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Acknowledgments

I wish to congratulate the contributors to the third edition of the Journal for their scholarship and hard work. The reader of this edition will be left with little doubt as to the research talents and intellectual ingenuity of the students whose work is showcased here. As editor I am delighted to present these papers as thoughtful contributions to the study of International Affairs. As a member of the Fairleigh Dickinson University community, I present these papers as emblematic of the industriousness of our Teaneck student body, and particularly that of the School of History, Political and International Studies. Special thanks are owed to the faculty of that School, especially to its Director, Dr. Faramarz S. Fatemi and Associate Director, Dr. Helen G. Brudner. I also wish to thank Provost Joseph Kienan who provided generous support for the Journal and Carol Black who provided layout and production assistance.

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Men and Beasts: A Journey through Foreign Civilizations and European Idealism

Natalia Galbetti

Introduction

It all started some 5000 years ago with the Egyptians and Babylonians. They were the first known peoples to record their ideas in written form in what we would call today a book.

The book is the oldest mass medium and still the most influential and diverse of all. It enables people to keep records from the past, putting down historic facts, anecdotes and knowledge into print so they'll survive to inform many and live through generations.1

The value of the passing of information through generations is incalculable, yet it bears one problem. If the information being passed down is false, the lie will survive through generations as long as it is not proved wrong.

Anyone with the means and access to do so can write a book, and while some authors are careful about their objectivity, others aren’t. Personal bias and opinion, factors in their background and lack of information can show through an author’s work. It is then the job of the reader to do the investigation and find out if the truth he reads about is indeed what it claims to be or not.

I will illustrate this point by comparing two books about the same subject. One of them was published, carrying false information through the years and another, a personal journal, passed down for generations with the truth which was never exposed in a mass medium.

Both tell the story of a Portuguese man who travelled by bicycle through Africa, Asia and Europe in the late 1920s. While the personal journal tells of the different cultures and people seen through this journey in an objective and comprehensive way, the published work shows a different story tainted by European ideology.

Historical and sociological factors play a part in this discrepancy which will prove how an author’s account is not always to be taken as the truth.

Introduction of Diary

The journal was written by Amadeu de Lima. Born in Amarmar, Portugal around 1900, Lima worked for the Portuguese government. Around 1920 he was then sent to work in one of Portugal’s colonies: Angola.

While living in Luanda, the capital of the African colony, Lima got involved with the Luanda Sporting Club where he practiced swimming, boxing and running regularly. One day at the club, while chatting with his friends, a joke was made about him going to Portugal on a bike. Lima liked the idea, excited about the possibility of meeting and learning about the foreign people in the way. His friends claimed he could never do it. Out of a bet then, he decided to go on a Raleigh from Luanda to Lisbon. Two of his friends joined him at first but gave up along the way.

The trip started on March of 1927. It lasted 580 continuous days and took over 25,000 kilometers. Throughout the trip Lima kept a journal. Its first part serves as a passport, containing all visa information and travel authorizations. The second part has statements from people met along the way and includes souvenirs such as stamps from the places visited. The last part consists of travel notes.

Lima tells in simple and concise form the events on a semi-daily basis. The entries at the beginning, when he has friends with him, are shorter but get longer as his friends give up and he continues the trip alone.

All his travel notes are written in pencil which makes parts of it illegible today. Pictures, newspaper clippings talking about his trip and original maps are also included in the journal.

Depiction of Africa

Lima’s description of Africa changes throughout his journey.

In the Belgium Congo he writes:

“Men and women bustling with hellish and unstoppable movements. The tattoos make of these people true monsters. In the middle of this mess, I allow myself to sleep.”
This closed minded approach at the beginning of his trip is altered as he spends more time among the natives, and is noticeable just a month later, still in the same country, as he comments about the beauty of the black women he meets in “Banalia” and is impressed by their “happiness and vivacity.”

