INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: Vol.65: Number 1, 2019: Summary.

On the Struggle for Peace

Author: S. Karaganov

Consulting director and dean of the School of world economics and international affairs, National research University-higher School of economics, doctor of Science (history); <u>skaraganov@hse.ru</u>

The U.S.'S withdrawal from the Treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and Shorter-range Missiles (INF) may prove useful – however, only if it gets normal people throughout the world and, most importantly, many of us Russians to come out of years-long hibernation. This hibernation could be described as strategic parasitism.

There has not been a large-scale war in the world for more than 70 years now. Over the past three decades, relative peace has been accompanied by a rapid increase in living standards for billions of people. People have begun to think that this state of peace is not only normal but will also stay with us forever.

Meanwhile, 95% of it is the result not of our responsibility and peacefulness, but the fear of a nuclear apocalypse and hope for mutual nuclear deterrence. however, reliance on it is becoming increasingly fragile.

Russia's policy needs reviewing. The struggle to avert war should become the most important vector of this policy.

The situation in the military-technical sphere is disturbing. There was a new round of nuclear proliferation. a series of attacks against countries that have abandoned nuclear weapons, primarily Iraq and Libya, greatly strengthens the position of those who want to acquire such weapons. Furthermore, this is becoming technologically easier. The U.S.'s withdrawal from the antiballistic Missile (abM) Treaty in 2002, its recent exit from the Iran nuclear deal and now also from the Treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and Shorter-range Missiles (INF) are cutting the ground from under the nonproliferation regime, a key component of which was the commitment to reduce arsenals.

An extremely dangerous cyber arms race has begun. Certain states may already have strategic cyber weapons – i.e., the capability to destroy economies and societies. about 15 years ago, Russia and China proposed that cyber weapons and the entire cyber sphere be placed under control. The United States refused, hoping to maintain its leadership in this area. Now the genie is out of the bottle, and it is unlikely that the situation can be placed under control.

Russia's policy does not fully measure up to current challenges.

Russia has failed to put forward an attractive concept of the world order that it would like to create in conjunction with its partners. The concepts of multipolarity or opposition to the U.S.'s attempts to regain its dominant position are basically correct but pointed to the past, do not lead forward and have no appeal anymore. Russia put forward the idea of creating a greater Eurasia and received formal support for it from Beijing but did not develop it or flesh it out.

It would be a good idea to propose a European security dialogue to the EU, which is looking for an opportunity to become a key player in this sphere. we have many common and even aligning interests. dialogue would also be constructive in preventing this vector from slipping into the old course of confrontation with Russia.

It is imperative to move away from the parity principle. a part of the strategic capability inherited from the past – specifically sea- and ground-launched intercontinental ballistic missiles with multiple reentry vehicles, as well as strategic aviation – should be maintained, modernized and upgraded. They are needed to maintain the status quo and keep the other side in fear of the inevitability of massive retaliation for aggressive actions. in this context, submarines, i.e., torpedoes with giant warheads that can "sleep" for years off the coast of countries pursuing hostile policies, and new heavy missiles that can counterattack from any direction are highly valuable assets.

In the future, a partial alternative to the old arms limitation process could be dialogue between Russia, China and the U.S. on international strategic stability measures. Other strategically important powers – nuclear and threshold states – could be invited to join this forum.

Such a format should be backed up by strengthening a network of hotlines between top military officials and politicians in major powers in order to avoid war, accidental escalation or provocation.

The struggle for peace is not about nostalgia for younger days. I am thoroughly disgusted with Cold war lies and hatred. however, our stupidity, naivety and faith in good luck during the postwar period are equally shameful. These days, our relative passivity against the backdrop of what I regard as a very dangerous situation is also very disturbing. No one except us will be able to protect our interests or vital global interests.

Back to the Russia-U.S.-China "Triangle"?

Author: S. Trush

leading research associate, institute for the U.S. and Canadian Studies, Russian academy of Sciences, Candidate of Science (history); zebra758@gmail.com

For Several Months, the world expert community has been actively discussing the obvious resurgence of the Russia-the U.S.-China "triangle." This happens every time when the key, or even "sacral," problem of international interaction – the problem of security – comes to the fore. The high level of confrontation inside two of the three sides of the "triangle" – the U.S. vs. Russia and China vs. the U.S. – predetermined this resurgence against the background of Donald Trump's non-orthodox and unyielding foreign policy.

So far, President Trump has not moved too far on the Russian issue, yet the Russian card remains on the table in the context of his China agenda. as a businessman, he has pushed aside preliminary diplomatic moves. in the format of bilateral talks in Helsinki, he spoke a lot about China's "sins."

The ideological interaction between China and the United States hardly fits, likewise, the "triangular" logic; their mutually exclusive basic Russia-U.S.-China Triangle 15 values – collectivism and individualism; state-oriented ideology and human rights – go together with the values of market economy, private entrepreneurship and the ideology of consumerism accepted on both sides of the Pacific. China's

economic development model that both accepts and rejects American experience remains eclectic.

It seems that Donald Trump's recent announcement about his country's withdrawal from the INF Treaty with Russia and his suggestion to draw China into negotiations on a new INF Treaty is the most obvious and peremptory statement in "triangular" tonality. it seems that the political message of the statement made by John Bolton in Moscow consists of several diplomatic layers: (1) it is propaganda; (2) it obviously reflects the objective military-strategic interests of the United States in the APR in the first place; and (3) it appeals to Russia's interests and concerns created by China's missile potential.

Europe that will risk more than the others if the U.S.-Russian INF Treaty is annulled will accept American explanations as absolutely reasonable. Today, in view of certain disagreements on NATO, Trump needs unbeatable arguments to support his decisions.

The discussion of the Chinese intermediate-range missiles started by President Trump, as well as of possible tripartite talks on arms control with China's participation, suits Russia's interests as directly related to its concerns caused by the developing nuclear missile potential of China.

By way of summing up, I can say that a new balance and a new "triangular" reality of strategic relations are rapidly taking shape in the sphere of weapons control. Russia should demonstrate a balanced, rather than emotional, approach to the issue and consider the risks and threats emanating from other countries. it has already experienced them and might potentially be threatened in future.

Switzerland's Relations With the EU: Integration Without Membership

Author: O. Trofimova

senior research associate, Ye.M. Primakov National research institute of world economy and international relations, russian academy of Sciences, Candidate of Science (economics); <u>olgatrofimova53@mail.ru</u>

Switzerland holds a special place in Europe. it has one of the world's most stable and competitive economies, which uses the cluster model of organization and is based on sectors that have traditionally given competitive advantages to Switzerland. Switzerland's best-performing sectors are industries that need skilled labor and relatively low inputs of raw materials and are chiefly export-oriented.

Switzerland is the only country in the central part of Europe not to be a member of the European Union. This unique status gives advantages to Switzerland, which has close and pragmatic economic and cultural relations with the EU. Opting against accession to the EU has put Switzerland in a very advantageous position – while remaining independent, it has access to the EU market. Though it doesn't have to obey euro zone laws, it is involved in some of the EU integration processes.

About a quarter of Switzerland's population are foreign nationals, mostly citizens of EU countries. hundreds of thousands of foreigners work in Switzerland but live in their own countries and cross the Swiss border twice a day. Foreign labor is an important factor in Switzerland's economy: up to 40% of its industrial workforce and up to 30% of the personnel in its service sector are foreigners. Swiss-EU relations are based on bilateral agreements signed in 1999 and 2004.

EU membership wouldn't have given Switzerland any significant advantages compared to the benefits of bilateral agreements i and ii. Nor would membership in the EEA and euro zone have made much more sense to Switzerland than having the bilateral agreements with the EU.

Cross-border cooperation and increasingly close economic ties between Swiss cantons and various regions in EU countries are an important feature of Swiss-EU relations. Switzerland's integration with the EU has a regional dimension besides the supranational and national dimensions. in fact, these regional mechanisms are the main factor in Switzerland's involvement in pan-European integration.

According to the Swiss National bank, in 2015, EU countries were the source of more than three quarters of foreign direct investments (FDI) in Switzerland and the recipients of about half of Switzerland's Fdi.11 growing FDI has benefited Switzerland, whose economy is heavily dependent on foreign markets. The country's policy of encouraging the exportation of capital as a means of economic expansion and the importation of capital as an important factor in the development of various Swiss regions has produced significant results.

The current legal basis for Swiss-EU relations faces an overhaul with the EU demanding a framework institutional agreement, which would push Switzerland toward EU membership. The EU argues that sectoral agreements need modernization and adaptation to continually changing EU legislation, and that the growing number of such accords makes it difficult to synchronize EU and Swiss laws underlying bilateral relations. but most likely, this reasoning is a pretext for pressing Switzerland to join the EU.

Libya: The Burden of Transition

Author: A. Frolov

leading research associate, Ye.M. Primakov National research institute of world economy and international relations, russian academy of Sciences, doctor of Science (Political Science); <u>afrolov 53@mail.ru</u>

Libya and Syria are among the states crushed by the tragic events of the color revolutions of the early 2010s. external invasion, no matter how limited as compared with what happened in Syria, is an instructive factor of recent history of the state and its leader Muammar Gaddafi and a lesson that deserves a space in textbooks. Libya was smashed into pieces and plunged into enmity and rivalry. anybody wishing to assess the prospects of crisis settlement should turn to the heritage and the integrating principles that kept the country together up to the events of 2011.

Some of Gaddafi's theories were highly original; convinced that in future black people would rule the world, he paid special attention to the black population of his country. It was a response of sorts to many years of subjugation of the black race by the white race and to the fast pace of growth of the population of the Black Continent.

Gaddafi's eccentric behavior irritated other Arab leaders, and in the west Libyan nationalism stirred up negative responses.

The global shifts at the turn of the 1990s, disintegration of the socialist camp and the Soviet Union, one of the principle players in the Middle east, that made the U.S. the de facto "master" of the region, as well as the impossibility to fulfil its utopian plans, forced Libya to seek better relations with the west and with its closest neighbors.

