are, China, US, UK, Russia and France.

place due to the Putin's assertive and pragmatic foreign policy ambition. The biggest success to the Russian foreign policy and in international politics was the evolution of BRICS and G-20 group represent mostly Southern world of the globe, the emerging countries in world politics. During the visit to China by Russian Minister Counselor to China, Igor Morgulov (2008) stated that Russia will strengthen its relations with CIS, East Asia and South Asia while promoting concept of BRIC in our foreign policy (ibid). The conceptualization and construction of multipolarity has been initiated by Putin foreign policy, simultaneously with the rise of China and other newly emerging economies like India and, the formation of BRICS that we discuss in further chapter.

Russia and West during Cold War Period

This period considered to be war prone without war to mention here except meager Cuban Missile crisis and Korean crisis. The Cold War was multifaceted and intrinsic, was incorporated both power politics and competing ideologies and established an alternative economic and societal systems (Kanet 2010; 12). It emerged after the World War-II between two super powers, the US and the Soviet Union when latter included Eastern European countries in its great empire in 1946.

“The Cold War period was an east and western competition, tension and conflict with short of full-scale war, characterized by mutual perception of hostile intentions between military political alliances. There were real wars, sometimes called ‘proxy wars’ because they were fought by Soviet allies instead USSR itself-Along with competition for influence in the Third World, and a major super power arms race” (www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/cols.html -For further detail).

Lasted till the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991 (ibid), Shearman (2010) says there was one sort of Cold War in which the relations between two superpowers represented by US and USSR, i.e. the ideological conflict between east and west. It was totally based on zero-sum-game (ibid), it defines one's gains another's loss. The cold war had larger implications on international relations during that period. The emergence of military alliance system, institutionalization of politics, changed social and cultural relations drastically (ibid). Except Leonid Brezhnev (1964-82) and Michail Gorbachev (1985-1991) period their relations were kept always in turmoil only.

Over all the cold war made world into two parts by making Non-Alliance countries space as buffer zone in US-USSR great game power politics. The cold war ended formally with the dissolution of USSR in 1991. After the 1991 incident the relations between east and west got drastic changes as the world became Unipolar with US as the super power status and sidelined Russia on many global affairs since then.

Russian Foreign Policy during Yeltsin Period

In thousand years of Russian history there were so many bad leaders emerged but not as the Yeltsin did, that the destruction of USSR, the collapse of industry, drastic fall in living standard and the corruption by his own family led the guarantor of instability in the beginning of new Russia (Kagarlitsky 2012; 82). Ellision (2006) says Boris Yeltsin can be regarded as controversial leader in modern history in new Russian politics. He led the transition of Russian democratic revolution, and a defender of Russia's fragile new liberties, besides that, evolving respect for rule of law and private property as well as core freedoms of speech, religion, press and political association (ibid).

After USSR disintegration Russia was re-examining its foreign policy. In this connection I would like to quote the conversation between Kozyrov, the then Russian foreign minister, and US president Nixon. Kozyrov asks Nixon, "If you.....can advise us on how to define our national interests, I will be very grateful to you" (Monkoff 2008; 29 and the conversation between Nixon and Kozyrov). There was the policy confusion in Russia when it was separated from the USSR. With the evolution of the new foreign policy concept, you cannot ignore Russia's importance in present International Relations.

However, scholars, and political pundits say that Gorbachev was the principal of the implosion of USSR. In a way, this might be partly correct, but, few leaders like Yeltsin personal ambitions and political goals led to the collapse of such a gigantic empire. Aristov (2011) said that, Yeltsin's only desire was to get into the Kremlin, he ignored Russian past glory. "I believe that Yeltsin destroyed his own country out of pure vanity and revenge". When Russia became separate nation from the ashes of the USSR, chaos, instability, paucity of subjective and objectives roots for Russian foreign policy making. People were distressed, internal political instability and external debts, severe

economic crisis, and spiraling inflation, literally it was under neck deep trouble (Wallander and Celeste 2003).

That led to the severe crisis in economic, political and social stability. Russia's economy was moved into debts, internal political instability, Russia was in deep trouble with the high inflation, and the economy was dislocated, Yeltsin did not have any option except to go for IMF credits, and was depended on European Union's (EU) goodwill offers (Thorun 2004;108). Adding fuel to the fire their main foe in global affairs during the 1990's most of the time Russian interests undermined, or simply ignored by Washington and Brussels (Wallander and Celeste 2003). The nationalists and conservatives were immensely distraught with the pro-western foreign policy implemented by him, the neglect of the former Soviet Union republics. The changes in Russian foreign policy were initiated since the 1996 after Yevgeny Primakov was made as foreign minister by replacing Kozyrov (Mankoff 2007). Primakov was oriental, favored largely on the CIS and on Third World Countries⁷. Hassner (2008) said, Primakov mostly focused on near abroad by emphasizing on emerging nations from third world countries to balance the relations between the west and east in his period and it lasted till 1998. Nonetheless, this period is not so fruitful for Russian federation.

A survey conducted in 2000 says how Yeltsin was responsible for making the Russian Federation (RF) as one of the sidelined country. The Survey asked the question is **Table 2.1:** who do you think bears the main responsibility for the difficulties Russia is experiencing now?

	All Replies, %
Yeltsin and his circle	34%
Gorbachev and his circle	27%
Pre- perestroika leadership of USSR, CPSC	8%

⁷ . Third world refers to the developing nations or emerging nations, according to the World Bank, their income would be US\$1026 to US\$4036. The emergence of third world countries as global powers made world politics more scattered. There would be larger implications in world politics in coming days.

Official who resist change steal and take bribe	7% Hence, in the early part of new Russian federation saw an overall decline.
Government of Yoger and Gaidar	4%
Oligarchies, bankers and financier	3%
Communist majority in state Duma	2%
Other	6%
Don't know	11%

Source: Nationwide VCIOM survey, 8-10 January 2000, N=1600

According to the survey, majority of the people, i.e. 34 per cent those who have participated in it said that it would be Yeltsin and his circle carried to the highest stage of Russia's decline. The second rank goes to the Gorbachev and co, the remaining people have very minimal role in this disaster. Citizenry were fed up with the existing regime. Hence, in the early part of new Russian federation saw an overall decline.

Russian Foreign Policy and the US since 1991

In politics, or in international relations there are no permanent allies or eternal foes, today's friends may become tomorrow's enemies, and tomorrows enemies may change as friends on other day. The greatest ever destructive and catastrophic wars in world history were World War-1 and World War II. In these two wars, Germany-France, France-England and Germany-England were considered to be arch rivals (and of course in brief period France and England became good friends with the consensus on mutual benefits to tackle Germany). Those days have completely changed now, they become very cooperative and trusty allies.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the relations between the US and Russia as well as China would decide the structure of world politics, Russia's relations with the US have always been primary importance and most significant for Russian foreign policy. it

is never ending discussion about their relations and scope. To be true, the relations of these countries are always in a conundrum. We all accept that a number of states emerging in world politics, but, eventually, they revolve around these two great powers great game on world politics only. Throughout the 1990's the US and EU never considered Russia as great power. However, the relations were western centric only. But, Shearman (2008) and many scholars pointed out that Cold War was buried in 1991 only, but the relations were always kept in new cold war, he says, 'Cold War between Russia and the US never ended, however, post cold war political leaders carried with them the old Cold War mind-sets of rivalry and confrontation. Furman (2008) says that, the new cold war as a natural extension of earlier one (Kanet 2010; 13).

When 9/11 incident took place, it was, Putin, who, first called Bush, and offered greater cooperation on this issue (Thorun 2004; 111 and 115 and Kanet 2010; 212). Since then, the relations have faced many ups and downs, though it was peaceful journey in a way with certain pitfalls in it. During the Putin's initial stage it was more or less mutual co-existence as Russia allowed US to enter in Central Asia and supported for US issued global war on terror (ibid). After 2006, the relations were in a quagmire with the US reaction over Putin's pragmatic and aggressive foreign policy ambitions.

Again, relations were at their worst when Russia attacked Georgia, Bush lambasted and said,

“Isolate Russia and damage its relation with free world” (Mankoff, 2008; 97).

In fact the seeds of the mistrust sowed with the US involvement in Central Asian affairs, NATO's push towards Russia's territorial integrity only (Thorun 2004; 53-56). Russia knew that it was largely promoted by US's self interest which made them in this sort of unacceptable activity in Russia's so called near abroad territory in the form of color revolutions. Immediately after that, in Munich international security conference (2007), Putin stated;

“It is more and more we are witness to the flouting of the basic principles of international law, above all the rights of the state are overtaking, separate norms, indeed, the entire system of international law”. He added, and, saying, “The United State is

gradually overstepping its national borders in every field, economy trade, political and humanitarian sphere”. By continuing it, “In many of global affairs we have been witnessing with staggering frequency attempts to resolve this or that problem on the basis of so called political expediency based on the US primacy, and of course it’s very dangerous to the global peace and tranquil” (Putin Kremlin 2007-For further details)⁸.

“The collapse of the USSR is greatest geopolitical catastrophic of the century”, and Putin went on saying, the US over involvement in many unconcerned regions is unacceptable to Russia, and attacked on policies which were promoted by US foreign policy (Kanet 2010; 210). That shows how Putin was against the US domination global affairs, over all, it was bit ups and down relations during his tenure.

The accession of Medvedev to Russian presidency represented a slight shift in Russian and US relations. Medvedev by nature was a democratic mindset teacher, who brought the relations on the right track as relations were strained during Putin era (Ziegler 2010 ; 155), but, US’s negative attitude towards the Russian Federation again led to the relations in a new Cold War mood. It was in troubled stage when US placed some missiles near the Polish border of the Kaliningrad, then Medvedev declared, it is provoking Russian leaders, it might react at any time, the new cold war has arrived again (Kanet 2008; 216).

But, the US government administration sharp reaction to fill the cracks has lessened the escalated tension though. Such kind of provoking activities of Washington has led to Russia to rethink their foreign policy goals, and declared new foreign policy concept objectives in 2008, it was more based on democratic power distribution on the basis of multilateral regime, led to the evolution of Multipolar world order concept in Russian foreign policy objectives (Foreign Policy concept 2008, for further details)⁹. Since then, there has been a complete shift to the southern world, emphasizing Southern continent leading to the support for the formation of BRICS, world trade organization

8 8.Putin’s speech in Munich Security conference in 2007, February archive, www.kremlin.ru/.../speeches/2007/.../0138_type82912type82914type82917type84779_118123.shtml

9 .Medvedev declared Foreign Policy Concept in 2008 on July 12, www.kremlin.ru/eng/text/docs/2008/07/204750.shtml

(WTO) membership, active involvement in East Asian affairs and active reaction on many global affairs along with the rising powers like, China, India, Brazil and so and so forth.

In these twenty years of Russia-US relations, there were so many ups and downs, and number of fruitful phases was taken place between Russia and US, amongst them there were three key phases which played prominent role in making the relations in a dynamic change model. To sum them up in three phases as, Fenenko (2013) analyzed;

- ❖ It is during the period of 1992, it was between Bush and Yeltsin, but it was based on so many conditions, like in the form of reducing nuclear weapons, and common security goals.
- ❖ The second period is when Putin came into the helm of affairs, in 2001, during the 9/11 incident, Putin whole heartily supported for the Bush advocated war on terror, Russia didn't sign STAR-11 treaty, in return to that America withdrew from the ABM treaty, but the important aspect of this period is Russia's assistance to America in Afghanistan war though it was Russia's close ally since the cold war period.
- ❖ The most recent period is during the, 2009-11, It is based on three key aspects, a) The escalation of increased nuclear weapons threat reduction, b) the increased military threat due to the Arab crisis, Israel-Palestine crisis, Russia's active involvement in all these regions affairs led to military misconception between these two countries, it has to reduced between two states. So, which led to the Obama administration to rethink in their foreign policy making that went by accepting the cause for concerned things in these two countries.

We even could sum them up on the basis of one survey report regarding the relations between US and Russia, the table says, it was based on the period between 2001 to 2012. Basically, it explains how these two nations relations went through the period. In this connection, it described in the Table below;

Table 2.2: How on the whole do you feel about the United States?