In “Telle” he notices the eyes and teeth of another group of women mentioning how in exchange of beads they teach him how to take honey from a tree. In “Bambili” he goes as far to say that the women there would cause Europeans envy and narrates of another native in “Tipilli” who gives him shelter on a stormy night. All those events show the good will on both sides to interact with and help each other.

In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan he talks about being among cannibals while they stay in line to receive immunization from sleep disease. This portrays an unknown side of these anthropophagi peoples who are not constantly on the attack of others around them.

Days later he is saved by another group of Indians who fished on a canoe while he slept by the shore exposed to any dangers of the forest, again showing a humanitarian side of these native peoples.

Lima seems to be in awe of the differences between European and native cultures and in admiration of how life is lived far from civilization.

From “Rom” to “Eltalhark” an Indian guides him with his camel and sings while doing so. Lima is impressed by the singing and talks about how it is “full of good disposition.”

“The cultures of one and another side of the canals are wonderful, yet embellished by the [illegible] that in a monotonous and constant sound, contrast with the Arab chants,” he writes while in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, by the Nile River.”

That same day he follows on the Indian local customs and takes a nap under a tree and mentions how the Arabs are charitable, offering him water and honey along the way. He also recounts on the welcoming manners of the natives he encounters.

“I fraternize with Indians that take me in with good grace in a tea house next to the road, not letting me pay for the expenses I made.”

At the end of his trip as he arrives in Lisbon is when his change of thought is most evident, however, as he concludes his travel notes by saying:

“For the many years that I am to live, I will never forget the amiabilities of the foreign countries and the injustices of the Portuguese people.”

Introduction of Book

The book named “Homens e Feras que eu vi” (Men and Beasts I saw) was written by Joao Pires dos Santos Leal Zezere and published in 1952.

The author, born and raised in Casegas, Portugal was educated by Jesuits. He went to law school yet dropped out at age 19 for going completely blind. He travelled throughout Germany, Italy and France during World War II and after it published a series of books.

Among the most famous ones are “Cacador de Virgens” (Virgin hunter), “Idolos e Escravos” (Idols and Slaves) and “Homens e Feras que eu vi.”

In addition to his literature works, Zezere also contributed to major papers in Portugal and was the editor-in-chief of the magazine “Esfera.”

In this book, he tells the story of Amadeu de Lima’s journey in the first person, with brief dialogue and long descriptions. He compiled the book not only with access to Lima’s travel journals but also with information given by Lima during an interview with him for the purpose of this book. The book is supposed to tell Lima’s story in his own words.

Depiction of Africa

The way in which Zezere portrays Africa and its people in his book, is very different from the way Lima narrated in his diary.

The most noticeable aspect is the word “savages,” used frequently when making reference to Indian tribes encountered along the way. Even when those natives are showing niceness towards the foreigner passing by, “savage” is the noun used to describe them. He also describes the way in which they obtain food or seek entertainment by extracting the sap of palm trees for a substitute of alcohol and behaving “savage.”

Another word of choice that is recurrent throughout the narrative is “barbaric”. The adjective is used to describe the natives’ culture, behavior and living habits.
This can be witnessed when the author describes Lima’s passage by Bor along the Nile River.

“The children, as brats, initiate themselves zealously in the practice of such barbarous toilettes. They cram in the poor childish craniums, layers of a sticky paste, that will last their whole lives.”

The same happens on his passage of the Belgium Congo, when he tells of a dance during the night when “they yell barbaric howls.”

The same account is described in the diary with interest, not horror, for the peculiar dance.

In the “Maniema” plain as he’s spending the night with a tribe and one of their women dies, he fears, because they’re superstitious, that they’ll blame him for it. He calls them cowards for fearing him as the white man with a gun and as he runs away, he sets fire to the forest in order to mislead them; he justifies his behavior by saying “the barbaric rationale motivated it.”

A big difference can also be seen in the way the natives’ housing is portrayed.

“The housing reveal bad taste; they abuse of the wattle and of hay, in an interpretation of indigenous aesthetics, uncomfortable and heartbreaking” is the description given by the author of the Saurino Village.”

On the passage of Sudan he calls their homes “miserable housing.”