In fact, the Libyan colonel brought holy hell down on his head by his repentance to the world (western) community and the United States as the main condition of restored contacts. it turned out, however, that the United States was not a Catholic priest who absolves of sins but a prosecutor who demands death penalty and no limitation period.

Muammar Gaddafi who had done a lot for the black population of Libya misinterpreted the first black president in the white house. he wrongly believed that with Barack Obama as president the relations between Libya and the United States would restart from a clean page. By the irony of fate, it was Obama who destroyed him.

Gaddafi was encircled; the noose was tightening; the west was bombing Libya and lavishing money and weapons on Gaddafi's enemies. French aviation delivered massive missile strikes and bombed the city until the defense was broken; rebels stormed inside, they tortured and sodomized the leader who had ruled the country for 42 years. with time, the scenes of cruelty will probably evaporate from memory, yet people will hardly forget the triumphal "Wow!" with which the U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton reacted to the video of unrivalled cruelty.

Before and during the invasion, the western coalition wanted to liquidate Gaddafi first and foremost, never bothering about the country's future without him.

Today, having completed the revolution, neither the United States nor France nor the UK knows what to do next. in fact, they could have abandoned the country to its fate, yet they want to extract hydrocarbons.

The west that deposed Gaddafi at the price of billions of dollars is determined to consolidate its economic positions in Libya. This means that in future, too, political processes will unfold under its control and that its puppets will not be abandoned. The Libyans who, on the one hand, expect that the west will start pouring money into Libyan economy have, on the other, no positive feelings about the countries that bombed their country in 2011.

Strange as it may seem, the inability of the west to cope with the Libyan riddle increased Russia's chances in this country. For many decades, Arabs were balancing between the leading powers. Today, Russia is the only country that can bring peace and order: Italy, France and the rest of the EU countries associated with the United States cannot object to the latter's policy, let alone oppose it.

The Latin American Region and the "New Normal": Where Do We Fit In?

Authors: Vladimir Davydov,

Consulting director, institute of latin america, russian academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the russian academy of Sciences, doctor of Science (economics); davydov@ilaran.ru

Violetta Tayar,

deputy director, institute of Latin America, Russian academy of Sciences, Candidate of Science (economics); vtayar@mail.ru work prepared with support from the Russian academy of Sciences' Presidium Program No. 22: "analysis and forecast of new global challenges and opportunities for Russia."

The international situation is changing so rapidly and spontaneously that there is every reason to speak about heavy turbulence in the global economy and international politics. The Latin and Caribbean America (LCA) region is not immune from these general disturbances. it is difficult to conceptualize what is going on.

Modern reality seems uncertain and unpredictable because academic and political reflection is not keeping up with the accelerating changes and unexpected twists that are taking place.

Much has been said and written about the U.S.' growing protectionism and sanctions extremism. Perhaps now it is time to call a spade a spade. because essentially what we are dealing with is "economic terrorism."

The "new normal" is associated with rising inequality, particularly in the social sphere. in what are seemingly the most prosperous countries, income inequality indicators (including the gini coefficient) have started inching higher.2 it is noteworthy that this trend started after the elimination of an antipode in the face of the USSR.

We cannot ignore the fact that the "new normal" is creating a breeding ground for separatist ambitions and changes to integration involvement (Brexit, etc.). in the present circumstances, the authority of the nation-state and national sovereignty often comes into conflict with the assertion of local identity (national, ethnic, linguistic, etc.).

It seems that in our bid to promote a polycentric world, we did not fully consider the likelihood of resistance from the "collective west" – its opposition to changes in the hierarchy of world leadership.

The affirmation of the standards of socially orientated development can be considered unprecedented. Many countries have launched extensive programs to support the poor. redistribution mechanisms started to be used more actively. as a result, by the early 2010s, more than 40 million Latin Americans had emerged from poverty, adding to the mass of solvent consumers and thus consolidating domestic markets in the region. This was facilitated by a cycle of high prices for raw and semi-refined products, which continue to account for a significant share of exports from the region.

Despite the still languid situation, major global market players are continuing to "stake out" access to strategic resources in the region, anticipating more encouraging prospects. The revitalization of foreign capital inflow is stimulated by the liberalization of state control in strategic economic sectors of many countries in the region.

with respect to the manifestation of countertrends reducing or neutralizing the effects of globalization, it is noteworthy that processes of structuring international relations are emerging in the regional format before they are at the global level.

it is even more relevant today to shift economic relations with LCA countries from the level of merely exchanging goods to the level of connecting long-term business interests involving a rational combination of the comparative advantages of both parties. Preserving and strengthening economic relations with the LCA countries obviously depend on the potential for developing Russia's economic system, and our ability to improve the mechanism for supporting export and constructive investment activities abroad.

Of course, it is obvious that Russian - Latin American relations are dependent on conditions on both sides, on the global situation, and on what the North American hegemon is focused on today and its ability to tangibly influence the course of events in the LCA. but in this case, a key point, and what can be considered a controllable factor, is the potential and dynamism of our economy, as well as our ability to make progress along an innovative path and in establishing mechanisms for Russia's effective participation in international trade and world politics.

From Global to Regional Cooperation in Fighting Terrorism: The CIS ATC's Experience and Prospects

Anton Arefyev, deputy head of department, antiterrorism Center of the Commonwealth of independent States (CIS ATC); <u>antonarf@yandex.ru</u>

There are many organizations on the international arena that are in one way or another involved in combating terrorism. Cooperation on the global level proceeds within the framework of the UN and its specialized agencies, Interpol and the global initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism (GICNT); the OSCE is also becoming actively involved in this process. in the Eurasian space, there are regional organizations, including the antiterrorism Center of the Commonwealth of independent States (CIS ATC), the regional anti-Terrorist Structure of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (RATS SCO), the Eurasian group for the Prevention and Suppression of Money laundering and Terrorist Financing (EaG), and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO).

A review of recent experience in international antiterrorism cooperation leads to a disappointing conclusion about current trends: On the one hand, the functional range of bilateral cooperation is often too narrow to cover all aspects of efforts to successfully combat terrorism and violent extremism; on the other hand, global cooperation is all-encompassing but not effective enough and does not take into account the specifics of counterterrorism cooperation in certain subregions.

Over the years, the CIS ATC has accumulated extensive experience cooperating with a number of international, regional and subregional organizations, as well as with the national authorities of CiS countries in countering terrorism and violent extremism.

For their part, UN Security Council sanctions committees regularly invite representatives of regional organizations to their briefings on the situation in respective regions.

In keeping with the CTC's mandate, its representatives regularly visit member countries to assess the implementation of the UN Security Council's counterterrorism resolutions. CTC delegations usually include representatives of international organizations operating in the corresponding region.

Collaboration between two CIS agencies – the CIS ATC and the CIS Council of heads of Financial intelligence Units (CHFIU) – is producing good practical results.

Practical cooperation in combating terrorism on the regional and subregional levels is highly efficient. This is due to the high level of trust among regional actors and their common approaches toward countering threats specific to a region. it is important to note that CIS member countries could make wider use of the well-developed horizontal ties between the CIS ATC and specialized international organizations on the regional level to advance their counterterrorism efforts.

In Defense of Westphalian Principles

Kamaludin Gajiev, chief research associate, Ye. M. Primakov National research institute of world economy and international relations, Russian academy of Sciences, Professor, Doctor of Science (history); <u>zuhrabvi@yandex.ru</u>

Sweeping changes of epochal dimensions are caused by the deep-cutting shifts in the most important spheres of social life at the national, regional and global levels, protracted social and economic crises, wars, disintegration of the old and emergence of new ambitious powers, etc. These shifts marked essential stages in the development of international political systems; they were responsible for the disintegration of great civilizations, empires, world powers, and the corresponding world orders.

It [*Westphalian system*] differed a lot from all previous systems that relied on dynastic interests; it laid foundations of national states as the main subjects of international relations; it introduced the principle according to which claims of any state to a certain territory under its jurisdiction are recognized if the rights of other states to pursue their aims in full accordance with their national interests are likewise recognized.

It should be said that the Westphalian system was a product of the Euro (West)- centrist world in which the existential problems of international relations were resolved by the Concert of the great powers of Europe. it was world war I that undermined the predominantly (or exclusively) European nature of the balance of power.

Westphalian principles were significantly modified in the wake of World War II: in the bipolar world, the struggle for the hearts and minds of common people was one of the key elements of international relations.

The world community became a hierarchy with two superpowers on the top; a group of great powers occupied a lower level of the same pyramid; the lowest levels belonged to the states with less or no international weight.

The ideological dimension, one of the elements of the cornerstone of the bipolar world, was responsible for the strategic imperative that forced the majority of countries to close ranks around one of the two poles.

With all possible reservations, it was these specifics of the bipolar world order and the Cold war that laid the first bricks into the philosophical, ideological and political foundation of the liberal world order.

The end of the Cold war and the Soviet Union's disintegration brought the liberal world order to the top of the pyramid and made it a synonym of a unipolar world order presided by Uncle Sam in splendid isolation.

The ideological dimension of the relations between the east and the west did not sink into oblivion when the Cold war ended. Very much in line with the Kennedy-Reagan experience, it was transformed into axiological domination.

When we talk about our understanding and interpretation of human beings and human values, we invariably keep in mind a morally ethical axiological element. Politics is realized in the field where power and morals meet and intertwine; state policies, however, differ radically from the conduct of an individual.

The values of liberalism were gradually superimposed, throughout the entire postwar period, on the principles and values of the Westphalian system; they demanded that all differences between states, regions and nations regarding the observation of human rights and freedoms should be wiped off. in this way, the liberal values and principles pushed, so to speak, to the backburner the Westphalian principles and guidelines. The basic principles of the Westphalian system remained intact, at least de jure.

It is obvious that the winners write laws and rules of the game in conformity with the specific conditions of any historical period and their own interests. depending on the situation, the winners appropriate the right to interpret (or even violate) laws and rules as they see it fit.

