



Institutional Framework and Practice of Russian Science Diplomacy

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Abstract. The research deals with a relatively recent phenomenon of science diplomacy as a tool of Russian foreign policy. One of the science diplomacy tracks is 'diplomacy for science'. The article investigates this track's macro- and micro-level practices to assess the overall effectiveness of Russian science diplomacy. The authors conducted an in-depth analysis of primary sources and semi-structured interviews with academics and diplomats. They conclude that at the micro-level, 'diplomacy for science' is hindered by a lack of legal information on travel rules, poor consolidation of the 'research diaspora,' and the absence of a regulatory framework to identify those eligible for consular and diplomatic support. A distrust in communication between scholars and diplomats further aggravates the uneven support for scientists across Russian diplomatic missions. At the macro-level, the institutional framework of scientific cooperation between Russia and other states appears vague, featuring non-binding memoranda of understanding and very few detailed agreements.

Keywords: science diplomacy, diplomacy for science, scientific exchange, scientific cooperation, consular issues, Russian diplomacy, digital diplomacy, research diaspora, overseas compatriots, science policy

Science diplomacy is being institutionalized in Russia (Reinhardt 2021). We focus here on 'diplomacy for science'¹ as a means diplomats use to facilitate scientific and technical cooperation through negotiations and international law (The Royal Society 2010). The 'diplomacy for science' is reviewed at two levels: the macro-level (making treaties and agreements on scientific and technical cooperation) and the

¹ Two other components are 'science in diplomacy' (the elaboration of recommendations for policymaking by scientists) and 'science for diplomacy' (the use of scientific alliances by scientists and diplomats to strengthen bi- and multilateral relations between countries). The analysis of these aspects in Russia can be found in work mentioned.

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micro-level (diplomatic and consular conduct aimed at facilitating the overseas activity of scientists, researchers, and scientific groups, by providing administrative, legal, and information assistance).

Some approaches to science diplomacy can be adopted from other domains of diplomacy. For instance, Bergeijk, Groot, and Yakop (Bergeijk, Groot, Yakop 2011) show that economic diplomacy can be incoming and outgoing. When applied to 'diplomacy for science,' the incoming part is about helping foreign specialists in Russia, while the outgoing part is about helping Russian scientists abroad.

The instruments of 'diplomacy for science' can be divided into those facilitating the functioning of the institutional and legal framework and those adopted for administrative stimulation and acceleration of external scientific and technical activities. In 2020, Foreign Minister Lavrov said that the Russian Foreign Ministry did not engage in the administration of scientific cooperation². The ministry seems more inclined to act as a facilitator of the overall scientific and technical cooperation framework rather than an active stakeholder in such activity. We try to clarify the role of the Russian MFA in 'diplomacy for science' by analyzing the functioning of science attachés at the micro-level and Russia's legal framework for international scientific cooperation at the macro-level.

Russia has framework agreements on cooperation in science and technology with advanced nations. However, their implementation depends on the general state of cooperation between the signatories, and they indicate intentions rather than actual deeds. Regrettably, there is no unified database of agreements on science and technology cooperation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or the Ministry of Science, failed to provide information on the number and nomenclature of such agreements at the authors' request.

Methodology

The research employs a qualitative analysis of Russian diplomacy for science on both micro- and macro-levels. We conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with Russian and Russian-speaking scientists and researchers, 12 people representing different fields of science, such as physics, biology, and social sciences, and working at various research institutions. Eight of them are based in Russia, whereas four live abroad. The group is balanced in terms of gender. The age of the respondents ranges from 28 to 72 years old. Five people have science management and administrating experience. Four interviewees hold the title of the Doctor of Sciences, five the Candidate of Sciences, and one has a Ph.D. While the selection cannot be representative, our

² Lavrov schitaet, chto nauchnaia diplomatia pri pandemic perestaet byt' instrumentom vliianiia [Lavrov thinks that science diplomacy is losing its influence at the times of the pandemic]. 2020. TASS. URL: <https://tass.ru/politika/8294685> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

primary aim is to understand the general sentiment towards 'diplomacy for science' among scientists.

We used a similar methodology to interview five Russian diplomats on the conditions of anonymity and confidentiality. Two of them work in the Ministry Headquarters, two are placed in embassies abroad, and one works in a consulate. The age ranges from 26 to 52, gender – males only. The five officers have different levels of experience in scientific cooperation, including contacts with Russian-speaking scholars living abroad (or the so-called 'research diaspora'). Their interviews provide helpful insights into administrative and conceptual challenges faced by diplomats dealing with 'diplomacy for science'. We conducted a normative analysis of the interview results identifying the pitfalls between scientists and diplomats.

At the macro-level, we analyzed the Russian 'diplomacy for science' by manually systematizing Russia's treaties and agreements on scientific and technical cooperation by geographic priorities of the Russian foreign policy, namely the US, BRICS members, Western Europe and the EU, and the CIS countries. Although international agreements on scientific cooperation are also made between the Academies of Science³, scientific foundations, etc., and their analysis is possible along the same lines⁴, this research deals only with those signed among governments.

Russian science diplomacy at the micro-level

We examined the everyday cooperation of scientists and diplomats through semi-structured interviews with both diplomatic officers and researchers. This was aimed at identifying the problems challenging their interactions.

Interviews with scientists

The issues identified by the semi-structured interviews with the scholars about their interaction with diplomats can be divided into three groups.