His description changes when he finds the “Caxomas,” a tribe with more European habits. As the Indians take the crowd of people he’s travelling with in, he depicts them as not showing the usual “vulgar shyness of the African peoples.”

He also remarks on their architecture, which resembles more the white man’s concept of beauty.

“One can notice their accentuated instinct for the arts and feverish community cult. Clean, they paint their houses white and decorate them in the exterior with loud paintings of exotic animals.”

In Stanleyville another tribe of Indians also gets a pleasing depiction as “dressed in European style, welcoming manners, almost distinct.”

Perhaps the most interesting part in Zezere’s book is how the conducted interview with Lima contradicts the majority of descriptions which Zezere gives in his book, yet both are included in the text.

On page 61, that is clearly evident as the author muses about the importance of being unbiased as an explorer.

“The one who travels among savage people, has to shake the innumerable prejudices off that civilization many times translates into law. If not, he risks maybe falling into ridiculousness and in the bad opinion of the natives.”

While he’s speaking of shaking off prejudices he’s calling them savages on the same paragraph.

Just a page later, he speaks of the “Balubos” tribe with evident prejudice.

“Primitive tribes, fed only by the forest’s resources... Almost always in complete state of nudity, nose ring, the ‘Balubos,’ who not feeling any threat or necessity, are uninterested in any aspirations, they live with spear in hand, with the only concern of looking under rotten tree trunks, in search of white worms that they delight themselves naturally on.”

Further in the narration, while passing by a Catholic English mission, he ends a chapter with a message about the importance they have as the “the black population be put at the disposition of the lighted rays of Progress.”

The author’s opinion about the colonial mission of European countries also shows as he passes “Dondo,” an area of Angola which obtained independence. He talks about how much better it was under European rule and says that now it is “whites’ cemetery.”

The author’s prejudice can also be witnessed along the narrative as he incorporates as part of his text common European misconceptions about the African peoples.

One of them is the idea that all African peoples were lazy, purposeless and unable to achieve anything of real value.

As he narrates the passage by “Quissama,” above the “Quanza” River, he describes the inhabitants of the region as “degenerated and dirty, that rather die than work.”

In Congo he talks about how their people have no need for prisons for they have no need to steal since “Rich nature protects the vagabonds to whom it offers an opulent table...”

Another misconception showed in the book is that the native African people were all at a lower mental capacity than whites and extremely violent. That is obviously portrayed in the narration of his encounter with a cannibal tribe in Sudan who he describes as “apathetic” and “stupid.”

“These savages inspire pity. Classified as anthropophagi, they devour in gluttony the “Saltaricos”; famous for their cruelty, they present themselves shy and dumbed down without one movement...”

Finally, he compares a tribe in Congo with bulldogs because of their wide noses, confirming the idea that all African peoples were physically inferior than whites.
Today, as one reads this book and looks at the way these native tribes are described, they would most likely call its author a bigot, someone who has no respect and is ignorant about the true meaning of tradition and culture of the African peoples. That was the reality of most Europeans at the time, however. Social and scientific ideas about the inferiority and subordination of Africans were widespread among societies of nations who held colonies overseas.

**Thesis**

The main reason for the author's depiction of Africa is pure and simple ethnocentrism; the practice of judging other cultures from a point of view of his own norms and practices. This is not mainly his fault, but a common impression by the European man at the time due to two factors: history and sociology.

**History**

It is hard to track down the origins of racism as a whole, but in regards to the aversion of Europeans towards African people, the prejudice has its roots in the historical expansion of European empires in the 16th century.

As countries such as Portugal, England, France, Italy, Belgium, and Spain ventured into new areas of the world and came into contact with native peoples, a dynamic was established between the former and new owners of the land.

Most commonly, that dynamic was an authoritative one, in which the natives were dominated and enslaved. Slaves were the cheapest form of labor and performed only the most belittling and menial tasks. They were kept at the bottom of society with no opportunity to rise in status as well as no rights or privileges such as education. The increase of the slave trade among European countries and its colonies consequently led to a denigration of the African race which became known as inferior and undeveloped.  

