

International Affairs: Summary №2, 2014



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"Fortunate Is He Today Who Gains a Victory Not by Blood... "

Author: Sergey Lavrov

Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation

Speech at the Diplomatic Worker's Day meeting, Moscow, February 10, 2013



DEAR COLLEAGUES and friends,
On this day, we always remember with great warmth our comrades who died during the past year. Unfortunately, this list has grown since our previous meeting.

I invite you to honor their memory with a moment of silence.

I am pleased to welcome you to this meeting to celebrate our professional holiday - the Diplomatic Worker's Day.

We have serious and important challenges ahead. The world situation is not getting any easier as a new polycentric world order emerges. Competition runs high for what is to be this world order. Clearly, no one can ensure stability in the modern world alone or in tandem with someone else. But the question about the configuration of anew polycentric system is the subject of very serious clashes of opinions, ideas and interests.

We want to see that this work and efforts go in line with unconditional respect for international law and making the system of international relations more just and democratic.

We face many challenges. The situation in international affairs is unpredictable, events are developing rapidly. We need to be ready for any scenario. For us it is crucial to most effectively master the set of modern methods of diplomatic work, absorbing everything useful from our predecessors and imbibing the rich experience of those who made the policy of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union and of those who (thank God!) are with us today - our veterans passing on their knowledge and skills to the younger generation.

It is a particular pleasure to see that by tradition our meeting's presidium features Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Yevgeny Primakov and Igor Ivanov. We cherish traditions, and I'm sure this will always be the case.

I want to congratulate all of you, especially our veterans, employees of the Central Office, embassies, consulates general and other consular posts, employees of the representations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Russia's regions and your loved ones as well as to wish everyone good health, fulfillment of wishes and all the best.

United States Military Policy: A Strategic Prognosis for the Period to 2075

Author: V. Kozin

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DURING A VISIT to the Russian Federal Nuclear Center at Sarov in February 2012, Vladimir Putin set the task of long-term planning in the sphere of armaments, naming the upper limit: for the upcoming 50 years.

There is no doubt that long-term assessments of the development of the regional and global military-political situation, and the identification of trends in the evolution of modern types of arms in the world, as well as likely

prospects for talks aimed at reducing surplus arms and keeping large-scale military action far away from national territories, must help to work out critical government decisions and to protect Russian citizens and the defensive interests of Russia and its allies in general.

Of course, it is impossible to predict, for decades in advance, the finite character of particular events or the appearance of certain individuals even within a small state; there is a considerable array of most diverse factors which will never be static but rather in a constant state of change to meet new circumstances.

However, the task of identifying future trends in the development of strategies and policies of the United States in the period until 2075 is made easier by the fact that, say, in the field of the production of nuclear missile and antimissile weapons of the U.S.-led major western countries there is a considerable history of their development (nearly 70 years).

The strategic objectives of the United States and NATO will continue to be weakening of the military and economic power of the Russian Federation, its disintegration into several state entities and prevention of the CIS from growing stronger economically, socially and militarily.

IT IS TO BE EXPECTED that already in the coming years the U.S. will make a breakthrough in hypersonic weapons development, and subsequently will build up their production in order to ensure its absolute advantage in this kind of strike weapons.

The implementation of these proposals would make it possible to optimally prioritize military development and the use of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation; to formulate long-term objectives aimed at strengthening its defensive capability; to develop in a timely manner forward-looking weapons; to most thoughtfully build relations with other countries possessing large military potentials, as well as conduct rational negotiations with them in the field of arms control on the basis of the principles of parity and equal security.

The Crimean Crisis and the Issue of Security Guarantees for Ukraine

*Author: V. Orlov
PIR Center President*



TWENTY YEARS AGO, the issue of nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine and, accordingly, of security assurances to Ukraine in the case of its achieving a non-nuclear status was the focus of attention for policymakers, diplomats and the international expert community.

But today, in the midst of the Crimean crisis, a question has to be asked: Does the Budapest Memorandum still apply?

The agreement provided, in particular, that "until their destruction in full, nuclear weapons located on the territory of the Republic of Ukraine shall be under the control of the Combined Strategic Forces Command, with the aim that they not be used and be dismantled by the end of 1994," and that the destruction of nuclear weapons stationed in Belarus and Ukraine was to be carried out "under the joint control of the Commonwealth states." The agreement would be deemed to "cease to apply to a signatory state from whose territory strategic forces or nuclear weapons are withdrawn."

Then the joint strategic forces did not materialize in reality. The very idea of creating them was rather a compromise, a temporary concession that Russia made at the crucial moment when the USSR had just collapsed and Russia intended to actively launch market reforms and thus needed the understanding of its CIS neighbors. Among other reasons for the attempt to set up joint strategic forces was, first, the striving to reassure the West and, second, the desire, especially on Boris Yeltsin's part, to enlist the well-wishing neutrality of the armed forces in dismantling the USSR (the leadership of the USSR Armed Forces was particularly insistent on retaining unified command over the nuclear arsenal).

It should be noted that although Russian diplomats and military officials conducted tense negotiations with their Ukrainian counterparts, the "Massandra effect" was characteristic for most such opinion exchanges: the positions would seem close, but there never was any final resolution.

Events are moving fast requiring us to be proactive, not reactive.

Looking ahead, we can assume that in the currently envisioned scenarios, the establishment of a zone free of nuclear weapons in the Black Sea region may become relevant in the foreseeable future, since this could help reduce the level of confrontation, including weapons placed on ships. Regardless of the future status of Crimea, *de jure* and *de facto*, such a move would be in the interests of both Russia and the United States, as well as in the interests of the other Black Sea stakeholders, eager for more tourism and trade rather than a nuclear standoff. Under no circumstances should the Crimean crisis slide to anything like the Cuban missile crisis. But it will require new statements and memorandums to minimize such risks.

What Went Wrong With Western Europe?

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IN THE PERIOD 2008-12, Western Europe (henceforth WE) recorded an unprecedented and unusually long slowdown in economic activity, while Brazil, Russia, India, and China (henceforth BRIC) and other developing countries continued to grow at high rates. For instance, in 2013, real GDP in Brazil was 23.4% above its level in 2007, while in Italy it was 8.4% below.

However, the main causes of the crisis of WE

are, first, that in the last decades labour costs have grown too much and that the overall investment environment is not as favourable as it used to be. Second, the BRIC have finally learned how to produce industrial goods, which before only the West could produce, and their macroeconomic policies have become more reasonable than in the first decades of the post-World War II period.

The financial crisis, which started in the U.S. in 2007, and the crisis of the Euro are often also listed as causes. However, they are merely aggravating factors.

