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The scientific journal is published since 2011 at the "Publishing House "Science Today". Translated (eng.) version of the journal is published since 2016. Since its inception, the journal was guided by high scientific and ethical standards and today it is one of the leading political science journals in Russia.

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PROBLEMS OF EURASIAN AND POST-SOVIET COOPERATION

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HOW TO DISCLOSE RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY POTENTIAL?

Foreign policy potential can be understood as the ability and readiness of a country to use reserve opportunities and open up new opportunities available in the world for the implementation of its national interests. The concept of economic potential is developed in the most detail in science. There are also labor, export, defense, personnel, institutional and other types of potential. The implementation of foreign policy potential concerns both the use of known reserves, but not previously used for various reasons, and the disclosure of new opportunities arising from domestic and foreign policy changes. The countries of the world are actively implementing their foreign policy potential, finding new meanings in world politics, introducing new institutional forms of international interaction, and making greater use of forecasting and other modern methods. Russia should strive for a leadership position in the implementation of its foreign policy potential.

Key words: *breakthrough, potential, economic potential, export potential, integration potential, opportunity, ability, readiness, initiative.*

Today, the goal is to achieve a breakthrough in the development of Russia. President Vladimir Putin, addressing the Federal Assembly on January 15, 2020, stated that “Russia faces breakthrough historical tasks, and everyone’s contribution to their solution is significant” [32]. Breakthroughs, including in foreign policy, are the subject of study in various countries. Researchers note that the Camp David agreements, the unification of East and West Germany in 1989, the collapse of the Soviet Union and some other events were breakthroughs in world politics, they have significantly changed the world situation [15]. Where do such breakthroughs in foreign policy come from? What can they give our country? You need to look for meaningful answers to these questions.

According to our hypothesis, one of the sources of a breakthrough in the development of our country may be the realization of its foreign policy potential. This means opening up new and using previously unused opportunities in Rus-

sia's relations with foreign countries. To prove this hypothesis, we need to study the concept of potential, its classification, ways of use and disclosure. Foreign experience in working with foreign policy potential may be of interest. On this basis, we can offer some recommendations on how to use Russia's foreign policy potential to realize its national interests. These questions are the subject of research in this article. It can be considered as a continuation of the author's previous articles on the concept of potential [24. P. 17-30; 23. P. 74-87].

The notion of potential. In scientific articles and monographs, the concept of potential is used quite widely, but its essence and content are rarely considered. Meanwhile, a lot depends on the accuracy of its understanding in its separation from the notions of strength and power that are close in meaning. Etymologically, they are very close indeed. The word "potential" is derived from the Latin *potentialis* which means "powerful," from *potentia* "strength, power," from *potēns* "able," part. praes. act. from *posse* "capable, able," from the adjective *potis* "powerful, able" [33]. But this proximity of meanings should encourage further research. Aristotle distinguished between "act" and "potency," between reality and possibility. The difference between them contains the space of development. Potency is the ability of a thing to be tomorrow somewhat different from what it is today [35. P. 17].

The essence of potential is seen in the foreign policy changes. Any major change can be imagined as the result of realization of some potential. This is why scientists are studying the potential for major international changes [30. P. 232-238]. Professor Ch. Hermann of the Ohio State University identifies the following reasons for changes in the international policy: shifts in the position of the head of state, transformations in the position of the state bureaucracy, restructuring within the country and, finally, foreign policy shocks [6. P. 3-21]. As an example of the first reason, the author cites the decision of Egyptian President A. Sadat to seek a peaceful settlement with Israel after the 1973 war. This is not the only example of the influence the leader of the country has on its foreign policy. Here is a notable example of Botswana: the new President of the country, as noted by V. Sibilev, in fact, opened the country to the world [37. P. 28-33]. This change may be of interest to Moscow: the share of Russia and Botswana in the production of rough diamonds is more than 50% of world production. There are other opportunities for developing relations between the two countries.