Lack of information about consular issues and services

Many research workers, including those from the so-called research diaspora who are not Russian citizens, are often unaware or even completely unaware of border regulations. Five out of 12 respondents indicated that despite having an official invitation from the host party (EU countries) to participate in scientific events, they still provided a different purpose of travel (e.g., tourism) by applying for a visa. They were thus unable to make use of the preferential treatment of researchers provided for in the specialized Russia-EU Agreement⁵. What exactly they failed to seize was an opportu-

³ Zakliuchennyye RAN soglasheniia o mezhdunarodnom sotrudnichestve [International cooperation agreements of RAS]. 2019. *Russian Academy of Sciences*. URL: <http://www.ras.ru/about/cooperation/intagreements.aspx> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁴ Kashkin S.Y. et al. 2021. *Osnovy pravovogo regulirovaniia nauki v Rossii i mire: uchebnoe posobie* [The Basics of Legal Regulation of Science in Russia and the Rest of the World: Coursebook]. Moscow: Ruscience. (In Russian)

⁵ Soglasenie mezhdru Rossiiskoi Federatsiei i Evropeiskim soobshchestvom ob uproschenii vydachi viz grazhdanam Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Evropeiskogo Soiuza [Agreement between the European Community and the Russian Federation

nity to obtain a multiple entry visa valid for up to five years and a consular fee waiver (under Articles 5 and 6 of the said Agreement⁶).

Another respondent, a Soviet citizen in the past and currently an EU resident, who came to Russia to attend an international research forum, said that when applying for a Russian visa through a visa center, he paid a processing fee and also a double consular fee. Asked why he failed to apply directly to the Russian consulate to receive a humanitarian visa, he claimed he never knew it was possible.

Interviews concerning research trips to the US reveal similar problems. None of the three interviewees with experience at American research centers knew there was a bilateral visa agreement between Russia and US⁷. The respective Russia-EU Agreement was signed over 15 years ago, and the Russia-US Agreement over ten years ago, with both still in force notwithstanding the current events. Even experienced scientists remain uninformed of their privileges, pointing to a severe lack of awareness among Russian scholars.

At the same time, when asked if such things as visa difficulties or high consular fees could discourage them from a research trip abroad, eight out of 12 gave positive replies.

Taxation abroad is another issue that reportedly often causes difficulties. Two respondents who held temporary contracts at Italian universities reported having paid income taxes, but under Article 20 of the Russia-Italy convention for the avoidance of double taxation⁸, it was not mandatory since they remained the tax residents of Russia if their tenure did not exceed a two-year term. Another two respondents reported similar issues when working in countries with double taxation avoidance conventions with Russia.

Communication with diplomats

Asked whether they had ever had trouble communicating with diplomatic or consular officers, seven out of 12 said yes (or probably yes). However, the exact matters that caused the trouble varied, with some respondents noting an overall feeling of discomfort having to interact with officials and others citing concrete situations bordering

on the facilitation of the issuance of visas to the citizens of the European Union and the Russian Federation] (signed in Sochi on 25.05.2006). URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_126335/ (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Soglashenie mezhdru Rossiiskoi Federatsiei i Soedinennymi Shtatami Ameriki ob uproshchenii vizovykh formal'nostei dlia grazhdan Rossiiskoi Federatsii i grazhdan Soedinennykh Shtatov Ameriki [Agreement between the Russian Federation and the United States of America on the simplification of visa formalities for nationals of the Russian Federation and nationals of the United States of America] (signed in Moscow and Washington DC 01.11.2011 – 19.11.2011) [Note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia from 01.11.2011 N 46197/KD; Note of the US Department of State from 19.11.2011]. URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_134007/ (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁸ Konventsiia mezhdru Pravitel'stvom RF i Pravitel'stvom Ital'ianskoj Respubliki to 09.04.1996 «Ob izbezhanii dvojnogo nalogooblozheniia v otnoshenii nalogov na dokhody i kapital i predotvrashchenii ukloneniia to nalogooblozheniia» [Convention between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Italian Republic for the avoidance of double taxation concerning taxes on income and capital and the prevention of fiscal evasion] (amended on 13.06.2009). URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_21175/ (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

on confrontation. In the broader sense, all these cases appear to demonstrate that the problem is a lack of awareness of each other's work between diplomats and scientists.

Among the most common misunderstandings is the confusion of scientific titles and ranks by diplomats and the failure of researchers to distinguish between embassies and consulates or diplomatic ranks. At least two respondents believed that Attachés held a higher rank than a First Secretary or a Counsellor.

Another sensitive issue that should not be overlooked is the mutual lack of trust between diplomats and scientists. Four respondents believed that nearly all diplomatic and consular officers were directly engaged with the special services. Although other respondents were not as adamant, judging by the content and tone of their replies, it is hard to conclude that they did not share the same idea. Three respondents also noted a pinch of suspicion on the side of diplomatic officers they had to communicate with. One interviewee suggested that it might relate to the perception among diplomats that researchers often are intelligence officers. At the current stage, the spy mania remains unreasonably strong.

Lack of engagement with 'research diaspora'

While mass migration (the 'brain drain') of scientists from Russia has been widely discussed since the 1990s, the very term 'research diaspora' has only recently become part of the political discourse, namely at the turn of the 2000s and 2010s (Dezhina, Kuznetsov et al. 2015; Dezhina 2016; Malakhov, Vasil'eva, Belov 2020)⁹. In 2008, the Russian-Speaking Academic Scientists Association (RASA) was established. It has three divisions: North America, Europe, Asia-Pacific¹⁰. In 2012, RuSciTech was set up to uphold a similar mission. In 2015, a working group on cooperation with overseas compatriots was created under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (MHSE) that held annual meetings at least till 2019¹¹. It involved members of RASA, RuSciTech, and independent experts, as well as high-ranking MSHE officials (The Russian Research Institute of Economics, Politics, and Law in Science and Technology (RIEPL) 2019).