	Mar03 Marc13	Mar04	Jan09	Jan10	Nov10	Jan11	Aug11	Jan12	Sep12
	(percent)								
Very Good	3 5	5	2	4	4	5	5	2	3
Mostly Good	<u>35</u> <u>43</u>	48	36	50	58	55	54	42	43
Total Good	38 48	53	38	54	62	60	59	44	46
Mostly Bad	37 32	26	34	25	22	23	23	31	31
Very Bad	18 7	10	15	6	4	5	6	9	7
Total Bad	55 39	36	49	31	26	28	29	40	38
Don't Know	7 13	11	13	15	12	13	12	15	15
	<u>18</u> <u>7</u>	10	15	6	4	5	6	9	7
	55 39	36	49	31	26	28	29	40	38
	7	11	13	15	12	13	12	15	15

Source: Levada Center (formerly VCIOM) survey, 2001-2013

The table considered the period from 2003 to till 2013. That means it was over all Putin-Medvedev period only. The table says how the relations during Putin and Medvedev duo. It was, like above analyzed manner, the relations over all maintained in a balanced manner, though it had some ups and downs period. The survey said, some 30 to 50 per cent of the people have supported balanced relation. It is describing the horizontal line with red color. But, majority people were opposed to de-stabilization, the another horizontal line with black color explains that.

In a nutshell, the US standing of its anti-missile tankers in Poland and Czech Republic have led to the escalation of new war game in around west and eastern region of the world (Kanet 2010 ; 217). In anyway, the US issued retracts of strategic relationship between Russia and United States is just mirage only. The US support and assistance of NATO'S attack on Serbia without the consent of United States in 1999 (Thorun 2004; 81-104). The NATO's eastward push towards Russia's near territorial region, was, once, part of the USSR, such as Ukraine and Georgia, US reluctance in supporting Moscow's WTO's accession (became part of it in 2012), US withdrawal from Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty, supporting for Kosovo's independence without concerning Russia's interests, and also on Iraq, Libya and Syria's issue's are ever green signs of US's antagonistic tendency towards Russian foreign policy interests.

The Putin era in Russian politics begin again and will decide his future course of action of Russia and its relations with the US in coming days as by any means he is going to be in Duma till 2018, but China and India's role is very crucial in shaping their relations, and much depend on how these countries react to the US-Russia relations.

EU factor in making Russian Foreign policy making

It is true to say that EU will have a central place whenever Russia make foreign policy decision towards the US, because it will determine the nature of relations with other parts of the globe along with the US and China (Mankoff 2008;28). It may be due to the geographical location, economic and political reasons, more importantly the question of Russian identity. Kuchins (2008) says, Russia maintains very strong and assertive foreign policy towards Europe knowing the importance of oil and gas business with the EU member countries. NATO enlargement in the emotionally and territorially attached region in Balkan States, and extending it to Ukraine and Georgia, Kosovo incident, gas disputes and the missile plantation in Poland and Czech Republic have larger implications in Russian-EU relations(ibid).

Mankoff (2008; 29) says that, during 1990's Russia was never considered as important entity in Western foreign policy, they never addressed Russia's concerns on many of its policies, on top of that they created security threat to the Russian territorial integrity by extending NATO membership. Russia could not do anything except expressing their agony, it was because, Russia was not in a position to retaliate their arrogance, whether it was, because, militarily, economically or politically as it was under demoralized mood due to the disintegration of USSR and its over dependence on western aid, liberal values and vision-less leaders attitude towards Russia's role in global politics (ibid).

The relations were further strained when In 1997, the EU was ended and reconstructed Russian foreign policy created new strategy with the EU like. 'Partnership and Cooperative Agreement' amongst the EU members besides Ukraine, which expanded the four common spaces like, economy space, space for freedom, security and freedom, space of external security, space of research and education (DeBardleben 2007 and European Union Commission). At first Russia was in a bit hesitate, and was became EU's policies, but the relations were always kept in the zone of "Zero Sum Game¹⁰", it

¹⁰ . It is basically Economic-Mathematical theory, in IR; it refers to the one State gain to another state loss, politically, or economically. It has greater importance during the cold war period until the first decade of twenty first century.

was because of the EU's US obsession and, their provoking activities around the Russian legitimate territorial region that turned Russia annoyed like EU eastward expansion. When Putin came into the power it was mostly on energy and trade relations between these two entities, and Putin in 2007, said, EU is very common space for them, we will have always good neighborly relations and mutual coexistence (DeBardeleben 2007).

When, Medvedev was made as president, he is Liberalist (Mehdiyeva 2008), maintained cordial relations with the EU, understanding the growing disagreement between the EU and US on number of global policies, for instances, France and Germany did not support for NATO involvement in the Iraq war. Medvedev even extended the Euro Atlantic security treaty to the EU, soon that could halt NATO's eastwards expansion, and their legitimate region like, Ukraine and Georgia, but, the EU was in predicament situation it could not consider. Russia's complacency also forced EU to ignore Russia.

And he is pro-western, that reflected many of his speeches also, for example, in 2010, when he went to Lisbon to attend Russia-NATO council summit he said that, at the moment...

I cannot envision Russia joining the alliance, but everything changes, and so does the North Atlantic Alliance" (Medvedev 2010).

To avoid the indifference between these two regions they established, "the EU-Russia policy on foreign and security policy" in 2010 (Utkin 2013). But their difference came on number of issues, such as, especially on the Syria issue (but the funniest part is Russia was absent when there was election in Security Council on NATO involvement in Libya issue), and Iran's nuclear program. So, it was not so fruitful though but negotiations have been going on still, and as we all know the Iran issue is still lingering every day.

However, the differences of the EU and Russia are belongs to the common space and have similar identity though major political differences. And some even say that Russia would become part of EU, but it never become part of Europe identity. Russia's former Deputy speaker of the Duma, Lukin argued that, Russia's Washington relations is necessary and very important, he says, the relations between Europe and Asia is very

complex and contradictory to carry for Russia, and he went on saying that “Any attempt to force Russia totally into either Europe and Asia are eventually lead to futile and dangerous, it not only cause serious geopolitical imbalances, they even undermine the historically established social and political parity within Russia” (Vladimir Lukin 1992, Mankoff 2008; 69). That shows how important it is for them to cooperate to co-exist and emphasizing their on their autonomy at the present critical juncture instead contemplating to trigger differences. Besides the majority of the Russians, consider that it is important to carry good relations with Europe. Russians never considered themselves as Europeans. One survey described the relations between EU-Russia as below;

Table 2.3: With Which countries do you think Russia should co-operate most of all in its foreign policy?

	All replies %
Western Europe	50
Ukraine, Belarus, CIS	46
USA	30
India, China	29
Japan	23
Arab Countries, Cuba, North Korea	9
Don't Know	15

Source; Levada Center, nationwide survey, 16-19 April 2010, N=1601

The above survey says how Russia should go with the global affairs, emphasis on the Western countries, that means 50 per cent of those who participated in the survey said that, Russia should maintain good neighborly relations with the Europeans. The second place goes to the near abroad and the US. And they gave preference to the developing nations also, 29 per cent people have supported for China and India.

The survey was conducted in the year of 1999, in this, the 56 per cent of the people would not consider themselves as Europeans, and 27 per cent support their European identity i.e. they are not Europeans but they need good neighborly relations. In fact, it is continuous issue between Europe and Russia.

Table 2.4: Do you feel European? Do you feel your affiliation on with the culture and history of the European Community?

	Percent %
Yes	27
No	56
Don't Know	17

Source: Nationwide VCIOM surveys, 1999

However, Putin (2012) recently at OPEC summit in Vladivostok said that, we (EU-Russia) will have kind and constructive relations, this would not be like warfare are trade war and Russia traditionally oriented towards Europe, and he underlined by saying that we depend on EU as Russia's trade with EU at present is 50 per cent', he added (Putin 2012). That shows how EU is important for Russia in terms of trade, security and territorially in coming years due to the growing disagreements between EU and US, and improving relations with the emerging nations.

Revival of Russian Foreign Policy during Putin regime

The revival period in new Russia started with the beginning of the Putin's presidency, until that time it was just transition state with numerous internal and external problems and with an unclear direction. People were in wanton need to uplift their morale which was vanished by the disintegration of the USSR in 1991. The state economy, societal, political problems were neck-deep, it was entirely depended on Western assistance. The backbone of a country to be considered as a major country is its economic status, which was declining every day, spiraling inflation, huge political instability from

the pressure of Oligarchs involvement in Crony Capitalism, the men of people were fed up with the economic difficulties and the existing system. People wanted to lead peaceful life unlike earlier period, and Putin did the right thing in the beginning, in this connection.

The survey conducted by research organization said that how common citizen was in desperate need of economic and social stability and peaceful life who have participated in this survey revealed they supported a well established life (54%) but, the interesting thing in this survey is support for revival of great power status for the country. That means 43 per cent of people still want Russia to become as one of the global power at the earliest. That's what Putin exactly did since the beginning.

Table 2.5: Would you like to see Russia first and foremost a great power, respected and feared by other countries, or a country with a high standard of living, even if not one of the strongest countries in the world ?

	All replies, %
Great Power, Respected and feared	43
High standard of living, even if not great power	54
Don't Know	3

Source: Nationwide VCIOM surveys, 1999

From there Russia started emerging slowly and steadily with Putin's arrival in Russian politics, made Russia one of the strong powers in world politics. Famous on Russian affairs Rumer and Wallander (2003) pointed out that, the Russian economy advanced from mere 4.3% in 2001 to 7.1% in 2003, its currency became very stable, paying international debts without any trouble, citizens were receiving their pensions and wages without any hiatus and, Russia runs trade and economy surpluses, inflation was

reduced marginally and its central bank holds foreign currency of more than 64 billion dollars (ibid).

After that, Putin identified the important economic sectors to uplift the shattered economy, and emphasized on oil and natural gases, natural resources, became one of the largest producer of it, in fact it stood in third and second position in gas production (ibid), Russia making huge profits for the Russian economy, and became one of the stake holder in oil and natural gas production. Russia paid all international debts which were taken during the Yeltsin period. The economy came on the right track (ibid). However, the causes for concern in domestic politics were the Oligarchs¹¹ involvement in domestic politics. Further, Putin centralized this central domination in choosing of state representatives, put business tycoons into policy making and decreased politics, and curbed the critical media, which had anti-government nature. Putin eliminated his opposition and took the direct control of the state. This made Russia one of the strongest states; in fact it was needed at that point of time as well since the state of Russia's internal and external reputation has declined (ibid).

When Putin first introduced the new foreign policy concept as the basis for his foreign policy, he mentioned that, “the basic objective of the Russian Federation foreign policy is to promote Russia’s interests, to become most powerful center in world politics to ensure its security, preserving and strengthening sovereignty and territorial integrity to make Russian federation very strong and authoritative in world community, in a way to promote its political, economic, intellectual and spiritual position” (Russian Foreign Ministry, foreign policy concept 2000). It is the new version of Russian foreign policy unlike Yeltsin period.

Russian foreign policy became more complex, pragmatic and very assertive and also ambitious after Putin came into the power. Russia was generally considered one of the great power countries in the modern world; no country has potential as Russia to balance US hegemonic power. It is not China, India or Brazil but Russia, which is the

¹¹ . Oligarchs refers to the Russian industrialists, who have prominent role in Russian domestic and foreign policy making

only single power and which can constrain US unilateral decisions on any global affairs, whether it is militarily, economically or on any other matter. Russia's decline had led to unrestrained US hegemony. Russia's stabilization has led to a better position to counter balance.

The Putin's aspirations to revive the USSR empire was clearly eclipsed in periodic economic pressure on Ukraine, in the so called Cyber War¹² on Estonia in spring in 2007, invasion of Georgia in August 2008, it indicated the Russia's commitment to reverse the geopolitical changes that occurred in post-cold war Europe and to reestablish its regional dominance and its position as a global power (Kanet 2010; 204). The recent Putin's accession to president clearly signaling his intention to bring back power politics in world by establishing Eurasian Union with inclusion of former Soviet Republics in that entity and growing relations with emerging nations under Putin regime will have larger implications on Russian foreign policy and in global affairs in near future.

Russian Foreign Policy during Medvedev

Medvedev was Putin's choice, introduced the same foreign policy concept with a new vision. In fact by 2008 only Russia reemerged as a dominant player in economic and political affairs besides post Soviet space (Kanet 2010; 210). There were some changes in the new version, instead of great power, Russia's aspiration to become one of the global centers in current international politics, and he started saying "New Russia with a New Vision", with over emphasis on Russia's rising power center. And he went on saying that,

"Creating favorable external conditions for modernization of Russia, transformation of economy through innovation, enhancement of living standards, consolidation of its society, strengthening of the foundations of the constitutional system, rule of law and democratic institutions, realization of human rights and freedoms and, as consequence, ensuring national competitiveness in a globalizing world" (Foreign Policy Concept 2008).

