

# International Affairs: Summary №6, 2011



## Sergei Lavrov: Between Past and Future

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AS FOREIGN MINISTER, S.V. Lavrov has witnessed two stages in the development of Russia and the world: the relative wellbeing and the profound financial and economic crisis that has not as yet ended despite the "incantations" from experts to the effect that there are no objective prerequisites for the deepening of the crisis. Obviously the impact of subjective factors on recent history is rapidly growing. Hence the concerns about the irrationality and chaos of the contemporary world, which has yet to overcome the global historical crisis caused by

the disintegration of the bipolar system.

Paradoxically, the growing importance of subjective factors objectively requires the presence of bright personalities - carriers of unorthodox ideas and solutions. You will find all of those in Sergei Lavrov's book *Mezhdu proshlym i budushchim* [Between Past and Present]. M., Olma Media Grupp, 2011, 896 pp.

What we have there is not a monograph but a collection of articles where analysis of current foreign policy issues is interspersed with historical/philosophical reflections. And almost any passage in the book bears an imprint of the author's personality.

S. Lavrov is accessible and easy to communicate with, and that is not the bureaucratic ease that trumpets its democratic nature from around every corner, giving you two fingers to symbolize greeting. His straightforwardness is appealing and he sympathetically quotes Gorchakov: "The best method of living in complete harmony with all governments is not to hide your thoughts."

"All of America's friends," Lavrov writes, "and we regard ourselves as such, should help the United States make 'a soft landing' into a multipolar reality."

A key point of many of Lavrov's articles and public remarks is the search for new principles of consolidation, capable of preventing a crisis of global governance. According to the minister, the expectations that democratic values would become such a universal regulator failed to materialize.

The collection "Between Past and Present" is interspersed with aphorisms, for example: "In politics, perception of reality is often more important than reality itself." Generally, the style of the articles and comments is appealing, often marked by the "beauty of the mind" - an old Byzantine term that has unfortunately been forgotten because of the prevalence of the "Russell" type of thinking based on dry rationality and logic.

## EU, Russia, CIS: The Demographic Dimension

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THE EUROPEAN UNION is a meta-state - it is not a state yet, but it is no longer a regional organization. The EU has the attributes of statehood in the form of its own currency, customs area, bodies of governance, parliament, central bank, but there are still national governmental agencies while the powers of EU bodies in the sphere of defense and security are very limited.

As far as the EU is concerned, Russia is both its rival and partner. The objective of this article is to understand the meaning and prospects of the EU's struggle for human resources; it also poses the question of whether it is possible for Russia and the EU to be not just rivals but also partners on the labor market.

The resulting situation is: The number of young and consequently able-bodied people is declining and the number of elderly people is growing and putting an increasing burden on the pensions system while causing bigger financial problems.

The share of persons in the 65 to 79 age bracket will double. But this is nothing compared to what is going to happen to the over-80 age group. Its share will treble. This will accordingly reduce the share of working age people by 15%, if not more.

The burden of demographic problems is expected to stunt economic growth rates as soon as a decade from now.

There are, in addition to migrants from the Middle East and Maghreb, migrants to Europe from some other places, who are not being discussed too much.

Most of the migrants entering EU member states from Russia and other CIS countries are young people. While Russia is experiencing a shortage of young people, it has been for years helping the EU to resolve one of the formidable problems. What's more, a Gallup study shows that Russia and the EU are increasingly competing for labor resources from CIS countries.

Our citizens, including our former citizens, are contributing their energy, knowledge and talent to making the EU even more competitive, whereas Russia is losing intelligent, energetic and highly professional people while growing weaker. It is useless to discuss this demographic phenomenon with EU citizens because the situation meets the interests of this meta-state. The reasons for this phenomenon should be discussed here in Russia and ways should be found to see to it that intelligent, energetic and highly professional people should come to Russia or at least should not leave it.

## The International of Financiers, a Grave Digger of America

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LATE IN JUNE, the U.S. Congress treated the world to a fight between the Republican and Democratic deputies and the Obama Administration over the debt ceiling. The world responded with different assessments of what it had seen.

Indeed, this was an unprecedentedly fierce battle on Capitol Hill: many top placed decision-makers in the United States were determined to pull the country out of the economic system based on debts and credits and push it away

from the brink of an abyss. The United States will NEVER be able to pay its debt of nearly \$15 trillion: it should be written off as a bad debt.

So far the audience riveted to the tug-of-war in the Congress has not yet asked: Who will dominate the planet's economy? The new masters of global economy will lose no time to Redistribute Wealth and scoop the lion's share.

In fact, today the state of American, and world, economics is defined not so much by volumes and level of production as by ... stock exchange indices, that is, trade in securities (are they secure indeed?).

THE AMERICAN FINANCIAL CATAclysms will inevitably affect all other economies. This trite statement can be rephrased into a more meaningful one: several centuries ago, a group of bankers with connivance of governments of the world's leading countries set up the world financial system and, to impose it on all states and peoples, annihilated all recalcitrant politicians.

You can rest assured that people in command of the world financial system will fight to the last ditch to protect their money. Don't be naïve: they will never fight for you and me or for America. They will survive by jumping, at the eleventh hour, to a new financial platform and start luring the rest of the world to this paradise on earth as they did 500 years ago.

HERE IS ANOTHER interesting aspect. Do you know who is to blame for the crisis? If you accuse financiers you are barking up at the wrong tree. Politicians are the culprits. This is only natural: they serve their masters who never hesitate to shift the blame on their ministers and presidents to the loud applause of the delighted audience.

By the mid-20th century, after a long period of economic instability and two world wars the U.S. dollar became the world's strongest currency. Yes, that's true; today it is in intensive therapy: American deputies-medics have just given it another shot of drugs.

Will it last? What fate have those who devised and are realizing the far-reaching Redistribution of Wealth program prepared for the veteran of the financial markets?

## Britain: Shoplifting or Looting? Criminality or Politics?

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BROKEN GLASS has been already removed but the August riots in Britain left a "broken society" behind them: an emergency session of the Commons; a prime minister promising to track down and to punish wrongdoers; the leader of the opposition pledging to stand shoulder to shoulder with him. It was as if the country was at war.

Politicians and analysts tried to go to the roots, to identify the causes and suggest remedies: there was no shortage of explanations ranging from "rap music which glorifies violence and loathing of authority" to "no father at home" to get from him "a positive sense of masculinity," and the mortgage crisis.