It is hard to find any information about the workings of these institutions. Out of twelve respondents, only one knew of RASA's existence as its member. The rest were surprised at the discovery, which is quite natural given the lack of information. The official websites of neither RASA nor RuSciTech are functioning¹². Only RASA-America's website is available, but the information posted there is rarely updated¹³.

⁹ Elibrary, the largest national depository of research papers, has fewer than 50 items concerning the topic of the Russian research diaspora. URL: <https://elibrary.ru/> (accessed 20.10.2022).

¹⁰ Russian-Speaking Academic Scientists Association (RASA). RASA-America (RASA-USA) was registered in 2008 in Boston; RASA-Europe (Association Internationale des Scientifiques Parlant Russe, AISPR) in 2008 in Paris, RASA-Asia in 2017 in Singapore.

¹¹ The fifth meeting of the working group was held on May 16, 2019, in Sochi, on the margins of the Third International Conference 'The Science of the Future and the Fourth National Forum 'Science of the Future – Science of the Youth'. There has been no information about the working group meeting since the pandemic's start.

¹² RASA. Available at: <http://www.dumaem-po-russki.org/>; *RuSciTech*. URL: <http://ru-sci-tech.org/> (accessed 20.10.2022)

¹³ Russian-American Science Association. URL: <http://www.rasa-usa.org/> (accessed 20.10.2022). Notable that given the overlap of the abbreviations of the main office and the American branch (RASA), the latter stands for the 'Russian-American Science Association' in translation on the given website. The information about the organization of a remote round-

The information about the functioning of the ministry's working group is posted on the personal page of A. Starts, co-chair of RuSciTech¹⁴. These cannot be found elsewhere in open access, including on the official website of the MSHE¹⁵, and both the working group and RuSciTech have no accounts on social media. Consequently, new members¹⁶ join the diaspora network via informal links.

The information vacuum results in the lack of integrity within the research diaspora and reduced efficiency of its coordination and self-regulation mechanisms. Eleven out of twelve respondents explicitly supported this statement during our interviews.

Interviews with diplomats

Russian diplomats have reported three main problems in communication with academic circles.

Difficulty identifying the target audience

The first issue concerns terminology. Four respondents out of 5 tended to view such terms as 'scientist,' 'researcher,' 'research fellow,' 'scholar,' 'lecturer,' 'professor,' and 'expert' as nearly synonymous. Despite the presumed similarity of the terms, the diplomats found the vagueness of legal definitions of title to be a problem because they did not know who was eligible to ask for their assistance. Only one respondent who had considerable experience in supporting scientists knew the specifics of the terminology introduced in the Federal Law 'On Science and State Policy on Science and Technology'¹⁷, while others admitted not being acquainted with the legislation.

Concerning this ambiguity, the diplomats also stressed the disparate character of the research society. They wondered whether it was suitable to place renowned world-class nuclear physicists and social science Ph.D. students in the same group and whether using the same diplomatic instruments to help them was justified.

The vagueness of the term 'research diaspora'

Compared to a 'researcher,' 'research diaspora' is even more ambiguous. Federal laws and by-laws about science and research do not define the term. The Strategy of Scientific and Technical Development in Russia¹⁸ and the glossary of the Conceptual

table with RASA representatives and the RAS on the margins of the Global Conference of RASA and the Eleventh RASA-America Annual Conference was only found on the website of 'Nauchnaya Rossiya' [Scientific Russia] organization. See Mokhnachev N., Ibragimova A. 2020. Rossiiskaia Nauka i diaspora [Russian science and diaspora]. *Nauchnaya Rossiya*. URL: <https://scientificrussia.ru/articles/diaspora-i-rossijskaya-nauka> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

¹⁴ Andrei Starinets's Homepage. Science & Education in Russia Federation / Russia – Soviet Union. URL: http://www-thphys.physics.ox.ac.uk/people/AndreiStarinets/science_in_russia.html (accessed 20.10.2022)

¹⁵ Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation. URL: <https://minobrnauki.gov.ru/> (accessed 20.10.2022)

¹⁶ There is no open access information about the current numbers of these organizations.

¹⁷ Federal'nyĭ zakon «O nauke i gosudarstvennoĭ nauchno-tekhnicheskoĭ politike» ot 23.08.1996 N 127-FZ (v posledneĭ redaktsii) [Federal Law 'On Science and State Policy on Science and Technology' from 23.08.1996 N 127-FZ (latest version)]. URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_11507/ (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

Article 4 of the present law defines a research worker as one of the critical subjects of scientific and technical activity.

¹⁸ Ukaz Prezidenta RF ot 01.12.2016 N 642 «O Strategii nauchno-tekhnologicheskogo razvitiia Rossiiskoi Federatsii» [Order of the President of Russia 'On The Strategy of Scientific and Technical Development of Russia' from 01.12.2016 N 642]. *Consultant*. URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_207967/ (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

Framework of International Scientific and Technical Cooperation of Russia does not have the definition, even though the term is used in the Conceptual Framework itself (Article 28)¹⁹.

The Federal Law on the State Policy of the Russian Federation Concerning Compatriots Abroad²⁰ defines a compatriot in Article 1 but does not have the term 'diaspora' and never details what it is. The absence of a legal definition of 'research diaspora' hurdles diplomatic support for scientists. The definition of research diaspora may require elaborating primary and additional criteria, such as command of the Russian language, Russian (or Soviet, in the past) citizenship, education received in Russia or the USSR, etc.

Among questions that may arise at this stage are whether second-generation migrants, without the Russian language but with scientific achievements, qualify as members of the research diaspora; or whether foreign nationals without ethnic or public connections with Russia but with a Russian degree or/and a proper command of the language, or/and positively disposed towards Russia should be seen as part of the research diaspora.