As going to put some of the basic objectives of Putin-Medvedev foreign policy

12 . It refers to the technological war, like blackening and hacking the important Ministries documents. It has been in the news since 21st century due to its huge security threat to the nations in these days.

concepts, the target of objectives that they reach by 2020-

- ❖ It is the duty of the Russian federation to safeguard its security, strengthening its sovereignty and territorial integrity besides to make Russia as one of the gravitational force of the world politics.
- ❖ To raise the living standards of Russians, consolidating its society and creating environment for the larger competitiveness of the country, in a way to make Russia as one of the most modernized state in the world.
- ❖ To promote just and democratic world order on the basis of the supremacy of International law and United Nations.
- ❖ Promotion of good and trust working relations with the near abroad and around the world to eliminate conflicts and friction.
- ❖ To take the suggestions and consensus of the other states and major international organization on many global affairs.
- ❖ To defend the rights and interests of the Russian Citizens around the world, and to promote its language and culture.
- ❖ And to make Russia an independent foreign policy country so that it creates atmosphere that Russia is a democratic country.

Later, Medvedev became very active in extending cooperation and promotion of foreign policy ambitions in different parts of the globe, with more emphasis on Central Asia and West Asia. That led to the more emphasis on Eurasian region. Zeigler (2010) stated that It reflected in Medvedev's first visit in Kazakhstan in 2008 after he became president as relations were strained with the west during Putin period (Kanet 2010; 157). His intention was to firm up the SCO and Eurasian free trade region over emphasis on so called 'Near Abroad'¹³ region, i.e. Central Asian affairs (ibid). The biggest event was the

13 . It is the region of former republics of the USSR, was popularized by Kozyrev, first foreign minister of new Russia, consisting of Five Central Asian Republics, they are, Tadzhikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and, Uzbekistan, besides Central and Eastern Europe and Baltic states. It has very prominent role while making Russian foreign policy.

establishment of BRICS. It was established in the year of 2009 with Yekaterinburg summit in Russia. Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa are part of it. These countries are currently fast developing countries in terms of economy, with same foreign policy, modernization and development goals (Graziani 2012 and BRICS information center official website and Ministry of external affairs ministry of India). The evolution of BRICS as a global force has led to the emergence of multipolar world order in international system (Kadakini 2012), which is considered to be the entity to tackle the US's hegemonic power in global affairs. It will be the biggest success for Russian foreign policy achievement, it brought the China, India, and Brazil (deemed to be the fastest growing countries and politically their say is very important in offing international relations) under the same umbrella. These four countries multilateral and bi-lateral relations will decide the structure of international relations in coming years as we all know how these countries started emerging economically and politically.

One of the major change in last decade of Russian history is its reemergence as a global power, Russian leadership's redefinition of Russia's role in global politics since 2001 has been Russia's emergence as a revisionist power, and it committed to rolling back some of its geopolitical losses that occurred after the collapse of the former USSR and to returning Russia to the status of a major world power (Kanet 2010; 206). Russia's political, economic, social, and domestic and foreign policy was shifted from lenient to assertive and inspirational during the Putin-Medvedev duo regime.

What next with Putin accession as President again

The Putin era in Russian politics restarted again and will decide the future course of action of Russia and its relations with the US and other emerging nations in coming days as by any means Putin is going to be in Duma till 2018, but, China and India's role is very crucial in shaping relations, in fact, much is depends on how these countries react to US-Russia relations. Now, the question that arises is how Russia will engage countries of the Global South, especially the BRICS and new formation like G-20. Many of the important aspects have been mentioned in Medvedev foreign policy concept, such as, multi polarity, independent foreign policy and Russia's active participation on many global affairs, so on and so forth, as scholar Rywkin (2012) says that, they are;

- ❖ Enduring of great power status of Russia in coming international relations would be based on an independent foreign policy of Russia.
- ❖ Active promotion of Russian foreign policy throughout the globe, by emphasizing more on so called near abroad as it is very important for new Russia federation owing to the US over involvement in Central Asian affairs as ever before, it would be based on the blossoming Eurasian Union concept by including existing Eurasian trade union (Russia, Belorussian and Kazakhstan are part of Eurasian trade union).
- ❖ It might even focus on preservation of One party rule system in new Russian federation, but, it would be more on Putin's United Russia and, elimination of potential threat in domestic politics of Russia, we could see it, recently one business tycoon was killed by poisoning him in UK. And lastly the return of great power politics is inevitable with the arrival of Putin.

Conclusion

During the First World War there were many countries which were fought for power valiantly, in those days it was mostly on military and naval power decided the strength of the state but, in modern time it is economy which determines the power a state. The minuscule difference was being between military and economy, it is entirely 'neo-liberal', combination of economy and political relations on the basis of institution regime. Thus, as according to the goals, and foreign policy concept, it should promote their multilateral regime of negotiations towards the third world countries.

Furthermore, the return of Putin as president has raised many questions among many international scholars and political analysts and policy makers. The US concern is that, the Putin's leadership has made Russia re-assertive and, one of the global power within the decade. The man with determination, assertive and pragmatic foreign policy goals, and the highly ambitious leader's dream project to make or bring so called near abroad under one umbrella by establishing Eurasian Union is a potential cause for concern in Western countries as it challenges hegemony, make Russia a global power and helps in multi-polar world and institutions based regime.

Chapter III

The Role of Russian Federation in the evolution of BRICS and G-20

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The Role of Russian Federation in the evolution of BRICS and G-20

Background

Russia entered the 21st century with a mixed feeling as an autonomous international player-deemed to be member of the West but neither as an integrated member of Western security institutions such as NATO nor into the core of an Eastern empire (Trenin 2004). It was during this period, Putin emerged as an unrivaled personality in Russian politics. And, it was due to his masterful and astute strategies, Russia brought back its lost clout as an international player unlike the Boris Yeltsin's regime which had its own sui generis memories. Political and foreign policy objectives of Russia had undergone dramatic changes during this period as the country became more active and aggressive in furthering its interests in international arena unlike the 1990s. To re emerge as a power, Russia had to withstand umpteen obstacles in its way as reflected in its war with Georgia¹ and Chechnya² and also on the question of democracy and violation of human rights. With the US advocacy of "global war on terror" during the early years of 21st century, Putin while whole heartedly supporting the stance of Bush regime, he argued that terror should not be tolerated any where worldwide (Thorun 2004;115). This chapter explains the evolution of BRICS and G-20 as global fora in dealing with the emerging new trends in world politics with reference to role of Russia. It also touches upon the securitization of BRICS and Russia's options as member of these two groups.

The global war on terror has once again drawn Asian continent into the vortex of international politics. In this regard, Bajrectarevic (2011) argues that factors like mushrooming trade and production, impressive economic growth, independent position on foreign currency have made many international scholars to re-examine the role of Asian

¹ The Georgia war took place between Russia and Georgia in 2008 over South Ossetia and Abkhazia over its declaration of their independence from Georgia, Russia intervened in it. This war lasted for five days.

² Chechnya is the region of Russia with Muslim dominated population. There were two wars took place till now, the first one was in 1994-1996 and the second one was in 1999, till now there has been dispute taking place over Chechnya's independence.

continent in the light of its last decade experience of globalization. There have been numerous factors responsible for the emergence of this region as a focal point in the evolving new global political order. For instance, the emergence of China and India as great economic powers, the turbulence in Central Asian Republics, the nuclear imbroglio of North Korea, and the age old peninsular crisis between the two Koreas, and the emergence of ASEAN³ as a powerful regional economic grouping have virtually drawn the attention of North towards Asia again. Further, the emergence of China and India as global players and their growing multilateral relations with Russian Federation on several global political and economic issues have also engendered North's interest in the region.

Russia's Asia's tilt started with the appointment of Primokov as foreign minister for the period 1996-1998, whose orientalist inclination (Mankoff 2007), emphasized the significance of 'Near Abroad' and other Asian countries. Next it was Putin, who gave immense importance to the Third World countries in his foreign and economic policies; it was due to the rejection of the Western domination in global affairs. It was the revival period in new Russian Federation history. The Russian strategic elite wanted to make Russia as global power, owing to that, they brought immense changes in domestic and foreign policies to make people realize the aspiration for their super power status, and got support from other party leaders too. In this connection, a quote from Zyuganov (The Chairman of Russian Communist Party) is important –

“New Russian Federation is the heir to the Old Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. The disintegration of the USSR is criminal and unacceptable; Russia must strive intently but with tranquility to overturn the historical past. It should be, according to international law and its full agreement with those former republics and territories of the USSR ready for the restoration of the fraternal union with Russia in the framework of a unified statehood” (G. A. Zyuganov 2006).

This shows that Russian nationalism is linked to their enhanced international role and, how Russian's were eager to rise again in a rapid manner. It is not only Russian politicians but common citizenry too who are supporting the mainstream nationalist aspirations. A well known Russian research center carried out this survey, to show how

³ Association of Southeast Asian nation (ASEAN) is a geo-political and economic organization. It was established in 1967 with 10 members in it. For further details-www.asean.org/

Russian citizenry support great power ambitions. A sample brief from the report is shown below –

Table 3.1: Do you support the opinion that Russia should restore its status of 'Great Empire?'

Kind of opinion	All replies in %
Definitely support	40
Probably support	38
Probably not support	12
Definitely not support	2
Don't know	7

Source: Levada Center, Nationwide Survey, 21-24, January 2011, N=1,600

According to the above conducted survey, conducted in 2011, which shows 40 per cent of the people of Russia have support for making it a great power state again. 38 per cent of them support this aim in ancillary a manner, but, overall it is somewhere around 78 per cent. That means, 78 per cent of Russians want to make Russia as great power as seen in the past. This provides a great fillip to Putin's aspirations to make the Eurasian region as the Eurasian Union and Russia's assertiveness in international politics (Putin 2011-For Further Details)⁴.

With such popular support, it is an opportunity for the Kremlin foreign policy, that the world is moving towards Multipolar world order with the rise of 'emerging powers'⁵,

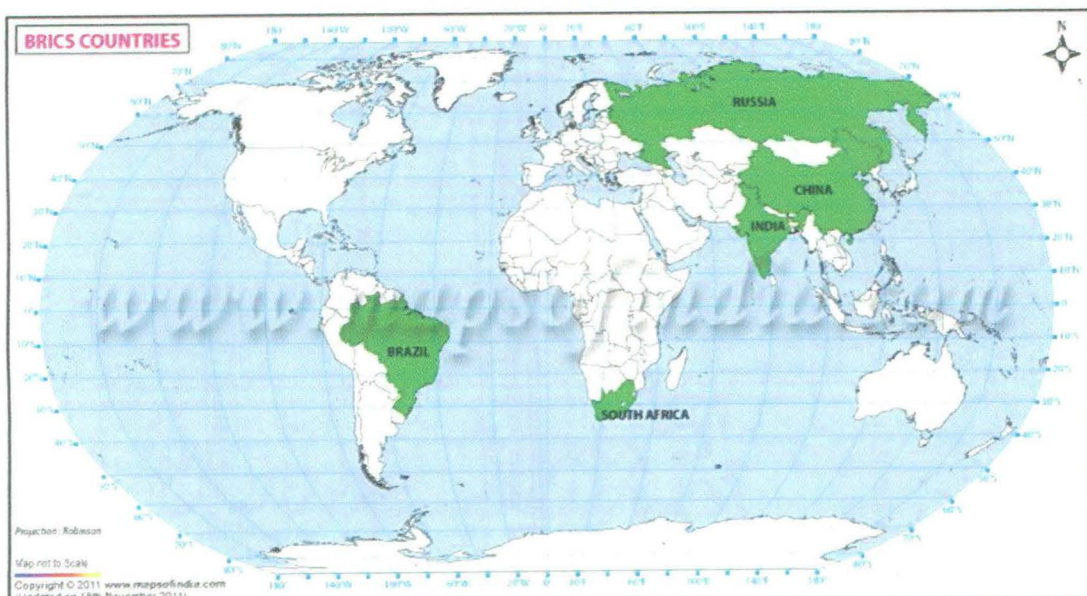
⁴ Putin's article on Eurasian Union in 2011 October 3 in Izvestia News Papers www.russianmission.eu/.../article-prime-minister-vladimir-putin-new-integration-project-eurasia-future-making-izvestia-3

⁵ The concept of emerging powers came with the rising of third world countries in international relations, especially with China, India and Brazil.

(Kadakin 2012), which is a suitable condition that's what Russian foreign policy makers want, in fact, they emphasized it in their foreign policy agenda too. The concept of multipolarity was incorporated into Russian foreign policy in 2008; it tenaciously talked about the democratic distribution of power by mentioning about the 'emerging powers' (Foreign policy concept 2008). Recently, USA's National Intelligence Service released a research document, Global Trends: A Transformed World Till 2025 (2013), in which, they talked about the emergence of China and India and how Russia and China question Western hegemony in world affairs with alliances with emerging countries. It described, 'A multipolar world is emerging with the rise of China, India and other new economies'. The document stated that, by 2025, unipolar international system would be replaced with the newly emerging countries (ibid). This could be a great asset for Russia to tackle Western hegemonic power (National Intelligence Service of US 2013). That clearly states that Russia's stake in international relations would be augmented rapidly in the near future. Hence, there is reason for Russia to orient its foreign policy with the rising nations groups like, BRICS and G-20 and others.