As the second reason, Ch. Hermann presents the resistance of the capital's bureaucracy to the possible changes. D. Trump foresaw such resistance and promised in his election campaign to "drain the Washington swamp." The author of this article has already written about the so-called "deep state" in one of his recent works [25]. The third reason Ch. Hermann illustrated by the Vietnam syndrome, the Watergate scandal, and other major changes in the American domestic policy. Finally, as an illustration of the fourth reason, we can cite the sharp twists and turns in the US – India – Pakistan relations in recent years. Ch. Hermann classi-

fied changes by their depth into four types: adjustments; changes in the program; changes in the problem/goal and, finally, changes in the international orientation.

The analysis of the fourth cause of changes in the world is of particular importance for foreign policy. Changes can affect the local, regional, or global space. An example of a megatrend concerning global space is the digitalization of international relations. This process affects all countries, and those countries that are the first to reveal their newly emerging potential are more successful in addressing their national interests. An illustration of this is the activity of the US Embassy in Brazil at the beginning of the last decade [31]. B. Scott, American Ambassador to Brazil, on arriving there in 2012, asked to identify the main bloggers in twelve major Brazilian cities. He established a direct contact with them, passed them the necessary information, opened their potential and, thus, dramatically increased the influence of the United States in Brazil. Russia, which is ranked fourth in the global digital diplomacy ranking, has all the opportunities for such achievements. In the regional context, the emergence of a new state may be such a sharp change. One of the Russian foreign policy documents in connection with the visit to Moscow of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of South Sudan A. D. Achuil states that “there is potential for expanding trade and economic cooperation, including in such areas as energy, construction, development of automobile, railway and pipeline infrastructure, and agriculture” [4]. This potential opened up when South Sudan became a sovereign state in 2011 and started to gradually form its system of foreign economic relations.

The analysis of the literature shows that potential is often associated with the concepts of opportunity, ability and readiness for change. According to the Philosophical Dictionary, “... a possibility becomes a reality when a complete set of conditions for the existence of a certain phenomenon arises spontaneously or is consciously prepared” [34. P. 75]. For example, Russia’s leadership in the world energy sector is conditioned by the huge reserves of oil, gas, and coal on the territory of Russia, the highly competitive position of the state atomic energy Corporation “Rosatom” on the world stage, and other objectively existing circumstances, the effective use of which creates prerequisites for occupying one of the world leading positions.

In other words, the possibility expresses an objective development trend inherent in existing phenomena, the presence of the conditions for the appearance of an object (thing or phenomenon), or at least the absence of such circumstances that would exclude its occurrence [34. P. 74]. Therefore, the task of the subject of foreign policy is to be able to determine what is necessary and what is not possible for the realization of the opportunity. In this sense, the group of authors says that “a rational way for assessing military potential is to develop a value judgment about the country’s ability to achieve the main goals of its military policy, such as, for example, strategic nuclear deterrence” [13. P. 53-68].

However, the ability alone is not enough to realize the potential, this also requires the readiness of the subject of foreign policy. The main source of development in the world today is often considered not a physical resource, but a human resource potential [10. P. 68-74]. These problems are considered in the research of proactive behavior by M. Crant [7 P. 435-462], in the concept of personal initiative by M. Frese and D. Fay [11. P. 133-187] and other theoretical approaches. According to Frese, proactivity is manifested in a number of employee qualities, in particular, in the long-term and perspective vision of development processes, in the ability to anticipate future problems and ways to resolve them, to offer alternative ways to achieve goals, and the willingness to highlight potential problems and promising opportunities. All these qualities can be included in the list of competencies necessary for Russian diplomats.

A. N. Berezhnoy suggests that the economic potential is understood as the ability of the system to effectively use basic and functional internal resources, and to implement its capabilities in external conditions. In his opinion, the content characteristics of the economic potential are the resources available in the region, opportunities and readiness for socio-economic transformations [3. P. 7-14]. As we can see, this approach also includes the above-mentioned link “opportunity-ability-readiness.” Each country has a huge number of opportunities to conduct its foreign policy and implement changes necessary for the realization of its national interests.

