# The Global Interests and the Regional Interests

Diplomacy and Confrontation

Dumitru Mazilu\*

n the German resort Heiligendamm, took place, in June 2007, the sessions of a new G8 summit, characterized by "diplomacy and confrontation". We cannot affirm that leaders of the "most developed countries" have had any summit, in particular in the last decades –under the dominion of "perfect harmony" and "open agreement" on all issues discussed. The message these leaders wanted to convey to the people around the world, was

generally an optimistic one: allowing the poor to think that very soon they "will overcome the scarcity of their daily life", in which they are doomed to live in, trying to convince the "oppressed" that in a short while they will be set free, insisting on peacefully solving all potential conflict issues and evoking the need for mutual understanding and cooperation, desiderates of which "they, the leaders of the rich, are very fond of".

# #1. Why the Group of the Most Industrialized Countries?

After the Second World War, "an international forum of Peace at United Nations" was set, considering that through this new system they will solve the needs of the world and all the countries will be kept aside from bloody conflicts, just like the first two world wars.

Francis Fukuyama, the famous author of the analysis concerning "The End of History", in which he was raising public awareness that today "any international organization — like for instance the United Nations — has legitimacy", and this is why "is due to the fact that legally constituted democratic majorities

conferred to them this legitimacy in a negotiated governmental process<sup>3,1</sup>, and Samuel Huntington maintained that the world in which we live is characterized by violence, instability and disorder<sup>2</sup>.

To give to the world "more stability" and for generating trust in the promotion of order, the leaders of the seven "most industrialized countries" made a deal to create the G7, to which, in the latter years, the Russian Federation had joined, becoming the G8. If their declared purposes are in concordance with the realities present, it is up to the "international community" to decide<sup>3</sup>.

## #2. Global Interests, Regional Interests

Frequently the global interests are associated with the economic and military power of the United States, like the former prime-minister of France, Edouard Baladour, and the regional interests are included in the global interests through negotiations, and in any cases are contradiction with these as Fukuyama says.

Robert Kagan maintains that between global interests - often represented by the

United States – and the regional ones, represented on a wide scale by the European states, there are even discrepancies, especially concerning "international legitimacy between the United States of America and Europe". "The Europeans - underlines Robert Kagan – like laws and international norms, because they are weaker than the Americans, which are preferring unilateralism, because it is significantly more powerful than any other

<sup>\*</sup> Professor Dumitru MAZILU, Ph.D., is Ambassador, Member of International Diplomatic Academy.

country or group of countries (like the European Union), not only in the terms of military power, but also at the economic, technologic and cultural levels<sup>3,4</sup>.

The convergent global interests – but more often divergent – registered between the USA and the Russian Federation, on an economic level, and more so on the military one.

#### #3. The USA and the Russian Federation

If before the revolutions of 1989-1991, the Power of the East was seen as "a global, both economic and military Power", after the separation, the Russian Federation was left behind on all critical global interest issues, but still maintaining itself as force not to be at all neglected from a military point of view, due to the strategic arsenal they possess.

Considering the changes arisen in Russia - after the 1989 and 1991 revolutions, but taking into account at the same time its military potential and the perspectives of its economic development, the most industrialized countries convened to include the Russian Federation in

their group, which turned from a G7 into a G8, fact that did not represent "a *complete harmonization* of *interests*" and the elimination of all divergent opinions.

NATO's frontiers approaching rapidly Russian Federation's borders, the emplacement of US military units originally in Germany to Bulgaria and Romania, but most of all the building of the anti-missile shield in the Czech Republic and Poland represent actions considered as "threatening signals" by the Russian leaders and even "aggravating dangers" threatening the safety of Russia.

### #4. The Beginning of a New Cold War?

Before the summit of the G8 that took place in Heiligendamm, Germany, the Russian Vladimir Putin, evoking the president, analysis undertaken by the most entitled Russian experts on the issue, drew general awareness on the fact that "in the case in which the plan of the United States is to build an anti-missile shield in the Czech Republic and Poland, and this will become factual," a new race for armament will emerge, as well as the advent of "a new Cold War". The President of the Russian Federation also stated that, since the ending of the Cold War period, Russian missiles never aimed, in a special way, Europe, but, "if an American nuclear capacity arises in Europe, and, in the opinion of our military specialists, threatens Russia, then we would have to take the necessary steps". When asked "What will those steps be?" President Vladimir Putin stated: "With certainty, we will have new targets in Europe." In his opinion, "the strategic balance of forces is at stake in Europe and, for rehabilitating it, instead of creating an anti-missile shield on the Russian territory, we will create a system to counteract it."

The military Russian analysts concluded that the affirmation stating that the American anti-missile shield was designed to counteract "possible attacks from Iran and North Korea" can't be truthful. Technical data at their disposal demonstrates that "the anti-missile shield from the Czech Republic and Poland can be only a threat to the security of Russia."

### #5. The American Diplomacy at the Heiligendamm Summit

As a result of the reaction of Russian leaders, the political and diplomatic circles in Washington, as well as NATO officials tried to deny the fact that "the anti-missile shield would aim at Russian soil". The American President George W. Bush rushed to declare that "Russia is not the enemy of the USA",

and that the anti-missile shield has only a defensive role, being build not against Russia, but with the purpose of protecting Europe from "other dangers, as real as they can get". More so, President Bush invited Russia to cooperate in this American project.