Evolution of BRICS

Figure 3.1: The shading part of the globe indicates the location of BRICS group countries



Source: www.mapsofworld.com/.../brics-countries-map.htm

Ikenberry (2004) analyzed that, 'one of the most prominent and structural change in second half of twentieth century of the international politics was the evolution of world order based on the institutional, and multilateral structure after the end of Second World War. The institutional structure is based on the foundation of the UN, GATT (later WTO) and international financial institutions like IMF and World Bank'. Though, there were some conflicts with the USSR, the other super power till the 1990's, but, largely it was an era of the US, no doubt in that case. It lasted till the end of twentieth century, but, after the emergence of some 'third world' as major powers, the international unipolar world order is gradually shifting towards a multipolar world with more emphasis on aforementioned countries (Kadakin 2012). The emergence of China, India, Brazil and ASEAN and others have completely changed the power structure in present world politics. Many observers of contemporary international politics are using a variety of terms to define the current structure of global politics. They emphasize detente, dependence, or the development of a multipolar world. And compared to the 19th century politics, which were mostly based on nation-state concept, 20th century politics is mainly defined by ideology based (Holsti 1980). However, the current structure is completely different, probably this is the first time that world is moving with different trajectories and causes.

The BRICS group cooperation started first at the level of deputy ministers and heads of the government affiliated agencies. In the beginning the foreign ministers of four countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) met in New York in 2006. Since then the BRICS evolved as a multilateral group while attempting to influence changes in the existing world order through incremental steps (AKULOV 2012). The BRICS comprising Brazil, Russia, China, India and South Africa are not comfortable with the Western dominance (Schirm 2010). Most of the global southern world started realizing their importance in global affairs, forming regional, inter-regional and cooperative groups amongst them. The major groups of the present international order are, BRICS, IBSA⁶, SCO⁷ and G-20. All these countries (groups) have the capacity to play major role in

⁶ . IBSA is an international dialogue forum amongst India, Brazil and South Africa. Established in 2003, basically, they strive for the 'south-south cooperation- www.ibsa-trilateral.org/

⁷ 7. Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was established in 2001 with Shanghai as the headquarters. The official members of this group are, China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan-www.sectsc.org/

contemporary international relations. Russia and China are members of all three groups and, both are members of the UN Security Council. The importance of Security Council in shaping the world politics cannot be discounted. The other prominent members are, India, Brazil and South Africa, deemed to be fastest developing economies at present.

The Third World was in wanton need of leadership as world politics were constantly changing as ever before. These countries see enhanced role in international affairs which was not the case in earlier. Kadakin (2012), who was once a Russian Ambassador to India, says during the New Delhi summit, 'the emergence of BRICS as a global entity has gave the vision of multipolar world in international system with more emphasis on emerging economics. And it would act as global stability factor as well' (ibid). This trend appears to challenge the West. The US politics of 'with us or against us' that George Bush spoke about is no longer the only case. Its trusty ally, the EU is also in a predicament situation. The third world voice was gaining strength in many global affairs. Global politics is becoming ever more scattered with emphasis on economic, trade and environmental and climate issues. Thus, the world is rapidly moving towards a multipolar, multidimensional world order (Grazini 2012).

In this scenario, Russia started sliding towards emerging powers, and has considered the importance of the global south (Mentioned in foreign policy concept 2008). In fact, Russia started moving towards the global south during the Primakov period, who was the second foreign minister of the new Russia. His anti-west temperament led him to move towards the southern part of the globe by emphasizing on developing nations. He placed more emphasis on Russia's great power ambition on global affairs. It is clear that, how these policies are challenging the West and the US throughout the 1990's of the global affairs. This was evident in the way Russia and China reacted to Yugoslavia, NATO's east ward expansion. The United States - NATO's push towards Ukraine and Georgia has given a huge blow to Russia's broader territorial contiguity (Kanet 2007; 205). The disappointment over the West's ignorance of Russian foreign policy reached a pinnacle when Putin became president of Russia. Russia's disappointment came out since the second half of the 1990's when Yeltsin expressed displeasure with Western world intervention in Yugoslavian internal affairs.

Within one year after his election as Prime Minister in 1999, Putin became president in 2000. Since then, through his pragmatic and assertive foreign policy, Putin has extended his network of allies with the likeminded states to contain the United States from assuming a dominant global position (Kanet 2007; 209). For example, the multipolar concept is mentioned in every Indo-Russian strategic partnership document. Putin regularly reminded Russia and the world that the collapse of USSR is the greatest blow to the international geopolitical structure because during the bi-polar international system the Third World countries had a choice of joining either of two alliances or to stay neutral. This choice came to an end with the collapse of the Soviet Union. In 2007, at Munich, during the international security conference, Putin's attack on western hegemony and unilateral decisions on many global affairs have clearly reflected his nationalistic and revisionist foreign policy goals (Putin at Munich Security Conference 2007).

Since then, Mankoff argues that Putin's foreign policy started focusing on, and making a form of international relations in which large states are an alternative-custodian of the global order, it is the place where any state can carry their nationalistic approach where deemed fit, respecting the sovereignty of each other as important within the location of influence and maintaining a general balance of power among themselves (Mankoff 2008; 12). Putin recognized the importance of the third world since the beginning of his second presidency days, and extended greater cooperation at multilateral level. That led to the establishment of BRICS and SCO. Thus he promoted the importance of India, China and Brazil as and it is largely Putin, who initiated and promoted the creation of BRICS as a larger entity in global politics. The new foreign policy concept of Russia clearly stated about BRICS that –

“The establishment of BRICS reflects an objective trend in the global development, the one towards the formation of a polycentric system of international relations, which is increasingly characterized by the use of non-institutionalized mechanisms of global governance and network-based diplomacy, and the growing economic interdependence of states” (Foreign policy concept 2013 and MEZYAEV 2013).

Thus even though the acronym of BRIC was first used by Jim O Neil in 2003, it is Russia who took over and steered the concept. An important question to seek answer is

why these countries are considered as emerging? In what terms are they emerging? Will they have capacity to play the global power? There are some other countries, like, Indonesia, Turkey, Iran, Korea, Bangladesh, Egypt and etc are also considered the emerging nations (Neill 2006; 159-164), but, these countries (BRICS) possess a range of economic, military and political power resources, they have the resources to contribute to the creation of a new international order, may be regionally or globally, and they have some degree of internal cohesion and capacity for effective state action. They are the fastest emerging nations at the present juncture, and of course, they are some, which are heading towards greater economic, political and military entities (Grazini 2012). Hurrell (2006) analyzed their relations by highlighting them with four reasons he gave for their pivotal role. They are as below-

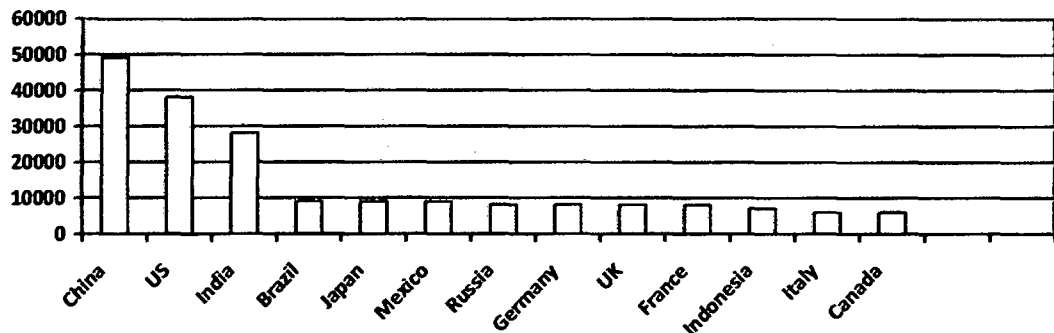
- ❖ They are heading at a faster rate or growth in terms of their economic, political and military resources, and they can manage to create new international order globally with their immense economic, military and political resources and clout. They have become manufacturing and service hub for the global economy.
- ❖ BRICS has the greater advantage due to their regional location and natural resources. And the most important aspect of all these countries is their greater aspiration to become influential player in global affairs.
- ❖ The third reason is that, their regional and inter-regional cooperation mushrooming rapidly, for instance, SCO, BRICS, IBSA, and also the bilateral relations were reached at well acclaimed pace.
- ❖ And, these countries have sorted out several of their difference in many ways compare to the other emerging states in terms of their goals, aspirations and well placed political and economic stability. All of them have the aspiration to become global powers.

Some of the Notable Aspects of BRICS

The term BRIC was first used by Jim O. Neill, a Goldman Sachs Executive, in 2001 by projecting about their growth rate in next fifty years of the international system.

But, this was discussed mostly the macroeconomic aspects of these countries. Like GDP growth rate, availability of natural resources, and demography (Graziani 2012). That could be seen below mentioned chart; 2005 US \$ billion the largest economies in next 2050 years.

Figure 3.2: The largest Economies in next 2050 years.



Source: Global economics Paper No; 134. P. No.8. Goldman Sachs. 2005.

In 2006, Putin offered greater collaboration amongst these emerging countries. The discontent between the West and Russia forced Putin to go for such kind of change in his foreign policy. According to the US National Investigative Agency research, it said (2013) if the current growth rate of BRICS countries grow at the same manner it would overtake G-7 nations' GDP by 2040-2050. China will become more powerful amongst all these countries in terms of economy and military and India's growth rate will remain more or less same and both would strive for multipolar world order. Russia has the more potential to become more powerful and rich if it would diversify its economy and integrate with the global economy (it became member of the WTO recently). The BRICS countries are growing fast that their combined economic growth would mirror the present richest countries of the world by 2050, consisting more than a quarter of the whole world land area. These five countries have 40 per cent of the world population and 35 percent of global foreign exchange reserves. It is true that since last 10 years BRICS combine contributed over a third of world GDP increase and growth from 1/6 to quarter in PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) terms (AKULOV 2012). According to the IMF projection about BRICS countries growth how these countries are advancing is explained through a table mentioned as below;

Table 3.2: BRICS in the Global Economy, 1991-2015, in percent of world total, period average

Year	1991-94	2000-04	2005-09	2010-15
BRICS population	44.7	43.6	42.8	41.7
BRICS GDP	5.8	8.5	13.1	20.7

Source: IMF and World Economic Outlook, October 2010, WEO projection for 2015

So by any means it is going to dominate in upcoming international relations very soon. The Goldman Sachs report also stated that (2003), BRIC countries growth would reach current G-6 countries (the US, Japan, the UK, France, Germany and Italy) GDP by 2020 and it would overtake it by 2040.

Systemic Analysis of BRICS, Summit By Summit

There have been five BRICS Summits held till date; the first summit was in Yekaterinburg in 2009, Russia. The second summit was in Brasilia in 2010, Brazil. The third one was in Sanya, 2011, China. The fourth one was in New Delhi, 2011, India, and the most recent Summit was in Durban, South Africa, 2012 (BRICS information Center 2013-BRICS Summits-www.brics.utoronto.ca/)

The first Summit was held in Yekaterinburg, June 16, Russia, some of the important outcomes of this summit are given below.

1. Commitment to reform in the international economic institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Bank, these changes should mirror the changes in the world economy. The emerging nations or developing countries should have greater voice and larger representation in the aforementioned institutions. Their heads and executives must be elected through an open, transparent, and merit based selection process. And the BRICS also strive for to build stable, strong, predictable and diversified international monetary system.

2. There must be democratic and transparent decision making, and their effective implementation as soon as possible, and it should have legal basis in global financial institutions.
3. The BRICS understand the importance of foreign directive investment and international trade to address recent economic recession, so, in this connection the BRICS call upon all international actors to strive hard to overcome the gloomy environment in international economy, and BRICS argue that states should keep international trade stable, remove protectionism and also fight for progressive outcome in WTO's Doha Development agenda⁸.
4. Effective and proper implementation of 'Sustainable Development' agenda with focus on environmental security especially the Rio Declaration⁹ and other multilateral arrangements for mitigating climate change.
5. The BRICS enhanced greater cooperation among themselves in societal problem areas, and strengthen for humanitarian assistance program and for the reduction of natural disaster risks and also campaign for global food security.
6. BRICS countries are committed to create multipolar world order with the democratic decision making process on the basis of international law principles, and it would be stressed for collective representation, mutual cooperation, and collective decision making of emerging nations , and it also reiterates the peaceful resolution of all international disputes.
7. International diplomacy should be based on the multilateral level with the United Nations playing the central role for eliminating global challenges and threats alongside reforming the United Nations Security Council to meet the interests of emerging nations.