All respondents also noted a noticeable political polarisation within the supposed research diaspora and the Russian diaspora. This is most visible in their attitude towards the Russian state and its domestic and foreign policy. While some compatriots are staunchly opposed to Russian policies in general and specific measures in particular, others feel more apologetic and supportive, being critical of the policies of their countries of residence. In the case of the research diaspora, there are also criticisms of the Russian science policy (not always constructive) alongside nostalgic (or critical) sentiments about Soviet R&D policies and the higher education system.

Two diplomats noted that some compatriots see the word 'diaspora' as having a pejorative connotation and thus refuse to associate themselves with it. This may be explained by negative stereotypes about other ethnic groups living outside their home countries, including some marginalized communities.

Another cause of disparity within the research diaspora is the difference in the period and status of stay abroad. Even though the questionnaire conducted jointly by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the Russian Research Institute of Economics, Politics, and Law in Science and Technology (RIEPL) in 2019 showed that the majority, or 61,8% of overseas compatriot scientists, was comprised by those who had left Russia in the 1990s (MSHE, RIEPL 2019)²¹, the diplomats interviewed

¹⁹ Kontseptsiiia mezhdunarodnogo nauchno-tekhnicheskogo sotrudnichestva Rossiiskoi Federatsii [Conceptual Framework of International Scientific and Technical Cooperation of Russia]. Approved by the Government of the Russian Federation on 08.02.2019. URL: <https://france.mid.ru/upload/iblock/7f8/7f8aadb5de45b3a58103046d70eabef2.pdf> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

²⁰ Federal'nyi zakon «O gosudarstvennoi politike Rossiiskoi Federatsii v otnoshenii sootchestvennikov za rubezhom» ot 24.05.1999 N 99-FZ (v poslednei redaktsii) [Federal Law on the State Policy of the Russian Federation Concerning Compatriots Abroad from 24.05.1999 N 99-FZ (latest version)]. *Consultant*. URL: http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons_doc_LAW_23178/ (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

²¹ Migrated prior to 1991 – 6,1%; in the 2000s – 21,4%; in the 2010s – 9,2%.

way more often interacted with the second- (the 2000s) and third-wave (the 2010s) emigrants. This can be explained by the fact that most of the first post-Soviet emigrants have already melted into the recipient societies and their scientific circles and are disinterested in resuming their bonds with Russia. At the same time, two diplomats said in the interview that compatriots with foreign passports contacting the Russian embassies were not rare.

Finally, four respondents considered the quantitative evaluation of the Russian research diaspora complex. Those working at the Russian embassies and consulates could roughly evaluate the numbers of the Russian diaspora but struggled to provide estimates of researchers who had come from Russia or the USSR. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that very few researchers choose to register at the consulate, which is entirely voluntary.

The personalized character of science diplomacy

The respondents argued that the absence of a systematized vision of the support diplomats could provide to scientists led to the domination of personal factors over institutional ones. As a result, the effectiveness of the support for scientists often depends on the priorities of a particular embassy. Speaking about the work that could be attributed to 'diplomacy for science,' the interviewees repeatedly stressed that it all depended on the Ambassador or the Consul. The respondents claimed there was a direct link between the academic background of senior diplomats on the mission and the intensity and regularity of the work in the scientific domain.

In this context, two respondents also said that the instructions from Moscow headquarters concerning scientific cooperation were not always detailed in terms of goals and tasks. The same is valid for the researchers' needs, with many failing to provide a definite answer when asked how the embassy could help.

Russian science diplomacy at the macro-level

As previously stated, by 'macro-level,' the authors mean the institutional framework behind Russia's international scientific cooperation: the science cooperation treaties and agreements. There is no unified database of international treaties on scientific cooperation, so the authors had to search for them online.

USA

The Agreement between Russia and the US on Scientific and Technical Cooperation was signed in 1993²², when bilateral ties were arguably at their highest point. This

²² Soglasenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Soedinennykh Shtatov Ameriki o nauchno-tekhnicheskome sotrudnichestve ot 16.12.1993 g. (s izmeneniami na 24.06.2016 g.) [Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Russian Federation on Scientific and Technical Cooperation from 16.12.1993 (version of 24.06.2016)]. *Elektronnyi fond pravovykh i normativno-tekhnicheskikh dokumentov* [Digital depository of legal and normative documents]. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1900426> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

is a relatively general document comprised of 10 articles, signed for ten years, with an extension possible for 10-year terms. The Agreement has since been extended twice, in 2005 and 2016²³, by exchange of notes between the US Embassy in Moscow and the Russian Foreign Ministry. In its current edition, the Agreement will be in force till December 2025; it features two appendices, one regulating the functioning of the Russia-US Joint Science and Technology Cooperation Committee and the other overseeing general issues concerning intellectual property rights.

Another important document was signed in 1992 during President Yeltsin's visit to the US. The Russia-US Agreement on Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes is as short as seven articles and an appendix concerning intellectual property rights²⁴. The extension mechanism is similar, with 5-year extensions mediated through an exchange of diplomatic notes²⁵. This was done in 1997, 2002, 2007, 2013, and 2021. The two latest exchanges provided for more extended extension periods, and the Agreement is currently in force till December 31, 2030²⁶.

In 2013, on the margins of the IAEA General Commission in Vienna, the Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Russian Federation on Cooperation in Nuclear- and Energy-Related Scientific Research and Development was signed²⁷. The Agreement came into force in 2014 and could be characterized as relatively precise, outlining the objects used in joint research on the Russian side. It was, however, discontinued by Russia in the autumn 2016²⁸, arguably for political reasons.