Since these exploring nations were Catholic, however, their controlling actions towards the natives went against their Christian principles. There was a moral question to be solved. Was what they were doing wrong in the eyes of God? As the church played a major role in politics at the time, it was not in its interest to condemn the actions of its people which was bringing such wealth to the nation. It was then that a religious rationalization of the prejudice against these exploited races arose. People were led to believe that God had made these races inferior to whites and so equality was a real sin, for it went against His will.

As these European nations proceeded either to settle or exploit their colonies, they planned not only to expand territory but spheres of influence, starting with religion.

Another form of rationalization came into play at that point to justify Catholic missions, which forced upon the native people of these colonies Christian faith and values: the ethical or idealistic rationalization.

This type of rationalization expanded the concept of inferiority of non-white people and proposed that since Europeans were at an elevated status, it would be necessary for natives to be kept subordinate. That way, the Europeans wouldn't be corrupted by their savage ways and the natives would benefit from the wonders of civilization being introduced to them. This line of thought became known as "The white Man's Burden," named after a poem written by English writer Rudyard Kipling. Published in 1899 on McClure's Magazine, the seven stanzas carried a civilizing mission urging white men to bring the European culture to the uncivilized people they conquered.

By believing that they were exploiting these people in the name of progress and improvement, as well as on the side of the cross, Europeans justified their behavior. Going on to the 19th century, as science became increasingly more important to Western Society, therefore, it was in scientific facts than Europeans found a moral defense for their continuing prejudice.

The recent developments in the fields of biology, physics, and chemistry led Europeans to distance themselves from the religious predominance and generate the belief that it was in the knowledge of science that the basis of explanation to the world and reality laid. It also led to the belief that the mastering of science would lead to human development. It was because of scientific progress that Europeans now had things such as the telegraph and railways, which brought incredible changes to their society. This new found scientific development led to conclusion that a people's importance and civility was measured in its degree of technological advancement.

**Sociology**

While today science has shown that individuals of a variety of races are genetically different, it is the moral common and accepted belief that no race is superior to another.

Because we know that intelligence cannot be simply measured on the basis of one aspect such as technological development and that all humans "have an important interest in self-respect," the establishment of a racial hierarchy is not only frowned upon, but considered without scientific basis.

That wasn't the case in the 19th century, however. Then a Universal Declaration of Human Rights as we have today stating that all humans are born equal despite any differences would be considered absurd, as science was used to prove the complete opposite.
It was necessary to find proof that White people were superior to other races and racial theories emerged with that purpose.

Arthur Gobineau was one of the first to come up with a theory of his own in his book "The Inequality of the Races." In it, he stated that people of European descent were superior to other races judging by their physical and mental traits.

According to Gobineau, White people were beautiful and shouldn't mix themselves with other races for when that happens, "their features and limbs become incorrect in form; they acquire defects of proportion, which in the races that are completely foreign to us, end by producing an extreme ugliness."24

As for their mental capabilities, Gobineau focused on their level of progress to determine how developed their brains were. By citing things such as the invention of the printing press, gunpowder, art, machines and the great expansion of empires, he makes the point that tribes in Africa are still living in a "savage state" and in "barbarism."25

Others would follow Gobineau with anthropological evidence that the African race was inferior to their own. One of them is Daniel Garrison Brinton who in his book "Races and Peoples" described the differences between races according to their looks and culture.

Brinton noticed how what he calls the Negrillo group of Africans who live in the Equatorial part of the continent had "ears large and ugly"26 and possessed characteristics reminiscent of apes. By citing a list of distinctions such as "elongation of the heel," "early appearance, size and permanence of the 'wisdom teeth'" and "continuation of the 'heart' line across the hand"27 he justified the inferiority of the black race. He also used those traits as a jumping point to conclusions about the mental abilities of those "lower races."