The Independent condemned society in which "It's not one occasional attack on dignity; it's a repeated humiliation, being continuously dispossessed in a society rich with possession."

The nation's disappointment with all political parties led to a hung parliament in which none of the parties had an absolute majority.

A month before the riots, the phone-hacking scandal (which the police had hastily swept under the carpet) resurfaced and widened. It turned out that journalists of the News of the World Sunday tabloid owned by the British newspaper branch of the Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. media empire had been guilty of hacking phones of celebrities, politicians, sport stars, relatives of crime victims, and dead British soldiers. The leaders of the main parties agree that the rioters who live in municipal dwellings should be punished.

Both political leaders know that they should reflect public opinion and that to diagnose does not mean to heal. The courts are flooded with cases of those accused of looting and stealing; according to far from full assessment, by August 15 about 3 thousand were detained; about half of them charged.

The August riots were not the first social action in Britain.

It was the August 2011 wave of violence and plundering which reverberated across the country. In the coming fall, the politicians will clash over the moral state of the British society and economic growth. Nobody expects peace and quiet outside the Parliament, in the streets of British cities.

# USA and the Islamic Republic of Iran: From Irangate to Armed Conflict

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EXPERT FORECASTS that international "peacekeepers" headed by the USA would take a break after Iraq and Afghanistan did not bear out. The "humanitarian operation" in Libya is drawing to a close, and Syria and Yemen are on deck. One wonders who will be next.

The Libyan drama involuntarily brings to mind the U.S. air strikes against Tripoli in 1986. They were followed by the U.S.-Iran armed conflict in the Persian Gulf in 1987-1988. What place do Western "scriptwriters" give Iran today? In

view of the new escalation of the situation in the Greater Middle East, a retrospective analysis of the conflict between the U.S. and the Islamic Republic of Iran can be quite useful for assessing the overall situation in the region and possible development scenarios.

On January 24, 1986, the NSC launched Operation Recovery for transmitting intelligence information on Iraqi forces and selling arms to Iran. The secret talks touched on covert arms sales by the U.S. to Iran and possibilities of restoring ties in the future.

Nevertheless, the Iranian government disclosed the secret U.S. mission and disavowed the planned arms deal. The disclosure was made by the Iranian side because of the internal disagreements on cooperating with the U.S. that arose within the Iranian government.

This led to the outbreak of a major political scandal in the U.S. in November 1986. Called "Iran-gate" by analogy with Watergate, it was the biggest scandal of Reagan's entire presidency.

Although a lot of time has elapsed since the 1980s, a comparison with the present-day situation shows that history repeats itself in some ways. At that time, the Soviet government's "new mentality" policy, which strove to ease tensions in the relations between the two superpowers, automatically excluded friendly ties with Libya, which had been coveted by M. Qaddafi. The USSR's evident reluctance to get involved in the U.S.-Libyan confrontation allowed the White House to take a military though non-contact approach (air strikes) to resolving the "Libyan problem" in 1986. After the signing of a treaty between the USA and USSR on arms reductions and Afghanistan in 1988, a direct armed conflict between the U.S. and Iran became possible.

Then as now, compromises on issues of arms reductions and the Afghan (and, possibly today, Caucasian) problem played and continue to play a key role in the elaboration of a concerted Soviet/Russian-U.S. stance on the Greater Middle East. In the conditions of yet another "reset" of U.S.-Russian relations and the intransigence of Iran, one cannot rule out the repetition of the "Iranian scenario" of 1984-1988 in present-day conditions with totally different and poorly predictable consequences.

## Arab Riots in the 21st Century: What Next?

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THE WAVE OF POPULAR RIOTS which swept the Middle East and North Africa and which remains the key factor behind the regional developments engulfed not only the poor countries but also those which coped both socially and economically.

The factors behind the riots can be found practically in all Arab states in which civil society is gradually taking shape. Today, new, better educated and better informed generations have

come to the fore in a paternalist society in which many generations adored their charismatic leaders.

It seems that in interfering in the conflict and scoring a victory for the rebels, the West has finally achieved its "main goal," viz. complete control over Libyan oil.

The ruling regimes underestimated the threat: President Hosni Mubarak and leader of the Libyan revolution Muammar Qaddafi were determined to make their sons hereditary rulers. Had the decisions of political liberalization passed in Syria by the 10th BAAS Congress in 2005 been fulfilled and had Qaddafi adopted a Constitution and elected a parliament (as Saif al-Islam, one of his sons, suggested) the countries could have escaped the tragedies.

This means that the riots have somewhat liberalized the political systems, expanded political representation and made it pluralistic. The scope, however, will depend on the new constitutions and the outcome of the parliamentary and presidential elections.

It is too early, however, to expect democracies Western style in the Arab countries with immature civil societies (Iraq is one of the best examples of this).

To a certain extent the American "Greater Middle East" design, American propaganda of democratic values and American criticism of authoritarianism affected public sentiments in the Arab world. Washington, however, is hardly responsible for the present chaos even if Americans have promptly sorted things out and abandoned Mubarak to his fate to be free to establish close relations with a "new Mubarak."

Russia will hardly retreat from its political relations with the Arab countries irrespective of which forces will come to power (with the exception of radical Islamists). The Middle East and North Africa are aware of the fact that Russia, the European Union and, to a lesser extent, China balance out the United States at the regional level. This means that active relations with them allow the Arab countries to maintain balanced foreign policies.

## "Luckily, We Have Virtually No Enemies in the World Today"

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I tend to favor that philosophical school which posits the existence of a cause and effect connection in all societal phenomena. So what happens on the global scale, what happens worldwide is sometimes a period of rather high instability, a period of change, when a new architecture is created, including the architecture of international relations. It is not easy to live during such periods.

The mission of diplomats and politicians is to minimize the negative consequences of this instability and as far as possible create conditions for a new round of development. This is precisely how development proceeds - sporadically, by leaps.

Nevertheless, a new norm of international law is to be introduced into our national legislation. And this is done through a presidential decree.

I would like to assure our listeners that we have complete, exhaustive and absolutely reliable information on what is going on in Syria. The situation there is extremely difficult and complex and does not lend itself to unequivocal interpretation.

Nevertheless, on the whole there is an emerging trend involving a very high degree of internal instability and attempts by the government to suppress mass disturbances that not simply mark a surge in, so to speak, democratic demands by the broad masses of the people but also a revolt by those forces that are consciously seeking to destabilize and overthrow the regime. As for pressure, you know, it is not very easy to pressure us, let alone China, which is also represented in the Security Council as an independent and influential political force.