²³ Nota Posol'stva Soedinennykh Shtatov Ameriki MFA No.2016-017 ot 02.03.2016 g. i Nota Ministerstva inostrannykh del Rossiiskoi Federatsii N 3361/dsa ot 24.06.2016 g. [Note of the Embassy of the United States of America No.2016-017 from 02.03.2016 and Note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation N 3361/dsa from 24.06.2016]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/420362826> (accessed 10.10.2022). (In Russian)

²⁴ Soglashenie mezhdru Rossiiskoi Federatsiei i Soedinennymi Shtatami Ameriki o sotrudnichestve v issledovanii i ispol'zovanii kosmicheskogo prostranstva v mirnykh tseliakh ot 17.06.1992 g. [The Russia-US Agreement on Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes from 17.06.1992]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/902116834> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

²⁵ Compared to the framework agreement of 1993, whereby an extension required written consent (op. cit., Art. 10), Article 7 of the Agreement on Space straightforwardly provided technical communication via diplomatic channels.

²⁶ Nota Posol'stva Soedinennykh Shtatov Ameriki MFA N 2021/006 ot 25.01.2021 g. i Nota Ministerstva inostrannykh del Rossiiskoi Federatsii N 1982/dsa ot 12.04.2021 g. [Note of the Embassy of the United States of America No.2021/006 from 25.01.2021 and Note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation N 1982/dsa from 12.04.2021]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/420362826> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

Interestingly, the reply note from the Russian Foreign Ministry was sent on Cosmonautics Day and coincided with the 60th anniversary of the first person in space.

²⁷ Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Soedinennykh Shtatov Ameriki o sotrudnichestve v nauchnykh issledovaniakh i razrabotkakh v iaderno i energeticheskoi sferakh ot 16.09.2013 g. [The Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Russian Federation on Cooperation in Nuclear- and Energy-Related Scientific Research and Development from 16.09.2013]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/499065189> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

²⁸ Rasporiazhenie Pravitel'stva Rossiiskoi Federatsii ot 04.10.2016 g. N 2072-r [Executive order of the Government of the Russian Federation from 04.10.2016 N 2072-r]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/456018322> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

Russian researchers A. Barabashev and D. Ponomareva (2019) describe in detail the legal framework of the Russia-US cooperation in science and technology, including the Memorandums of Understanding between science diplomacy actors (e.g., The Ministry of Science and Higher Education of Russia, The United States Department of Commerce, or fundamental and applied investment foundations of the two countries, etc.). They conclude that the Russia-US scientific and technical cooperation 'rests on weak and vulnerable legal foundations, with part of them non-binding, such as the MoUs' (Barabashev, Ponomareva 2019: 121).

At different stages of the Russia-US bilateral relations, joint formats to facilitate the implementation of the agreements were established, such as the Working group on science and technology cooperation, including a sub-group on nanotechnology, the Russia-US Joint Science and Technology Cooperation Committee, and the Russia-US Innovation Council on High Technologies. On the Russian side, the functioning of these groups is overseen by the MSHE²⁹, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs carries out international coordination³⁰. The intensity of science diplomacy conducted through the mentioned formats depends on the overall state of Russia-US relations.

BRICS

Russia has scientific and technical cooperation agreements with all the other BRICS states. The first framework agreements were struck with China (December 1992)³¹ and India (June 1994)³²; besides, there were agreements on cooperation in agriculture and in ocean exploration with China³³. The 1993 Agreement on Cultural

²⁹ Pikalova A.G., Nasybulina E.G., Sokolov A.V. et al. 2017. *Metodicheskoe posobie PO uchastiiu rossiiskikh nauchnykh organizatsii i universitetov v mezhdunarodnoi nauchno-tekhnikeskoi deiatel'nosti* [Methodical handbook on the participation of Russian research institutions and universities in international scientific and technical activity]. Moscow: NRU HSE. P. 35-36. (In Russian)

³⁰ The President of Russia. Ukaz Prezidenta Rossiiskoi Federatsii ot 08.11.2011 g. № 1478 O koordiniruiushchei roli Ministerstva inostrannykh del Rossiiskoi Federatsii v provedenii edinoi vneshnepoliticheskoi linii Rossiiskoi Federatsii [The Order of the President of the Russian Federation from 08.11.2011 N 1478 'On the coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation in implementing the unified foreign policy of the Russian Federation]. *Kremlin.ru*. URL: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/34205> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

³¹ The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Russian Federation. 2012. *Kitaisko-rossiiskoe nauchno-tekhnikeskoe sotrudnichestvo* [China-Russia scientific and technical cooperation]. *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China*. URL: <https://www.mfa.gov.cn/ce/cerus/rus/kjhz/kjxx/t970437.htm> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian); Bin' S. 2020. *Razvitie ustoychivogo nauchno-tekhnikeskogo i innovatsionnogo sotrudnichestva Kitaia i Rossii* [The development of sustained scientific and technical cooperation between China and Russia]. *Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC)*. URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/columns/asian-kaleidoscope/razvitie-ustoychivogo-nauchno-tekhnikeskogo-i-innovatsionnogo-sotrudnichestva-kitaya-i-rossii/> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

³² *Methodical handbook on the participation of Russian research institutions and universities in international scientific and technical activity*. C. 38.

³³ *Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Kitaiskoi Narodnoi Respubliki ob ekonomicheskom i nauchno-tekhnikeskome sotrudnichestve v oblasti agropromyshlennogo kompleksa ot 27.05.1994 g.* [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the People's Republic of China on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation in agriculture from 27.05.1994]; *Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Kitaiskoi Narodnoi Respubliki o sotrudnichestve v oblasti issledovaniia i ispol'zovaniia Mirovogo okeana ot 27.05.2003 g.* [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the People's Republic of China on cooperation in ocean exploration from 27.05.2003]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1900387>, <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901866501> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

and Scientific Cooperation with India³⁴ is partially overlapping with the framework mentioned above Agreement. All these documents have been amended and expanded using signing supplementary protocols.