To guarantee a return to acceptable rates of economic growth, drastic measures would have to be taken to correct the accumulated structural imbalances.

Evidence about the degree of forward shifting of taxation in WE can be obtained by estimating wage equations which include taxes as independent variables. The degree of forward shifting has been found to be high and significant and it is generally higher for taxes on wages, followed by indirect or sales taxes, with social security contributions coming last.

In an integrated world in which capital is mobile the after tax profit rate tends to be equalized across countries in the very long run because of the movement of capital and labour between countries. The world today is very open and globalized. Since the after tax profit rates are now so much lower in WE than in developing countries investment in the production of industrial goods and of internationally tradable services increases in developing countries and falls in developed ones, other things being equal, until the adjustment of after tax profits will be completed.

One question is why the crisis in WE broke out only in 2008 and not before, given that the structural imbalances discussed in this paper have been present for a long time. There are two reasons for this delay. First, the introduction of the Euro in 1999 exerted initially a positive effect on the economies of the EU and second, as a result of the U.S. slowdown in 2001, the technology crash and the September 11 attack, the Fed's monetary policy was very expansionary until 2006. The world was flooded with U.S. dollars and world economic activity was kept high. This retarded the outbreak of the crisis in WE.

Factor 2014: A Challenge for Central Asia and Russia

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FACTOR 2014, the pullout of American and ISAF military contingents from Afghanistan, has developed into a foreign policy priority for Central Asia. A changed configuration of security forces may destabilize the country with grave and long-term repercussions for the Central Asian states and Russia, their strategic partner within the CSTO, SCO and the emerging Eurasian Union.

The allies who had moved into the country to wipe away the material and technical base of the Taliban, to liquidate its leaders and isolate those who would survive from their armed units, did only part of the job. According to available information, the Taliban still controls vast areas (even if not the whole country) and talks to the Americans and the Karzai regime on its own terms.

Pakistan has become radicalized to the extent that today it is part of the manageable conflict within the AfPak strategy of President Obama.

ON THE WHOLE, Russia has identified its international priorities in Central Asia and is striving to create a new reality to minimize many of present risks and threats.

It is trying to create a much softer situation in 2014 to avoid the repetition of the 1990s when Afghanistan and Pakistan extended support to North Caucasian separatists and terrorists passing for religious figures.

Russia does not exclude a wide military-technical and humanitarian cooperation with Afghanistan to help it ensure security when the bulk of international contingents has been moved away. Afghanistan can take part in negotiations and may become member of post-Soviet security structures.

Russia is prepared to extend considerable support to the special services of the local states and their armed forces and is working toward comprehensive cooperation within the CSTO and SCO to reduce the threats of drug trafficking and terrorism emanating from Afghanistan.

This means that Russia, an old and tested strategic partner, alone extends and will continue extending a greater share of economic and military assistance.

The Central Asian countries (together with Russia) should integrate in Eurasian structures. This is an imperative created by the objective international realities. All trends and models of Eurasian integration - economic, cultural, political, and military - can guarantee, to a much greater extent than all other integration projects, the sovereignty of the Central Asian states and Russia and help them oppose all sorts of internal and external threats, challenges and risks.

America's Return to Southeast Asia

Author: N. Vlasov

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THE SYSTEM of international relations is changing its polarity before our eyes while the "center of gravity" on the global scale is gradually moving from the West to the East.

This forced the United States to readjust its long-term regional preferences. President Obama has formulated the new priorities. The Democratic administration will pay even more attention to Southeast Asia.

Southeast Asia is not a new element on the old list of Washington's foreign policy preferences: it is an element of its new idea about the region.

China's rapid growth is one of the stumbling blocks on the road to global domination. This is the strongest regional "irritant" which shapes Washington's regional strategy despite the statements repeated at all levels that Washington's active involvement in the region should not be interpreted as deterrence of the People's Republic of China.

In view of Beijing's fairly aggressive official position related to the territorial issues in the South China Sea - sovereign rights to the entire aquatic area in disregard of claims of other littoral states - the stated American interests are seemingly justified.

The already existing alliances in Southeast Asia and APR are further strengthened within the frameworks of Obama's strategy; Washington is fortifying its partnerships and looks for new friends.

The first foreign trips of Secretary Hillary Clinton were accompanied by statements that Washington was resolved to remain involved in the region and to steadily widen its involvement.

Washington badly needs cooperation with Indonesia, the largest of the ASEAN countries; it is seeking closer relations with Malaysia, a highly promising partner, closer ties with the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore, and wider cooperation with Brunei.

ANY CAREFUL ANALYST will say that today the Southeast Asian context is ready for Washington's return to the region. Many of the ASEAN members fear excessive or even practically monopolistic presence of China in their economies.

In future, too, Washington will develop its dialogue with ASEAN still further; it will encourage its efforts to play the central role in the integration processes under way in the APR and gradually gain more weight worldwide. The U.S. Administration will work even harder to draw closer to each of the ten countries; it will demonstrate a lot of pragmatism by using the mechanisms of subregional.

Prospects for an International Legal Regime in the Arctic

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IN LIGHT OF the ongoing discussion on the expert and scholarly level regarding the kind of regulatory regime for international relations that should be formed in the Arctic - national (sectoral), regional or international, broad to the maximum degree possible - it is important to revisit the text of what is known as the Ilulissat Declaration, signed by the five Arctic states in May 2008. It is of primary importance that the Declaration records the provision that an "extensive international legal framework" should be applied

to the Arctic Ocean. The Declaration defines this "framework" as the law of the sea, which provides for important rights and obligations concerning the use and exploitation of the resources and spaces of this marine region.

The international law of the sea, being part of international law, originates from several sources, the main ones of which are indicated in Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice: - first, these are "international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states";

- second, "international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law";

- third, "the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations";

- fourth, the Court is to apply "judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law."

It is becoming ever more obvious that the "environmental imperative" is laying claim to the role of the prime driving force in the development of international maritime legislation.

In the recent decades, international law has been becoming increasingly contractual.

The limitation of peaceful passage through territorial seas by nuclear powered ships or ships carrying nuclear and other dangerous substances is common practice.

A whole number of countries limit the freedom of navigation within the bounds of their 200 mile exclusive economic zones, prohibiting any forms of naval activity (the passage of warships, the conduct of military exercises and maneuvers).

APART FROM PROBLEMS and conflicts in the zones of sovereignty and jurisdiction of coastal states, the regime of high seas has also been undergoing substantial transformations in recent years. Taking into account the fact that there is an open sea enclave beyond the 200 mile exclusive economic zones of the Arctic states in the Arctic Ocean, these transformations are of principal importance for them.