Today, some people say that there is no alternative to the liberal world order. it seems that part of the intellectual elite of the West has imagined that the liberal unipolar order in one country and at the global level is a new answer to the new challenges of history. in fact, the victory of western liberalism and the liberal world order was, in the final analysis, ephemeral and illusory.

An upsurge of neo-right, right populist and nationalist movements is one of the obvious signs of a deep crisis of liberal democracy and the liberal order at the level of states and regions. The same fully applies to all sorts of new minorities that have moved to the fore to challenge the basic values and guidelines of liberalism – globalism, political integration within the European Union, brussels 'liberal immigration policy, political correctness, etc.

The new world order cannot be reduced to any of the models imposed on the world community by any power or a group of powers with the strongest military-political and economic capabilities.

The exponential growth that has already become a dynamic trend of the contemporary world does not exclude direct extrapolation of the present into the future; it increases the chances of a multi-vectoral or, rather, multivariant, nature of sociopolitical development of the contemporary world and, correspondingly, of configuration of geopolitical forces in the polycentric world order that is taking shape or that has already taken shape.

Basic Principles of Russian State Policy on International Information Security: Regulation and Implementation Mechanisms

Sergey Boiko, department head, RF Security Council Staff; leading expert, Center for international information Security and Science and Technology Policy, Moscow State institute (University) of international relations, Ministry of Foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, Candidate of Science (history); <u>boiko sm@gov.ru</u>

The protection of national interests is supported by Russia's active foreign policy designed to create a sustainable system of international relations based on international law and underpinned by the principles of equality, mutual respect, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, mutually beneficial cooperation, and resolution of global and regional crises by political means.

According to the Russian National Security Strategy, the state seeks to develop an international information security system in order to achieve its goal of maintaining strategic stability.

One of the state's priorities in addressing global problems related to international security is to take the necessary measures to ensure national and international information security and counter threats to state, economic, and public security emanating from information space (cyberspace). it is noted that the fight against terrorism and other criminal threats involving the use of information and communication technology (ICT) is coming to the fore.

The Foreign Policy Concept, a key strategic planning document, also notes that Russia is proactive in international information cooperation and takes the necessary steps to counter threats to its information security. it is intent on promoting a set of legal and ethical norms for the safe use of ICT.

Today, the implementation of Russian state policy in the field of international information security is ensured by an appropriate state system. The main elements of this system are the relevant federal executive bodies, which implement state policy in this area within the scope of their authority.

These bodies include:

- federal ministries (Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign affairs, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Digital Development, Communications, and Mass Media, and Ministry of Justice);

- federal services (Foreign Intelligence Service, Federal Security Service, Federal Guard Service, and Federal Service for Technical and Export Control).

The practical activity of these ministries and services in the field of international information security, as well as collaboration with other government agencies within the state system in this area, is carried on, as a rule, by their authorized structural units.

Responsibility for coordinating the activities of federal executive bodies related to the implementation Russia's state policy and promotion of its agreed position on this issue in the international arena is vested in the Ministry of Foreign affairs of Russia.

At present, proposals for implementing the guidelines for Russian state policy in this area are prepared for the president of the Russian Federation by the working bodies of the RF Security Council in collaboration with the relevant independent divisions of the Russian Presidential administration, federal executive bodies and organizations. Annually, the interdepartmental Commission for information Security summarizes the implementation of state policy guidelines in the field of international information security over the past year and determines the main focus areas for federal executive bodies and organizations and their primary objectives for the current and, as a rule, the following year.

Russia's current state policy on international information security allows it to protect its national interests related to information security in the international arena. The most important of these include efforts to facilitate the development of an international information security system capable of effectively countering threats to strategic stability in a situation of equal strategic partnership in the global information space, as well as protection of the information sovereignty of the Russian Federation.

A systems approach to accomplishing the declared goal of Russian state policy in the field of international information security makes it possible to successfully achieve objectives in this field based on effective mechanisms created for the implementation of this policy.

<u>Cooperation or Confrontation: Which Way Will the World Powers</u> <u>Choose to Confront Global ICT Threats?</u>

Natalia Romashkina, head, group for information Security Problems, department for disarmament and Conflict resolution Studies of the Center for international Security, Ye.M. Primakov National research institute of world economy and international relations, Candidate of Science (Political Science); <u>romachkinan@yandex.ru</u>

Information and communications technologies (ICTs) are becoming a key factor in the world economy and global politics. however, besides offering unique opportunities, they carry global threats. For instance, non-state actors, both individuals and groups, have begun to practice subversion in cyberspace.

ICTs are becoming an important source of military power for nations, supplementing, and sometimes replacing, conventional weapons. ICTs may spark military conflicts between countries, and cyber wars may be no less destructive than regular wars.

This article analyzes escalating military and political cyber threats in a bid to answer the question whether world powers would be able to combine forces to neutralize these threats or whether they will inevitably remain locked in an increasingly intense confrontation. Three aspects of this confrontation are examined below – struggle for influence, armed conflicts, and attacks on infrastructures.

Fighting for influence means trying to take control over the adversary government's decision-making and therefore it is the peak form of confrontation. it is also considered the most cost-effective form. Until recently, it had been the usual algorithm that, if a non-military attempt to gain influence didn't work, armed force was considered the next most effective method. however, the situation has changed. influence can now be achieved through attacks on the adversary's infrastructures rather than through armed force. ICTs offer unique opportunities for those struggling for influence. One of the most effective ways of gaining influence is the so-called soft power, a methodology developed in the United States, the country that is also generally recognized as the world's soft power leader.

Key characteristics of influence struggle include the use of ICTs to take control not only over individual persons, including politicians, but also over huge numbers of people and whole social groups within brief periods with specific time limits. Such control is achieved by manipulating and disuniting people. hence it is one of the main foreign policy tasks to ensure the security of society against hostile psychological influence and information.

ICTS also possess a unique potential to disable infrastructure facilities that are so important for a nation that their destruction or inadequate operation would have irreversible adverse effects on the nation's security, economy, health service, law enforcement, etc.

Today, more than 30 countries possess software for attacking vital infrastructure.

The period between 2009 and 2012 saw a first ever – and so far the only – instance of use of cyber weapons, an operation that has become the main event in cyberattack history.

Government agencies, water supply systems and other utilities, financial services, energy sectors, nuclear and manufacturing industries, and transportation networks have been among cyberattack targets over the last few years. There have been tens of millions of attacks yearly. This implies that cyberattacks against critical infrastructures are a key way of seeking psychological influence.

Of all military cyber threats those to nuclear forces are undoubtedly the most serious. The number one problem is the likelihood – albeit low – of ICT causing an unauthorized launch of a ballistic missile or leading to a mistaken decision to use nuclear weapons. The risk of unauthorized launches emerged the moment the first ballistic missiles came into being. each time a new missile is developed, undergoes test launches, and put in service, measures are taken to nullify this risk.

Mistaken launches will be more difficult to prevent in the future. The digitization of strategic forces control systems in various countries makes it an increasingly imperative task to minimize the chance of an accidental launch – there has never been zero hazard. according to the Russian defense Ministry, the Russian Strategic Missile Forces (RSVN) are due to be completely digitized by 2020.

During a conflict, cyberattacks may provoke inadequate retaliatory options. a threat of weapon systems being disabled by a cyberattack might leave too little time to look for an optimum solution and cut down the conflict escalation ladder, for example it might lead to an unnecessary decision to use nuclear weapons.

This is a major problem for all nations. Today's level of global strategic stability may be lower than that of 2017, when it was probably equal to that of the days of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. Today's state of affairs is even more uncertain and unpredictable than that in 1962 and is marked by the absence of any generally accepted global rules.

A wide range of very difficult measures needs to be carried out to make cyberspace more stable and secure.

Russia and the Islamic World

Armen Oganesyan, Editor-in-Chief, international affairs

Esteemed colleagues, friends, welcome to the International Affairs magazine. The topic of today's discussion is more relevant than ever, multifaceted and going back many centuries: Russia and Islam.

Ramazan Abdulatipov, Special Representative of the Russian President for Humanitarian and Economic Cooperation with the Caspian Countries

I recently looked at the first Russian version of my book, which was published in 2002. i took a new look at its name: Sudba Islama v Rossii [The Fate of Islam in Russia]. as a matter of fact, this fate is historical, controversial, not always easy, but ultimately a worthy one. This is even more so as far as Russia is concerned, because religions have always historically interacted here, especially in my native Dagestan, from where Islam in fact began to spread across the territory of today's russia. More than 30 sahaba – companions of the Prophet – are buried in our city of Derbent.

Islam is well positioned in today's Russia, which depends not only on the state. any religion is used by various forces in their interests as a kind of spirituality or ideology.

I met at Harvard with Samuel Huntington, a scholar who wrote a well-known book about the conflict of civilizations. we argued for a long time. i said that this conflict should not be blamed on religion and culture, because true religion, faith and culture never clash, since they have common spiritual foundations: truth, love, beauty, etc. it is various forms of ignorance that clash. ignorant forces often use religions, especially Islam, to their own selfish ends.

Earlier, you could have read in International Affairs that the main conflict of the era was the confrontation between socialism and capitalism. These days, the main conflict is between ignorance and culture.

I am personally interested in the preservation of secular society in Russia, in both the Orthodox and the Islamic context, because if Russia does not have a consolidated secular society, the country could face deep disagreements, no matter what we might be saying about normal cooperation.

Today, there is the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), formerly the Organization of the Islamic Conference. S.A. Vorobiev remembers that in the mid-1990s, I repeatedly called for Russia to take its place in the OIC. Subsequently, Vladimir Putin supported this idea.

There is a nongovernmental organization called the group of Strategic Vision Russia-Islamic world. i attended one of the group's meetings. Perhaps it should play a more significant role. after all, the OIC is the second largest international organization, after the UN. The capital of its authorized bank (the Islamic development bank) is fairly large and it is friendly toward Russia.