I am not aware about the intentions by any one country to intervene in Syria militarily. Quite the contrary, all the key international players - the United States, European countries, and Turkey - have announced that there can be no question about any outside intervention in Syria's internal conflict. Naturally, we adhere to the same position.

In talking about the threat from Iran the Americans are seeking to convince not so much us as themselves. They have set the task for America's absolute domination in the world. This is part of American national political psychology: America must be stronger than any adversary, and it must be an absolute, self-sufficient force. And there are certain prerequisites for that - at least from the military point of view.

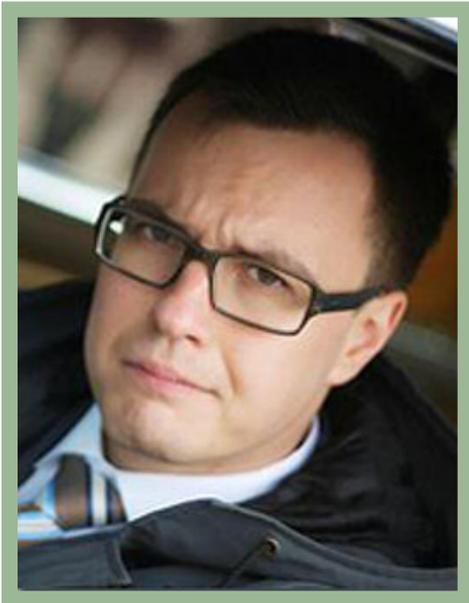
However, the way we see it is that they definitely do not always play a determining role in the modern world.

As for a visa-free regime, we have said repeatedly that we are ready for that but our European partners are not. Dialog is ongoing. Let us have patience.

## Global Governance: From Utopias to Practice

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AT ALL TIMES, the ideas that institutes placed above state sovereignties or even acting instead of states were based on the universalist theories saying that an ideal international order and corresponding models of all sorts were possible. Up till the mid-20th century, those who spoke of global institutes of governance and regulation limited their powers to the war and peace issues.

Until the latter half of the 20th century, the world economic system offered no adequate instruments needed to create a developed and efficient institutional and legal superstructure at the international level.

THE END OF THE COLD WAR raised a high wave of ideological and psychological euphoria among the American and EU elites; the expert and political communities' optimism was

value-tinted and obviously excessive. Once more the liberal-idealistic concept of the "democratic world," no longer a predominantly American ideological axiom, attracted a lot of attention.

Logically enough, the ideas of sustainable development for all mankind as a reason why the world needed global governance in the spheres and expanses of growing economic importance were gaining popularity.

BY THE EARLY 2000s, the U.S. establishment moved over to neocon-servative ideology which pushed the global governance ideas to the periphery of international ideological and political thought.

Military force as an instrument of building up a desirable world order cannot remain efficient for any more or less long period of time.

TODAY, THE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE concepts have not yet been fully developed and are still at the stage of preliminary formulation. Many of them contain profound conceptual contradictions especially in the sphere of distribution of functions among the states and supra-state institutions. It should be said that this ideology and its versions are gradually acquiring political impact.

A wider range of problems calling for collective response from the states and involvement of non-state subjects of world politics create an objective demand for wider and well-substantiated political-economic approaches to the global governance ideological models. This means that involvement of various groups of national and transnational political and economic elites in the ideology and practice of global governance will create subjective stimuli for at least partial implementation of these ideas and that the global governance concept will be attracting even more attention until the year 2020.

## The Iron Law of Oligarchy, or Who Rules America

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Modern Democracy written in 1911 contains the so-called "iron law of the oligarchical tendencies" better known as the "iron law of oligarchy." Its author argued that to be efficient democracy needed an organization of an "active minority" (the elite) since direct rule of large masses was technically impossible and kills democracy.

At S&P the verdict, based on analytical reports, is passed behind closed doors by a rating committee of seven (at best nine) members. The decision is passed by a qualified majority; this means that the world economy catches a fever because of a decision passed by a small group of no matter how competent people.

This is not as simple as it looks: there are serious corporate in-

terests behind the façade. With the next financial crisis looming at the horizon let's sort things out: who are the true rulers of America? Who are responsible for the decisions of vital importance for the United States (and the globalized world, for that matter)?

"U.S. interests" abroad consist in protecting overseas investments of giant corporations; this explains why American presidents support autocracies in Latin America, the Middle East and Asia while opposing the reformist governments in Chile, Nicaragua, South Yemen, Indonesia, East Timor, Mozambique...

From the very beginning, the FRS, a private structure, its shareholders being commercial banks, controlled the money stock in the United States. Today, the FRS belongs to anonymous physical persons rather than to the state. The official site describes it as a combination of "both public and private elements."

The scope of one article is not enough to cover all details of life and activities of the "global spider" which has developed on America's body. We have learned enough, however, to answer the question: Who rules America? This is simple and not simple at one and the same time.

The simple answer: We know that the country is ruled by "money - information - power" rigid triangle, each of the sides of which is represented by giant corporations (in industry, financial sphere and the media) and world governance structures (CFR, TC, the Bilderberg Club, and their ilk).

The answer is not that simple because we do not know (and probably will never know) the names of real rulers. It has been rightly noted: "The veil of mystery conceals from the eyes of the uninitiated the true motives and mechanisms of the cataclysms which we call historical events for want of another, more exact, definition."<sup>18</sup> The anonymity of those who rule America creates their impunity but not omnipotence. The supranational structures should be neither demonized nor feared. They should be studied because in order to defeat an enemy we should know it well.

## The TAPI Gas Pipeline: Pro et Contra

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THE IDEA OF BUILDING a gas pipeline from Central Asia to Pakistan and India with transit through Afghanistan first came to light in the Soviet Union as early as the 1980s. However, the war in Afghanistan prevented this project from being developed. In 1993, Bidas S.A.P.I.C. (Argentina) revived this idea by presenting former President of Turkmenistan Saparmurat Niyazov with the Trans-Afghan Gas Pipeline project.<sup>1</sup> Two years later, the leaders of Turkmenistan and Pakistan signed an agreement on drawing up a technical feasibility report. At this time, the Americans, who were trying to build up their geopolitical influence in Central Asia, also joined its development.

A technical feasibility report of the project was to be prepared by 2003, but the preliminary estimates showed that, without India's participation, the Trans-Afghan gas pipeline would not be lucrative. And by this time the military-political situation in Afghanistan had become acute again. All of this put the project's negotiations on indefinite hold.