⁸ . Doha Development agenda established in 2001, which explains the ongoing trade negotiation to lessen the trade barriers around the world, For further details-www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dda_e/dda_e.htm

⁹ . Rio Declaration convention was held in Brazil in 1992 under the aegis's of United Nations to discuss the increasing global warming; For further details-www.un.org/documents/ga/conf151/aconf15126-1annex1.htm

8. Finally, the BRICS stated that these ensure our relations of emerging nations would be based on the pragmatic, mutual trust, open and transparent way to enhance greater cooperation in economic and trade to carry long lasting peace and tranquility of the world (Russia 2009).

The hopes and aspirations were accordingly to change the structure of present international relations. After first summit, in second and third there were no drastic changes in except offering invitation for Brazil (2010), and South Africa (2011). The colossal change in BRICS summit came in New Delhi declaration in India, 2011. In this summit these five countries were contemplating to establish BRICS Development Bank to meet the interests of emerging nations and over take Dollar (\$) domination from international trade. It was stated under the theme of, "*BRICS Partnership for Global Stability, Security and Prosperity*" (Akulov 2012). Some of the important features of New Delhi Summit are listed as below.

1. BRICS entity is a place for conducting dialogue and cooperation amongst their member states which is contributing 43 per cent of the global populations for promoting international peace, security in multipolar world, which is intrinsic, in a highly inter-dependent globalizing world. Because of inter-regional membership from Asia, Europe, Latin America and Africa have been contributing for its greater significance in world politics.
2. The reform process of international monetary institutions is very slow, hence, it should implement urgently. The allocation of quota system should be very transparent to represent developing nations' interests.
3. Brazil, India and South Africa were looking forward to the G-20 convention because it would be held in Russia in 2013 so that they can surface their voice to the developed society through Russian presidency.
4. They said they were still committed to reform global institutions like, the United Nations, especially Security Council to make more representative, effective and efficient so that meet emanating global challenges and threats.

5. BRICS re-affirm that accelerating growth, food and energy security were the most prominent challenges facing modern world, hence, we have to address the economic development, combating hunger and malnutrition and eradicating poverty from developing nations. And also, we should strive for creating job opportunities; improve people living standards, sustainable growth to meet our prosperous aspirations (Ministry of External Affairs India 2012-www.mea.gov.in/global-issue-detail.htm?84/4th+BRICS+Summit).

The seeds of the BRICS Development Bank have been planted in this summit only, it created immense debate in Western society, and it would be larger implications in upcoming international relations very soon.

The Durban summit (also called the eThekweni Declaration) officially declared the establishment of BRICS development Bank. On declaring about this, they (BRICS leaders) said, 'it would be to appropriately use global financial resources for infrastructure and sustainable development in BRICS nations and other emerging nations (BRICS official Website-BRICS Development Bank 2013). The key aspect of this summit would be musing about establishing BRICS development Bank which was mooted in New Delhi Summit. Emerging markets (Developing Countries) analysts believe that a BRICS development bank, it was first mooted at BRICS summit in Delhi (2011), India it could help to create jobs in South Africa and promote greater trade on the African continent by funding new infrastructure. And also it would create greater enthusiasm in emerged countries (All Africa Global Media, March 14, 2013). The basic theme of this conference was, 'BRICS and Africa; Partnership for Development, Integration, and Industrialization'. Some of the important aspects of this summit are given below -

- ❖ Our basic theme is to come under the same umbrella in the form of BRICS was to promote, International law principles, multilateralism, and the United Nations principles effectively. And to reinforce commitment towards global peace, stability, development and cooperation.
- ❖ They declared that, they would engage and cooperate with non-BRICS countries, especially, emerging markets and developing countries and other regional

organizations. And also, we go with the African leaders under the theme of, 'Unlocking African potential; BRICS and African Cooperation on Infrastructure'. We also affirm for African continent integration.

- ❖ The summit said, they would support for G-20 development agenda as prominent cause for global economic stability, long term sustainable growth and job creation.
- ❖ The leaders are deeply concerned with the situation prevailed in Syria, and the Middle East, and they strongly argue with international community to sort out the Iran nuclear issue by negotiations.

And they said, the international agreed goals, including the UN development goals should meet the needs of the developing nations. And many might face developmental concerns like, poverty and inequality. And we are committed to achieve Millennium Development Goals by 2015, and also, in this regard we call upon international community to follow this objectives as soon as possible to reach the target set by the United Nations (Ministry of External Affairs India 2013-www.mea.gov.in/in-focus-topic.htm?87/5th+BRICS/Summit) The next summit will be held in Brazil in 2014.

BRICS - is it a myth or a Threat?

The reasons behind the emergence of the third world countries, due to the changing structure of international political and economical system, politics does not make any difference in today's post modern world politics, if they take collective action in economic and trade diplomacy, this collective action brings huge changes in matters related to domestic and international relations. No state can act alone, in integrated global economy to depend on other nation on many aspects. We can see how better relations have impacted erstwhile rivals like, India-China, France-Germany, UK-France-Germany. Modern state politics are largely driven by effective diplomacy with immense economy, trade and commercial dependence and inter-dependence.

The reality is that, the southern countries problems are diversified and magnified, it is the most volatile region of the globe, and many parts are very war prone. The south also faces many other concerns like, terrorism, separatism, extremism and external intervention

in internal matters. So, though it had emerged as a cooperative economic group, the BRICS should expand from the economic cooperative group to a political and economic entity, and also look at security concerns.

The Asian continent is lacking a security organization which represents a whole southern world, if they go for establishing one powerful security organization, which can deal Asian continent and southern security aspects focusing on threats and risks of the region to make it safe as Western world have NATO. But, there isn't a separate security organization to protect their security interests as the major advanced countries of the region. Professor Bajrectarevic (2011) said that, there is an absence of any particular multilateral security organization in the Asian continent, even though they have several bilateral security cooperation agreements. He said that, the Asian continent is advancing just like Europe when they were in phase of progress. It is clear that collective security organization can reduce the number of wars amongst them. And it's true that there were no wars as such after the establishment of the NATO. It is an axiom that Asian continent is one of the volatile regions in the world despite the fastest growing and aspiring countries like, China, India and Russia.

Recently, American national intelligence council released one document, named, "Global Trends 2025; A Transformed World", in which, they said (2013) that the Multipolar world was emerging with the rise of the Third World countries, like, India, China and other countries. With this trend, the non state actors, such as, MNCs, ethnic groups, religious organizations and even criminal networks etc will mushroom rapidly (Global Trend-2025, 2013; 8). Zakaria (2008), in his book, "The Post American World", stated that, rise of the rest is inevitable, the existing system is going to replace in very near future, it would more on southern world only. Nye (1990), who talked about the importance of 'Soft Power' in the present world, stated, soft power, has a greater role in shaping global relations in coming years. If at all war takes place it would be through the greater role of soft power.

On considering the mayhem around the region of these three countries and throughout the Southern region of the globe, it would be logical if the South evolved an

effective global security organization like NATO to tackle their inter-regional security problems. And also, to overcome all these hurdles, to tackle western hegemonic domination on international relations and, to make it more safe path, they should contemplate for establishing a powerful security organization sooner before with the coordination of the third world countries. The evils of the globe at present are -

1. Terrorism.
2. Environment disorder.
3. Separatism.
4. Humanitarian intervention.
5. The threat of Cyber War.

A fundamental question is, when BRICS are willing to go for economic and financial cooperation by contemplating to establish BRICS development Bank at global level, should not they at some stage go for security cooperation in multilateral level? And BRICS leaders clearly stated many times that this group is not threat to any other group or Western world as it is mere economic cooperation only. During the New Delhi summit, Chinese foreign ministry affiliated think tank clearly said that, BRICS is ad-hoc political club, not anti-West or the US (Ross 2011). And also, Putin (2013) recently before the inaugural function of the Durban summit, he stated that, “The BRICS mechanism that will enable to seek joint solutions for key issues in the world politics,” and, “We are not viewing BRICS as a geopolitical competitor to the western countries and their organizations and on the contrary we are open to discussions with all interested parties within the framework of multipolar peace model” (Strategic Culture Foundation, March 22, 2013). So as of now the evolution of southern countries is not at all a threat to any other international organization, and region. Kadakin (2012), who was the Russian Ambassador to India, during the ahead of New Delhi summit, said that BRICS entity is not a military, political or ideological bloc. That shows how their committed to their vision.

Evolution of G-20

Another prominent international group is the G-20, which was succeeded by G-8 after the financial crisis in 1998. It is one of the largest economic forums of the world's most developed and developing countries established as an instrument of global crisis management immediately after the 2008 economic crisis (Indo-Asian News Service, February 16, 2013). The developed countries recognized the importance of the emerging states and extended cooperation and started huddle with them on many global economic affairs. The G-20 holds regular annual meetings to discuss about the financial concerns of the world. According to the G-20 official website (2013), it stated that, the G-20 consists the total 90 per cent of the world GDP. It adds 80 per cent to the global trade. One interesting aspect with G-20 countries is that it shares 2/3 of the world population. 84 per cent of the fuel of the world is emanating from the G-20 countries only (G-20 official website 2013). The shading area indicates G-20 countries geographical in the globe

Figure 3.3: World Map by shading G-20 group member countries.



Source: www.mapsofworld.com/world-maps/g20-countries.html

There were eight G-20 summits held so far, they are, the first summit was held in Washington DC in 2008 in the US. The second summit was held in London 2009, the UK. The third summit was conducted by the US again in Pittsburgh in the same year. The

fourth summit took place in Toronto, Canada in 2010. The fifth summit held in Seoul, South Korea in 2010. The sixth summit was conducted by France in Cannes, 2011. The seventh summit was held in Los Cabos, Mexico again in the same year, 2012. The most recent one, the eighth would be held in 2013 St. Petersburg, in Russia (G-20 information center-G-20 Summits 2013).

A Brief History about the G-20

The reforms of international financial architecture and G-7 came in Washington DC in the year of 1999. And, of course the idea of G-7 to G-10 group emerged in the US Treasury in 1990's only. But, Paul Martin is considered to be the proponent of G-20 name first in 1999, who was the then finance Minister of Canada. He thought that emerging economies should be at the table and be part of the global financial architecture (G-20 Information center-History of G-20;17-www.g20.utoronto.ca/). In the beginning there was suspicion amongst the countries those who had offered membership in G-20, but over a period of time these have evaporated as they thought that it would be the chance to go along with the developed nations (ibid). In this connection, Ahead of the 2000 Ministerial Meeting, Trevor Manuel, the then finance minister of South Africa, stated that,

“Next week, we go to the G-20 meeting in Canada a group that includes ‘systemically significant’ countries, like ourselves, influential, although not powerful; countries with a voice with potential. The G-20 provides us with opportunity to make allies among the middle powers to engage with the G-7; to push for structural change in a world where the inequalities are often reinforced by what, in the post Cold War era, has been a completely lopsided balance of power. We do this for ourselves, but we also need to engage on behalf of our neighbors because if our neighbors fall by the wayside, we are dragged down too” (Trevor speech in South Africa, October 24, 2000).

On initiating the G-20 countries ministers and governors, they adopted the G-20 countries Communiqué. In which they said that, “The G-20 was established to provide a new mechanism for informal dialogue in the framework of the Bretton Woods institutional system, to broaden the discussions on key economic and financial policy issues among systemically significant economies and promote co-operation to achieve stable and sustainable world economic growth that benefits all” (G-20 information center, G-20 History, 1999; 26).

Since then the meetings of the G-20 members taking place frequently for discussing multiple global financial, trade and economy problems. The basic theme for establishing G-20 is mentioned as below;

- ❖ It encourages policy coordination amongst G-20 members in order to achieve global economic stability.
- ❖ The G-20 promotes financial regulations that reduce risks and it prevents future financial problems.
- ❖ It encourages modernizing international financial architecture (G-20 official website, Theme of G-20 2013).

Since my attempted research topic deals with the Russia and two cooperative groups like BRICS and G-20, I will focus here on G-20 with reference to the Russia. As I already mentioned about the previous G-20 conferences I do not want to go into very detail here. The upcoming G-20 summit in St. Petersburg, Russia, in September has immense importance as far as Russian foreign policy is concern, because it will give opportunity for them to promote their global economy interests amicably. The reason behind is that Russia became part of WTO recently after twenty years of isolation from global trade and economy. Braterski (2012) says that, for Russia, the G-20 format is very important to promote their economic interests. It may be long term or short term but their impact would in long term only. And he proposed four long term goals to be achieved being part of G-20 are mentioned as below –

- ❖ To eliminate the hurdles which ever causing in conducting foreign trade, execution of international financial operations and accumulation of reserves in national currencies.
- ❖ Russia should try to lessen the contradictory national fiscal policies peculiarities of the concerned countries that produce world reserve currencies and the interests of the countries those who use them.
- ❖ Russia should start thinking about establishing control over fitful transfers of huge

volumes across its borders.

- ❖ Russia must stabilize prices for key items of its exports.