However, as A. Sushentsov writes, potentials are not always converted into significant foreign policy achievements [39]. The existing opportunities should be realized, and this requires the ability and, further, the readiness of the diplomat to find these innovative elements with the help of the above-mentioned competencies.

Readiness is understood as a conscious attitude to the upcoming activity, due to the high level of development of motivational, cognitive, emotional and volitional processes of the individual or team, which ensures the success of the upcoming activity [19]. According to another definition, readiness is an active and effective state of the individual, an attitude to a certain behavior, the mobilization of forces to perform a task, which includes knowledge, skills, attitudes and determination to perform these actions [9]. Finally, according to another definition, readiness consists in countering obstacles that arise in the course of performing an action [20]. All these features should be reflected in the daily activities of a diplomat.

What does the “opportunity – ability – readiness” triad mean in foreign policy practice? The answer to this question can be found in the thoughts of the Chairman of the Russian Foreign and Defense Policy Council F. Lukyanov. He states that in recent years, Russia has achieved notable success on the world stage. Explaining the reasons for these foreign policy achievements, he notes “... the ability to react quickly to the changes and a sense of opportunity. It also includes the ability to see the mistakes of others and use them” [22]. As we can see, this author also establishes a connection between the possibilities and the ability to

implement them. In terms of this article, we are talking about the effective use of the existing foreign policy potential of Russia in specific conditions.

Thus, the foreign policy potential can be understood as the ability and readiness of a country to use reserve opportunities and open new opportunities available in the world for the implementation of its national interests.

Classification of potential. Researchers suggest different classifications of potential. The concept of economic potential is most fully developed in the literature. Obviously, this is because the economic potential is calculable. In addition, it is easier to determine the share of reserve capacity of a particular production that is not currently used in the economy. Thus, D. V. Troshin mentions labor, export, defense, and personnel potential as components of economic potential [42. P. 50].

The integration potential deserves special mention. According to A. A. Nikulina, the integration potential is expressed "... in additional economic benefits and advantages for integrating countries, which cannot be achieved (or can be achieved less effectively) without the integration interaction" [27]. A. V. Khramova connects the potential with integration activities within the framework of the Eurasian Economic Union, in particular, with the potential of unification and the opportunities of the Eurasian Economic Integration [18. P. 193-199]. She mentions such types of integration potential as geographical, resource, transit, military, and intellectual.

An interesting idea is expressed by A. S. Vladyskiy, according to him "the existing integration potential of our country, in case of its effective use and further development, will contribute to the development and implementation of integration initiatives in the post-Soviet space" [4. P. 12]. In other words, the potential itself is not realized, but an initiative is needed to realize it. The initiative is a form of manifestation of the readiness of the subject of foreign policy to realize its potential. Putting forward an initiative implies understanding of the existence of foreign policy potential and ways of its implementation. It can be seen as a manifestation of the diplomat's readiness to implement Russia's foreign policy potential.

If there is an integration potential, then there must be a disintegration potential [8. P. 209-225]. What can it consist of in the sphere of international relations? *Brexit* provides a clear example of modern politics in this regard. It is possible to carefully disintegrate the non-working forms of the UK's ties with the European Union, leaving and even strengthening the promising ones. And it is possible to completely destroy the established relations, but this would not be a disintegration, but a destruction. The first way looks much more favorable from the point of view of potential realization than the second. It is unclear what path British and European politicians will take.

Quite often, the concept of export potential is given in the classification of potential [38. P. 3-22]. V. V. Kotilko and V. S. Vishnyakova define "export potential as the ability of a country's economy, individual industries or enterprises

to produce the necessary amount of competitive products for export” [21. P. 42]. According to these authors, export potential includes financial, production, marketing potential and competitiveness. The concept of the necessary quantity of production (and in foreign policy, this is a necessary action) requires further discussion. Who and how determines this necessity? Behind the surface of this question is a much deeper relationship between freedom and necessity.