Russian leaders consider that the explanation conform which the building of the anti-missile shield "protects Europe against Iranian missiles" does not resist to any solid

scientific analysis, because Iran "doesn't own missiles that could reach distances between 5,000 and 8,000 kilometers".

# #6. Diplomatic Negotiations on the Proposal by the Russian Side

The invitation launched by President Bush in Prague - before the Heiligendamm Summit - for cooperation with Russia in the purpose of finalizing the anti-missile project wasn't without response. It is known that President Bush suggested to President Putin that Russia should participate "along with the United States for accomplishing this project". Answering to this proposal, the President of

the Russian Federation suggested that the United States and Russia should use together the Azerbaijani radar system for developing an anti-missile shield, that could "cover the entire continent, not only a part of it".

The American President appreciated as interesting Vladimir Putin's proposal regarding the usage of the already existing Azerbaijani installations for an anti-missile shield.

#### #7. An Answer is Still Pending

Many analysts of multilateral diplomacy have noted that the Russian proposal took by surprise not only the American counterpart, but the European leaders as well. As long as the Americans and the Europeans who attended the summit were prepared to plead that the anti-missile shield wasn't directed against Russia and that "Russia is not considered an enemy of the United States", the carefully designed diplomatic speech was interrupted by the unexpected proposal from Kremlin.

The Russian proposal, difficult to reject at the first sight, will be studied in the "American strategic laboratories". and an answer is still pending.

Kremlin's offer to use the radar station in Azerbaijan - rented to Russia until 2012 - is also studied by NATO. Its General Secretary, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer said that "it is still early to issue a final judgment", but that he considered useful for "two presidents to debate constructively over this matter".

## #8. Washington and NATO Give a Negative Answer to Kremlin's Proposal

Robert Gates, the Pentagon chief, on the occasion of the formal meeting of the ministers of defense from the member states of the North Atlantic Alliance in Bruxelles, declared that the United States of America "will not give up their plans to place antimissile installations in Europe".

The Pentagon chief underlined that "USA commit to the decision of installing a radar in the Czech Republic and of intercepting installations in Poland". This way, Robert Gates rejected the Russian offer to jointly use the radar installations in Azerbaijan, in exchange for discarding the anti-missile devices from the Czech Republic and Poland.

Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, the General Secretary of NATO, also rejected the Russian proposal. In defending NATO's position on this matter, Scheffer claims that "the approach of the North Atlantic Alliance is based on the principle of indivisibility of security for our allies and on the principle of transparence to our partners, including, of course, Russia".

On the same meeting of the defense ministers from NATO member states (Bruxelles, June 14-15, 2007) there was an agreement for the South-Eastern wing of the Alliance (Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey and Romania) to be protected by a short and medium range system which would become operational "around the year 2010".

It is obvious that tensions between Washington and Kremlin will continue to rise

after the rejection by NATO and USA of the Russian Federation proposal. There is still hope for the diplomacy of the great powers to be able to avoid "the beginning of a new cold".

war" which could lead to catastrophic consequences taking into consideration the military technology of our age.

### #9. Attempts to Reconfigure the "Balance of Powers" at a Global Level

As a reply to the American anti-missile shield, President Vladimir Putin has launched an extensive program for modernization of the Russian air defense system. This program will be finalized by 2015.

On August 12, 2007, "the biggest Islamic assembly in the entire world" took place in Jakarta. The adepts Hizb ut-Tahrir asked for the "establishment of the Global Caliphate", a single state of the entire Islamic world. Founded in 1950, the Hizb ut-Tahrir movement became global nowadays. The movement succeeded in gathering over 100,000 believers in the Indonesian capital city, on August 12<sup>th</sup>, 2007, on whose T-shirts it was written: "The Islam is the alternative ideology and the solution to the capitalist exploitation and hegemony".

Even if they declare themselves to be the enemy of no one, the Organization for Cooperation in Shanghai turned into a real force in Central Asia. This Organization was founded in 2001 by Russia and China, together

with Kazakhstan, Kirghistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The Organization was joined, as observers, by: Iran, India, Mongolia and Pakistan. These states wish to be recognized with the status of members. Since 2002, Iran has insisted on being received in the Organization with full membership rights. In August 2007, the Organization organized war games entitled "Peace Mission 2007". They were attended by 6500 soldiers, 500 military vehicles, and 80 planes from all the six member states. Even if the leaders of these states stated that the war games represent "an mission, anti-terrorist peace knowing observers consider that they want to send "a message to Washington".

A lucid analysis regarding these attempts to reconfigure the "balance of powers" at a global level leads to the conclusion that the "military confrontations should be replaced by diplomatic negotiations" led in good faith in order to install a lasting peace all over the world<sup>5</sup>.

#### NOTES:

<sup>2</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, Political order in Changing Societies, Yale University, 1968, p. 9.

Francis Fukuyama, State-Building Governance and World Order in the 21st Century, p. 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> About which Fukuyama maintains that "it is fiction", often sinonim with the will "of the most powerful leaders of the Planet".

Robert Kagan, Of Paradise and Power: America vs. Europe in the New World Order, Knopf, New York, 2003, p. 31.
See Dumitru Mazilu, Diplomație europeană, Editura Lumina Lex, București, 2008, p. 7.