It is believed that building the pipeline will give a boost to the economic development of these territories, create new jobs, stimulate an inflow of foreign loans and investments, and help to negotiate with the leaders of the Pashtun and Baloch tribes. But world experience shows that this will have little effect in the face of rampant corruption, a lawless state, and undeveloped civil society. Giving the tribe leaders access to large, by local standards, financial resources could well backfire, provoking them to fight for their "fair share." Those tribe leaders who feel short-shifted will try to restore justice by carrying out new terrorist acts, blowing up the gas pipeline, and committing other acts of sabotage. Representatives of the American Department of State are openly showing that they have no qualms about simply bribing the leaders of the many militarized formations along the pipeline route. But this corrupt practice is unlikely to yield the desired results. When the local population realizes that the Western sponsors can be blackmailed by threats to blow up the gas pipeline, the poverty-stricken country will acquire many new chiefs and leaders of rebel groups who will try to drive the occupants out until the latter bribe them.

The financing issue. Looking for funding for the project is extremely complicated. Even the European Union has been unable for years to find sponsors for the "safe" Nabucco project due to investors' doubts about its financial profitability.

However, despite all the arguments "pro," TAPI has remained on paper for two decades now. This shows that they are outweighed by the arguments "contra." Nevertheless, implementation of the gas pipeline project is possible in the long term as world hydrocarbon prices rise and industry in India and Pakistan further develops, thus attracting real investors to the project and also making it possible to reliably protect the pipeline.

## Historical, Military-Political and International Law Aspects of the Kosovo Problem

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THE DETERIORATION of the situation in the Serb-populated northern part of Kosovo, paralleled by the deepening of the EU crisis, underscored the inefficiency of the efforts and approaches supposed to help resolve a bitter dispute over Serbia's breakaway province. It became abundantly clear that the attempts made since late 2010 to reach compromise via technical talks between Belgrade and Pristina radicalized both parties to the

conflict and put in jeopardy the fragile political balance across the Balkans rather than produced appreciable results.

The eventual creation of a Greater Albania - a state to be built in the interests of Albanian militarized clans, international terrorist groups, organized crime, and U.S. circles, which are seeking to keep Europe on a short leash, - is becoming an increasingly likely scenario.

Speaking at the House of Commons on August 12, 1913, Sir Edward Grey, British diplomacy chief and formerly the chair of the London Conference, expressed a somewhat cynical but otherwise exact view that - though the agreement on Albania's borders would inevitably draw criticism from those who were familiar with the local conditions and regarded the issue exclusively in this light - the actual priority behind the agreement was to preserve accord among the great powers. A century later, the great powers' approach to the Balkans remains similarly cynical.

In the absence of any kind of international support, the pan-Albanian ideology seemed unrealistic and was fairly unpopular in the interregnum between the two world wars.

It is noteworthy that the Albanian immigrant community is extremely active in advancing its Balkan agenda in the U.S. and even has its lobbyists in the U.S. Congress, the White House, and the U.S. intelligence community.

The above should explain why Washington's perception of the Albanian theme evolved fundamentally in the late 1990s.

At the moment, though, the situation appears to be getting out of hand. Overall, the eventual creation of a Greater Albania - a state to be built in the interests of Albanian militarized clans, international terrorist groups, organized crime, and the U.S. circles, which are seeking to keep Europe on a short leash, - is becoming an increasingly likely scenario against the backdrop of the Kosovo self-proclaimed independence.

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"Having come to power one day, they will wrap it up in their embrace and will never let it go."

M. Sawati, student of political Islam, Gaza Strip  
Surging Forward at the Turn of the Century  
IN THE 20TH CENTURY, time stalled in Turkey and decline reigned. During World War I, the country was falling apart under the blows of foreign armies which came to grab the rich territories of the Middle East.

Bloody coups and plots which followed one after another in the latter half of the 20th century and the impoverished population did nothing to bring order to domestic policies. Compared with its neighbors, Turkey looked like a "black hole"; it trailed behind its former colonies. Turkey's closest European neighbors - Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia - were in a different league as well.

In the early 1980s, Suleyman Demirel's new Cabinet had to start from scratch in the country that was reviving from another military putsch and another economic crisis.

The Turkish economy still in the period of transition and still in search for a niche on the European market discovered new and fairly promising alternatives.

By the third millennium, the country had been moving toward the group of the world's most rapidly developing countries.

AT THE TURN OF THE 21ST CENTURY, the Turkish leaders rode the wave of economic success to move away from decades of declarations to real changes in the social sphere.

IT WOULD BE NO EXAGGERATION to say that the Turkish leaders treat man and his abilities as the main object of attention of the state and private investors. This is the main asset of the country not particularly rich in natural resources and fertile lands and the main guarantee of the elite's political longevity.

So far, Turkey harbors no imperial ambitions: it remains within the Kemalist ideology. It claims, however, that it is "fighting for the hearts and minds" in the globalized world and among network rivalry and asymmetric challenges and threats. This means that the prospects of Ottoman modernization are practically unlimited.

## Burying the Middle Class, or The Fall of the Golden Billion

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THE CURRENT ECONOMIC DOWNTURN, like others before it, has shattered many dreams. But this is the first to have devastated so many people at once, regardless of class or social status - from pauper to prince. Thanks, globalization.

Despite the tensions of the Cold War (or possibly thanks to them), the decades of postwar stability generated an unprecedented surge in technology and consumption. Ordinary Europeans and Americans had been breathing the illusory air of the "end of history" long before Francis Fukuyama made his famous prophecy.

The industrial age unwittingly gave birth to its own gravedigger in the form of a bloated, top-heavy financial and banking sector whose loans were crucial to sustain the manufacturing and consumption boom. In the early stages of the current downturn, some noted economists claimed that it heralded a war pitting corporations against banks. Guided by the inertia of the status quo, the elites sided with the banks, pumping them with money to prop them up. But it was not long before the specter of a new wave of instability began to loom over the global economy.

Given the public's mood, elites will have a hard time making a social contract of moderation with the poor, as well as with the middle class, who know full well that the deal will seriously lower their quality of life. World elites, however, cannot offer anything else.

What's more, the formerly rich, brought down by the economic crisis, could join the disaffected middle class, the poor and the immigrants, although their resistance will not necessarily manifest itself as protests in the streets. The thing is, this crisis has dispelled yet another myth - the myth of the "golden billion".