If there is an export potential, then there is also its opposite – import potential. A study of the literature has shown that this type of potential is poorly understood. Meanwhile, attention is drawn to the ambiguity of the concept of potential. In physics, there are concepts of positive and negative electric field potentials. The existence of integration and disintegration potentials has already been noted above. I. Tarasova writes that there is a creative and destructive potential for using network resources in the Eurasian space and around the world [41. P. 152-159]. The study of the duality of foreign policy potential, including the import potential of foreign economic relations, can lead to the identification of more general patterns related to this concept.

For a long time, science has focused on resource potential, such as mineral resources or land resources, and to a lesser extent on non-material types of potential, such as institutional, human, or innovative. This classification is interesting because the use of potential mainly concerns its resource part, and the disclosure of potential – the intangible, primarily human and innovative potential. In this regard, it is interesting to consider these two components of potential – the use of existing reserves and the disclosure of new aspects of possible cooperation between countries of the world.

Use and disclosure of the potential. The use of potential is discussed rather often. This is quite understandable, because the use of potential is the use of well-known reserves that have not been previously put into business circulation for various reasons. An example in this case is the Ukrainian gas transportation system. According to its technical capabilities, it can deliver about 180 billion m³ of gas per year from Russia to European countries. However, these capabilities are not fully used. Gas pumping reached its maximum in 2008, amounting to almost 120 billion m³ of Russian gas. In the proposed meaning, the GTS potential as the difference between possibility and reality amounted to 60 billion m³. In 2018, less than 87 billion m³ was pumped through the GTS, and its potential increased to 93 billion cubic meters [12]. There is a serious political struggle going on between Russia, the United States and other countries over this potential in the form of the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline.

When using the potential, we are usually talking about extensive development. In the above-mentioned case, we are talking about expanding trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. Such an extension can be quite large-scale and significant. Yet the use of potential rarely leads to a qualitative leap in relations between countries, reaching a really new level, which is charac-

terized as a breakthrough. To do this, it is necessary to discover a new potential, rather than use the already known one. Therefore, in this article, we will mainly focus on ways to unlock the new foreign policy potential.

Unlocking your potential means creating something new that didn't exist before. Let's take institutional capacity as an illustration. On October 23-24, 2019, Sochi hosted the first Russia-Africa Summit and Economic Forum. This event can be called a new stage in the development of relations between Moscow and the countries of the African continent. Without an organizational framework, this relationship is unlikely to continue to progress successfully. In addition to the continental Forum, Russia needs to look for other institutional forms of interaction with African countries, both at the sub-regional and two-or three-way levels, i.e., to develop its institutional potential. The need for it is high, because the African countries are very different, and most likely it will not be possible to cut all under the same comb.

The development of institutional foreign policy potential can take various forms. In the 70s of the last century, the US State Department established the so-called Dissent Channel, through which a diplomat or group of diplomats could report their disagreement with the officially conducted state policy. This Channel was repeatedly used by American diplomats to convey their views to the leadership of the State Department [16. P. 36-40]. The Central Intelligence Agency of the United States has a similar practice of so called "red groups" that study the shortcomings in the CIA's activities from the inside and offer recommendations for their elimination [28]. In our opinion, such close attention to a non-standard position is justified, since it allows people to identify existing foreign policy contradictions and the opportunities arising from them at the early stages of their occurrence.

One of the ways to unlock the potential is to clarify the content of existing concepts in the world politics and create new ones. An obvious example in this sense is the history of the emergence and development of the BRIC Union. The idea of combining this group of countries was suggested in 2001 by an analyst from "Goldman Sachs," who in the course of research identified similar trends in the development of Brazil, Russia, India and China. The similarity of the development trends suggests similarity of national interests. Only after this analytical work did politicians of these countries undertake organizational efforts, which culminated in the creation of BRIC in 2006. Later, the South African Republic joined the Union, and it took its current form. However, its potential has not been used for almost five years.