I always tell my brothers that Russia is god's country for us. i quote the words of Prophet Muhammad pbuh [peace be upon him] to the effect that motherland is part of our faith. and all this is pronounced in mosques. when I started working in Dagestan as the head of the republic, the Muslim Ummah was divided into two warring factions, but I managed to end that enmity. Once I saw two men hugging and crying. They had not prayed together for three years, and now they were praying.

Hussein El-Shafi, publisher (Egypt)

As a reader, I would like to say that the book (*Sudba Islama v Rossii* [*The Fate of Islam in Russia*]) provides a very frank description of the situation related to Muslims. The author makes realistic comments characterizing the life of Muslims in Russian society. as usual, there are no slogans. This book is truthful and just. I want to thank the author.

Albir Krganov, Mufti of the Spiritual Assembly of Muslims of Russia

Relations between Sunnis and Shiites are perhaps the main problem of the Muslim world.

I would like to remind you that Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov said that in order to achieve reconciliation between Sunnis and Shiites it is necessary to hold a joint Islamic conference and declare the unity of all Muslims. we are ready to work along these lines. The Amman declaration of 2005 also reaffirmed the commitment of all madhabs in Islam – Sunnis, Shiites, moderate Salafis, and the Sufi wing – to peaceful coexistence. all religious and philosophical schools should live in peace and understanding with each other. a secular state should be powerful and strong. Scholars, experts, Orientalists, and historians could also help religious leaders address these issues.

Pseudo-religious ideology is an instrument of war. People fight under these banners, kill each other and are unable to reach mutual understanding, and this has been going on for thousands of years. it is vital to ensure that religious leaders find common ground on all issues.

Speaking at the 70th Session of the UN general assembly, Vladimir Putin said that Islamic religious leaders need to raise their voices and explain where the truth is and what Islam should be like. after all, the radicalization of society and religion is above all a consequence of distorted perceptions about Islam and its basic tenets, resulting from mass ignorance.

Islamic countries tend to share the opinion that, despite western pressure on Russia, it will emerge as the winner in this situation. Russia has right spiritual and moral principles that serve as a foundation for state leadership and the people. both Orthodox Christians and Muslims in Russia share common moral values.

What is the problem with studying abroad from our perspective, apart from the religious and philosophical dimension? Students from Russia are trained and educated in mono-religious countries. by contrast, Russia is a multireligious state. Therefore, they do not know the history of the Russian Federation or the role of the Orthodox Church in our country's development. it is not enough for modern religious figures just to know prayers: They should also be able to analyze current processes, using their knowledge of history and philosophy.

Konstantin Shuvalov, Foreign Minister's Special Representative for Cooperation with Organizations of Muslim States, Ambassador at Large

I will start by defining the subject under discussion. We are talking about the Islamic world and Muslim states as a factor in international life. This is a large group of states. There are 57 member states in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). They have a total population of about 1.5 billion and possess vast natural resources.

Is the Islamic world united? For the most part, it is not. why not? Muslim countries themselves do not position or define the OIC association as an integration structure.

Muslim states see themselves as members of a civilizational religious association, i.e., the universal ummah. Their Organization of Islamic Cooperation (formerly the Organization of the Islamic Conference) was established to protect the religious rights of Muslims in Jerusalem. They argue about a lot of things among themselves, but they are always united around one thing: They are always on the side of their own vs. outsiders. This solidarity, which manifests itself in conflicts that Muslims are involved in, is invariably a point of consensus within the OIC, but consensus on other issues is rare.

The OIC now rarely talks about the goal of the political or religious consolidation of the Islamic ummah. The OIC strongly condemns Iran and does nothing to reconcile it with Saudi Arabia or ease tensions between Sunnis and Shiites. There are other splits and cracks. The fragmentation of the Islamic world now is perhaps deeper than at the time when the Islamic Conference was established.

The unity of the Islamic world is not at odds with our short- or long-term interests. we believe disagreements should be resolved and are taking practical steps toward this end. I would not like to cite any specific examples, but there is one that is staring us in the face. look at Washington's current policy as it is fueling Iranian-Saudi disagreements, adding fuel to the fire, building new blocs in the Islamic world, and setting one group against another. we are doing the exact opposite.

While prioritizing bilateral formats of cooperation with the Islamic world over multilateral formats, we follow a number of principles that all Muslim peoples view as signs of our political identity.

The attack by globalization against state sovereignty has affected the Arab world the most. let us look at the so-called Arab Spring. There were, of course, internal reasons for the upheavals that took place, but there was also the massive impact of globalist ideas aimed at undermining sovereign states. and they started shaking. That created fertile ground for a force that is intrinsically not connected with the state and, moreover, acts against it – namely, terrorism. Terrorists are united across borders. a weak state cannot defend itself against them.

In contrast to Soviet days, our current policy is free of ideology. This is where we differ from the west. i believe that neo-liberalism is increasingly acquiring the qualities of some quasi-religion. Penetrating the religious environment of the Islamic world, it acts not only as an importer of alternative ideas, but also as a fierce religious competitor. While Russia, which adheres to the principles of multipolarity and civilizational diversity, follows a policy of engagement with the Islamic world, accepting its religious and civilizational choice, the west aims to impose a globalist ideology that cannot accommodate true Islam.

Cooperation among Russia, Iran and Turkey on Syria also provides a good example of nonbloc efforts in dealing with security and counterterrorism issues. The formation and existence of this configuration has enabled many Muslim countries to see that past fears and prejudices must not be projected to Russia, that Russia is creating new paradigms of cooperation with the Islamic world, and that these paradigms are successful not least because they are in sync with Islamic political culture, in particular Islamic ideas about the origin of conflicts and conflict resolution technology.

Sergey Vorobiev, professor at the National Research University-Higher School of Economics

We are holding this roundtable while Russia is coming under pressure in various areas and under various pretexts. we realize that the situation is far from simple. This leads to the following conclusion: Unconventional approaches are needed to overcome the crisis, including in our relations with the outside world. For instance, there is great potential in closer contacts with the Islamic banking system.

Every Islamic credit institution is obligated to have a Sharia council that determines what is haram and what is halal.

This is a special issue that requires a deep knowledge of Muslim law, Sharia law. however, it can be resolved. right now, I can name Russian experts who are willing to work along these lines. generally, this calls for political will in making decisions on a fairly high state level. The higher, the better. i believe it is necessary to establish a working group of experts. it could include representatives of the banking community, lawyers, Sharia specialists, etc.

They say constitutional reform is possible. if we do not rule out the possibility of making amendments to the Constitution, what can prevent amending certain legislative enactments? incidentally, major U.S. and western European banks are actively cooperating with the Islamic banking system.

Resolving this issue would give Russia a great advantage. we should not reject any alternative ways in banking and investment cooperation to preserve our sovereignty. Cooperation with the OIC should be built on a comprehensive basis. if we focus only on "mercantile" issues, that would prompt a negative reaction from our partners. Moreover, such an approach is out of sync with reality.

At the same time, external forces that have nothing to do with Islamic religion are playing an unseemly role. even events related to world sports can provoke people. For example, Khabib Nurmagomedov, Ramazan Abdulatipov's fellow countryman, who was a great success in mixed martial arts, was provoked, on the one hand, as a Russian citizen, and on the another, as a Muslim. it would be a good idea to organize a major exhibition of world Islamic culture, as a step to prevent Islamophobia.

Hussein El-Shafi, publisher (Egyptian-Russian Culture and Science Foundation)

A few considerations regarding the realities of our life in egypt. i note the growing level of radicalism in the country. There is an increasing number of people advocating the idea of defending world islam, which should spread everywhere without any limits. The Koran says that faith is part of the motherland. however, people think differently.

I believe the fact that the Islamic world is constantly focused on history and never looks into the future is a serious problem. as a result, rules and laws that were, let us say so, good for past centuries are being applied today. here is a case in point.

Generally, when i hear that a person should not sit next to you if he (she) is of a different faith, i am convinced that the person who says this has no idea about true Islam. Unfortunately, in my country, we come up against this position more and more often. This poses a very serious danger to society.

In my country, we are faced with bigger problems than you in Russia. here in Russia, there is no discrimination on religious grounds. I have never heard about the violation of Muslims' rights.

Overall, people in my country are traditionally friendly toward Russia and Russians. a large number of Arab people support Russia's foreign policy and Vladimir Putin. I am talking not about the official

position, but about ordinary people in whose homes you can see Vladimir Putin's portraits. They approve of the fight against terrorism in Syria. Many believe that Egypt is not doing enough in this respect.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that it is very dangerous when religion interacts with politics.

"Sick" States and How to Cure Them

In this article, the authors continue their studies of the "maladies" of states and treatment methods. it is also the role of the "prince" in social life, conflicts and their settlement and the methods of reconciliation between the citizen and the state that for many years remained in the center of scientific cooperation of Sergey Kuritz (who died in April 2018) and Valery Vorobiev.

Valery Vorobiev, ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Professor, doctor of Science (law); vorobievvp@yandex.ru

Roman Iliev, President, Fund for the Studies of Civil Society and human Capital "Synergetics" iliev.moscow@gmail.com

The attempts to grasp the "nature of princes" and, in a wider sense, the nature of states go back into antiquity, yet the world in which we all live today and which has been thoroughly studied is still shattered by unexpected disasters that cause huge human and material losses. The states and the world community, no matter how mighty, cannot predict, let alone prevent, crises and catastrophes. Philosophers and political actors tell us that the past was not that bad and that more calamities are in store for mankind: the world is moving toward the "end of its ideology," the "end of history," the "end of civilization" and other no less disastrous ends.

Today, the "princes" responsible for the fates of their peoples have no scientifically substantiated instruments of forecasts and no choice but to build up reserves (just in case) or act fast in the usual and frequently senseless manner to liquidate the repercussions of crises and catastrophes.

We have formulated the model of a "healthy" state and the foundations of reliable forecasting through systemic approach and the methods of medical diagnostics applied, for the first time, to the system of state governance and tested on the basis of Constitutions of 30 states.