SUMMING UP, it is important to reiterate the global changes that are taking place in the management of the spaces and resources of the world's oceans that should be directly taken into account in regard to the Arctic Ocean.

The Miracle of the Nativity

Author: Armen Oganessian

Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs



If God only had demanded faultless conduct but had not backed the calling with his personal example by appearing in flesh and being humanlike in everything except for sin, humans would have been presented with a challenge beyond their means, and God's saying "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (John 14:6) would have sounded abstract. The fact that God chose to reach out to humans more than to any other part of the created world reflects the truly extraordinary extent of God's affinity for them - the event of God's assuming a material

body, was, no doubt, far more "miraculous" than the formerly greatest miracle of ex nihilo creation. Christ's Nativity took place when humanity was passing through a gloomy age of near-total disregard for human life and of violence which used to be a commonly accepted norm across the Roman Empire.

The commandment calling for love of God similarly must have sounded incomprehensible to the people brought up in idolatry and accustomed to merely fear the vaguely perceived superior. Loving God meant loving the Truth contrary to the pressures of the pagan world which took no interest in truth as such or professed the brand of moral relativism which Pontius Pilate expressed with utmost clarity when he dropped his "What is truth?" Ignorance and superstitions were everywhere, and the doctrines which mastered minds in the epoch placed a human being in a mental labyrinth with no light at the end of the tunnel.

Apostle Paul wrote that Christ is the same in all epochs, but, it must be borne in mind, God himself asked the key question in reference to his promised Second Coming: "When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" (Luke 18:8). The warning to humanity against reversal to minted paganism, against new rounds of apostasy is lucid, and, by all means, adopting pagan ways after the coming of Christ would have been a sin of incomparably greater proportions than the pagan existence before Christ used to be.

One might object that the vision of humanity making its choice in favor of the Christian way is no less Utopian. Nevertheless, turning to saints, even these days we - with the bulk of our imperfections - do come in touch with heavenliness which is God's gift we enjoy thanks to the Nativity.

As an old man, St. Justin commented bitterly on the European religious landscape: "Everything here is done with the narrow purpose of ever greater enjoyment, but that is the massacre of souls."

"For without the Incarnate God, the God-Man Lord Jesus Christ, human life is overall a completely suicidal absurdity; death is truly the most obvious and awful absurdity on earth. To comprehend death is to comprehend life - all of the height and depth, the boundless eternity, of life. This is something accomplished only by the All-man-loving Lord, Who in His immeasurable love becomes man, while ever remaining God Incarnate, God-Man in the world of man," preached St. Justin Popovic.

Lithuania: A Glimpse of the European Union in the Mirror of Euro Integration

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IN NOVEMBER 2013, Ukraine and several other former Soviet republics declined an association with the European Union at the Vilnius Summit of Eastern Partnership.

Kiev refused to exchange its economy for the dim prospects of a "bright European future" and found itself in the center of a loud scandal. The Ukrainian opposition enlisted politically immature students from the country's west with not a single day of real work in industry or agriculture behind them to

realize a regime change scenario. Inspired and agitated, the crowd shouted in the very center of Kiev, at the Maidan Nezalezhnosti (Independence Square) that life in Paris was much better than in the Kursk Region.

First, this is not true and there is no need to ask Gérard Depardieu. At night, certain parts of Paris are much more dangerous than of Kursk where your chances to remain safe and sane are much greater. Second, none of the leaders of the Euro Maidan was prepared to talk to the opponents in the language of economic and social factors and categories: wages, pensions and the standard of living. Third, let's look inside one of the former Soviet republics lucky enough to find itself in Europe.

Lithuania, the host of the Eastern Partnership summit, is a logical choice.

European neighbors treated Lithuania as their puppet; in 1920, Poles captured Vilnius, in 1938, they forced Lithuanians to renounce their rights to their former capital. In March 1939, Germany presented Lithuanians with an ultimatum: it demanded and got Klaipeda (Memel), the only deep-water port of Lithuania.

Lithuanians fled a "paradise" in great numbers: nearly a third of them emigrated (mainly for economic reasons).

Lithuania which joined the EU in 2004 is still waiting for an economic miracle; Schengen visas intensified an outflow of able-bodied population.

There is a ray of sunshine in the EU darkness: Brussels refused to let Lithuania introduce the Euro which means that its products and services remain cheaper than European average, a great attraction to tourists from outside the European Union.

Each country and its citizens have the sovereign right to decide whether they want to join the EU or not; yet they should take the experience of others into account lest they find themselves in the same quandary. This is a sad truth which becomes even sadder when applied to millions of human lives. Before plunging in Euro integration, nations should think twice and guide themselves by the old dictum Do No Harm.

So far, history has demonstrated that together with Russia or being friendly with it Lithuania achieved the best social and cultural results.

Palestine: Another Step Toward Independence

Author: Fayed Mustafa

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The decision to recognize Palestine as a UN observer state was an important historic decision; it would be right to say that the legal and political status of our state has changed.

First, this decision has become yet another confirmation of all the previous resolutions on the Palestinian problem that provide a basis in international law for addressing this issue. Second, we believe that this decision will have an

impact on the understanding of the issue of the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967. Today, these are Palestinian territories occupied by Israel, not simply disputed territories between the two sides - Palestine and Israel. Third, this decision has enabled the State of Palestine to join 63 international organizations and agreements, and all of that put together has taken the Palestinian issue to a higher legal status.

The number of votes in favor of raising the status of the State of Palestine to observer state is telling.

All that we are demanding is the fulfillment of international resolutions according to which Israel is to leave the occupied territories so that an independent Palestinian state can be created there, with its capital in East Jerusalem.

The Palestinian-Russian relationship is a long-standing historical interaction with centuries-long roots. Suffice it to recall the expression "Russian Palestine," and the depth of this relationship and the place of Palestine in the soul of the Russian person will become understandable.

Of course, people-to-people diplomacy plays a big role. A very large number of pilgrims from Russia have been visiting the Holy Land.

Russia today is Palestine's No. 1 tourist partner. The number of Russian tourists and pilgrims has been growing every year.

We are also happy about the recent creation in Moscow of the "Jerusalem" Russian center, with a big input from a group of experts, scholars and prominent Russian figures. This center will become an additional factor in the consolidation of the Russian presence in Palestine and the strengthening of relations between our peoples and the existing cultural, confessional and spiritual ties between them, since Palestine is the cradle of Christianity.

What Kind of Middle Class Does India Have?

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THE TERM "middle class" originated in Western sociology, which was largely due to quantitative and qualitative changes in the sphere of mass consumption, as well as on account of its growth and diversification. A serious talk about the middle class in developing economies began in the second half of the twentieth century. The lack of a basic definition has led to the fact that its quantitative indicators remain uncertain.