The state of cooperation with Brazil and South Africa follows a similar pattern. 1997 saw the Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation between Russia and Brazil³⁵, and the Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation between Russia and South Africa was signed in 2014³⁶. A distinguishing feature of these agreements, compared to the one with the US, is that they 'shall remain in force for five years, whereafter [they] shall automatically be renewed for further periods of five years, but may be terminated by either Party giving at least six months written notice in advance...' ³⁷. In other words, agreements with Brazil and South Africa are subject to extension by default (and require a written notice of termination). In contrast, the Russia-US Agreement is subject to termination by default (and an explicit will to extend is necessary). These differences could be attributed to the features of the American international contract law, and similar tendencies could be observed in the case of limited-duration treaties that the US makes in other spheres, such as disarmament. These treaties must be either extended or signed again to remain in force.

To implement the agreements between Russia and BRICS states, specialized Commissions, Committees, and/or working groups are established within Russia's various formats of bilateral cooperation with Brazil, India, China, and South Africa, and their performance is deemed successful³⁸.

Worth mentioning appears to be the format of network cooperation in science and technology, namely the 2015 BRICS Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Science, Technology, and Innovation³⁹.

³⁴ Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Respubliki Indii o kul'turnom i nauchnom sotrudnichestve ot 28.01.1993 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of India on cultural and scientific cooperation from 28.01.1993]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901728582> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

³⁵ Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Federativnoi Respubliki Braziliu o nauchno-tekhnicheskome sotrudnichestve ot 21.11.1997 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Federal Republic of Brazil on scientific and technical cooperation from 21.11.1997]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901757382> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

³⁶ Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Iuzhno-Afrikanskoj Respubliki o nauchno-tekhnicheskome sotrudnichestve ot 14.10.2014 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the South African Republic on scientific and technical cooperation from 14.10.2014]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/420377821> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

³⁷ Ibid. The same clause is present in most of the agreements analyzed below.

³⁸ *Methodical handbook on the participation of Russian research institutions and universities in international scientific and technical activity*. C. 38-40.

³⁹ O podpisanii Memorandum o sotrudnichestve v sfere nauki, tekhnologii i innovatsii mezhdru pravitel'stvami Rossii, Braziliu, Indii, Kaitaia i Iuzhno-Afrikanskoj Respubliki [On the signing of the Memorandum of understanding on cooperation in science, technology, and innovation between the Governments of Russia, Brazil, India, China, and South African Republic]. 2015. *The Government of Russia*. URL: <http://government.ru/docs/17313/> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

Western Europe and the EU

The first Agreement between Russia and a Western European state dates to 1992, when the Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation between Russia and France was signed⁴⁰, based on the Russo-French Treaty of the same year⁴¹. The two countries subsequently signed agreements on scientific and technical cooperation in agriculture⁴² and nuclear energy⁴³. There were also written agreements on cooperation between research centers and institutes and mutual recognition of degrees⁴⁴.

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Russian Federation signed the Agreement on Cooperation in the Fields of Education, Science, and Culture in 1994⁴⁵, and the one on science and technology cooperation in 1996⁴⁶. In the same year, they signed the Agreement on Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy⁴⁷. In 2011, the Declaration on a Knowledge-Based Partnership for Modernisation was published⁴⁸.

⁴⁰ Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Frantsuzskoi Respubliki o nauchnom i tekhnologicheskom sotrudnichestve ot 28.07.1992 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the French Republic on scientific and technical cooperation from 28.07.1992]. *The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation*. URL: https://www.mid.ru/foreign_policy/international_contracts/2_contract/-/storage-viewer/bilateral/page-58/48637 (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁴¹ Dogovor mezhdru Rossiei i Frantsiei ot 07.02.1992 g. [Treaty between Russia and France from 07.02.1992]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1902064> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

Art. 16: Russia and France shall maintain close cooperation between their research institutions, in particular, using the exchange of research workers.

⁴² Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Frantsuzskoi Respubliki ob ekonomicheskom i nauchno-tekhnicheskom sotrudnichestve v oblasti agropromyshlennogo kompleksa ot 30.07.1992 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the French Republic on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation in agriculture from 30.07.1992]. *The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation*. URL: https://www.mid.ru/foreign_policy/international_contracts/2_contract/-/storage-viewer/bilateral/page-431/48713 (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁴³ Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Frantsuzskoi Respubliki o nauchno-tekhnicheskom sotrudnichestve i postavkakh vysokoobogashchennogo urana ot 19.04.1996 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the French Republic on scientific and technical cooperation and purchase of highly-enriched uranium from 19.04.1996]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1901111> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁴⁴ *Methodical handbook on the participation of Russian research institutions and universities in international scientific and technical activity*. P. 36.