We have also become accustomed to the tragic cycle of history: replacement of "princes" – devastation, wars and human losses, riots and revolutions – new "princes" – new promises – another chain of disasters.

Since governance is based on compulsion and coercion, the activities of any state today are determined by the freedom of a physical person – the head of state (the "prince") – to decide whether coercion should be applied to the performer (the decision in fact is to be made by the head of state). This is where the tragic cycle of history begins; it stems from an absence of a feedback that alone can put pressure on the subject of governance before the (a priori) decision has been taken.

Any state may fall ill at any stage of its life circle since all decisions are affected not only by time but also by internal circumstances (by which we mean the relationships between people and power) as well as by political (neighbors and the world community) and natural environment. The nine theories of the origins of states accepted today can, in fact, be reduced to two sources – the sacral and the subjective (political).

The sacral status was typical for all sovereign states and empires of antiquity (Egypt, China and India) and the territories the populations of which followed Judaism, Christianity or Islam. The idea of the political status of the state is nothing but a misunderstanding. according to such prominent scholars as M. weber, M. Duverger and J. Bentham, "politics expresses the desire of people in power to remain in power to preserve their control of society and acquire personal boons."

Today, the word "politics" refers to the political system of society or the state. Very much in line with the well-known "divide and rule" principle, ancient states deliberately destroyed the desire of people to act together, a decisive factor in the fast and efficient development of mankind. it has been commonly admitted that cruelty of the environment can be opposed by human intellect and cooperation of people.

Later, power contributed a part of it to the myth about the nation, a cultural, in the first place, and an ethnic and social phenomenon, in the second. it was during the French revolution that the concept of nation acquired its political meaning.

The gap of nearly two and a half millennia between jurisprudence and the science of administration explains the highly respectful attitude of the state to jurisprudence while governance, the state's main occupation, was treated as a political skill.

In the contemporary state, there are no principles of governance derived from nature; those that have been borrowed become distorted. The principle of feedback absent from the state machine of governance adds to the tragic circle of confrontation between the citizens and the state.

It is highly important to point out that the deficient system of state governance and constitutional law concentrates decision-making (that is, power), the right to rule millions of people and force them obey its decisions in the hands of one man. Today, these decisions are called political decisions and the "prince" is not responsible for them to the people.

The studies of the place and role of civil society, up to and including human rights and human capital components have not lost their topicality; they are gaining momentum in our country and outside it to become an object of profound studies by experts on political systems and societies of all types. in November 2018, we set up the Fund for the Studies of Civil Society and human Capital to join the common effort.

Our Fund will analyze the importance and role of human capital in setting up a law-governed social state and assess the economic changes expected to create a healthy way of life with the help of an efficient system of health protection and education, accessibility of cultural values and physical culture and sports for millions of people. it is now and will remain highly important to study all sides of activity of the state and its legal mechanisms, political parties, civil society, the business community, and their common responsibility for the improvement of the functional qualities and the quality of human capital.

Education in the Field of Nonproliferation: Russia's Interests and Resources

Vladimir Orlov, Professor, department of applied international analysis, School of international relations, Moscow State institute (University) of international relations, Ministry of Foreign affairs of the russian Federation, Candidate of Science (Political Science); vladimir.orlov@dipacademy.ru **Adlan Margoev**, postgraduate student at the Moscow State institute (University) of international relations, director of the "Russia and Nuclear disarmament" program of PIR Center; <u>margoev@pircenter.org</u>

Seeking the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons is the core of Russia's international security policy, which is confirmed by doctrinal documents and by the position of the country's leadership.

IN 2000, the United Nations general assembly asked UN Secretary general Kofi Annan to prepare, "with the assistance of a group of qualified governmental experts," a study to "assess the current situation of disarmament and non-proliferation education and training" and "recommend ways to promote education and training in disarmament and non-proliferation at all levels of formal and informal education."6 in response, a study was carried out that formed the basis for a 2002 report by Annan to the general assembly's 57th session. "It is striking for someone of my generation to think that an entire new generation of human beings is coming to maturity without an ever-present terror of nuclear catastrophe," the secretary general said in the foreword to the report. "Yet it is so, and that is for the better. The downside, however, is ignorance of the real dangers that do exist, especially the legacy of nuclear weapons inherited from the last century. Moreover, the companion of ignorance is complacency: what we know little about, we care little to do anything about."

In view of Russia's unique role in nonproliferation, it is important to train the next generation of nonproliferation specialists who would take over today's knowledge and diplomatic experience.

Russia will need an army of young experts to assert its balanced positions on issues of nonproliferation, arms control and peaceful use of nuclear energy in international negotiations. in supplementing the central role of diplomacy in defending its principles, Russia needs more extensive use of expert and academic channels to make more detailed explanations of its position in order to avoid misunderstandings and misinterpretations.

The better Russia's position on nonproliferation is understood, the wider international support it may receive even though, due to political circumstances, such support might take the form of silent non-opposition.

Russia has accumulated considerable experience in running nonproliferation education programs, from advanced training projects to master's degree courses. There are short-term courses in Russia for technical personnel and for scholars specializing in international relations and law. it is particularly important to enroll university lecturers and journalists in such courses because it often depends on their own knowledge how well their students or readers, who run into hundreds and perhaps thousands, understand nonproliferation issues.

PIR Center has for 18 years been running a program that is called the international School on global Security and mainly consists of lectures, "nuclear module" seminars, and traditional debates on whether the world would be more secure without nuclear weapons. all the teaching and discussions during the program are in Russian.

in 2002, PIR Center published a two-volume manual entitled Nuclear Nonproliferation, Russia's first manual on nonproliferation, and then brought out a brief encyclopedia with the same title. In 2017, Tomsk State University published its own textbook16 and the Ural Federal University published a study written by a group of scholars. These two books represented independent scholarly schools. Those universities have accumulated enough research potential for international academic cooperation and for joining other expert centers all over the world in putting together global security agendas.

It is The United Nations that sets guidelines for nonproliferation education today as it did in 2002. The UN advisory board on disarmament Matters (ABDM) has repeatedly paid attention to educational issues in its annual reports.

In the near term, it will be in the interest of Russia if there are mass programs in English or other languages explaining the nature of Russia's policy on nonproliferation, arms control, and the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Combining traditional and innovative methods in nonproliferation education will make it possible to train a new generation of Russian specialists and to familiarize foreign specialists with Russian principles on nonproliferation, arms control, and the peaceful use of nuclear energy. it would enable Russia to assert its nonproliferation initiatives more effectively, to make its policy clearer to the international community and achieve wider international support for it, ensure long-term civilian nuclear industry contracts for Russia, and attain long-term stability for nonproliferation efforts.

Maritime Freight in the Mediterranean Countries of the European Union

Marina Kolesnikova, research associate, institute of Europe, Russian academy of Sciences; <u>kml2007@mail.ru</u>

Maritime Freight is a priority development area of the European Union transportation industry. in 2016, 75.5% (1,783.2 million [metric] tons) of the EU's international cargo (2,362.8 million tons) was shipped by sea.

The Mediterranean basin is the best logistical option for maritime cargo, accounting for a significant portion of EU trade and economic relations with the countries of the Persian Gulf, the east coast of Africa, as well as with India and the states of the Asia-Pacific region.

in connection with this, an objective evaluation of the contribution of the Mediterranean countries of the EU to maritime cargo transport and the development conditions and trends of specialized segments of this industry seems timely.

The bulk of the EU's maritime cargo is handled at ports in France, Italy, Spain, and Greece. The first three countries are among the largest economies in the EU and among the states of the Mediterranean basin. in 2016, their share of the EU's GDP amounted to 14.9%, 11.3% and 7.5%, respectively. The share of Greece in the EU's GDP is significantly less: 1.2%.

Currently, the sectoral priorities of maritime freight are redistributing among various segments (cargo types), and significant changes are occurring in the development trends of those segments.

in 2016, most of the cargo turnover of the EU was liquid cargo, which accounted for 38.1% of the total cargo volume handled in its main ports. it is followed by dry goods (22.2%), container goods (21.7%), as well as rolling cargo carried by ro-ro vessels8 (aggregate of 12.4%).

The total share of Greece, Spain, Italy, and France in overall transport operations relating to liquid goods remains approximately 40%. This confirms the importance to the EU economy of maritime cargo transport carried out by tanker vessels.

During the entire examined period, the dominant type of maritime freight both to the Mediterranean countries of the EU and the EU as a whole was liquid cargo. In terms of total weight of transshipped cargo to major ports, liquid goods are followed by dry goods, then container goods, as well as rolled cargo delivered by roll-on/roll-off ships (ro-ro).

The most dynamic industry segment that showed significant growth in aggregate weight of processed goods was container freight. This form of transport saw an increase in the total weight of cargo and gross tonnage of the container ship fleet. The most innovative approach to the development of the sector was taken by Spain, where sectoral priorities were focused on reducing the fleet of specialized ships while at the same time building up their capacity.

Thus, container freight, based on objective figures, is now a priority development area in the maritime cargo industry in all four Mediterranean countries, as well as the EU as a whole.

among the four Mediterranean countries studied, the best sectoral trends were demonstrated by Greece, where the growth rates for liquid and container cargo traffic are more significant than in other countries.

Illicit Trafficking in Cultural Goods and Measures Against It

Maria Oreshina, First Secretary, department of European Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, Candidate of Science (history)

According to the United Nations Office on drugs and Organized Crime (UNODC), trafficking in cultural objects is, in terms of scale, in third place in the world after drug and weapons trafficking and yields total global annual profits of between \$3.4 billion and \$6.3 billion. according to the EU, illicit trade in antiquities and archaeological treasures from the Middle east brings ISIS "and other warring factions" between \$150 million and \$200 million per year.

It is one of the priorities of international and regional organizations to take a wide range of measures to prevent the destruction of cultural objects in war zones and illicit cross-border trafficking in cultural property.