"We are accustomed familiarly to speak of "higher" and "lower" races, and we are justified in this even from merely physical considerations. These indeed bear intimate relations to mental capacity, and where the body presents many points of arrested or retarded development, we may be sure that the mind will also."28

Brinton's opinion on the mental capacity of these native people was also largely based on their culture, judged under great bias of European point of view. He saw the fact that the different tribes were not always friendly with each other as a sign of savagery, the huts made out of natural resources for shelter as "wretched" and their form of art as "the rudest."29 Furthermore, he establishes their standing based on a comparison with European society.

"The low intellectual position of the Austafrikan race is revealed by the facts that in no part of the continent did its members devise the erection of walls of stone; that they domesticated no animal, and developed no important food plant; that their religions never rose above fetishism, their governments above despotism, their marriage relations above polygamy."30

Brinton's final thought about the difference between races is that since the Europeans are more evolved, the savages should welcome their civilization. By adapting to the European ways through missions and settlements in their land, these people have a chance to be saved from their backward ways. If they refuse to adapt, they will be wiped out.31

Brinton's ideas were, however, a follow up to the ones of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer.

Charles' Darwin "Origin of the Species" in 1859 was the jumping point to scientific explanations of racism. In his book, Darwin explained the process of evolution and said that weaker species die while others prevail.

Decades later Darwin's theory would be reinterpreted by sociologists such as Herbert Spencer who in 1874 coined the phrase "survival of the fittest" proposing that Darwin's theory could be applied to human societies. So being, the ones which evolved such as the Europeans, would prevail while the ones who failed at that such as Africans would be dominated and eventually become extinct.32

This line of thought became known as Social Darwinism. As William Winwood Reade, an English historian and social Darwinist put it:

"England and France will rule Africa. Africans will dig the ditches and water the deserts. It will be hard work and the Africans will probably become extinct. "We must learn to look at the result with composure. It illustrates the beneficent law of nature, that the weak must be devoured by the strong."33

While such theories might seem close to absurd this day in age, through the end of the 19th century, on into the first half of the 20th, those were defended, spread among the masses and taught in schools34. It is only natural to conclude that any person who lived in Europe during that time, and had no better knowledge of the reality of these races, would come to believe them.

The author of "Homoens e Feras que eu vi" could be taken as one of those people. He lived in Portugal, one of the main explorers of the African continent and users of slave labor in its colonies. It is also important to note that he was educated by Jesuits who represented the Catholic Church and its mission of saving the Godless people in the dark continent of Africa. So being, his alterations to the text would have been non-intentional, but merely an expected reaction from an opinion shaped by ideology.

Another aspect worthy of notice is the political environment in which the book was written. In 1952 when the book was published, Portugal was under the strict rule of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, a fascist dictator known for his colonialist policies being highly reinforced during the 35 years he was in power.
Under Salazar, Portugal, as many other European colonizers, explained its domination of foreign territory by saying it was, in conjunction with the Catholic Church, spreading enlightenment to the native peoples. Salazar was a devout Catholic and while religion during his regime was not controlled, it definitely played a role in his policies. Salazar kept missions in African colonies well into the 20th century and refused to let go of them even under harsh African as well as Western pressure to do so. He justified the perseverance in the colonialist policy with the idea of the white man’s burden.

“We believe that there are decadent or-if you prefer—backward races whom we feel we have a duty to lead to civilization— a task of forming human beings that must be undertaken in a human manner,” said Salazar in 1957. Propaganda was used by Salazar’s government to promote these interests among Portuguese soldiers and natives through pamphlets and newspapers. The newspapers distributed to the Portuguese army serving in the colonies were called “Jornais de Campanha” (field newspapers) and the ones distributed among the natives written in their native language were called “Jornais do Mato” (Bush newspapers). The latter urged the natives to abandon their ways and join in the Portuguese army to fight to forward their population into civilization.

Below is an example of such propaganda:

“People of the Bush. Report to the Authorities. Only deceived people live in the bush. Straight thinking people live in the village. In the bush, there is hunger, illness, and death. In the village, there is cheerfulness, there is food and there is the visit of the doctor. Come and report to the Army.”