As of now Russia is considering above mentioned aspects with the G-20 group in long term, the coming G-20 meeting under Russian presidency has given golden opportunity for them to hold meeting with developed and developing countries under one umbrella to forward and share their economic and trade interests. And also they can use this platform to extend their political interests also. Putin already initiated the process of it. During the recent G-20 finance ministers and Central Bank governors meeting he argued with them that (2013), “The leaders are always between two factors in taking decisions, they are, need to take decisions and should get opportunity to translate them into reality”(ITAR-TASS World Service, February 16, 2013). So the main priorities of Russian G-20's Russia's presidency are mentioned as below-

Table 3.3: Russia’s G-20 presidency priorities

Growth Through Effective Regulation	Growth through quality Jobs and Investment	Growth through Trust and Transparency
Strengthening Financial Regulation	Framework for Strong sustainable	International Financial Architecture Reform
Enhancing Multilateral Trade	Financing for Investment	IMF quotas and governance reform
Energy sustainability	Jobs and Employment	Government borrowing and Public debt Sustainability
Energy Infrastructure and regulation	Tacking Structure	Fighting Corruption
Predictable energy	Unemployment	
	Employment of Vulnerable groups	

markets	Development for All	
GMEP Initiative	Food Security	
	Infrastructure	
	Human Capital	
	Financial Inclusion	
	Post MDGs	

Source: Priorities of Russia's G-20 presidency in 2013, G-20 official website. July, 2013.

During talking about Russia's G-20 presidency goals Putin said (2013), "Russia proposes that the G20 agenda would be focused on the main tasks of ensuring balanced growth in a way it would create jobs so that it could stimulate investment, increase transparency and develop effective regulation of it" (Indo-Asian News Service, February 16, 2013). Since Russia became part of WTO it would get chance to meet all leaders of developing and developed countries and through which they can achieve their above mentioned goals. Putin already started pressuring the members of the G-20 countries to accept and adopt their aspects which ever they put forward by them. In this connection, Ksenia Yudaeva, who is the chief of Russian presidency expert, stated (2013), "Russia has chosen the right priorities in the upcoming meeting, as economic growth is the issue of at present period of the world, and discussions of it are never-ending, and so our key goal is to draft a policy for supporting economic growth"(Interview with Ksenia Yaeuva 2013, G-20 official website).

However, the success of G-20 is depended on how these countries coordinate themselves considering conditions prevailed in present world political and economic scenario. The well known fact is that economic diplomacy is the key factor of modern day politics. So, on this occasion Russia, China and India role is very crucial here in next power-economic politics. Hence Russia should have to coordinate all countries,

irrespective of the developed and developing countries and it should focus on making all these entities to come under the one umbrella to tackle the engulfed economic problems of the present world with the ensuing G-20 and G-8 meetings. So the success of G-20 would be depended on reasons mentioned by Kosolapov (2013) as below -

- ❖ The G-20 has the ability to coordinate to arrange the competent meetings among its members, so Russia should make it possible.
- ❖ Most of the G-20 members are ready to face the ensuing economic, social and environmental challenges. Hence, Russia must haste them to tackle them besides to elaborate its goals and objectives to protect its interests.
- ❖ And, besides that with the assistance of G-20, Russia should engage other international organizations, prominent global institutions to execute the recommendations made by upcoming G-20 meeting (Kosolapov 2012).

Conclusion

It is true that the global politics is changing drastically with the evolution of BRICS. Most of the times in history of Global politics, the change (replacement of existing system or world order) has came only after the hundred or more than that, at least the existing system lasted fifty years. Professor Hurrell (2007) has given three reasons of the change in International Relations, which he classified as –

- ❖ Global society should fathom in terms of power, and management of legal and moral norms.
- ❖ It is said that, the international society can be lucidly narrated through historical and sociological depth.
- ❖ The state-system might not come into being without the degree of cultural unity amongst all their members.

The current international system is challenging the US hegemonic of world politics. The US decline was reflected in their sub-prime economic crisis which led to the economic recession. Throughout the world and many of the world market plunged into deep crisis. It violated many important aspects of global treaties, conventions, and agreements, for instance, US placed their missiles in Poland and Czechoslovakia, France and Germany have not supported for their involvement in Afghanistan, and Iraq besides Libya. And their un-necessary involvement in many global affairs led to the evolution of new world in international relations. It is in this circumstances the G-7 has grown to g-20 and BRICS has diversified. The Russian Federation foreign policy correctly predicted this development. Russia help in the construction of BRICS and has been its biggest supporter.

Chapter IV

Russian Foreign Policy in a Multipolar World

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Background:

It's been twenty three years on since the dissolution of the USSR and Russian Federation was the main successor state. In these Twenty three years of itinerary Russia's political system and foreign policy has undergone drastic changes, it was restructured, renovated, while its foreign and domestic policies have experienced significant changes (Kanet 2010: 204). It was the only federation which stood firmly against the US during the second half of the twentieth century with super power status during the Cold War period. In the beginning of the new Russian Federation days, it sought to imitate itself with the Western countries, and was in deep trouble because of with domestic and external reasons. The foreign policy primarily was pro Western, ignored many other regions of the Globe, including the important former Soviet Union Republics, so called the 'Near Abroad', that were geographically linked with Russia for centuries, and had have immense importance. Southern world was a lesser priority. In this chapter I will deal on the emerging new trends in International politics, their role in changing world politics and Russia's foreign policy towards the changing global politics. I will also focus on Putin's elevation once again as president and his foreign policy objectives in upcoming international politics.

Russia in first decade of 21st Century

Before 1991, Russia as part of the USSR was a 'Super Power'¹ along with the US (Zhuplev 2008). But, Wallender and Celeste (2007) said that, after the dissolution of the USSR, there was a complete makeshift in foreign policy making, Russia started focusing on emerging nations, mostly on the Asia so that they can tackle Western countries hegemonic domination on many of the global affairs. Putin came into the presidency in 2000, many people were amused when he was made president by Yeltsin, and some people

1. 'Super Power' is the phenomenon of world politics, where one country or two countries play dominant role, for instance, the Soviet Union, and the US were the super power status countries. Russia wants regain that status in multipolar world order.

were expected some hope in Putin as they all were disappointed with the first ten years of Yeltsin period. The main and primary objectives of Putin initial stage were;

- ❖ To strengthen the Russian State
- ❖ Growth and stabilization of the economy, and revival of manufacturing and managing energy resources.
- ❖ Restoring Russian status as a global player in World Affairs (Wallander 2003)

Further, Putin started focusing on strengthening the Russian State because it was shattered and undermined after 1991, with political instability, and with the loosely structured federal nature of Russia. Putin re-centralized the political system putting an end to fissiparous tendency of the some of the republics. The cause of destabilized economy led for international aid, which was weakening Putin, so, he changed growth strategies and put them on track by increasing energy exports, which stimulated economic growth and even paid their all international debts within the short span of time.

Putin wanted to change phase in 1990's, by restoring Russian power status. For the first time, when, Putin introduced foreign policy concept of Russia (FPCR), he flaked US' unilateral decisions on many number of International Affairs, he mentioned that, 'Unilateral actions and decisions of the US on many global affairs has divided the World, might become the reasons to escalate tensions around the World and a cause for concern in multilateral relations, that has led to strife in religious and national harmony' (Foreign Policy Concept, 2000). That shows how he was critical of US domination in global affairs. After that, Considering the US involvement in Central Asian affairs, Russia wanted to balance in global affairs and the (Central Asian States) CAS² as Russian sphere of influence and economic cooperation. Russia established the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 2001 with China along with the five Central Asian Republics. The

2. There Five countries in the CAS, they are, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Strategically this region very important for both Russian and the US, but, Russia doesn't accept the US involvement in Central Asian affairs, because the geographical location of this region very near and these are very dear states for them due to their immense Gas and Energy resources.

primary objectives of this organization is to eliminate three challenges from this region, they are, 'terrorism', 'extremism' and 'separatism', and extending mutual cooperation in military, security, economic and cultural relations (Aris 2009). Thus, the increasing closeness among these states have paved the way for elimination of long lasting border disputes, establishing varied forms of cooperation with China in trade, commerce and security, and participating in global governance. Over all Russia started re-emerge in global affairs during Putin regime.

When Medvedev became president in 2008, he proposed a foreign policy concept of Russian Federation. The world was bemused and critical at Russian priorities in the upcoming international relations. Medvedev's proposal were based on the Russian constitution, federal laws, international treaties in which Russia was part of, and international law principles, and also the national security strategy of the Russian Federation. It clearly mentioned to create multipolar world order on the basis of objectives of the United Nations Principles (Foreign Policy Concept of Russia 2008). The shift from West to East of Russian foreign policy turned towards Asian Pacific region considering the importance of the Asian Pacific region countries stake in global foreign, trade and commercial relations. Medvedev prioritized the East with emphasis on China, ASEAN, besides Japan also (Harris 2005). This is also evidence that the emergence of China would have beneficial as well challenges for Russian foreign policy.

Later, he tried to balance the power shift from West to East under Putin guidance, and he critiqued the US missiles that were kept in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and he went on emphasizing that new cold war seeds are being planted (Kanet 2010 ; 217). Then, the major impact on Russian foreign policy during the period of Medvedev was the war with Georgia³, signing of new START treaty⁴ between the US and Russia, and its good relations with Europe (ibid). Furthermore, the important aspect of this period was that Medvedev

3. The Georgia war took place in 2008, this was held due to the declaration of independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia (they are part of Georgia). Russia intervened in the name of humanitarian assistance but largely incensed by global community, Russia didn't care it though, because Russia thought its their internal matter.

4 Strategic Arms Reduction treaty (START), was signed between the US and Russian federation for reducing offensive arms by 2021 drastically to protect posterity from the war. This treaty is not only important for these two countries, it is has prominence to the world society also.

and Obama met twelve times. It was the first time in the US-Russia history for presidents as to meet so many times. But, the trust was short-lived as Russia and the US have had few different positions like the one on Libya issue, when there was voting in the Security Council on NATO involvement on Libya⁵, Russia was absent. It opposed Western countries sanctions on Iran nuclear issue⁶. Russia choose to put prevent and disagreements for example, abrogated some of the trade deals which had been put in place earlier. One important incident during his period was, it offered Europe a Euro Atlantic Security treaty⁷ to decrease the US involvement in the Europe, but, owing to its misconceptions and undisclosed objectives of this treaty, Europe aborted it. Russian reorientation of the Asia policy created by Medvedev can considered a breakthrough in foreign policy. Russia joining in the WTO is also an important step⁸ (Strategic Comments 2012).

The Kosovo independence is one of the negative blots on Russian foreign policy (Baranovsky 2008). Russia tried to prevent NATO from expansion and focused more on Asian affairs, by emphasizing on 'Rising Power States', like, China, India, and Brazil, and, the negative aspect of his foreign policy was to support Iran issue for Western countries trade sanctions on Iran's nuclear program. In fact, it brought negativity to his foreign ministry in domestic level also. Medvede encouraged developing nations to participate and play key role in changing world politics. But is also saw failure in Libya issue and ongoing

5. It was held in 2011 to oust existing government of Muammar Gaddafi, the Civil War took place between government and the common people, eventually, the NATO forces were intervened in it to oust him, for that there was voting in the UN Security Council, according the 1973 resolution NATO was accepted to go ahead. Russia and China was absented in voting, considered to be the great blow to the Russian foreign policy.

6. The nuclear program of Iran started in the year of 1950, lasted till the 1979 with the Western support, after Iran revolution it disbanded considering fact that they are anti-Islamic, recently due to the growing discomfort between Iran and the West led them to go for producing them. After IAEA's report that it producing nuclear weapons the West imposed sanctions on its oil and gas trade so that to block the Iran's economy, Russia supported it, as usual enthralled criticism from domestic side.

7. This treaty was promoted in 2009 by the then Russian president, Medvedev to quench the NATO and the US domination in the Europe, and he said that NATO might not enough to resolve the global problems, but, it was not accepted by Western countries. In fact, it was great initiative from Russia, but, poor implementation of them led it to evaporate.

8. The WTO was established in 1995, headquarter is in Geneva, Switzerland, and there 144 members in it, Russia is the 145 member country. It is intended to liberalize and supervise international trade. It is the great fillip to the Russian economy in ensuing days.

Syria issue⁹ for Russian foreign policy. Over all it was more indicative foreign policy rather than Putin's commanding foreign policy.

Foreign Policy of Russia, and the concept of Multipolarity

The concept of multipolarity is not very recently origin, the features of multipolarity had during World War I and World War II, we even could notice them since the emergence of industrial revolution in the Europe, for instance, 1648, 1815 conferences. As far as Russia is concern, the collapse of the USSR severely affected Russian politics. Thus, the phenomenon of multipolarity sought to promote by Russian foreign policy makers and put it in their foreign policy, because the promotion of US as a global hegemony increased rapidly since the disintegration of USSR. This was unbearable for Russia as it was shattered with the collapse of Soviet Union disintegration and caused evermore blow to the Russian federation foreign policy.