It is crucial to ensure increasingly close cooperation among the international Criminal Police Organization (Interpol), the European Union agency for law enforcement Cooperation (Europol), the world Customs Organization (WCO), and national judiciaries, customs services, law enforcement authorities, and cultural agencies to exchange confidential information on smuggling channels; encourage the development of national databases on legislation on cultural property-related crimes; make more effective use of the databases of the UNODC, Interpol, the international Council of Museums (ICOM), and UNESCO on member countries' legislation; and to make more detailed studies of online information on experts on cultural property-related crimes.

The 1970 convention, the agreement ratified by the largest number of states, pursues three main objectives6: prevention of misappropriation, restitution of misappropriated property, and specific measures to control the export and import of cultural objects.

The convention also has some weak points. For instance, although a revolutionary instrument and the result of compromises that took a lot of effort to reach, the convention contains ambiguities that in practice lead to different ways of implementation by signatory states.

The UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or illegally exported Cultural Objects of 1995 was drafted in response to a request from the UNESCO Secretariat for creating a single private law mechanism for the restitution of stolen or illegally exported cultural property, a mechanism that was to set a timeframe for filing a restitution application and to prescribe paying compensation. As of the end of June 2018, the convention was ratified by 44 countries.

Brussels insists on harmonizing systems of control of the import of cultural objects into the eU, mainly to prevent the financing of terrorism, money laundering and organized crime besides protecting cultural property.

Another agreement signed in the Council of Europe format is the Nicosia.

Experts emphasized that there were uncertainties in international law about definitions of cultural property-related offenses. articles 3 to 11 of the Nicosia Convention significantly broaden the range of actions that are to be qualified as offenses.

The EU has developed a database on all measures relating to EU customs tariff, commercial and agricultural legislation. As the EU forms a single customs area, all its member countries must use the database, called TARIC,32 on a compulsory basis.

The University of Geneva has developed its own database – ArThemis, which records case notes about art and cultural property disputes settled in court or out of court.

The protection of cultural property in armed conflict areas has been included in the duties of the UN Multidimensional integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) and the UN assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI). This means that the protection of cultural heritage rapidly transcends the boundaries of narrowly specialized international bodies and is included in global agendas.

"I Do Not Feel Like a Stranger When I Am in Russia"

Abdel Hakim Abdel Nasser, political and public figure, son of former Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser

Despite his enormous workload, my father, President Gamal Abdel Nasser, was a real father to us. we were always aware of his presence. he was a good father, even though he was strict toward us. he always said that we were no different from other Egyptian families and that any privileges were only temporary and could not be used for personal gain.

During the Soviet leader's visit, my father awarded Nikita Khrushchev the Order of the Nile, Egypt's highest state award at that time. Khrushchev conferred upon President Nasser the title hero of the Soviet Union, the first foreign recipient of this award.

Later, as a schoolboy, I learned in detail about the history of the Aswan HPS construction project. i realized that imperialist states wanted to take advantage of our need for this structure to their own ends. however, my father nationalized the canal.

The Soviet Union provided Egypt with technical support for the construction of the Aswan hydroelectric power plant, and hundreds of Russian engineers and technicians arrived in Aswan and lived there with Egyptian engineers and workers until the construction was completed. President Gamal Abdel Nasser announced the completion of the great project in July 1970. The USSR was a real friend to us, who supported our country without any conditions such as those imperialist countries sought to impose on us.

Gamal Abdel Nasser worked to translate into reality the idea of Arab nationalism, based on antiimperialism and pan-Arabism. however, he understood that the unification of the Arab world was a long, gradual process in the economic, social and political spheres.

These days, religious and ethnic wars and conflicts in the Arab world have once again made the idea of Arab nationalism relevant and very much in demand, because this is the only way of bringing these wars and conflicts to an end.

In the 1950s and the 1960s, we received unlimited assistance from the USSR in agriculture, industry and defense. Of course, the construction of the Aswan hydroelectric complex was by far the most significant project. The Soviet Union helped lay the foundation for heavy industry – the metallurgical and aluminum sectors. The Egyptian army's victory in the 1973 war was achieved with the help of Russian arms. all this was done because of friendship. The Egyptian people hope to restore Egyptian-Russian partnership, as was the case in the 1950s and the 1960s while taking into account present realities.

To me, Russia is a friend who is guided only by the highest possible principles in relations with us. I see Russia as a great power that is opposed to all forces of evil, despite their great wealth. I recall Yuri Gagarin's visit to Egypt in 1962. he came to our home, and i was fortunate enough to communicate with him. I still keep the medal commemorating the first manned space flight that he gave me. every victory scored by Soviet cosmonauts was also our victory. i do not feel like a stranger when I am in Russia. it is my second home. The Russian people are the true friends of the Egyptian people.

<u>Russian-Language Radio Broadcasting by Stations Outside Russia:</u> <u>Trends From 2010 to 2018</u>

Andrey Bystritsky, dean, School of Communications, Media, and design, National research Universityhigher School of economics HSE); <u>abistritsky@hse.ru</u>

Alexander Sharikov, Professor, HSE School of Communications, Media, and design; <u>asharikov@hse.ru</u> Valentina Berezhnaya, associate Professor, academic supervisor of the Master of arts data Journalism program, HSE School of Communications, Media, and design; vberezhnaya@hse.ru Artyom Shchennikov, trainee assistant, Communications. Media. design journal; <u>asschennikov@hse.ru</u>

Russian emigrant communities abroad have always been known to have their own Russian-language media. This has been done since before the 1917 revolution.

This article is an attempt to fill this gap by making statistical and other descriptions of Russian-language radio broadcasting through airwaves and of trends in it between 2010 and 2018.

An analysis Of the Catalogue of Russian-Language Radio Stations Worldwide made clear that its information was incomplete – there were broadcasters, including some based in former Soviet republics, that the Catalogue failed to mention. Nor was it always clear whether the entities it did mention were radio stations as such or radio outlets of some organizations as the introduction to the book did not explain this or provide any clues.

The United States was the world leader – there were 27 stations in it, more than in any other country. Europe was the leader among regions – there were 101 broadcasters there that were spread among 25 countries.

Asia was in second place with a total of 36 stations spread among 18 countries.

North America was in third place. Only two countries there had Russian-language broadcasters – the United States (27) and Canada (5). In South America, only three countries had Russian-language radio services – Argentina (1), Brazil (2), and Ecuador (1). In Africa, there was only one station with a Russian service – governmental international broadcaster radio Cairo. There was also only one station in Australia.

The information in the Catalogue needed verification. Besides, much has happened in the world in the eight years since the book came out.

We decided to limit ourselves to stations broadcasting through airwaves with transmitters outside Russia and to disregard online services.

We used a range of methods, which included searching the internet for information on radio stations; compiling a database on stations; verifying information in the Catalogue; and checking the frequencies of stations whose websites we had come across. we conducted our research at the School of Communications, Media, and design of National research University-higher School of economics between March and September 2018. Our study was divided into two main periods.

During the first period, which took place in March and April, we carried out our main search, which was a four-stage effort.

The second period lasted from July to September and involved some methodological clarifications.

These and other facts prompted a need for a more precise definition of a foreign radio station broadcasting in the Russian language on airwaves as opposed to the internet.

This work led us to enlarging our list of stations. as of September, we had a list of 448 stations that were distributed among 57 countries and met the above-cited definition. This is the number of stations whose existence we have been able to prove – there are likely to be more stations.

One of the criteria for listing a state in the Catalogue of Russian-Language Radio Stations Worldwide were its legal borders recognized by the international community. For this reason, stations in unrecognized or partly recognized republics on the territory of the former Soviet Union were recorded in the Catalogue as belonging to the countries that those republics were formally parts of.

The territory of the former Soviet Union is represented in our database by 19 countries – Abkhazia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, the DPR, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, the LPR, Moldova, Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, Tajikistan, Transnistria, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. No Russian-language broadcasting was found in Turkmenistan.

The presence of Russian and third-country stations in former Soviet republics other than Russia reflects the foreign policy priorities of those republics. Georgia, for instance, openly distances itself from Russia. There are only three Russian-language broadcasters there, according to our search, two of which are outlets of western propaganda stations, RFE/RL and RFI.

Some of the countries prefer an ideological balance, making its territory available both to Russian state stations and western or pro-western propaganda broadcasters.

Belarus stands alone. it has let in Russian commercial broadcasters but stays away both from Russian state stations and from western propaganda ones.

The study has produced several important results. it has resulted in a definition of foreign broadcasting in the Russian language that has made it possible to take a new approach to the issue. before the beginning of the 21st century, this concept was chiefly taken to mean political propaganda and religious broadcasting on long, medium, short and ultrashort waves. after the Catalogue of Russian-Language Radio Stations Worldwide came out in 2010, this category of stations was enlarged by adding national, regional and local stations using all frequencies, including FM.

The study also highlighted some trends in foreign broadcasting in Russian over the past decade.

The trends in Russian-language broadcasting by stations based outside Russia should be seen through the prism of Joseph Nye's soft power doctrine.13 This would open up new opportunities for building and promoting positive images of Russia among Russian speakers across the world.

Bringing the Spirit of Openness to the World

Li Hui, ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's republic of China to the Russian Federation

Socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era.

As a world economy, China will continue to keep pace with major global trends, act as a responsible power, and make a positive contribution to peace and stability throughout the world and to human prosperity and happiness.

China's unprecedented large-scale reform and opening-up significantly mobilized hundreds of millions of Chinese, enabling the country to successfully make a great, historic shift from a highly centralized planned economic system to a dynamic socialist market economic system, from a semi-closed society to a society of complete openness, from a population that was guaranteed only food and clothing to a nation of affluence and prosperity.

China had no ready experience of reform and opening-up it could follow. Several generations of Chinese leaders kept moving forward despite difficulties in search of innovation.