⁴⁵ Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Soedinennogo Korolevstva Velikobritanii i Severnoi Irlandii o sotrudnichestve v oblasti obrazovaniia, nauki i kul'tury ot 15.02.1994 g. [The Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Russian Federation on Cooperation in the Fields of Education, Science, and Culture from 15.02.1994]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1900454> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁴⁶ Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Soedinennogo Korolevstva Velikobritanii i Severnoi Irlandii o nauchno-tekhnicheskom sotrudnichestve ot 28.05.1996 g. [The Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Russian Federation on Science and Technology Cooperation from 28.05.1996]. *The Embassy of the Russian Federation in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*. URL: <https://www.rus.rusemb.org.uk/relations/4> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁴⁷ Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Soedinennogo Korolevstva Velikobritanii i Severnoi Irlandii o sotrudnichestve v oblasti mirnogo ispol'zovaniia atomnoi energii ot 03.09.1996 g. [The Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Russian Federation on Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy from 03.09.1996]. *The Embassy of the Russian Federation in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*. URL: <https://www.rus.rusemb.org.uk/relations/11> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁴⁸ Deklaratsiia o partnerstve na osnove znanii dlia modernizatsii mezhdru Rossiiskoi Federatsiei i Soedinennym Korolevstvom Velikobritanii i Severnoi Irlandii ot 10.09.2011 g. [Declaration between the Russian Federation and the United

The framework Agreement on Scientific and Technical Cooperation with Italy was signed in 1995⁴⁹. At the same time, there is no specialized agreement on cooperation in nuclear research despite traditionally strong ties in the field (Krynzhdina, Baranova, Masolygin 2020).

The modern framework of scientific and technical cooperation between Russia and Germany has been established only in the current century, notwithstanding the historically rich traditions of cooperation in science and technology between the two states. Since the 1990s, there has been a plethora of specialized inter-agency agreements on cooperation in such domains as bioresearch and biotechnology, laser research and technology, marine and polar research, etc., that constitute a basis for related interactions of Russian and German institutions and thus for comprehensive bilateral scientific and technical cooperation. In 2005, the Joint Statement on Strategic Cooperation in Education, Scientific Research, and Innovation was signed, followed by the Framework Agreement of 2011 and the 2018 Roadmap featuring a detailed account of priorities and formats of cooperation, as well as planned projects⁵⁰. This way, even though the framework documents were adopted considerably late, the Russia-Germany scientific cooperation is among the most successful cases of cooperation with the Western European states. What facilitates strengthened ties is a pragmatic and rational approach of the two states to the maintenance of mutually beneficial interaction and their experience of scientific cooperation with other countries that underscores both the spirit and matter of the agreements.

There is also the Agreement on Cooperation in Science and Technology between the European Union and the Government of the Russian Federation, signed in 2000⁵¹, characterized by more detail but still less elaborate than the framework Agreement between Russia and Germany.

Kingdom on a Knowledge-Based Partnership for Modernisation from 10.09.2011]. *The Embassy of the Russian Federation in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*. URL: <https://www.rus.rusemb.org.uk/relations/16> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁴⁹ Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Ital'ianskoi Respubliki o nauchnom i tekhnicheskome sotrudnichestve ot 01.12.1995 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Italian Republic on Scientific and Technical Cooperation from 01.12.1995]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901748479> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁵⁰ Pravovaia i organizatsionnaia ramka sotrudnichestva / Sotrudnichestvo v sfere obrazovaniia, nauki, issledovaniia, innovatsii [Legal and organizational framework of cooperation / cooperation in education, science, research, and innovation]. *The Embassy of the Russian Federation in the Federal Republic of Germany*. URL: <https://russische-botschaft.ru/ru/information/dvustoronnie-otnosheniya/sotrudnichestvo-v-oblasti-obrazovani/pravovaya-i-organizatsionnaya-ramka-sot/> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁵¹ European Community at the time of signature. Soglashenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Evropeiskim soobshchestvom o sotrudnichestve v oblasti nauki i tekhnologii ot 16.11.2000 g. [Agreement on Cooperation in Science and Technology between the European Union and the Government of the Russian Federation from 16.11.2000]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901801289> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

CIS States

Russia has scientific and technical cooperation agreements with all members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. In 1993, such agreements were signed with Armenia⁵² and Tajikistan⁵³, in 1995 with Uzbekistan⁵⁴ and Azerbaijan⁵⁵, in 1996 with Belarus⁵⁶, Moldova⁵⁷, and Kazakhstan⁵⁸, and in 1997 with Kyrgyzstan⁵⁹.

Similar agreements were also signed with Georgia in 1994⁶⁰ and Ukraine in 1996⁶¹, and while the one with Georgia was not extended due to diplomatic ties between Russia and Georgia severed in 2008, the Russia-Ukraine Agreement formally remains in force even with all complications in the bilateral ties.

Russia also has a scientific cooperation agreement with Turkmenistan, which is an associate member of the CIS. It was signed in 2008 at the inter-ministerial level (cf.

⁵² Soglasenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Respubliki Armeniia o nauchno-tekhnikeskome sotrudnichestve ot 11.01.1993 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Armenia on scientific and technical cooperation from 11.01.1993]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901872066> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁵³ Soglasenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Respubliki Tadjikistan o nauchno-tekhnikeskome sotrudnichestve ot 25.02.1993 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan on scientific and technical cooperation from 25.02.1993]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901855485> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁵⁴ Soglasenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Respubliki Uzbekistan o nauchno-tekhnikeskome sotrudnichestve ot 27.07.1995 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Uzbekistan on scientific and technical cooperation from 27.07.1995]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1901012> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁵⁵ Soglasenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Azerbaidzhanskoj Respubliki o nauchno-tekhnikeskome sotrudnichestve ot 07.10.1995 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan on scientific and technical cooperation from 07.10.1995]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1901016> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁵⁶ Soglasenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Respubliki Belarus' o nauchno-tekhnikeskome sotrudnichestve ot 27.02.1996 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Belarus on scientific and technical cooperation from 27.02.1996]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/901725997> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁵⁷ Soglasenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Respubliki Moldova o nauchno-tekhnikeskome sotrudnichestve ot 08.10.1996 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Moldova on scientific and technical cooperation from 08.10.1996]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1902941> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁵⁸ Soglasenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Respubliki Kazakhstan o nauchno-tekhnikeskome sotrudnichestve ot 25.11.1996 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan on scientific and technical cooperation from 25.11.1996]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1902132> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁵⁹ Soglasenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Kirgizskoi Respubliki o nauchno-tekhnikeskome sotrudnichestve ot 10.10.1997 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic on scientific and technical cooperation from 10.10.1997]. *Zakonodatel'stvo stran SNG* [Legislation of CIS countries]. URL: http://base.spinform.ru/show_doc.fwx?rgn=18166 (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁶⁰ Soglasenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Respubliki Gruzii o nauchno-tekhnikeskome sotrudnichestve ot 03.02.1994 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of Georgia on scientific and technical cooperation from 03.02.1994]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1900281> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁶¹ Soglasenie mezhdru Pravitel'stvom Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Pravitel'stvom Ukrainy o nauchno-tekhnikeskome sotrudnichestve ot 27.08.1996 g. [Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of Ukraine on scientific and technical cooperation from 27.08.1996]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1902030> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