No one today is talking or even thinking about the joys that economic maximalism will likely bring to one-seventh of mankind. At best, we're talking about a "golden" hundred million or even less. There is too little room under the sun of the super-rich, and so the millionaires may be in for yet another wave of bankruptcies.

How large and diverse will the angry mob be? Bankrupt millionaires, the impoverished members of the middle class, the disaffected poor, immigrants and young people... this would be an explosive mix.

## Regulation of International Commodity Trade

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INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN COMMODITIES is the most traditional form of international trade and makes up more than 20% of world exports. Minerals account for more than 12%, and agricultural commodities and food, for about 9%. The main distinctive feature of mineral and agricultural resources is their uneven distribution. Their production or cultivation is mostly concentrated in a relatively few countries. The consumption

of these resources is even more concentrated. Moreover, the consumption of mineral and agricultural raw materials usually does not coincide with the areas of their production and processing. There is a wide gap between producing and consuming countries, and this enhances the role of world markets in the redistribution of resources.

In Russian exports, a commodity group such as oil also has a dominant place. That is why a study of the regulators of global raw material flows is very important for Russian economists. The reorganization of the system of international institutions, including that of international trade organizations and agreements, is long overdue and should be carried out.

The need to reform the system of international organizations, including trade organizations, is obvious. But first it makes sense to take a closer look at the existing interstate commodity market regulation system, where Russia is a member of almost all its organizations.

The Common Fund is an international intergovernmental organization set up at the initiative of UNCTAD to finance projects designed to develop world commodity markets.

Russia's participation in the CFC enables Russian commodity producing companies to use the opportunities for implementing projects developed jointly with the CFC in order to improve the infrastructure for commodity production and trade.

Thus, the system of international trade organizations and trade agreements should be reformed in order to accomplish a two-fold task: first, to find new instruments, rules and standards for regulating the increasingly complex international trade in commodities, and also ways to resolve disputes that may arise in connection with an expansion of their mandate and the need for closer cooperation with other international regulators; and second, to develop theoretical approaches and practical steps in creating a new system of international trade with the maximum possible combination of two accelerating trends: "globalism" and "regionalism."

## U.S. Anti-Corruption Policy on International Commodity, Service and Capital Markets

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IN THE STUDY OF THE REGULATION of the export of goods, services, and capital, scholars traditionally focus on the regulation of their export from the territory of a country - in particular, the export of goods, export quotas, export control systems, state support of exports, etc. Nevertheless, in the regulation of exports, leading countries are giving increasing importance to lowering trade and investment barriers abroad and assuring favorable conditions on international markets for national exporters and investors,

which is reflected, among others, in the U.S. National Export Initiative that was adopted in 2010. For this reason, I propose separating two different types of export regulations: (1) the regulation of the export of goods, services, and capital from a country's territory and (2) the regulation of the import of goods, services, and capital to the markets of foreign countries.

Corruption leads to violations of the rules of the game on international markets and unfair advantages for dishonest companies over their honest competitors. Corruption on international markets engenders losses for U.S. honest exporters and investors that miss out on profits from export and investment contracts.

IN THE CONDITIONS of the globalization of the world economy, corruption problems have surpassed the national boundaries of individual countries and assumed a global scope. The USA, which is actively participating in monitoring the implementation of international obligations by its foreign partners, is promoting anti-corruption standards throughout the world - in particular, by assisting foreign states through official foreign aid programs in establishing sustainable and competent government, consolidating market economies and democratic governance, activating civil society, and introducing business ethics programs into companies.

The effectiveness of U.S. anti-corruption policy on international markets is far from clear. On the one hand, it has yielded results in the elaboration of anti-corruption legislation in developed countries that are competitors of U.S. companies on international markets. On the other, experts say that corruption is only increasing in many developing countries as a result of poor law-enforcement practices.

Given the ever greater attention accorded to the fight against corruption in Russia, the study of U.S. theory and practice of fighting corruption on international markets and the development of bilateral cooperation in the framework of existing groups of the U.S.-Russian Presidential Commission and such international forums as the G8, G20, and APEC acquires particular importance for our country. One should give particular attention to the study of U.S. law-enforcement practice inside the country, since Russian anti-corruption laws already largely conform to international standards. At the present stage, the high level of corruption is a factor that hurts the investment climate and creates barriers for Russia's foreign policy. International practice shows that it is virtually impossible to eliminate corruption. Nevertheless, it is realistic to solve the problem of lowering its level and eradicating its worst forms.

## East and West: Behind the "Veil of Ignorance"

*Author: Armen Oganesyanyan*

*Editor-in-Chief of International Affairs*



A WEEK BEFORE TRIPOLI FELL to the insurgents, a glamour model and ex-girlfriend of Mutassim, one of Colonel Gaddafi's sons, had come to the Libyan capital. Talitha van Zon, the former Playboy centerfold, who claimed that she had parted with Mutassim Gaddafi several years ago, could not explain why she came to the country torn apart by a civil war.

The media all over the world informed their readers and viewers that "glamour model ex-

girlfriend of Gaddafi's son escapes rebels after they threatened to 'burn her alive'" the reports supplied with a lavish selection of her photos.

Another, much more tragic event took place elsewhere. The Daily Mail informed the readers: "A teenage Muslim girl was stoned to death under 'Sharia law' after taking part in a beauty contest in Ukraine."

Not everything what the newspaper wrote was absolutely correct: Katya Koren, like Miss van Zon, was not a Muslim yet very much like Miss van Zon she was a striking beauty who claimed the Miss Ukraine title.

One of those who figure prominently on the Crimean political scene said in so many words that it was on Moscow's instigation that the media were fanning the scandal: "This is another wave of provocations raised by the Kremlin. Russia is pursuing its own aims in the informational field because it will never drop its claims on the Crimea." Should this be taken to mean that conservative Daily Mail took orders from Moscow?

The local authorities, likewise, hastened to state: "It's an absolutely standard crime. There is no motive - either religious or any other related to interethnic conflicts." Well, let it be so.

"The conflict between God's law and man's continues to puzzle the Islamic world," writes The Economist, and not only it. Unless the conflict is resolved in a most radical way the West will never succeed in bringing order and democracy into the Arab world. The journal offers John Rawls, the big name in the liberal democracy theory, and his "veil of ignorance" as an answer.

Those who say that the Muslim world rejects the visible attributes of Westernization just scratch the surface. They are by-products of what Islam interprets as the West's congenital disease.

Today, the Muslims have much less respect for the Christian than their ancestors had for those who came to fight them with the cross and the sword.