Despite such clear examples of social Darwinism on Portugal’s part, throughout the 20th century, Salazar emphasized to the rest of the world how Portugal was not a racist country. He claimed that everyone who absorbed the Portuguese customs and culture would be on equal ground to its colonizers despite of his/her race. This process of cultural change was called Assimilation.

A native would be considered “assimilado” (assimilated) once he learned how to speak fluently and write in Portuguese, considered himself Christian, and adapted to the use of European technology such as living in houses and eating with a fork and knife.

Such a relationship was judged by Salazar as one with “bonds of sympathy with the African peoples” which would lead to the Africans being “drawn from his own primitive world into a world of higher Western values.”

Salazar’s opinion and policies concerning African colonies are evident in quotes from stories in TIME Magazine dated from 1961 and 1963. Both of them reporting on the increasing pressure the dictator had been under to release his foreign territories.

“Is the language we teach those people superior to their dialects or not? Does the religion preached by the missionaries surpass fetishism or not? Is not belonging to a nation of civilized expression and world projection better than narrow regionalism without means for defense or progress?”

“We have been here for 500 years. We will stay another 500 years, and we don’t care particularly how we do it.”

In order to reinforce these policies, Salazar counted on the work of his secret police. The PIDE, “Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado” (International Police for the State’s Defense) was initially trained by officers of the German Gestapo9 and served the role many other fascist secret polices have served. It was allowed to arrest without trial anyone suspected of criminal activities, take “preventive measures against criminality, vagrants and other persistent delinquents.”

What that meant is that anyone who was known to talk about, print or promote any ideas which went against those of the Salazar dictatorship was considered politically active and could be watched, harassed, jailed or exiled. The use of torture was also normal for the treatment of such individuals.

Portugal didn’t give up its colonies until 1971. That means that at the time Zezere’s book was published, Salazar was the ruler and the policies in place went against everything Lima’s diary portrayed.

Publishing a book explaining the culture of the Africans and implying that they are not savages, violent or stupid but merely different from the Portuguese would be seen as an act of betrayal to the regime. Zezere would most likely be tracked down by the secret police and endured the consequences of his work.

**Conclusion**

Europe’s colonial period brought immense changes to its African colonies. Not only were they affected economically and politically throughout the 500 years of exploitation they suffered but this part of their history also set the way through which they were seen for centuries.

Europe’s emphasis on technological advancement and Christianity went against the tribal ideas of polygamy, religious rites and the simple life of reciprocity with their wild surroundings. Those differences led to the belittlement of the latter’s culture and customs by repression and propaganda.
The society of the colonizers was taught about inferiority of the people from the colonies and the importance and helping them better themselves to a higher degree of civilization. As times changed, Portugal, under political dictatorship, remained one of those societies and guaranteed that its people kept this line of thought through authoritative and oppressive police work.

All of those factors played a role in how the author of “Homens e Feras que eu vi” wrote his book, setting it as an example of how an author’s words aren’t always to be taken as the truth. Due to political, historical and personal bias, the truth can be altered, and as in this case, remain untold.

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United States Intervention in Kosova

Ard Morina

Introduction

On February 17, 2008, the people of Kosova poured into the streets of Pristina, this time not to protest the oppressive regime of Serbia, but instead to celebrate their declaration of independence. A striking statement that relates to this essay was made on that day. On one of Pristina’s main avenues, Bill Clinton street, the American flag was proudly being waved. This in itself was an indication of how deeply involved United States policy towards Kosova has been. My research is focused on understanding the origin of America’s involvement.

Neorealism, a major theoretical approach of international relations, argues that every nation-state acts according to its self-interest. In short, a state is concerned with the need to attain security. While self-interest is a direct variable that shapes world politics, it is not the only one. The central theme of the study is to show that there is not one but a number of variables that led to the U.S. intervention in Kosova. Any argument that holds that the strategy of the U.S. was solely the result of national-interest is an oversimplification of the issue, and thus a misinterpretation of the causes. I intend to demonstrate that only by adding all the factors into the equation can one understand the origin and implementation of American policy. In doing so, noting that theories are useful and help us understand situations and organize information, but history and politics are never as methodical as theories.