Incorporation of multipolarity concept in Russian foreign policy started since 1996. Yevgeny Primakov was made as foreign minister of the Russian Federation during the period of 1996-98 (Mankoff 2007). The new policy recognized the importance of the non-Western regions of the globe, such as, Central Asia, Asian continent, African continent in foreign policy, and believed in 'multilateralism' and 'Institutionalism' (Io 2002;88). In fact Russia sought to establish the multipolar world order ¹⁰on the basis of UN as the highest decision making body and signed treaties with many countries, for example, in 1997 Russian president Yeltsin and China's president Jiang Zemin declared to the world that, 'Joint Declaration on multipolar World and the formation of New International Order' (Io 2002; 86). In the recent developments in Russian foreign policy is the most consistent and frequent aspect discussed is the call for the reestablishment of a multipolar international relations, in which all prominent powers, along with all emerging powers will have parity

9. Syrian crisis till lingering along, it is part of the Arab crisis, in which, ousted the most of the long lasting authoritarian rule from the Middle Eastern region. In Syria also, civil war is going on due to the president decline to step down, the opposition and global society pressing for dethrone of Hafeez al-Assad. Russia is playing prominent role in protecting existing government considering its geopolitical interests. But, still there is no solution yet.

10 Multipolar concept is very old, where no country is considered superior or inferior country, and multiple countries become stakeholders of IR. This phenomenon in the recent past IR came with the rise of third world countries like, China, India and Brazil as global players.

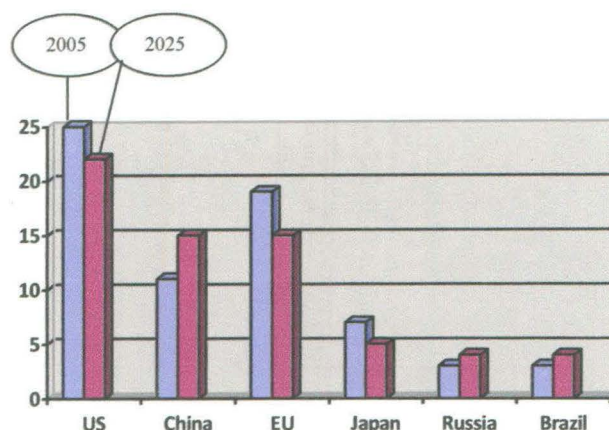
voice on whole world affairs, in fact, this theme is the central point of Russian political leaders in recent past (Kanet 2010; 205 and Foreign policy concept 2000 and 2008).

Then, what is multipolarity? “It deals with the majority states domination in World Affairs, no country is superior or inferior, every state have their say and stake on any Global issue”. Russia promoted this concept through multilateralism, since the beginning of the 1991(to 2002; 86-90), It has participated in a number of global forums, USSR, which was very ‘self-suffered’ and isolation during the Cold War period (Schirm 2009). Due to the rise of third world countries, majorly countries like China, India and Brazil made to talk about the multipolar world order in present international relations.

Russia in Global and Regional Governance

Probably, in world history, for the first time global politics have been changing peacefully without any political upheavals, wars or collapse of empire states (modern empire states). Ikenberry (2006; 7) said that “ old order has been destroyed by war and newly powerful states try to reestablish basic organizing rules and arrangements, the great moments of international order building have tend to come after major wars, as winning states have under taken to reconstruct the postwar world. For example, certain years stand out as critical turning point in international relations, 1648,1713,1815,1919, and 1945 (Ikenberry 2005; 6). In support to the aforementioned statement the system of bi-polar world was replaced by Uni-Polar world with the dissolution of the great power empire USSR, and emergence of newly independent fifteen states in international arena. The Unipolar world order system gave way to multipolar world order, especially with the revival of Russia and emergence of China, Brazil, India. It indicates how power would be by 2025-

Figure 4.1: Global Power of the some of the Countries by 2025.



Source: Global trends 2025, A transformed world. P. No.28

International Scholars, politicians, and, the Western world have started talking about the global south, the Southern world playing a prominent role in many global forums, and raising their voice firmly on many global issues. Schirm (2010) analyzed that, the reasons for reemergence of these countries is, their demographic dividend and geographic location, their economic and military capacities, besides their high political ambitions and they strive for the democratic distribution of power in global governance.

Kadakin (2012) says that the emergence of China, India, Brazil and Russia has given the vision of the multipolar world. The important aspect of these countries is that they are extending greater cooperation amongst themselves and establishing regional and inter-regional groups, and the cooperation at multilateral level can enable them exercise greater leverage in world politics, especially for third world politics. For example, the US 'reset' Asia made China and Russia made very close relations and also on number of global issues like, Syria, Korean crisis (Salitsky 2013; Graziani 2012). On top of that Putin (2013) recently before starting Durban summit said that, the BRICS would become from dialogue forum to full-fledged group in coming days while strategically dealing with multitude of global issues (Novosti 2012). In this critical juncture Russia's role is very important as an erstwhile super power, because it is the only country in modern international history which gave importance to the third world countries and supported national liberation and anti-

colonial movements since the beginning. Since the second half of the 1990, Russia encouraged the South to cooperate regionally and inter-regionally, offered greater cooperation in forming and making geographical groups, cooperative groups, without concerning about their regional background. Thus, Russia role is very crucial here, a pioneer and promoter of the multipolarity with Putin playing a major role after he became president of Russian Federation. He sent emissaries to the different parts of the world (mainly to the third world) to inform them about the changes in his foreign policy. His intention to form the Eurasian Union in upcoming years is also on track with the Custom Union with Kazakhstan and Belarus. This way they will be able to challenge western hegemony right away, and would make Russia one of the power centers of the world politics (Putin 2011)¹¹.

The interesting aspect in Russian politics is that Russian people also want to make Russia into one of the great power center. The Survey conducted by the Leveda Center institution shows how Russian people wanted to make Russia as great power status country. In this Survey the majority of the people (40%) have supported that Russia has to change a lot. It is great fillip to Putin's ambition to form the 'Eurasian Union' in coming days.

Table 4.1: Do you support the opinion that Russia should restore its status of “Great Empire”?

	All replies, %
Definitely support	40
Probably support	38
Probably not support	12

¹¹ Putin's article on Eurasian Union in 2011 in Izvestia News Paper on October 10-
www.russianmission.eu/.../article-prime-minister-vladimir-putin-new-integration-project-eurasia-future-making-izvestia-3-

Definitely not support	2
Don't Know	7

Source; Levada Center, Nationwide survey, 21-24 January 2011, N=1600

The above survey says, 40 per cent are definitely supporting, 38 per cent are probably supporting this idea, that means 78 per cent of the Russians are in positive to make Russia as one of the great power center in world politics. Then, question arises, how should Russia go with them? There are different key regions in the world, some are very important, and some have fewer stakes in decision making of the world affairs, it has to change their foreign policy accordingly the regions importance to tackle the Western hegemonic domination on global politics. I have classified the regions according to the importance and their say in world politics. They are as below -

Russia and Central Asia

There are five countries in this region, such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. It is considered to be one of the most prominent region in the world due to its geographical location, cultural similarities and economic ties with Russia (Kanet 2010; 162). Central Asian region is very crucial for Russian security as NATO would be withdrawing from Afghanistan by 2014. Russia's national Security strategy (2009) declared that, developing bilateral and multilateral relations with CIS states is inevitable with Collective Security Cooperation Organization (CSTO) due to the US involvement and NATO's expansion. The growing influences of China and US have potential to concern and also due to Syria and Iran issue. Medvedev (2012) says, whatever is happening in Syria and with Iran is very sad, further, the central Asian stability is utmost important for Russian foreign policy, he added. The most important concern for Russia in coming days would be NATO's withdrawal as it would great threat to Russian security with terrorism, drug-trafficking and so and so forth. SHUSTOV (2012) says that the US military base in Kyrgyzstan have annoyed Russia a lot. All would be decided in Putin's

Eurasian Union by inclusion of these five region, the role of SCO would have underlined point here in keeping the Central Asia in coming days as NATO 's withdrawal could cause to blossom terrorist outfits, separatist a chance to de-stabilize the region. Much is depended on how Russia and China coordinate on Central Asian affairs to contain US involvement in it.

Russia and South Asia

South Asia is one of the prominent region for Russian foreign policy to capture its growth rate in coming years, there are somewhere around seven to eight countries, considered to be one of the volatile region in the world due to the India-Pakistan unending rivalry, which could escalate war between these two countries. China and the US have been involved in South Asian affairs. Russia also has engaged, especially with India in with this region. Afghanistan and Pakistan shared a border with Central Asian states, due to the geographical location of the Central Asian region Russia will have to focus on it. The reason for that is terrorism, and the NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan by 2014 is a concern for Russian security. Russia should start encouraging the SCO to play a key role in coming years for greater security challenges from Russian security perspective.

In southern part, the two island nations, Sri Lanka and Maldives are very important owing to their geographical location, and Indian Ocean's importance in the international relations. There is one saying, "if at all third world war will take place it would be based on water itself", especially, China's role is very important here, because, in the name of humanitarian assistance it is deeply involving in the South Asian affairs, especially in Pakistan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka, thus, to contain external pressures in this region it should improve its strategic partnership with this region as soon as possible.

Another important aspect of this region is to consider this - that India and its growth rate has been high and will continue in the coming years. India is deemed to be one of the fastest growing countries in the present world along with China and Brazil; it is second most populous country after China. Belokrenetskiy (2013) says that, in 20 years of international relations, India's growth rate in GDP will be somewhere around 7 to 7.5 percentage annually, its share in global GDP would be 5.4, and by 2020 it would be 7.2

percentages. Its GDP will exceed \$8 trillion, and, its Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) will be third in the world, and it would be \$ 3 trillion at the current exchange rate.

These figures show how India is growing in very rapidly. Hence, to sum it, Russia's relations with India support multipolarity, and for that, India's role is very priceless for Russia to contain China.

Russia and Asia Pacific Region

Due to Obama's reset policy with Russia in the Asia Pacific region, world politics gravity is shifting towards this region as never before, especially because of Russia's, China's, and Japanese powers. "With the Asia Pacific region progressively moving to the center of global politics and economics, the Northeast is definitely becoming the regional center of gravity, attracting the colliding interests of great powers including China, Japan, the U.S. and Russia. As a result, stability in North East Asia is now of global significance" (Gubin ; Lukin 2013).

Deemed to be Asia's Western countries region, one of the most advanced region in the world as China is leading economy, is a key country in the region, also Japan. The Umbrella of ASEAN is within the region is a key regional organization with strengths and to Russia, China and US relations. Especially in the polarized Korean Peninsula, The conflict in the South China Sea, East China, Kurile island dispute and Senkaku island dispute, so on and so forth (Gubin : Lukin 2013). However, the growing misconceptions between China and Japan have potential for conflict in the region. The US factor is important here as Obama announced a 'reset' of the Asia Pacific region in his second presidential regime. But, one important aspect of this region is, the US also has to placate China with whom the US has close economic ties, and Japan is also important for them. These are the characteristics of the globalized world that Russia can work to its favor.

Russia and Latin America

The importance of the Latin America is huge that it could play pivotal role in international relations in near future as earlier the Cold War period reflected the

prominence of the region with the Cuban Missile crisis¹², But, the important aspect is the growing of left center governments and, increasingly independent, strategic policies that challenges the Western countries globalization phenomenon. For Russia and the US, strategically this region is very important due to the geographical location abundance of natural resources, and the growth rate of Brazil and its political clout along with Venezuela, Ecuador and Cuba is very crucial here. The growing negativity against the US involvement in this region is mounting amongst people here in the Latin American countries.

In the coming years the Latin American region is very crucial for Russia and the BRICS. Davydov (2013) pointed out the importance of the region. He said that, the region is strategically very important in next decade due to its democratization process, its blossoming rapidly, and, its technological revolution, modernization process after the 1980's is very impressive. He says that, the region comes under the 'middle category' in development process in world economic development indicators, adding 15 per cent of land mass to the world geography, with 8.5 per cent of population in world, accounting 6.2 in global total production by 2007 in GDP terms.

Russia has insufficient trade in this region, but have the potential to play greater role in it (Davydov 2013), as for Russia is concerned Russia is not giving importance to this region in terms of economic and trade, emphasizing on political clout, which could undermine in its position. Growing the economy of the region it should focus on economic and trade relations, henceforth, the region would turn towards Russia's leadership.