Urbanization continues to be an undeniable factor in the accelerated rise of the middle class. With all the negatives of this process in India, the mobility of the population and labor force has gone up.

India's National Council of Applied Economic Research identified the middle class as comprising about 200 million people with an average annual household income of \$4,000. The World Bank counted 120 million people in this category in India, with a household income of \$4,500 to \$22,000 per year. (The very large gap between these figures is perplexing.)

The demographic pyramid with mostly young people (60 percent of the population is under 40 years of age) will likely facilitate the growth of the middle class in India.

Urbanization continues to be an undeniable factor in the accelerated rise of the middle class. With all the negatives of this process in India, as in other developing countries (expanding urban poverty, rising crime, the pressure on weak urban infrastructure), the mobility of the population and labor force has gone up. The drivers of economic change are first and foremost the urban business circles whose activity has been boosted by the liberal reforms of 1991.

Indian middle class, its passionarity - driven primarily by the country's overall economic growth in the zero years - is worthy of notice. In 2010, India was first among the top five most optimistic countries, according to World Public Opinion.

The consumption ideals of the boomers are expressed in 5 C's of cash, credit card, car, condo, and country club membership. This is analogous to Western style consumption and lifestyles, the spread of which has been facilitated by many factors, including expats, professionals and businessmen, and ethnic Indians who have worked abroad and returned home, attracted by new economic opportunities.

India's middle class in its development depends on the socio-economic condition of the country. The massive poverty, a characteristic feature of the countries in the South, increases its instability, causing the most vulnerable lower stratum to teeter on the brink of ruin.

Myanmar: The Change of Yardsticks

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MYANMAR, formerly Burma, has been increasingly in the focus of international mass media in recent years.

That the Americans and their allies are fraternizing with Myanmar is plain to see. In fact, ever since military people came to power in 1962 in Burma, the country was edited out of the international political landscape.

The biggest and most pressing problem of the

country is its disunity. Myanmar is a multiethnic country.

Another problem was that, by the time Burma won independence, it had no civil political elite, like in India, capable of taking the reins of power.

During World War II, Burma formed powerful armed forces initially led by young patriotically-minded and well enough educated people. This is why the army was the main bearer of national idea in Burma.

As a matter of fact in recent years Myanmar took specific steps in terms of political reforms aimed to replace the military regime with a civilian form of government. I cannot say with certainty what precisely set this process in motion.

The new commander-in-chief of the armed forces, defense minister and other military officials report now to the current formally civilian chiefs and they are not supposed in any way to press down on the new government system.

THERE IS yet another reason for Myanmar's being of importance to the U.S. The current situation in the Asia-Pacific region is greatly influenced by the state of relations between the USA and China as the most influential economic and political forces in the region. Myanmar has always been part of China's interests.

Myanmar is also China's gateway to the Indian Ocean. China imports 85 percent of its oil from the Persian Gulf and Africa. The oil is shipped along the Indian Ocean via the narrow Strait of Malacca which the U.S. 7th Fleet based in the region can easily block.

THE PROCESSES UNDERWAY in Myanmar are dismantling the previous system. A new generation of people attains power. It is not so much important whether they are military people or civilians. The important thing is that they take a fundamentally new look at the roads that Myanmar is to travel further. And the task before the international community is to see that this further journey is painless, peaceful and safe for both Myanmar and all the other countries.

Russia and Fiji: 40 Years of Partnership

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THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Fiji is an important landmark in relations with one of our most important partners in the implementation of the Look North foreign policy concept.

Fiji-Russia relations stayed largely muted and were almost inactive until 2008, when the Government of Fiji, as part of the Look North vision, decided to make the country's more vigorous involvement in international affairs a cornerstone of its foreign policy. The appointment of Fiji's non-resident ambassador to the Russian Federation took bilateral relations to a new, unprecedentedly high level. Our governments are in regular dialogue which is predicated on respect

for the principles of sovereignty, independence and non-interference in internal affairs.

Evidence of the deepening of bilateral ties is apparent in the increased number of contacts at the level of foreign affairs ministers from the two countries over the last three years.

An exploration of new avenues for cooperation and of appropriate agreements in areas of mutual interest is currently underway.

Our priority remains the development of close bilateral relationships with our partners in the world, especially the Russian Federation, given the strong support that it provides to Fiji with regards to participation in United Nations peacekeeping missions, despite the negative reaction from our traditional partners, as well as in the field of development assistance.

In the near future, Fijian students will be sent to study in Russia's universities at the expense of the government of the Russian Federation. At the invitation of the Russian government, a group of Fijian performers and musicians will represent our country at the Fourth Krasnoyarsk International Music Festival of the Asia-Pacific region, which will be held from June 26 to July 4, 2014. All this exemplifies the expansion and deepening of relations between our countries in the fields of education, culture and people-to-people contacts.

The Fiji Government appreciates and welcomes such gestures of friendship and goodwill towards our country.

The celebration of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries has been marked with a series of cultural and educational events in Moscow and Suva.

The Russian Energy Sector: Challenges of the Times

Author: Yu. Shafranik

Board Chairman, Soyuzneftegaz Interstate Oil Company, President, World Politics and Resources Foundation



Over the past few decades, the energy sector has regained its footing - this is a great achievement. In the last ten years, exports of oil doubled in comparison with the Soviet period. During the same time, oil prices rose nearly five times. Production increased from 340 million to 520 million tons per year. These are very decent numbers, a good result. Many infrastructure projects were implemented, helping to double exports of oil.

Baltic pipeline, the Caspian Pipeline Consortium, terminals, gas infrastructure, Nord Stream, the Eastern Siberia-Pacific Ocean pipeline - these are all very serious projects, the base for the future. There are new projects launched, and a part of fields put into operation.

The recovery period has been completed. And it is clear that such a period will not come again. A major but little talked about oil-related event is that last year Kurdistan launched a pipeline that will run through Turkey. This is a harbinger of big geopolitical changes.

Now, a real challenge for us in the immediate future is Iran as gas producer. We now discuss the topic of the shale gas revolution, but shale should be put in quotes, implying the extra gas that has appeared on the market.

Iran has a treasure trove of untapped gas, however it may be called - shale gas or natural gas. And a gas field can be started in just seven years or so.

We have seen competition grow tougher in the last five to ten years. Indeed, other countries are now able to extract shale gas, cheaper energy sources - these are all challenges. But we are in quite a good position there. We've got an oil pipe and are developing terminals. The first liquefied natural gas plant, with almost 10 million tons producing capacity, operates successfully.