Clarification of the existing concepts and creation of new ones mean creation of new meanings. Such theoretical development, whether it is a step or a leap, in practice leads to a new goal setting. An example in this regard is Russia's policy towards Africa. Director of the Institute for African Studies, corresponding member of RAS, member of the RAS Presidium I. O. Abramova noted that ten years

ago Russia wanted to become a part of Europe and considered Africa as a byproduct of its foreign policy and economy [1]. Nobody had the slightest wish to look for the potential for developing Russian-African relations. Today, in the context of the announced “turn to the East,” it is clear that other strategic directions – South and North – should not be neglected. And when this becomes obvious, new goals are set for the development of these areas.

New meanings do not occur in a vacuum, one of the sources of their emergence is the study of the past mistakes. P. P. Yakovlev said that “the history of Latin America comes to new terms, the region has accumulated the significant potential for a change created by the intellectual environment in order to make correct conclusions from the past mistakes. The third decade of the XXI century should be a turning point in its socio-economic development” [45. P. 101]. Indeed, the study of your own and others’ mistakes can be a source of significant achievements. We also note the connection in this author’s thought between the potential and a change in development. A fracture can be seen as a synonym for a breakthrough, a leap in development. However, a break is a sharp turn, a change in the direction of development. Justification for such sharp turns requires finding the hidden potential and ways to reveal it.

The past makes it possible to evaluate certain foreign policy actions as a mistake. As for the present, most often the search for potential is associated with the need to resolve the accumulated problems. The lack of resolution means that the old approaches are no longer effective enough, and new ones are needed. As an illustration let us draw attention to the serious problems that exist today in the development of the Union state of Russia and Belarus. In this regard, Russian Prime Minister Mikhail Mishustin said at a meeting with his Belarusian counterpart Sergei Rumas at the end of January 2020 that “we need to fully unlock the potential of the Treaty and ensure maximum harmonization of national legislation” [26]. We can deduce the following pattern from this example: the more acute the foreign policy problem is the greater is the need to disclose the potential available in its zone.

When solving foreign policy problems, the set of tools and methods used in this process is of the utmost importance. Without neglecting traditional tools and methods, we note the increasing importance of the new knowledge management systems, data management and artificial intelligence. It is impossible to make a single step in diplomacy today without modern information technologies, as is evidenced by the best EU practices [5; 44]. Therefore, Russia needs to pay attention to the further development of digital diplomacy, which is both a powerful innovative channel for interaction with a wide foreign audience and a source of diverse information. At the same time, evaluating the effectiveness of digital diplomacy should include not only the presence of the Foreign Ministry and Russian embassies in foreign social networks, but also their influence in them.

Another important aspect in the disclosure of foreign policy potential is addressed by V. Heifets and L. Hadorich. Upon analyzing the state of the Latin American integration association UNASUR, they noted that “the integration Association under consideration, at least for the time being, has a certain potential” [14. P. 91]. What needs to be done to unlock and realize this potential? These authors write about the “leadership vacuum” in UNASUR, about the “erosion of regional leadership” [14. P. 89, 90]. We fully agree that unlocking and realizing potential is a leadership function. One of the most important qualities of a leader is to see the prospective a little further than others see it. Thus, the development of potential is directly related to the development of leadership skills of politicians and diplomats, and for this, among other things, it is advisable to study the theory of leadership.

Foreign practice of using and disclosing foreign policy potential. There are quite a few examples of successful implementation by foreign countries of their existing foreign policy potential. Modern Mongol-Japanese relations can serve as one of them [2. P. 267-271]. Japan is the main international donor to Mongolia, accounting for about a third of the aid provided to this country by donor countries. And this is no accident, the line is carried out by Japanese strategists. Tokyo has identified the competitive advantages of the Mongolian economy, in particular, the agricultural sector. For Japan, Mongolia is also becoming a mediator in the North Korean issue and a necessary partner in ensuring security in the region. In turn, Mongolia is also interested in developing priority relations with Japan. Along with the influx of Japanese investment and modern technologies, Japan’s role in Mongolia’s foreign policy as the main “third neighbor” is being strengthened.