I know that not all Muslims are radical Islamists and that there are different opinions and different trends yet the figures The Economist quoted are fairly convincing: the moderates carry little weight in the Muslim world.

## Rafael Guerreiro da Cruz: A Portuguese Diplomat at the Russian Emperor's Court

*Author: S. Mrochkovskaya-Balashova*

*Journalist, writer and researcher, member of the Union of Independent Bulgarian Writers and Bulgarian Journalist Union*



A talented diplomat and an honorable man of firm convictions and a sense of duty, Guerreiro did a lot on his own initiative.

AMABLE GUILLAUME Prosper Brugière, baron de Barante hardly needs extensive commentaries: he became part of Pushkin's Chronicle of Life long ago. The latter contains entries on his talks with Pushkin about Russian and French history and literature and about laws related to literature and copyright in Russia. Both took close at heart - Barante as a historian, Pushkin as an author of historical novels - the fate of the lower social groups in Russia deprived of all rights, peasant uprisings and the Pugachev riot in particular. Captivated by its description in Pushkin's *The Captain's Daughter* Barante invited the author to translate it into French together.

It turned out that in the letter his name was spelt (or rather misspelled) in Russian - "Gerrera"; not Latin transcription had been supplied.

His full name provided its correct spelling - Rafael Guerreiro da Cruz - which brought to mind a certain Gvereyro (as his name was pronounced in Russian), the first husband of Praskovya Zinovyeva, née Sverchkova. A shot in the dark produced baffling results: the genealogy of the Guerreiro family listed Sverchkova as the second (!) wife of Rafael Guerreiro. It took me a lot of time to get to the truth (details will follow).

Guerreiro was a real person after all - this much has been established. This suggested other questions.

The epilogue of the far from easy life of the Portuguese envoy can be found in letters of Countess Stroganova (Juliana de Ega by her first marriage, née de Almeida von Oeynhausen) found in ANTT. José Norton who is writing a book about the Russian-Portuguese countess kindly let me study them.

"He was my close friend and I lament his loss. He resigned many years ago for health reasons [... ] His son whom the death of his father liberated from all his obligations wants to be useful to his country and find a suitable post. After his father's death he wrote to Duque de Palmela that he wanted to serve the queen and got no answer. He decided to go back to Portugal on his own."<sup>20</sup> In his homeland Inácio da Cruz Guerreiro continued his diplomatic career and represented his country at various foreign courts. On June 19, 1867, he was awarded the title of Viscount de Vale da Gama. Shortly upon his arrival to Portugal he married Ema Sofia Bond; by whom he had daughter Albertina Ema Luisa; his death cut short the male branch of the Guerreiros. After a while, the memory of the outstanding Portuguese diplomat died out... to be restored in connection with Pushkin.

## Retracing the Steps of the "Russian Spaniard"

*Authors: O. Egorova, Doctor of Science (History)*

*A. Moiseev, International Affairs 'observer*



IN THE 18TH CENTURY, capitalism prevailed in the advanced countries of Europe while bourgeois revolutions were brewing in the other countries. Russia remained a monarchy with its economic and political development based on the feudal mode of production. But despite its system of serfdom, there began in Russia an era of industrial activity. Russia's economic and political interests resulted in the establishment, by the edict of Emperor Paul I of February 28, 1798, of the Department of Water

Communications which called for the creation of a continuous network of waterways in the country. A component part of the Department was also the Section for the Building of Over-land Roads.

The key principles of the new training program stood the test of time and became model for the other higher engineering schools of Russia which were opening during the course of the 19th century and needed professionals of a new generation equipped for designing and implementing a broad range of engineering projects. The main principles of the new educational institution consisted in solid theoretical training based on various branches of mathematics, a thorough grounding of the students in culture to foster their creative instincts, giving them experience in operating machines and mechanisms through on-the-job training.

Star Named after Betancourt.

THERE WAS HARDLY an engineering and technological area in Russia the outstanding engineer was not concerned with. He was admired and respected by his fellow engineers and pupils and he was held in high favor by Alexander I. As is often the case, there were envious individuals and hypocrites who were trying to involve the gifted man into intrigues and conspiracies. Betancourt could have easily refuted all calumny about him but being completely absorbed in his work he could not find time for it, or rather, he abhorred squabbles. He finally fell out of the monarch's favor. All his previous services to Russia were unjustly forgotten. He came to be treated as a stranger seeking riches and fame in Russia. In 1822, he was removed from the position of Chief Director of Communications.

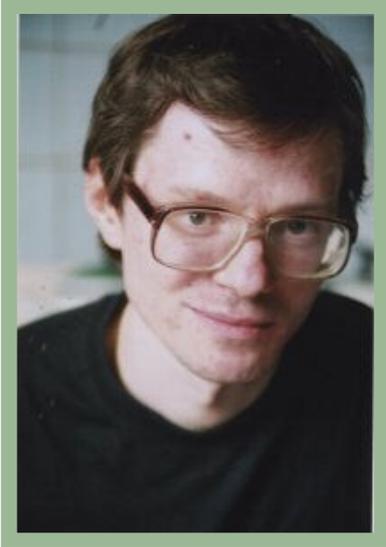
History knows of quite a number of examples where some finest individuals of their era were subjected to persecution, harassment and consigned to oblivion.

It is good to know that the name of Agustin de Betancourt shines once again and that there is a renewed and tremendous interest in his creative record in Russia, Spain and Cuba. One of the smaller planets in the solar system, No. 11 446, was named after Betancourt on the initiative of the Higher School of St. Petersburg in 2003.

## The Wall of 38 Years

*Author: A. Torin*

*Commentator for International Affairs*



NO OTHER EVENT has had more impact on modern European history than the Berlin Crisis of 1958-1961. Its culmination was the construction on August 13, 1961, of the famous Berlin Wall that divided East and West Germany and consolidated once and for all the existence of two German states - the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

The border between East and West Berlin had remained open until August 13, 1961. The dividing line measuring 44.75 kilometers (the total length of the border between West Berlin and East Germany was 164 km) passed directly through streets, houses, canals, and watercourses. Officially,

there were 81 street crossing points and 13 passageways in the subway and on the city railroad. In addition, there were hundreds of illegal routes. East Germans preferred to get an education in the GDR, where it was free of charge, yet work in West Germany.

THIS YEAR marked the fifty-year anniversary of the construction of the Berlin Wall. The Berlin Wall existed until 1990 as a symbol of the rivalry of two German states, the division of Europe, the Cold War, and the Bipolar World.