Over the past 40 years, China has undergone momentous changes: it has gone from a "backward country" in modernization to a "practical center" of modernization, from an "underdeveloped country" to the "most competitive developing economy," from "providing clothing and food to people" to "building a moderately prosperous society" and the further "comprehensive building of a moderately prosperous society," to the revival of the nation that is welcoming a bright future.

Economic globalization as a result of the development of modern economics and technology to a certain extent is adapting to the demands of the continued development of productive forces. Even though difficulties have arisen in the process of development, in the historical perspective, it should be noted that economic globalization is an irreversible trend and objective fact of our day.

On the one hand, the countries and regions of the world are becoming more economically interrelated, and scientific and technological progress is by and large facilitating substantial economic integration that is favorable for forming a single global market. On the other hand, global rules governing economic activity and competition are being formed that are becoming the basis for establishing a system of global economic governance. This provides material and institutional conditions for developing economic globalization. Consequently, our world has become a global village where all countries closely coexist. Openness will lead to progress and isolation to backwardness.

Following the general trend of economic globalization, China is gradually becoming an indispensable hub in the cycle of positive global economic development.

Over The past 40 years, openness to the outside world has been a constant state policy of China. while interacting and integrating with the rest of the world, China still maintains the independence of its own cultural traditions and development path.

Despite turbulence from drastic changes in regions of the world, the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the U.S., as well as Asian and international financial crises, China fully upholds the crucial decision that "peace and development remain the main themes of modernity."

China has put forward and promotes an initiative for collectively building the One belt, One road. along with the rest of the world, it is leveraging development possibilities and preparing a big and delicious cooperation "cake." Currently, more than 140 agreements have been signed with states and international organizations on cooperation within the framework of the One belt, One road initiative.

Peace is the main theme and development is a firm law. No country can respond on its own to the various challenges facing humanity in a complex and volatile world. The Chinese people will continuously together with the international community make a greater contribution to the development of humankind, persevere on the path of peace and development, actively develop global

partnerships, adhere to multilateralism, energetically participate in promoting reform of global governance, create a new type of international relations, and encourage the creation of a human community with a common destiny.

<u>Russia and Iceland: Strengthening Ties in Keeping With Tradition</u> (Toward the 75th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic <u>Relations</u>)

Anatoly Zaitsev, ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Russia's ambassador to Iceland in 1998-2002, Candidate of Science (economics); <u>az4774@mail.ru</u>

Contacts between Iceland and Russia were first mentioned in Icelandic sagas and they date back to the times of Vikings traveling in the ninth to 11th centuries on en route "from Varangians to Greeks."

The development of ties between the ancient cultures of our peoples and their mutual enrichment was largely facilitated by the proximity of their destinies and the great similarity of Russian and Icelandic characters forged in the challenging struggle with harsh northern nature.

The establishment and development of relations between our countries are amply reflected in Russian and Icelandic foreign policy archives (most of them published for the first time) in the collection of documents "USSR/Russia-Iceland: 1943-2008," compiled jointly by the two countries' foreign ministries.

In preparing for the declaration of independence, Iceland was extremely interested in enlisting international support for its future status, above all from three world powers – the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom, regarding them as guarantors of its national sovereignty.

The establishment of direct diplomatic ties between the USSR and Iceland had a major impact on the subsequent development of traditional friendly relations.

The ties between our countries especially strengthened in the 1950s, when, at the height of the second "cod war" (1958-1961), in response to Iceland's expansion of its economic zone to four miles and a ban on foreign vessels fishing in its fjords and bays, the United Kingdom imposed a trade embargo, the Soviet Union came to Iceland's aid, buying over 20% of Iceland's salted herring exports and a significant share of other fish products. at the same time, supplies of Soviet goods that the young republic desperately needed in those years, including crude oil and oil products, ferrous metals, machine engineering products, grain and wood, helped modernize Iceland's industry and agriculture.

The declaration on the basic Principles of relations between the Russian Federation and the republic of Iceland, signed in December 1994, reaffirmed the countries' desire to "continue strengthening the solid foundation of friendship, equality, geographical proximity and their cultural and economic ties." in their relations, the Russian Federation and the republic of Iceland "are guided by principles of peace and friendship based on good-neighborliness and sincerity."

However, since 2014, on Reykjavik's initiative, many dialogue channels have been frozen, parliamentary ties have been practically reduced to zero, and the level of contacts between the relevant agencies is

very low. in recent years, the volume of Russian-Icelandic trade and economic cooperation has lagged behind the two countries' needs and resources.

Nevertheless, Russia is not scaling down its cooperation with Iceland and remains open to cooperation on a partnership basis. it is important that despite the negative impact of EU sanctions, which Iceland has fully joined, and Russia's food embargo in response to that, our country's enterprises and companies remain interested in expanding business ties and are optimistic that the protracted pause in bilateral cooperation will come to an end in the near future.

Russia and Guinea: 60 Years of Diplomatic Relations

Alexander Bregadze, ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the republic of guinea and Non-resident ambassador to the republic of Sierra Leone

When we talk about the 60 years' sovereignty of the republic of guinea (guinea) in its present borders, we mean "French guinea," which was a "separate" colony within the federation of French west Africa with its capital in Dakar (now the capital of Senegal) from 1895 to 1958.

Let us recall that occupied France in 1944 also had problems with its national sovereignty, to say the least. That is why it was not for nothing that de Gaulle initiated the Brazzaville Conference, whose main idea was as follows: let us join our efforts (including with representatives of the colonies) to liberate France, whereupon the colonies will be granted independence. in other words, de Gaulle invited the French colonies to make a deal based on political considerations for the sake of his own political goal, for the sake of a Free France.

Charles de Gaulle was "for some reason" clearly annoyed at the results of the referendum in guinea on September 28, 1958, when 95.4% of the local population voted for independence instead of accepting de Gaulle's offer to join the new French Community. he was particularly outraged by the statement of the then Guinean leader, Ahmed Sékou Touré, that Guineans preferred freedom in poverty to opulence in slavery.

Following France's abrupt withdrawal from guinea, the new republic was gradually recognized by other countries, primarily those of the socialist community. The Soviet Union was among the first to do this, recognizing the republic of guinea on October 4, 1958, only two days after it had declared itself a sovereign state.

Sixty years is quite a short time in the history of the Guinean and Russian peoples, but much has been done during this period. From 1958 to the beginning of the 1980s, the republic of guinea, strongly influenced by the USSR and other socialist countries, tried to implement new principles in its economy and social sphere, including principles based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and a one-party system, in which party and government structures were merged into single organs of power that performed both political and administrative functions.

Unfortunately, the Russian presence in guinea fell sharply at the beginning of the 1990s, after the breakup of the USSR. Starting from 2000, with the arrival of UC RUSAL and then of Nordgold Management, relations between Russia and guinea were gradually restored (though not without

problems), including in traditional areas such as training of national personnel, military-technical cooperation, and healthcare.

President Alpha Condé has already made two visits to Russia. The first was a working visit in June 2016 in his capacity as co-chairman of the St. Petersburg international economic Forum, and the second was an official visit in September 2017 as president of guinea and the then chairman of the African Union.

Owing to the policy of the USSR, a strong Russian-speaking diaspora still exists in guinea. Many Guinean graduates of our colleges and universities hold senior positions in the Guinean government and in other public institutions. They seek to pass the baton of respect for the USSR and Russia to their children and grandchildren. in this context, it is essentially important to resume the work of the Russian Center of Science and Culture in Conakry, as our Guinean partners, primarily graduates of Soviet and Russian higher education institutions, have long requested.

In the context of the 60th anniversary, many Guinean graduates of Soviet colleges and universities have published their reminiscences. These contain many specific, subjective, and contentious comments.

Consular Services of Russia in the Second Quarter of the 19th Century

Olga Lebedeva, deputy dean, School of international relations, Moscow State institute (University), Ministry of Foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, Candidate of Science (Sociology); o.lebedeva13@gmail.com

IN the second quarter of the 19th century, there was still no agreement among political and diplomatic circles on consular services and functions. Some of its members insisted that consulates should remain commercial organizations that looked after the interests of the citizens rather than the state. Their opponents preferred to see them as political and diplomatic units designed to serve the state interests and the private interests of citizens.

The political-diplomatic principle was rooted in the past. it was Peter i who had set up the institute of consuls to support Russia's trade interests. Russian consuls, especially those stationed in the east, never separated politics from economy.

By 1825, it [*Russia*] had 61 consulates of different levels (25 of them consulates general) in different countries. during the next quarter-century, Russia doubled its number: in 1854, it had only 18 consulates general, while the total number of consulates was increased, due to economic considerations, to 129. This was not the biggest number – in 1833, the U.S. had 152 consuls scattered across the world.

If needed, consular districts might be extended to important points outside their initial borders: the consulate in Marseilles, for example, was asked to extend its services to the ports in Algeria where Russian merchants needed assistance.

Russian diplomats stationed by the Foreign Ministry supervised the Russian consulates functioning in the same country. There were certain exceptions from the rule: in 1835-1856, the Russian consulates in Spain were supervised by the Russian embassy in France for the simple reason that Russia had no embassy there. Sometimes, consuls were instructed to cooperate with the ministries of war and of the navy.

Consular posts went to civil servants; consuls-general had assistants, the practice unique in European diplomacy. in fact, assistants were mainly used in Oriental countries; in Europe, Russian consuls coped with their duties on their own.

On the whole, the salaries of Russian officials were lower than those of their European colleagues even if they spent more or less the same amount of money and sometimes fell into big debts not infrequently paid by the state.

The practice of hiring non-staff consuls with no salaries selected from local tradesmen was accepted in Russia. Their services were rewarded with the right to collect consular duties and certain other trade privileges.

The institute of non-staff consuls had certain advantages: they knew a lot about the current state of affairs and local traditions; they were paid no salaries, something that Russia with serious financial problems at the time found quite attractive. On the other hand, these people, who knew next to nothing about diplomacy and paid more attention to trade than to anything else, could not properly perform their consular duties. This was especially obvious in the eastern countries where number of duties was much higher.