We work with The Netherlands and with Britain and with Kazakhstan. But Ukraine, to my mind, is so shortsighted and so hostile towards the brotherly people that I think it's the worst possible attitude one can imagine.

The United States is another prime example. Imagine the impetus that American industry has given to the oil and gas sector. The U.S. took and injected enormous money. We must use this example, not only cooperating with Belarus, Armenia or even Ukraine if it finds how to intertwine our economies. We have to use it in our own economy.

And we can and must do it.

The international conference held in Yalta on October 16-20, 2013 was organized by the International Affairs journal with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

Session I

Problems and Prospects of European Integration: Multiple Forms of Integration in the Post-Soviet Space.



Historically, Ethnically, Mentally, Crimea Is Always a Special Place for Russia

Vyacheslav Svetlichny, Consul General of the Russian Federation in Simferopol

Conferences organized by the journal in Yalta have already become a good tradition. It will be needless to speak of the significance that the Crimean land has for us: historically, ethnically, and mentally. Crimea is always a special place for Russia. There is no other area outside of Russia where so many Russian people live - Russian not only by ethnic origin, not only by blood, but also by spirit and mentality. We often hear that Ukraine is going its own way, in accordance with its national interests. Of course, the choice of way is the right of every sovereign state. But many keep wondering about this. For example, at a recent meeting with local political analysts, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Anatoly Mogilev, put the following question to the audience: "Will the signing of the document in Vilnius become an irritating factor for Crimean society and lead to a destabilization of the situation?" The question is how to avoid de stabilization because nobody, whether in Moscow or in Kiev or especially in Crimea, is interested in it. No prediction of public behavior in this situation is yet available and we are looking forward to recommendations from the expert community.

Crimea is always a special place for Russia. There is no other area outside of Russia where so many Russian people live - Russian not only by ethnic origin, not only by blood, but also by spirit and mentality.



The Uniqueness of the Polycentrism of the 21st Century

Alexey Gromyko, Deputy Director, Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences, Head of the European Programs of the Russky Mir Foundation

Today, multipolarity and polycentrism are quantitatively and qualitatively different from their "prototypes" of historical periods of the past. Here it is necessary to single out three moments.

First, Euro-centrism has been fading away in the past 20 years. Up to the 20th century, all the "concerts of powers" were based on the leading role of European states in international relations.

Secondly, this new polycentrism is moving away from the straightforward dominance of the principle of force.

The third moment, which characterizes the new-style multipolarity, is a phenomenon of international law that we have inherited from the 20th century.

The 21st century brings us face to face with an intriguing paradox: to stay internationally important and influential under the new historical conditions, it is necessary for states aspiring to obtain leading roles in regional and global governance not to follow the traditional line on national sovereignty, but, on the contrary, to strive to become the core of an integrative alliance, even if that involves delegating a part of their sovereignty to supranational structures. Germany is a vivid example of how it is possible to use integration to regain stature as a regional center of influence. From this perspective, Russia has made the absolutely right choice to accelerate integrative processes in the post-Soviet space. Only as the center of a large trans-regional alliance Russia will be able to gain a foothold as a major component of a twenty-first century polycentric world.



The Underlying Cause of the Conflict Between Russia and the EU Over the Baltic States' Energy Security

Alexander Gaponenko, President, Institute of European Studies

AFTER THE USSR'S COLLAPSE, the Baltic states came under the political influence of the US and the economic influence of the European Union. This influence was used by their new geopolitical "curators" to initiate an anti-Russian line in both the foreign and domestic policies of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, as well as to break their economic ties with Russia.

At present, the only significant economic ties that Russia still has with the Baltic countries are in the energy sector. It's the supply of natural gas through the pipeline and distribution systems with the use of the Incukalns underground storage facility. It's also the supply of Russian electricity and rail deliveries of hydrocarbons via the Ventspils and Klaipeda ports.

The implementation of the EU's strategic program to oust Russia from the Baltic States energy market will result in Russia losing the opportunity to sell around EUR 3.5 billion worth of its natural gas and about EUR 0.5 billion worth of electricity annually.

Russian crude oil is no longer supplied via the pipelines to Klaipeda and Ventspils. Crude oil and petroleum products continue to be supplied to these ports by rail. However, to ensure its energy security, Russia was forced to develop its own Baltic Pipeline System and to install the Nord Stream gas pipelines on the sea bed. This required an expenditure of tens of billions of euros. Forcing Russia to go to these expenditures was one of the goals of the EU and the U.S.



Identity Crisis in Europe and the Post-Soviet Space: Its Influence on Integration Processes

Georgy Muradov, Deputy Head of Federal Agency for CIS Affairs, Compatriots Living Abroad and International Humanitarian Cooperation

ONLY YEARS LATER does it become evident to politicians and scholars at home and abroad that the fragmentation of historical Russia and the concomitant threat of disintegration facing one of the world's backbone civilization alliances that have been around for several centuries in Eastern Europe and Northern Asia was not a local development of the 90s of the last century, not the collapse of a state that was short-lived by historical standards and known as the Soviet Union, but only the beginning of an extremely dangerous tectonic process of the remaking of the world order.

By the way, in the LGBT community itself a split has been noted which I am sure is going to deepen. Now it is localized mainly in the Netherlands, but has a tendency to expand. The reason for the split is that while same-sex marriages are permitted, "multi-sex" or collective marriages, as bisexuals demand, are not. A portion of the adherents of nontraditional relationships is thus being discriminated against. Should the trend continue, the solution of the issue of collective marriages is not far off in the West. But this would then mean that social relations could be thrown millennia back to the primordial herd.

In other words, what I sincerely fear, on the basis of already existing experience, is that a severe anti-Russian policy will be imposed upon Ukraine in the interest of molding the so-called "new, Western identity."

Ukrainian public opinion is fascinated by a flurry of pie-in-the-sky promises that Ukraine will immediately receive huge amounts of money from the EU, and that it will sit on two chairs at once - both with Russia and Latin-Anglo-Saxon Europe. However nothing is said that it goes to the European Union as a supplicant and a stepchild, alone.



Multiple Forms of Integration in the Post-Soviet Space: Pros and Cons

Vadim Kolesnichenko, People's Deputy of Ukraine from the Party of Regions

THE QUESTIONS of European integration and the development of the European Union intersect. Currently, the Eurasian thrust is being developed vigorously. Ukraine, like other post-Soviet countries, is one of the objects of these big politics of influence. Russia's trouble is that it took long to act. The situation we see in Ukraine is the result of the fact that for many years Ukraine was unattractive for Russia. Russia was itself very weak and did not have the appropriate resources and capabilities. It itself needed to hold on. During this time, Ukraine was flooded by European and American foundations and entities with multi-million dollar grants. A pro-European and a pro-American lobby have been formed, and their choice is already predetermined.