China is constantly searching for foreign policy potential. A manifestation of this promising activity is the promotion of a number of major, most often foreign economic, initiatives. From Beijing’s point of view, Southeast Asia has the potential to ensure its national security and economic growth. Southeast Asia is rich in natural resources, including energy resources. The region has a large market for Chinese exports. Southeast Asia, especially its less developed countries, is very profitable for Chinese capital investments. Finally, a number of Southeast Asian countries are geographically, economically and politically integrated into the Chinese belt and road Initiative. The goal of this Initiative, going beyond its purely infrastructural significance, is to strengthen China’s influence in world politics [36. P. 40-49].

Breakthroughs in foreign policy and potential disclosure are closely related to forecasting activities. Forecasts can be considered as part of capacity-building activities. Foreign authors draw attention to the fact that more and more international and non-governmental organizations, including commercial companies, are turning to forecasting. In particular, international organizations such as UNESCO, UNIDO, OECD and WEF have set up structural units or projects aimed at fore-

casting. The RAND Corporation created the Mediterranean Foresight Forum, and the well-known American analytical structure the Atlantic Council – the Foresight, Strategy and Risk Initiative [17]. To unlock Russia's foreign policy potential, it is necessary to make more active use of the results of predictive activities of public and private structures.

The main role in unlocking potential is played by the human being, so in foreign countries great attention is paid to the human potential, in particular, the potential of a diplomat. A number of countries introduced in the staff of their embassies the position of "attaché for innovations". The UK has sent almost 100 such attaches to more than 30 countries around the world [17]. Their main task is to promote British competitiveness, mainly in the economic sphere. But the innovative diplomat can be viewed more broadly. To provide innovative cooperation means to find new areas of cooperation that correspond to the prospects of modern world development. With such an approach, all Russian diplomats must be innovative to ensure a breakthrough in the country's development.

Recommendations are being developed abroad on how to find and implement these innovations in international relations. So, British experts recommend moving along this path in four directions: a) learning and informing; b) influencing and promoting; c) nurturing and establishing contacts; d) activating and scaling [29]. Each of the recommended directions is detailed. For example, the content of the latter is the joint development or identification of external resources for the development of new areas of cooperation. These recommendations could be used in the activities of Russian official and public diplomats.

As a follow-up to this trend, some countries are setting up innovative offices. Since the early 2000s, Switzerland, for example, has established a network of Swissnex innovation hubs in San Francisco, Boston, Shanghai, Bangalore, Rio de Janeiro and other cities. The hubs are managed by the State Secretariat for education, research and innovation, with the assistance of the Swiss Foreign Ministry. The hub activities are coordinated with approximately 20 science and technology offices attached to Swiss diplomatic missions [40. P. 148]. In Russia, such functions could be taken by the Ministry of science and higher education, the Ministry of digital development, communications and mass communications, and the Russian export center.

Conclusions. To sum up, the foreign policy potential can be understood as the ability and readiness of a country to use reserve opportunities and open up new opportunities available in the world for the implementation of its national interests. The concept of economic potential is the most developed in science. There are also labor, export, defense, personnel, institutional and other types of potential. Attention is drawn to the diversity of potential: integration and disintegration, export and import, constructive and destructive, and others. The implementation of foreign policy potential concerns both the use of known reserves, but not previously used for various reasons, and the disclosure of new opportu-

nities arising from domestic and foreign policy changes. Breakthrough solutions in the country's development are more related to the discovery of new potential than to the use of reserves. In this regard, the most important is the innovative and human potential. The countries of the world are actively using their foreign policy potential, finding new meanings in world politics, introducing new institutional forms of international interaction, and making greater use of forecasting and other modern methods. Russia should strive for a leadership position in the implementation of its foreign policy potential.

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