Under international law, all consuls enjoyed certain privileges; they were free and immune as long as they performed their functions; when involved in local affairs, they followed the local laws. Their houses were immune to billeting; all documents and objects were likewise immune as the property of the state which the consul represented.

The European and Asian consular services differed a lot where their functioning and organization were concerned, and they deserve closer scrutiny. in the east, the consular rights stemmed from capitulation agreements which presupposed that all European citizens living in eastern states obeyed the laws of their countries and were suable by the consuls-general of their countries. Capitulation agreements made the consuls diplomatic representatives; this meant that in Asia a consul was a much more influential figure that in Europe and the United States.

In Russia, the existence of consular service was motivated by political and diplomatic reasons, and the consuls were expected to take the state interests into account. This explains why it was part of the Foreign Ministry of Russia.

The list of duties of the Russian consuls was a long one; it included diplomacy, trade, judiciary and administrative functions. it was next to impossible to fulfill all these various duties at one and the same time which explains why Russian subjects frequently complained about the way the missions were functioning. Nevertheless, consuls actively helped Russian merchants to widen their trade with foreign states.

The Disaster of the Frigate Alexander Nevsky: A Tragedy or a Rescue Story?

Mikhail Vanin, ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the Kingdom of Denmark

The drama was a shipwreck not far from Thyborøn that local people still see as the chief landmark in the history of that region. at 4 a.m. on September 25, a severe storm caused Alexander Nevsky, one of the largest and best-equipped frigates of the Russian imperial Navy, to run aground in that area during a voyage from the Mediterranean to Kronstadt. The construction of Alexander Nevsky, which had been built in 1861, involved the use of 7,400 cubic meters of oak – Kurland, Kazan, Prussian, and Italian, – more than 2,000 cubic meters of larch, more than 1,000 cubic meters of pine, 300 tons of iron, 57 tons of copper, and 30 tons of hemp. The ship had capacity for a crew of 750, including 48 officers.

Vice admiral Konstantin Possiet, who was commanding the voyage, had made a fatal decision that night by opting for the use of the sails rather than the steam engine to take Alexander Nevsky into the Skagerrak strait.

Local people were woken up by cannon fire – the Alexander Nevsky was firing its guns to attract attention and receive help. Danish fishermen who came to the coast saw something that many compared afterward to doomsday. The frigate was seen about half a kilometer from the shore against the background of dark rainclouds amid the raging North Sea waves. The crew had obviously done everything possible to prevent the frigate from turning over.

Local people began what became the biggest sea rescue operation in Danish history. an attempt by the crew to connect the frigate with the shore with a rope had a tragic ending.

By joint efforts, the Russians and Danes were able to rescue 719 of the 724 people who had been aboard. immediately after the rescue operation, the Russians held a brief thanksgiving service, and then a funeral service for those who perished.

Despite the language barrier, the Danes warmly welcomed the Russians and put them up in their homes.

Alexander Nevsky with everything on board was left to the population of Thyborøn in gratitude for rescuing the Russians. anything of any value that was on board – heavy mahogany furniture, gold-framed mirrors, personal belongings of sailors, and even nails – was brought ashore by local people and passed on from generation to generation.

In 1958, one of the Alexander Nevsky's anchors was installed in the center of Thyborøn to commemorate the shipwreck.

This year, another anchor from the frigate was placed as a monument next to the cemetery in Harboøre where quartermaster Petty Officer Odintsov and seamen Shilov and Polyakov are buried. (The bodies of the two officers who drowned had been returned to Russia.)

This little-known page in the history of the Russian imperial Navy is still venerated in Lemvig municipality. The drama of 150 years ago proves that at a time of distress people will disregard disagreements and help one another. This is how it was a century and a half ago and how it is today.

The survival of the Alexander Nevsky drama in collective memory is largely the result of efforts by the Russian State Naval archive; the Central Naval Museum in St. Petersburg; alexander Sverchkov, a retired Russian diplomat; Alexander Belov, secretary of the Russian State duma group for liaison with the Finnish Parliament; Mette Lund Andersen, head of the Lemvig Museum; and Erik Flyvholm, mayor of Lemvig.

<u>The Reburial of the Remains of Suvorov Army Soldiers in the Chapel of</u> <u>the Dead on Switzerland's St. Gotthard Pass</u>

Konstantin Nefedov, Counselor at the embassy of the Russian Federation to the Federal republic of Germany; was posted at the RF embassy to the Swiss Confederation between 2003 and 2007 and between 2009 and 2014; <u>knefedov@mid.ru</u>

September 2018 included what was a significant date in Russian and Swiss history – the 120th anniversary of the opening of the Russian Cross monument at the devil's bridge in the Schöllenen gorge in Switzerland.

Memorialization of Suvorov's soldiers who died in Switzerland is one of the tasks of the Russian embassy in Bern. The embassy loyally observes old traditions such as an annual wreath-laying ceremony on September 24 at the monument at the devil's bridge "To the Valiant Comrades-in-arms of generalissimo Field Marshal Count Suvorov of Rymnik, Prince of Italy, who Perished in Crossing the alps in 1799." recently, new traditions have emerged as well. Since 2004, flowers have regularly been laid at the memorial stone for "The Fallen warriors" in Unterengstringen, near Zurich, and a similar ceremony has been held at the Russian Cross monument in Muotathal municipality in Schwyz canton since 2012.

The embassy helps install new memorial signs and plaques, publish books about Suvorov and his Swiss campaign, and make documentary movies.

The reinterment was the result of a huge amount of work that began by opening an exhibition in Zurich in June 2005. The theme of the exhibition, which was entitled "Zurich in 1799: a City at war," were two battles near Zurich in 1799 between the French army and the forces of an anti-Napoleonic coalition. The show was held at the Haus zum Rech, a historic building in the very center of the city.

The central item at the exhibition were the remains of an unknown Russian soldier in a glass case.

Since 2005, the embassy was in regular contact with Swiss authorities over the possibility of interment and was looking for a site for it. eventually, it was decided to lay the remains in the Chapel of the dead, where there already were graves of soldiers and officers in Suvorov's army who had been killed in battles on the St. Gotthard Pass or had or died of wounds sustained during them.

The Chapel of the dead is a mid-16th-century rectangular building with a semicircular apse that stands on a rock over a gorge 20 meters deep. it is made of boulders and pieces of granite. For centuries, the chapel was the burial place for travelers and pilgrims who had been found dead along the pass. in September 1799, Russian soldiers and officers killed in fighting Napoleon's troops during the crossing of the alps were laid to rest there.

it was only on September 23, 2012, that the 2005 interment project was completed. That day a funeral was held that included a civil ceremony, military honors and a church service. among those present were Russian ambassador to Switzerland alexander Golovin, Ticino politician Norman Gobbi, the Pro St. Gotthard Foundation's President dick Marty and Secretary Livio Lombardi, officials of the cantons of Zurich, Uri and Ticino, and students of the lieutenant general Valery Khalilov Moscow Military Musical School.

As a sacred tradition, since then a delegation of the Russian embassy to Switzerland has been placing a basket of flowers at the Chapel of the dead every year on September 24. This year was no exception. The memorial events of 2018 are a "dress rehearsal" for large-scale celebrations in 2019 of the 220th anniversary of Suvorov's Swiss campaign.

A Final Bow: In Memory of Baron Eduard Falz-Fein

Nadezhda Danilevich, art expert; <u>n.danilevich@mail.ru</u>

Baron Eduard Alexandrowitsch von Falz-Fein passed away at the age of 107 at his villa in the Principality of Liechtenstein. he is well known in Russia for his generous philanthropy and ambitious international projects. he helped repatriate artifacts with historical significance for the Russian state, restore Orthodox churches, establish museums, preserve Russian graves abroad, and develop new tourist routes.

He enjoyed brilliant success as an athlete, journalist, businessman, publisher, and collector. in 1987, the Crimean astrophysical Observatory discovered a small planet about 273 million kilometers from earth. it is called Eduard Falz-Fein. it is comforting to think that his everlasting star is shining out there in the mysterious vastness of space.

The citizen from the unknown and distant Principality of Liechtenstein appeared suddenly on our TV screens on the Vremya news program. News relating to his appearance sparked astonishment and delight: why is he buying such treasures for us? why does he feel an affection for us?

The baron's "Hollywood" appearance, foreign title and unusual name was out of character for the main news program of the USSR.

In the very first issue of the journal "Our heritage," the name of baron Eduard Falz-Fein, from the unfamiliar Principality of Liechtenstein, appeared alongside the names of distinguished members of the editorial board.

his lineage through his mother's side traces back to the boyars of Old Rus, who were close to the tsar. The Yepanchin family hails from the same stock as the Romanovs and is recorded in the Velvet book. Eduard Alexandrowitsch's father belonged to the Falz-Fein family of prominent landowners who were granted nobility only in 1914.

The Soviet Culture Fund existed for a short time before the collapse of the Soviet Union. it was there, at 10 Gogol boulevard, that I first heard Eduard Alexandrowitsch speak. he looked rather peculiar. he had the old Russian face of an ageless baron. he wore an Austrian suit of expensive cloth with a banded collar and velvet lapels, a silk embroidered tie and starched cuffs with pearl cuff links. his handsome, slender profile and dark tan was beautifully complemented by thick hair neatly parted to the side.

IN 2003, in Liechtenstein, my book "baron Falz-Fein: The life of a Russian aristocrat" was translated into German. a local publisher found someone who knew the subject of the book well. The baron's lawyer and then-foreign minister of Liechtenstein dr. Ernst Walch wrote a heartfelt foreword: "it is a great honor in my capacity as minister of foreign affairs of Liechtenstein to write opening remarks for the

publication of a book about baron Falz-Fein, a privy minister of foreign affairs of the principality. i am especially glad to do this for a friend.

The circle of life is over. Baron E.A. Falz-Fein lived more than 100 years in exile and only five years in his homeland. but it seems that he never left Russia.

Eduard Alexandrowitsch's cherished memory will remain in our hearts. Accept our final bow.