At present, Ukraine's problems are the problems of all post-Soviet countries: corruption, venal justice and the detachment of the ruling elites from the main mass of the population. In the last ten years, attempts have been made to fight corruption and build a vibrant civil society. As a result, our system of justice and anti-corruption is being radically changed. This is done in a public and demonstrative way.



New Geopolitical Trends in Eastern Europe: Lessons for the Republic of Belarus

Yury Shevtsov, Director, Center for European Integration Studies

I WOULD LIKE to point to three recent geopolitical trends which are part of European integration.

The first of them is decreasing population strength, a demographic trend which betrayed itself after the 1990s in all East European, especially the Baltic, countries: all of them are steadily losing the younger population groups.

Second, there are strong and strengthening interest groups oriented at certain regions: in the Baltic countries, for example, the groups oriented at Scandinavian countries oppose those looking at Brussels and Germany yet their control over corresponding countries is partial.

New players on the East European scene, China in the first place, are responsible for the third trend caused by Eurasian integration. Belarus is one of the best examples: it is a member of the Customs Union with Russia and of many other integration structures inside the Union State of Russia and Belarus.

Session II

European Integration and the Foreign Policy Factor: Definition of Political Integration Problems Arising Amid the EU Crisis



Scientific and Political Aspects of Modern Integration

Vladimir Sokolenko, Doctor of Science (Political Sciences)

The European Union has so far been unable to solve two main problems of supra-national institution building - i.e., to create the "United States of Europe" and the "European." Furthermore, the lessons of Euro integration - i.e., the failure of the 2004 Constitution and the collapse of "German multiculturalism" - raise the question of whether political and ethno-cultural "cohabitation" is in fact possible amid the triumph of the ideals of freedom and whether the national sovereignties of social systems based on the values of the philosophy of "individualism" are subject to integration.

The integration of Eurasia, including Western Europe, amid the priority of the monetarist civilizational culture, requires the recognition of the defining role of liberal economic standards, which for its part, brings up this question: Can the Eurasian CIS space, which is objectively oriented toward value-related multipolar globalization, be adapted to liberal economic standards, aimed at the formation of a unipolar world? From all indications, the practice of integrating the rationalist West and the traditional East along the imperative for the struggle for the survival of homo sapiens will bring about a "third path" of integrative collaboration on the basis of compromise.

A basically new element of the ongoing integration is that it is taking place against the backdrop of the degradation of the biosphere, uncontrolled by the community of governments, which even now is beyond the "bounds" of natural self-restoration capabilities.



European Integration Today: The Foreign Policy Factor, Opportunities and Risks for Ukraine

Vyacheslav Tsivaty, First Pro-Rector, Diplomatic Academy, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

It so happens that we are witnesses to the great geopolitical changes, where one political and economic system is replacing another, where the boundaries of political regions and alliances are shifting, and where the system of international relations is institutionalizing, integrating and transforming.

A key characteristic that defines the development vectors of countries in the post-Soviet space is the search by newly independent states for an attractive integration nucleus.

On the whole, from all indications, the process of the formation of a more or less stable system of foreign political ties between the post-Soviet states is complete. This accounts for the prevalence of the selective integration vector, namely, the fact that collaboration along the lines of the Customs Union and the EU has taken center stage.

The current crisis of European integration is only a part of the global crisis of the neoliberal model. Europe is going through not only an economic but also a structural and socio-political crisis.

I have every reason to believe that the current discussion of the problems, achievements and prospects that are on the agenda of this international conference, and the conclusions and proposals formulated by its participants will become a substantial contribution to the search for effective responses to global challenges facing integration processes in the globalizing modern world.



The Ukrainian Factor as a Challenge to Eurasian Integration: Lessons for Russia's Strategy and Tactics in the Post-Soviet Space

Viktor Pirozhenko, Political scientist

IRRESPECTIVE of Ukraine's future status - either associated with or integrated in the EU or left to itself in the grey zone between the two giants - the European Union and the emerging Eurasian Union, its failure to join the Eurasian Union will represent a serious challenge. This threatens the country's economic security and the common Russian identity of its population; it is a challenge to the historical unity of Russia and the Russian World and their cultural, linguistic and geopolitical integrity. We cannot succumb to this challenge; we should confront it and find the way and means to defuse it.

There are enough facts that indicate that the West has no inner resources to overcome the protracted financial and economic crisis of Western capitalism. This means that the EU might be tempted to capture the post-Soviet developing markets and resources by pushing these countries into free-trade zones with more competitive EU members.

Today, the EU functionaries are working hard at the talks with Moscow to achieve for Ukraine preferential access to the markets of the Customs Union and to set up for it a zone of free trade with the EU. European commodities will flood the Ukrainian market; newly established European-Ukrainian JVs will litter the RF market with goods of dubious origin and quality. If Brussels uses instruments of indirect pressure at the talks on free trade zone with Russia which have been going on for several years now, it might undermine Russia's firm opposition to the EU demands that it should open its market.

Session III

Identity Crisis in Europe and Post-Soviet Space: Impact on Integration Processes. Policy of Multiculturalism in EU Nations, Russia and CIS in Conditions of Crisis. The End of Multiculturalism in Europe? Alternative Models for Post-Soviet Space



Why Are Various Ethnic and Religious Communities Intolerant of Each Other?

Abdul Munem Salam Adil, Chief, Moscow Office of the Lebanese TV Channel Al Mayadeen

I'm not going to cite precise figures and pass judgments or use demographic jargon. I think it is necessary to shed light on the phenomenon of massive migration to Europe from countries of the Middle East and North Africa that experienced the so-called Arab Spring and on possible ramifications for Russia in terms of economic and cultural adaptation of a fraction of these migrants from Europe to Russia already saddled with a colossal problem of illegal migrants.

Thus Russia faces many colossal challenges the first among which is to make any process of integration on the post-Soviet space really attractive in all respects. The second challenge is to prevent further consolidation of the positions of radically-minded religious figures relying, among others, on new migrants from trouble spots in the Middle East and North Africa. Besides, it is no secret that hundreds of citizens from the former Soviet republics fought or fight as members of the most irreconcilable and cruel gangs operating in Syria, for example. Banding together they can form a well-organized fifth column and, in the context of the incident in the south of Moscow, we might be challenged here by new riots and clashes on various grounds.