My procedural approach provides: (1) An introduction to the theory of neorealism; (2) A short history of Kosova for the necessary background; (3) U.S. involvement as perceived by its leaders over the Kosova situation that shaped the direction of its policy; (4) The failure of diplomacy; (5) Albanian resistance; (6) The United Nations Mission in Kosova (UNMIK), and Kosova’s declaration of independence; and (7) A conclusion.

Neorealism

Political realism is based on the assumption that states are the units of action, that they seek power (either as ends or means to other ends), and that they act rationally. Kenneth Waltz, a well-known scholar of international relations, describes the international system as anarchical. He argues that the world order according to nation-states is horizontal, with each unit having similar functions. According to Waltz, nation-states “are unitary actors who, at a minimum, seek their own preservation and, at a maximum, drive for universal domination.” This view of realism, which systemizes the theory into more deductive and detailed method, is referred to as neorealism.

While classical realism holds that states seek power because it is human nature to do so, neorealism notes that they seek security instead and that power is a useful means to reach these ends. Considering its logical and thorough assumptions, this theory could be used as a means to understanding a specific policy such as the U.S. involvement in Kosova, and in shaping the assumption that national-interest must have played a great part in this process.

Accepting that we live in an anarchical world, theories of how nation-states function are not just important but necessary. In this case too, it is essential to make presuppositions from the underlying principles of neorealism. Nevertheless, theories of international relations, or of any social science for that matter, are not to be taken as concretely in the explanation of the events. Nationalism, ideologies, leaders’ personalities and circumstances, sometimes appear irrational and makes the outcome unpredictable, invalidating the theories. As Koehane states: “If international relations theory were as generally valid as Newtonian physics is for ordinary events, practitioners could learn only its theorems, or maxims, without exploring carefully the question of on what assumptions, and under what conditions, they will continue to be applicable.”

One argument that America had national interest in the issue of Kosova maintains that the territory is in the Balkans, therefore, it is of strategic geopolitical importance. The region is the crossroads between the East and the West. It is the backyard of Europe, and connects it with Asia and Africa. Historically, power struggles over the region between great powers, combined with its diverse population, have led to two world wars. Understandably, it was coined the name “powder keg of Europe.” However, the general wars, including those of 1990s, have been more driven by internal tensions than by external power struggles over influence. The name of the region itself has been turned into a verb, balkanize, a term being used to describe a region or a state that undergoes de-fragmentation among ethnic lines.

Another argument rooted in the rationale of neorealism is that the U.S. linked Kosova’s stability to Europe’s, and that Europe’s stability is seen as a vital American interest. Although valid, this factor alone does not explain United States policy. The record indicates that the history of Kosova and the former state of Yugoslavia, the perceptions of U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and former President Bill Clinton, along with Slobodan Milosevic’s destructive campaigns, the failure of diplomatic efforts, and America’s position as a unipolar actor, have all together been a cause to United States’ involvement.
A Short History of Kosova

Historically, Kosova has never been independent. It has never been legally part of Serbia either. Its independence is directly a result of the breakup of Yugoslavia rather than of an ethnonationalist movement seeking self-determination. The land known as the Republic of Kosova experienced persistent occupations by external forces for centuries. Demographically, Albanians, who make up 88% of the population, are considered to be descendants of Illyrians, a people that have lived alongside ancient and modern Greeks for thousands of years. According to Momsen, Illyrians are, “...the same whose scanty remnants still at the present day, at the southern end of its formerly far-extended possessions, has preserved its own nationality and its old language under the name of Skopetars... or as their neighbors call them, the Armanos or Albanians.”