Russia and the West Asia

Relations between Russia and Middle East basically revolves around energy, military and security, and, Russia's and the US's competition for political and economic gains in West Asian energy and politics. It is known fact that, Russia supports Palestine's independence since the beginning, and supported Palestine applied for UN observer status country. Russia opposed the NATO involvement in Iraq even though it supported the war

12. Cuban Missile crisis was the one of the memorable incident during the Cold War period, took place in 1962 between the Soviet Union at one side and the US at other side. It was considered as that, Cold War came together to attack nuclear weapons on each of the super power countries, but resolved peacefully-
www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/cols.html

on terror program issued by Bush administration (Mankoff 2008; 121). It is well known that Russia is the largest seller of military equipment for the majority of the Middle Eastern countries, for instance, Star and Richard Felix (2000) said that, it sold 7 billion dollar worth of military equipment between 1992 and 1998 to West Asia.

The current Arab Crisis and instability is making Russia to return its economic interests in the region, and also its political interests. The region is important for the Russia's aspiration for become great power status. Though Russia failed in the Libya crisis, and has been supporting Syria president Assad. Russia's involvement in the Arab crisis is to resolve the political upheavals in an amicable manner, in fact, that is the primary importance of Russian foreign policy (Russian Council for International Affairs, 2013). It is true that comparing the impact of the "Arab spring" on Russian security, the Arab people are not opposed to Russia but to US intervention.

Russia and Europe

The EU matters a lot for Russia in a number of aspects. The first is, its geographical location, after the EU's enlargement program in 2004, amongst them four new members, including Estonia and Latvia, which are deemed to be having largest Russian minorities in this territory, and they share a border of 2200 kilometers along with the EU countries. The most important thing is that the enlarged EU is surrounded by the Kaliningrad region. It is an enclave of 90000 people (Lynch; Dove, 2004), which is strategically very important from the Russian point of view. In an interview for Italian press, Putin says that, "For us Europe is a major trade and economic partner, and our natural and most important partner, besides in the political sphere also, and of course Russia is located in Europe territory not with the US and thus Europe is very prominent for us (Putin interview in 2003; Lynch: Dove).

The growing imbalance between the US and the EU is very evident, we could see it on number of issues, for example, and France and Germany have not been supportive on NATO's involvement in Iraq war. In this instance Russia is actively involved with the EU and its member countries in order to erase the differences and misconceptions on specific

issues like in the Arab crisis and any plan of the EU's on its expansions towards east and besides NATO also.

Conclusion

Waltz (1993) says that, "the multipolar world was highly stable, but it is very war-prone. The bipolar world has been highly peaceful, but unfortunately less stable than its predecessor". The arguments which were put forward by Kenneth Waltz in a way are not deniable, there have been no state of wars since the collapse of USSR as such to mention that changed the stability of the more stable present world politics, some of the incidents which have caused conflicts but sorted out by effective diplomacy. Again, Worlforth (2003), said, 'Unipolar world is very ambiguous, with the United States as leader, and that configuration both is prone to peace and durable'. Some of this is true in one sense in fact, as the period after 1991 was completely checkered, unilateral, very centric, deficit democratic decision making on a number of global affairs. This was evident in Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan case. The epicenter of power was the US, which enforced its national interests on other countries territory with immense expansion of their security forces.

Over all Russia's growth as a global power at this critical juncture of world politics is inevitable, and imminent. The foreign policy statement of Medvedev has given Putin immense scope to evaluate it and play active role in global politics in the near future. If he can coordinate the many crucial regions such as, Central Asia, Asia Pacific, Europe, South Asia, Middle East. Recently popularizing Arctic region with its abundance of natural resources, will give Putin the opportunity to play effective role in world politics. The pivot of world politics is, the rising power status of countries, such as, China, India, Brazil (BRICS), it is not exaggerating to say that, real international politics will depend on how BRICS maintain strategic relations with them. Hence, Russia has immense opportunity to exploit the situation that prevails in the present international relations to tackle Western hegemonic domination.

Chapter V

Conclusion

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The world politics is changing rapidly since the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1990. Till that time it was a bipolar world with the two superpowers the USSR and US. These two countries dominated world politics and were involved in ideological war during the Cold War period. World was divided into two parts as West and East and Southern countries (Third World Countries) remained as non-aligned. Over all, international politics was kept in Zero-Sum-Game in cold war period. Global political and financial institutions like UNO, IMF, World Bank and GATT (converted into WTO now) merely became part and parcel of their bitter politics. This phenomenon lasted till the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991.

After that, the collapse of USSR paved the way for establishment of unipolar world order with the US as the dominant force in global affairs. World politics shifted towards US, as usual, major global institutions like UNO, World Bank and IMF were dominated by Western countries. Russia's power baton was taken by Yeltsin. It remained nominal country in this period and was undermined in world affairs till 2000. Russian Federation was in deep trouble in the first decade of its separation from USSR with so many internal and external reasons. Its economy was shattered, went into debts, hence it took loans from IMF and EU. Yeltsin decentralized the politics, but it went futile as it caused political instability in country and relations between regions and center went into worst state, for example first war of Chechnya in the year of 1994 and lasted till 1996. Citizenry morale, economic and societal status got reduced drastically. Russia's foreign policy was western oriented and Yeltsin wanted to include it in that region but it went in vain. The first foreign minister, Kozyrov ignored so called 'near abroad' and focused mostly on 'far abroad' and did not care about the Third World countries.

Later, Yevgeny Primakov was made as foreign minister in 1996. it was a complete shift in foreign policy objectives. He was Orientalist, gave importance to the near abroad and third world countries in his foreign policy and began to talk about multipolarity since his beginning days, for instance, Jiang Jemin (China president at that

point of time) and Yeltsin signed “Joint declaration on Multipolarity and the formation of New International order’ in 1997. He was critical of NATO’s involvement in Yugoslavia on Kosovo issue, ended by nit-pitting on western domination on numerous global affairs.

However, it was Putin’s turn in Russian global and domestic politics. No other politician dominated Russian state as Putin in recent period. It was a make shift of Russian status in internally and externally. He made Russia one of the strongest country in the world with his Machiavellian moves while his presidency period. He brought back re-centralization process in center and state relations, curtailed media freedom which was against state, and focused on pragmatic and assertive foreign policy goals. He was a great critic of US dominated world order that paved to move towards southern globe and established strong bond with traditional allies like China and India. Putin recognized the importance of former Soviet Union republics, the so called ‘near abroad’ also. Russia became vocal on many global affairs, and became part of regional and inter-regional organization. He established regional organizations like SCO to tackle three evils, such as terrorism, separatism and extremism. The important development of his foreign policy was to bring China, India Brazil and South Africa under one umbrella to contain US hegemony on world affairs and to establish multipolar world order. The group called is BRICS, was formed in 2009 with Yekaterinburg summit in Russia.

Furthermore, Medvedev extended greater cooperation with West, East and Southern countries. By nature, democratic Medvedev followed balanced approach in his foreign policy emphasizing Russia’s greater role in establishing multipolar world order with the emerging nations like, China, India, and Brazil. The formation of BRICS and evolution of G-20 groups were prominent developments of recent past international affairs. In fact, BRICS was evolved as one important global forum under the shadow of Russian foreign policy goal. The trend of multipolar world order began with these two groups. Probably this was the first time in international relations that groups were established without the territorial limit of globe. BRICS represents third world countries interests and strive to change existing world order by reforming global financial and political institutions like IMF and World Bank and United Nations Security Council membership and also talks about the global societal problems like food security and

environmental problems, while G-20 consists developed and developing countries deal with the global economic and financial governance.

With the evolution of BRICS and G-20 as global fora paved the way for emergence of third world countries in international system, this was the not case in earlier period. These two groups (BRICS and G-20) consisting most of the part of globe like in terms of territory, trade, world GDP and population. That implies it represents whole world by covering each region of the globe. Very important thing is that, rising states like China, India and Brazil represents the major southern globe i.e. Third World countries in terms of population, territory and GDP as a whole. And these are the only countries (rising power states), which have scope to play major role in global politics in the ensuing years of international relations. It is true that China is part of UN Security Council member, Brazil and India are trying their best to be part of that group. The interesting aspect about these countries is though they have their own regional and inter-regional disputes but working for the common cause, and raising their voice for common purpose, which is considered to be the most important thing of the world politics.

These two groups are giving space for promotion of Russian Foreign Policy and economic objectives and also goals to become one of the power centers of the world politics in upcoming international relations. It is the critical phase of international relations, as according to the goals of Russian foreign policy concept if Russia can go with these two groups it would get opportunity to deal with the every corner of the globe and it can coordinate third world countries with the assistance of the China, India and Brazil to raise their voice on any issue of the globe to replace the western hegemony on the global affairs to become one of the power center of the world politics. As we all know these two groups are economic and financial oriented if Russia can use BRICS as one of their political entity it would play major role along with China, Brazil and India. The BRICS is a collective entity it would have more political says in world affairs besides economic by any means. And one more important aspect with BRICS group is Southern world is very volatile, war prone and by nature dominated by extremists' outfits in the region. These groups have the capability to de-stabilize any nation, most of the part engulfed with this phenomenon. So what I feel is if they can think of establishing a

military organization under their belt it would be great asset for them to tackle their perennial security problems in an amicable manner as NATO has been doing since the second World War in western world. In any case they are going to establish BRICS development bank, in fact, it is there in their agenda. What I found while writing this dissertation is that it would be better for third world countries to establish one security organization which could reflect southern world security interests as one under the BRICS wings like Western countries did with NATO formation. So I recommend these countries can think over this aspect also.

Furthermore, we all know that whereas G-20 can be used as economic tool to promote their economic interests as China, India and Brazil are considered to be fastest rising economic countries in the present world. The important aspect with this group is, developed countries are also part of this group, by nature Russia is western opponent, especially Putin. The reality is that the coming decades in Russian politics belongs to Putin, and his aspirations to make Russia as one of the global power status can be achieved through with two groups. If Russia can use these two groups as one platform to execute their strategies in a right direction it would become center of the world politics again.

In my dissertation I have used three theories, realism, liberalism and functionalism. And I have supported them in it. Current international relations is dominated by realism with phenomenon of liberalism and functionalism as according to me. International politics is all about power politics, establishing alliances to undermine other group, in fact, that's what southern countries are doing at present scenario which would be reflected in BRICS, SCO, IBSA groups. May be these are not military alliances but can have the potential to go for that when it's needed. In fact, SCO established Russia and China to tackle terrorism, separatism and extremism from their region, but their major concern was to establish this organization to contain US involvement in Central Asian affairs. And one more important aspect in realism was population and improving military and security assets of the modern states. India is the largest importer of the modern weapons along with China, and they are first and second most populous countries of the present world with crossing more than one billion under their belt.

Liberalism talks about norms, institutions and their importance role in global affairs. That's what going on present international relations as we could see Libya and Syria issues. NATO involved in Libya's affairs after passing UN's Security Council resolution only. We even could seen in North Korean nuclear imbroglio And now China and Russia are striving their best to save Syria from external involvement. WTO negotiations on trade consensus also reflect it. Furthermore this is the age of institutionalization of world politics, disagreements can be solved through negotiation with effective emissary, and for instance, the prominent global institution can be, UNO, WTO, and International Court of Justice.

Later, I have supported functionalism also, which speaks regional integration in the beginning to solve the existing problems like social, economic and cultural issues. This phenomenon reflected in BRICS and SCO. In these two groups Russia, China and India, this shares border with each country of it.

My two hypothesis are Russia's role in shaping multipolar world with BRICS and G-20, and the second is Russia can be used both the groups, BRICS and G-20 as political and economic entities to assert on world politics. As we all know that Russia was the only reason which brought China, Brazil and India came under one Umbrella with the form of BRICS. With this group Russia had increased its stake in international relations. Russia and China trying their best in saving Syria, it happened with North Korean nuclear issue also. These countries are sending their troops for UN peacekeeping task in Africa and wherever UN needs them. In fact the concept of multipolar world order came in recent international politics with the evolution of BRICS group by rising states inclusion in this group like China, India and Brazil. These countries say in contemporary international politics very huge at present as we could see in UN, WTO, IMF and World Bank, Arab Crisis. Thus this hypothesis has been proved.

Russia's stake in present international relations all depends on how it goes with BRICS and G-20. Russian Federation using these two entities with two purposes, one is BRICS, in which China and Russia playing key role in UN Security Council resolutions. BRICS political say in world political say is immeasurable. That could reflect in many of BRICS agenda. Without the consent of BRICS countries on any issue western countries

are not going to take any decision which is related to global affairs, Russia is using it as political platform. And now G-20 group is going to meet in Russia in October of this year, the goals of this meeting already put forward by Russia, and started meeting with G-20 member countries finance ministers and central bank governors to discuss about the financial problems and argued all the countries to lessen the dollar dependence from international trade. Thus, this hypothesis also proved successfully. Over all I have proved my two hypotheses successfully in this dissertation.

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