The European Experiment in Transnational Integration in the Context of the Implementation of the Eurasian Project

Sargis Mirzahanyan,

Expert of the State Duma Committee for the Commonwealth of Independent States, Eurasian Integration and Relations with Compatriots

THE THEME is one for political science rather than cultural studies. To talk about supranationality and not to talk about identity is impossible, because these concepts are interrelated. Supranationality is a term that has recently come into vogue in the

mainstream domestic socio-political discourse. This is due primarily to the perspective of the creation in the post-Soviet space of a new integration construct - the Eurasian Union. The tendencies toward integration in depth and breadth have become the most discussed question among the academic and political establishment and a priority vector in Russia's foreign policy, as is reflected in the Russian Foreign Policy Concept.

If we take a broader view of the problems, then, undoubtedly, the processes of the integration of nation states as an imperative of the globalization era inevitably come face to face with the need to meet the challenges of supranational institution-building which opens up new possibilities for survival in the face of increasing global competition for the sources and resources of development.

I would like to put a question to everyone and answer it myself: What are the three key components of Eurasian identity? The first is the Soviet people, the shared historical destiny and all the trials that befell our peoples. Certainly this has a unifying and strengthening effect, the Soviet past should not be forgotten. It is that which for decades united us.



National State Identity in the Context of Regional Integration: The New Challenges and Trends

Aigul Sadvakasova, Head of the Center for Interethnic and Interconfessional Relations of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of Kazakhstan

THE INTEGRATION PROCESSES, which have passed to the stage of concrete implementation in the Customs Union format, are now, in a sense, an indicator of stability for the member countries' national and state identity.

A policy of ethnic tolerance and social solidarity ensures domestic stability. Kazakhstan's citizens are members of more than 100 ethnic groups and 17 religious confessions. Building a political nation has become the basis for shaping national and state identity in Kazakhstan.

A strong economy, ethnic and religious harmony, and patriotism are to be a response to the challenges of modernity.



The Role of Crimea in the Integration Choice of Ukraine

Alexander Mashchenko, Assistant Professor, Vernadsky Taurida National University

I SHARE the greater part of apprehensions voiced here in connection with a possible signing of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU. This will be a heavy blow to Ukrainian and Crimean economies.

I want to draw your attention to the fact that without Crimea the situation in Ukraine could have been worse or even much worse.

It is Crimea and its people who kept Ukraine within the Russian World and prevented the final rupture. In a way, the transfer of the peninsula to Ukraine was in the interests of Russia. Having sacrificed Taurida, it retained Ukraine in the field of its political and cultural attraction.

I do hope that sociologists, political scientists, political technologists, and politicians will agree that the majority of the Crimean population would have voted for a membership in the Customs Union at a referendum on Ukraine's civilizational (integration) choice had it been organized. Let us hypothesize how would the deputies of the Supreme Rada of Ukraine who represent Crimea in this highest legislative structure vote at a referendum or in the Rada.



A. Oganessian: By way of concluding our discussion, I want to thank all participants in my own name and in the name of the staff of the International Affairs journal. You stimulate our creative potential and offer food for thought. Very often we talk about common values: will Islam, Buddhism and Christianity dispute the Ten Commandments? There is another very important civilizational point. Our famous philosopher Vladimir Solovyov wrote in his time that any people was not what it thought about itself; people was what God and Eternity thought about it. Every nation should, in the final analysis, discover and reveal the meaning of God's design. This is what we inherited from the Byzantine Empire. The last of the Optina Elders said something

closely related to our civilization and to the Eurasian space: Look for great meanings in everything!

Some of the questions we ask ourselves sound strange for an average European or even a European political scientist: "Values are unimportant. Life is great as it is." Exceptions among Europeans are few and far between: these people are unique and are drawn to Russia, Ukraine, the Russian World, and Eurasia. When we talk of a great meaning here, at the conference attended by representatives of Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan, nobody is satisfied with minor practical meanings.

I can say that across the Eurasian space the simple truth "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be satisfied" (Matthew 5: 6) is readily accepted. We all "hunger and thirst" for the truth, each in his or her own way. This "hunger and thirst" keep us together. We cannot go down to a pragmatic level. This is what amazes the Europeans and frightens the Americans. They cannot fathom what they call "the mystifying Russian soul." We have just approached this; we are looking for something new which is probably very close to us or is even inside us. I am very grateful to you all who have come here to "hunger and thirst" for the truth and to look for even loftier meanings than those offered by realities. We are all dreamers here and we probably cannot live without this. If this is existential then this is what we are. Please accept my sincere gratitude.

Admiral Oscar von Kraemer, Son of Finland in the Service of Russia

Author: A. Sverchkov

Consul General of the Russian Federation in Turku, Finland



MY ACQUAINTANCE with Oscar von Kraemer began in Denmark, at the museum of the town of Lemvig, in the section dedicated to the shipwreck of the Imperial Russian frigate Alexander Nevsky.

I learned about the life of this all-around interesting man when I came across a book published by Finnish historians Bernhard Estlander and Karl Ekman in Helsinki in 1931, entitled "Fran hav och hov" (in the translation from Swedish - "At sea and court"). It is based on the rich epistolary legacy of von Kraemer, who, in addition, possessed an extraordinary literary gift. This book not only gives an excellent portrayal of this undoubtedly talented man, but is an interesting evidence of an entire era in the history of Russia and its Navy.

The name of Kraemer says little to the present generation of Russians and Finns. I do not think that his biography is well known to naval historians of these two countries either. The admiral's personal belongings and papers are kept in the National Archives of Finland and by his descendants living in this country.

Even this dry enumeration of career rungs suggests a life full of romance of adventure, as well as of hard physical and spiritual labor. All this stands out in relief in the diaries written in flawless Russian that young Kraemer kept during the Crimean Campaign and his first voyage around the world, and in the hundreds of letters, but in equally flawless Swedish, to relatives from all corners of the world.

Alexander II was not wrong in his assessment. Oscar von Kraemer made a brilliant finish to his career as an adjutant-general, a member of the State Council and a full admiral.

Can I call Oscar von Kraemer a son of Finland, a patriot of his then "little motherland"? Sure. He was painfully upset by the aggravation of Russian-Finnish relations at the turn of the 20th century. With all his respect for Russia, he didn't share the harder line taken by its government toward Finland, whose people were increasingly feeling themselves a sovereign nation. He tried to convince Nicholas II of the incorrectness of this line, through a personal audience with him; he argued with ministers, in particular the ministers of war and the interior; he appealed to liberals such as Count Witte.