inter-governmental level with all other CIS member states)⁶². In 2000, the multilateral CIS Agreement on the Establishment of the Common Scientific and Technical Area was signed⁶³, yet it is not known if a legal framework of this kind already exists in the Eurasian Economic Union.

* * *

It is the personal initiative of individual diplomats, on the one side, and the effort of individual researchers engaged in international scientific and technical cooperation that gives Russian 'diplomacy for science' the most impetus. In other words, 'diplomacy for science' in Russia is still more dependent on enthusiasm than institutions (Reinhardt 2021)⁶⁴.

During the interviews, scientists and diplomats lamented the absence of a proper institutional and legal framework, which can be seen in the answers concerning visa requirements, tax regulations, and even struggles to identify whether a scientist applying for assistance has a requisite status. At the macro-level, this is illustrated by the fact that while Russia has an array of bi- and multilateral scientific cooperation agreements, they are in many ways vague and not detailed. Besides, they cannot be accessed from one place – a website or online database, which effectively bars researchers and policymakers from putting the situation around Russia's scientific cooperation in perspective.

The lack of information and transparency is getting worse for Russian and Russian-speaking scientists living abroad and interested in scientific engagement with Russia. These people, comprising the so-called research diaspora, have very few opportunities for communication with their counterparts in Russia; the platforms meant to bring Russian and Russian-speaking scientists together and to integrate the information necessary to facilitate such contacts are dysfunctional. Researchers that are citizens of foreign countries may be unaware of the scientific cooperation agreements between Russia and their country, which hinders the coordination of research and reduces opportunities to engage in the research in priority areas stated in such documents.

⁶² Soglashenie mezhdru Ministerstvom obrazovaniia i nauki Rossiiskoi Federatsii i Vysshim sovetom po nauke i tekhnike pri Prezidente Turkmenistana o nauchno-tekhnicheskoi i innovatsionnom sotrudnichestve ot 30.08.2008 g. [Agreement between the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation and the President of Turkmenistan's Supreme Council on Science and Technology on scientific and technical cooperation from 30.08.2008]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/902125308> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁶³ Soglashenie o sozdanii obshchego nauchno-tekhnologicheskogo prostranstva gosudarstv - uchastnikov Sodruzhestva Nezavisimykh Gosudarstv (s izmeneniami na 20.11.2009 g.) [CIS Agreement on the Establishment of the Common Scientific and Technical Area (version of 20.11.2009)]. *Digital depository of legal and normative documents*. URL: <https://docs.cntd.ru/document/1900984> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

⁶⁴ Cf. Reinhardt R.O. 03.06.2021. Nauchnaia diplomatia – èto uchenye [Science diplomacy is about scientists]. *MGIMO University Portal*. URL: <https://mgimo.ru/about/news/experts/nauchnaya-diplomatiya-eto-uchenye/>; Izvestiia. 03.06.2021. V press-tsentre MITs «Izvestiia» govoriat o vozmozhnostiakh nauchnoi diplomatii. Transliatsiia [Discussion at the Izvestiia press center on the capacity of science diplomacy. Live broadcast]. URL: <https://iz.ru/1173299/2021-06-03/v-press-tsentre-mitc-izvestiia-rasskazhut-o-vozmozhnostiakh-nauchnoi-diplomatii-transliatsiia> (accessed 20.10.2022). (In Russian)

Informing overseas academic circles about the opportunities for research work that Russia can offer is no less instrumental in achieving technical development and promoting scientific cooperation.

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Институциональные рамки и современные практики российской научной дипломатии

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В статье анализируется такое относительно новое явление, как научная дипломатия во внешней политике России. Основное внимание в анализе уделяется одному из её треков – «дипломатив для науки». Авторы полагают, что рассматривать деятельность в рамках данного трека целесообразно на микро- и на макроуровне, с тем чтобы предложить конкретные пути повышения эффективности российской научной дипломатии. Авторы провели анализ источников, а также организовали серию полуструктурированных интервью с представителями научных и дипломатических кругов, что позволило сделать вывод о том, что на микроуровне более успешному осуществлению научной дипломатии препятствуют слабая консолидация т.н. научной диаспоры, отсутствие юридически закреплённых понятий «учёный», «исследователь» и др., а также недостаток информации по правовым и консульским вопросам. Взаимное недоверие между дипломатами и учёными только ухудшает и без того неровную ситуацию с работой по

научно-дипломатическому направлению в посольствах России в зарубежных странах. На макроуровне основная проблема заключается в размытости институциональной рамки международного научно-технического сотрудничества России и обилии соглашений с зарубежными партнёрами, отличающихся низкой степенью конкретизации.

Ключевые слова: научная дипломатия, дипломатия для науки, научный обмен, научное сотрудничество, консульские сношения, дипломатия России, цифровая дипломатия, научная диаспора, соотечественники за рубежом, научная политика

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