At a press conference that was broadcast on television at 7:34 p.m. on November 9, 1989, GDR government representative Gunter Schabowski announced new entry and exit rules in the country. According to the new decisions, East German citizens could obtain visas for immediate entry to West Berlin and the FRG. This moment marked the end of the Berlin Wall, the symbol of the division of Europe into East and West. On December 22, 1989, the Brandenburg Gates, through which the border between East and West Berlin had been drawn, were reopened for pedestrian passage.

In October 1990, the unification of Germany put an end to the long-lasting and historically anomalous confrontation between the two German states. This is another story, however.

## Ten Years of the Center for the History of the Russian Diplomatic Service

*Author: E. Pyadysheva*

*Executive Secretary of International Affairs, Candidate of Science (History)*



AN EXPANDED SESSION of the Supervisory Council of the Center for the History of the Russian Diplomatic Service, which is popularly called a museum, was held at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the occasion of the Center's tenth anniversary. First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrei Denisov noted in his opening speech that people quickly become accustomed to the good things in life. In just ten years, we have grown so accustomed to the fact we have a museum; it is difficult to imagine how we lived without it.

During the ten years of its existence, the museum employees have been gathering information about the history of the Russian diplomatic service. They do this with devotion, commitment,

and the enthusiasm it gives them.

The museum's indispensable director, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Yuri Khilchevsky, relates that the idea of establishing the museum arose as early as the 1990s and was discussed by veterans and employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, particularly in the Department of History and Records. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Alexei Fedotov and Head of the Department of History and Records Pyotr Stegny made a great contribution to this. But only Minister of Foreign Affairs Yevgeny Primakov's approval and support of the idea to establish a museum turned the words into deeds.

Russian President Dmitry Medvedev has made two visits to the museum, during which he highly praised it and wrote some comments in the Honorary Visitors' Book. The museum has been awarded a Badge of Honor "For Active Efforts in the Patriotic Upbringing of Russian Citizens" instituted by the Russian Government.

Today not only do students of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' educational institutions visit the Center, but also those studying similar subjects at the institutes of Moscow and other Russian cities. These excursions are unique since they are led by high-ranking professionals, luminaries of diplomacy, for whom many of the museum exhibits are not simply documents from the archives but possibly one of their own diplomatic missions. So their stories about our country's foreign policy present an entirely different perspective, delighting the audience with their inside view of the world's foreign policy processes.

History is one of our journal's favorite topics. With the support of the Department of History and Records, we are publishing archival documents that have not previously been in circulation and printing articles on history in almost every issue.

Happy Anniversary and many more!

## Russia Is a Great Superpower That Is Going Through Temporary Difficulties

*Author: M. Bratersky*



SERGEI KORTUNOV'S BOOK *Russia in International Politics After the Crisis* (S.V. Kortunov, *Rossiya v mirovoy politike posle krizisa*. Moscow: Krasnaya zvezda, 2011, 476 pp.) came out in late May. The book was not meant to be a swan song, yet Mr. Kortunov died in October 2010, and this is the last work that he wrote. It was prepared for press by his wife Maria Kortunova. Thanks to her efforts, we have the possibility of taking one more look at Russia and the world through the eyes of this outstanding scholar and Russian patriot.

S. Kortunov's monograph does not belong to any single genre: it is simultaneously a scholarly monograph, a political essay, and a philosophical work. Such a multitude of genres perfectly

fits in with Mr. Kortunov's wide-ranging public and scholarly activities. He wrote all his life about a single theme - Russia - yet he did it in many different ways. The present book reflects very well the author's many different styles and methods.

Kortunov singles out three schools of alternative thought as the most interesting in the current discussion on the origins of the crisis: 1) the "conspiracy" school whose representatives consider the crisis to have been engineered by the U.S. financial elite in order to bankrupt its quickly developing competitors and pay off the enormous U.S. debt; 2) the "crisis of the world order" school that claims that we are facing a crisis of world governance, institutes, and ideas, which should lead to the transition to a new paradigm of international development and a revolution of values, and 3) the "crisis of financial institutes" school, whose members consider the present crisis to be a crisis of confidence in the existing financial system, main international currencies, and principles of price determination on the stock market.

The next part of the book is different, as it is devoted to the analysis of Russia's present and future foreign policy positions. From the point of view of style, it represents a meticulous political study. Nevertheless, it fits in well with the rest of the book, as Kortunov is convinced that Russia's role in international affairs depends above all on how successful it is in its domestic social, economic, and political development.

To wrap up the discussion about Russia in *World Politics After the Crisis*, I would like to highlight an idea that passes like a thread through Sergei Kortunov's book. Although the book may seem fairly critical, Kortunov's foremost idea is that Russia is a great superpower that is going through temporary difficulties. And the word "temporary" is a key one here.

## France at the Beginning of the 21st Century

*Author: M. Arzakanian*

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A NEW BOOK by Yuri Rubinsky, *Frantsiia. Vremia Sarkozi (France: The Sarkozy Era)*, Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, M., 2011 has recently seen the light of day. First about the author: Yuri Rubinsky is a well-known Russian diplomat, political scientist, historian, professor, D.Sc. (History), outstanding researcher of contemporary France, and patriarch of Russian French studies. The scholar essentially presents us with his view of the history of the Fifth Republic. I will also note that the

monograph is entirely innovative since it is the first study about France during Nicolas Sarkozy's presidency published in Russia. What is more, the historian does not miss any significant problem of French life at the beginning of the 21st century.

The book opens with an extensive introduction in which Yuri Rubinsky leads up to the main topic examined in the monograph. He points out that France is trying to find its special place in the rapidly changing world at the turn of the 20th-21st centuries. It does not wish to be left out of the current development trends in Western society, on the one hand, but nor does it want to give up its traditions, on the other.

The monograph consists of six chapters. They are equal in size and substance. Let us leaf through the pages and pick out the most interesting.

The first chapter "New Horizons" begins with a detailed review of the presidential election campaign of 2007.

In the second chapter, "Modernization of the State," the author discusses the attempts to reform the country's state structure.

A separate, third chapter is devoted to economic problems and is called "Socioeconomic Policy." In the fourth chapter, "Social Problems," the first section, "National Identity and Immigration," catches our attention.

The fifth chapter of the book called "The Evolution of Party-Political Forces" tells of the development and current status of the right-wing (in power) and left-wing (oppositional) political unions at the turn of the century.

The last chapter is devoted to France's foreign policy, which is precisely what it is called, "Foreign Policy."