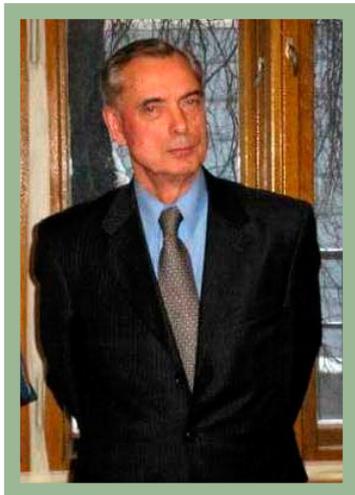
The story is told in the exhibition "Finnish Admiral in the Russian Imperial Navy," organized on the initiative and with the participation of the Consulate General of Russia in Turku and specialists of the city's Forum Marinum Maritime Centre and the Central Navy Museum of St. Petersburg. It was a great success in Turku, and then in St. Petersburg, becoming one of the central cultural and historical events in the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the twinning between the two former capitals.

My special thanks to the admiral's descendants who have preserved and presented for display some unique exhibits and archival testimonies of the forever gone era when the Finns and Russians lived in one big Fatherland.

Stellar Textbook on International Law

Author: B. Pyadyshev

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Doctor of Science (History)



THE DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY is celebrating its 80th anniversary, and practically all these years its International Law Department has successfully operated as one of the key educational and academic research centers in the country.

The fifth edition of *Mezhdunarodnoye pravo: Uchebnik* (International Law: Textbook) differs markedly from its previous editions in terms of size and content, as well as the team of authors who took part in its preparation, including members of the International Law Department of the Diplomatic Academy of the MFA of Russia, faculty members from the country's leading higher education institutions, well-known practicing international jurists, and young researchers.

The fifth edition of the textbook is almost a third longer (over a thousand pages) and includes 26 chapters. While maintaining the continuity and traditional structure of a textbook on international law, the authors of this edition have made some corrections to the logic, sequence and style of analysis of major international legal institutions, which not only helps readers take a systemic view of modern analytical approaches to international law, but also makes the textbook more user-friendly and convenient.

In addition, the material in the textbook is structured so as not to focus attention on "general" or "specific" issues but to emphasize the integral unity of modern international public law and show the importance of studying the entire set of international legal norms in systemic connection with ongoing foreign policy processes and with an understanding of their specific historical development.

The authors provide very useful and appropriate examples of the practical application of the rules of international law and international treaties of the Russian Federation by the Russian Constitutional Court, courts of general jurisdiction and arbitrazh (commercial) courts, with a detailed examination of existing approaches to the regulation of these issues. They present a detailed factual basis for exploring these problems, which are widely discussed in Russian political circles and among legal experts.

The edition under review includes a new chapter on the international legal aspects of the functioning of the Commonwealth of Independent States and other interstate associations that have emerged in the territory of the former Soviet Union.

Generally speaking, the fifth edition of the textbook on international law issued by the Diplomatic Academy of the MFA of Russia should certainly be seen as a significant, landmark event of 2013. It is the result of hard work by a large team of authors and its editor-in-chief, Professor S.A. Egorov. All those to whom it is addressed - students, graduates and faculty of law colleges and universities, diplomats and other professionals in international relations - will have at their disposal not only a guide to the science of international law, but also an actual encyclopedia of knowledge in regulating diverse areas of international affairs.

Italy: Modern Political History

Author: Ye. Osipov

Candidate of Science (History)



IN 2013, the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of World History published a book by S.M. Gavrilova devoted to the political history of Italy after World War Two. The monograph "Political History of Modern Italy (1945-2011) in the Studies of Russian Scholars" analyzes more than 100 works by Russian researchers of Italian history, published between 1991 and 2011. The apt formulation of the subject has enabled the author to focus on modern studies,

free from the ideological influence of the Soviet past and featuring objectivity and an unconstrained interpretation of events.

S.M. Gavrilova's monograph belongs to what is now a rare genre of historiography. Its main value is that it is the first and as of now the only comprehensive overview of studies by Russian historians of the postwar development of the Italian state.

A substantial part of the S.M. Gavrilova's book is devoted to the activity of political parties in modern Italy. Italy's bipartisan system, which had existed for several decades, was unique for Western Europe.

The monograph devotes considerable attention to Italian foreign policy issues.

S.M. Gavrilova's monograph devotes close attention to the development of Soviet-Italian relations.

One valuable feature of S.M. Gavrilova's monograph is that the author addresses subjects that have not been studied in Russian historiography. Such "blank spots," for example, include the role of trade unions and the subject of presidential elections. Considering the possible expansion of presidential powers in the future, such a lack of attention to the institution of the presidency in Italian studies in Russia is regrettable. The author also notes that there are no special studies in Russia of the Christian Democratic Party or the Communist Party, the two largest political forces in postwar Italy (p. 68).

On the whole, S.M. Gavrilova's work has an important practical value, especially considering the rarity of domestic studies in historiography. A systematic analysis of Russian historical studies helps a better mutual understanding between the Russian and Italian political cultures. As for the "blank spots" identified by the author, they show paths for further development of Italian studies in Russia.

Africa: Present and Future

Author: Yu. Raikov

Doctor of Science (History)



SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA has become, of late, one of the great powers' foreign policy priorities (Russia being no exception). The world is interested in its strategic resources while the leaders - the U.S. and China - are locked in an uncompromising rivalry on the continent. Today, Africa's role in the international relations grew; at the same time, Islamists fortified their positions on the Black Continent.

Americans bogged down in the Middle East were unpleasantly shocked to discover that Beijing had established close and profitable relations with African states; they moved in to put spokes in China's wheel.

Since the 1990s, China has been tempting African countries with low-interest credits, involvement in infrastructural projects and economic aid. Vasily Tatarintsev, Doctor of History, discussed these and other subjects in his recent monograph "Africa: Present and Past." The author has rightly stressed the continent's importance for world economy. "This is not surprising: Africa has almost 40 percent of many basic mineral resources required to fuel global industry..."

Professor Tatarintsev offers interesting assessments of African urbanization and its consequences. Life in big cities gradually changes its inhabitants; they have to be aware of what is going on around them in economy, social sphere and even politics and they seek relevant information.

The author has scrutinized the situation in African economies. Today, foreign trade accounts for 60% of the African countries' economies, the share equal to that of Latin America. In the first decade of the 21st century, direct foreign investments doubled to reach the level of about \$15 billion.

The author has mentioned, yet did not discuss in detail, the problems of regional economic integration.

The author has rightly pointed out that "identical or close approaches of the RF and Africa to the key international issues serve the starting point for the realization of Russia's foreign policy tasks" (p. 367). This means that Moscow can consistently discuss with African countries the entire range of global, continental and national problems.

The language, style and vast historical and factual material make the monograph dealing with one of the most topical subjects very useful for academics, people engaged in practical cooperation in Africa, students and postgraduate students and, on the whole, wide readership.

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