In his conclusion, Yuri Rubinsky sums up Sarkozy's activity over the four years of his presidency. I think that the work can be called both a research study and a textbook, even an encyclopedia, of contemporary France.

## Requiem for the German Dream

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IT SEEMS THAT no other book to come out in Germany in the last few decades has caused such an uproar or so unceremoniously stirred up the settled, ideologically inert intellectual lifestyle of German society brought up within the tight bounds of political correctness and unable to disguise its appetite for highly charged sensations and torrid scandals.

In his extensive sociological study, "Germany Does Away With Itself," Thilo Sarrazin very intrepidly brings up topics that are sensitive, often painful, and therefore undesirable or downright prohibited in super-tolerant Germany. We involuntarily wonder why this wealthy and successful 65-year-old who previously served as senator for finance for the State of Berlin and was a Deutsche Bundesbank board member suddenly decided to stir up trouble and incite ideological controversy instead of enjoying his well-earned rest. He apparently has a bone to pick with his country.

The book abounds in controversial and disputable issues. Sensing that what he had to say would inevitably cause a legitimate uproar, Thilo Sarrazin writes as early as the introduction about how strong the power of political correctness is in German society intended to mitigate and even entirely hush up urgent problems that require constant attention not only from the state's leadership and political elite, but also from society.

As the author points out, it is extremely difficult in such conditions for a politician or bureaucrat to openly tell the truth, particularly when it is not pretty.

Thilo Sarrazin is very pessimistic about the future of the German nation: it is dying out since there is no natural growth of the population.

It is not surprising that the book aroused such a broad public and media response. The author managed to affect all strata of Germany's population, from members of the political, financial, and academic elite to ordinary citizens; there were few left indifferent. The first edition of his book sold out within a few days. In the first six months after his book was published, Sarrazin essentially divided Germany into two camps - those who supported him and those who were categorically against what he had to say. In all likelihood, the author even managed to reach the most liberal circles with his frank comments.

In all likelihood, the future will not belong to those who advance scientific-technical progress, but to those who propagate and multiply, retaining in so doing the cohesion of their ethno-cultural identity and ensuring that it does not melt away in the globalizing world.

## Israeli Settlements in Occupied Arab Territories

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THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT has been one of the most burning issues of international politics and history for more than 60 years. There are many reasons for this and, as we know, a huge number of books, articles, and academic and quasi-academic works have been written on this subject. Nevertheless, far from all the aspects of this conflict, which has long escalated beyond regional dimensions, have been identified and highlighted at a truly scholarly level. This also applies to the topic of

the present monograph by Alexander Krylov called "Israeli Settlements in Occupied Arab Territories (1967-2007)" (A. Krylov, *Izrail'skie poseleniya na okkupirovannykh arabskikh territoriyakh (1967-2007)*, Moscow: MGIMO-University, 2011, 340 pp.).

The author addresses a complicated and contradictory topic that has been little studied in Russian and foreign historiography. It is particularly worth noting that there are no serious scientific publications in Russian that study issues relating to Israel's settlement policy in the territories it occupied after the June war of 1967. Adequate comprehension of the processes occurring on the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and, of course, in Jerusalem is essential to understanding the Russian position on this issue, as well as to resolving diverse problems that constantly flare up both in the Middle East and directly in the zone of Palestinian-Israeli opposition.

I would like to emphasize that the study carried out by Alexander Krylov is a direct result not only of his scientific research, but also of his extensive practical work at the Russian embassy in Israel, Russian representative office to the Palestinian National Authority, and office of the Quartet Representative on the Middle East in Jerusalem. At present, he is one of the most competent experts on Israeli settlement issues in occupied

Alexander Krylov's monograph is an extensive and multifaceted analysis of the history and development of the Israeli settlements on the West Bank, including in Eastern Jerusalem, the Jordan Valley, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Golan Heights. There are essentially no other works of this kind either in Russia or abroad. The facts and historiographic data examined in the monograph are unique, while a large part of the statistics and information presented here have been borrowed directly from Israeli and Palestinian sources.

The publication of this monograph is a notable event in the Russian book market. There is no doubt that it will attract the attention of many experts in international relations and primarily those associated with the Russian-speaking scientific and cultural expanse, which extends well beyond the boundaries of Russia. It should be noted in particular that the original approaches offered by the author are combined with a clear, straightforward, and consistent depiction of the extremely complicated vicissitudes of Middle East reality, which makes this book easy and interesting reading.

## Opening up Russia to the World and the World to Russia

*Author: F. Mukhametshin*

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A BOOK recently came out called "Sovremennaiia obshchestvennaia diplomatiia: rossiiskoe izmerenie" [Contemporary Public Diplomacy: The Russian Dimension]. Ed. by F. Mukhametshin, Moscow, 2011, 240 pp.

It presents the proceedings of the International Public Forum "The Role of Public Diplomacy in the Development of International Humanitarian Cooperation" held in December 2010. This unique forum brought together representatives of the government, nongovernmental sector, and public organizations, as well as

prominent figures of science and culture from more than 60 countries, and was marked by a rare combination of high political representation and open intellectual discussion. And the book also pursues two objectives: scientific comprehension of practice and practical application of the theory of contemporary Russian public diplomacy.

I had the honor of helping to write this book and would like to share my ideas about public diplomacy.

Let us begin by saying that today the term "public diplomacy" is understood as communication with the foreign public through the efforts of government and nongovernmental players aimed at having an indirect

The book "Contemporary Public Diplomacy: The Russian Dimension" is aimed at acquainting a wide readership with the practical results of the Forum and drawing attention to the innovative and creative approaches its participants offered. The book is about the history and present state of Russian public diplomacy and covers the period from the beginning of the 20th century to the present. It primarily attempts to define terminology, since a precise definition of the phenomenon provides the key to understanding objectives and tasks, studying historical experience - identifying the people and organizations that stood at the beginning of Russian public diplomacy, examining the available resources and evaluating existing possibilities and prospects, and proposing specific mechanisms for taking further steps.

What is more, the book includes the most interesting speeches presented by Russian and foreign guests at the Forum - prominent politicians, public figures, and diplomats. Many of them agree that Russian public diplomacy should be raised to a new level. And the field of operations in this vector is extremely wide.

This is why the main purpose of the book is to invite everyone interested in Russia's future to participate in a trust-based dialogue. As Chief of Staff of the Presidential Executive Office Sergei Naryshkin so felicitously remarked, "It is precisely public diplomacy that can help open up present-day Russia to the world and the world to Russia."

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