According to Noel Malcolm, Kosova fell under Serbian occupation in the late twelfth century. By the 1300's, the Balkan Peninsula fell under Ottoman occupation. The Turks held Kosova for over 500 years. In the early 1900's the Ottoman Empire was weak and struggled to hold its territories. Consequently, Ottoman weakness and circumstantial changes resulted in The Balkan Wars. The First Balkan War was between the alliance of Serbs, Bulgarians, Montenegrans and Greeks in an attempt to push the Turks out of Europe. With Turks defeated, the victors of the alliance started fighting one another, competing for the Ottomans’ lost territories. As one of the territories, Kosova underwent a transition from Ottoman to Serbian occupation. The estimated number of deaths in Kosova resulting from the Balkan Wars was around 25,000 people. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace found in 1914 that a systematic policy of killings took place: “Houses and whole villages reduced to ashes, unarmed and innocent populations massacred...such were the means which were employed and are still being employed by the Serb-Montenegrin soldiery, with a view to the entire transformation of the ethnic character of regions inhabited exclusively by Albanians.”

In 1937, Vaso Cubrilovic, a Serbian nationalist and scholar, stated in “The Expulsion of the Albanians” that there had been previous ethnic cleansing campaigns that go back to the 1800s. Through his written work he provided his people with more efficient methods to reach such ends. Among the recommendations, Cubrilovic called for intimidation, torture and massacre of the civilian population, of children, women and the elderly in order to scare off the Albanian people. By the year 2000, Milosevic it seems was inspired by such ideals, considering that his policies were not very different.

The conquest of 1912, however, lasted only until 1914, the year Austro-Hungary declared war on Serbia initiating WWI. By 1918, as Austro-Hungarian forces were withdrawing from the Balkans, Serbian troops reoccupied Kosova. By the end of the year, The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed becoming the first Yugoslav state (a name officially given to the polity in the year 1929).

Under the Yugoslav authorities of 1921, the Albanian population experienced the same policies it had in 1912. According to Noel Malcolm, over 12,371 Albanians were reported dead, 22,110 imprisoned, and approximately 6,000 houses burned. This was a period of colonization, of settling Slavs in Kosova while expelling and executing the Albanians. A treaty between Turkey and Serbia to remove Albanians from Kosova into Turkey was made. This pact was not fully completed because of WWII.

The question of Kosova’s legal status reappeared during WWII. According to Noel Malcolm, in 1943, two local committees (representing Eastern and Western Kosova which by Serbs is known as Kosovo-Metohija) of the Yugoslav Communist Party passed a resolution which remained an unchanged policy of Yugoslavia long after Germans left the region. A key statement in this resolution stated, that if Albanians were going to fight together with the other peoples of Yugoslavia against the occupiers, they would “have the possibility of deciding their own destiny, with the right to self-determination, up to and including secession.”

As Malcolm states, this resolution was not favored by Yugoslavia’s Central Committee, but it was seen as a necessary promise to be made to the Albanians of Kosova in order to have them join in the common struggle against the Germans. The reality proved different from the promise. With the end of World War Two, Kosova was again absorbed within the federation of Yugoslavia. This way, according to Noel Malcolm, Serbia established its control in Kosova, once more by engaging in violent campaigns of ethnic cleansing.

It is interesting to note that with Yugoslavia’s occupation of Kosova after WWII, Serbia treated this entity as an integral part of its territory. Legally, however, it was never incorporated into the state of Serbia. In speaking from the perspective of international law, the fact is that Kosova was never part of Serbia. As Noel Malcolm stresses in his study, the Grand National Assembly of Serbia, under its constitution, would have had to ratify its border changes in order to have absorbed Kosova under its sovereignty. Thus, as Yugoslavia was falling apart starting with Slovenia’s declaration of independence in 1991, Kosova should have been able to pursue the same right to self-determination that the rest of the federation’s components pursued.

According to the constitutional changes of 1974, Kosova was de facto independent from Serbia. The changes had created a form of confederacy where each unit would enjoy a greater amount of autonomy and an equal say in the decisions of the federation’s central government. The changes in paper, however, did not alter the reality of the Serbian minority dominating the Albanian majority. Under Slobodan Milosevic, tensions increased and autonomy was completely revoked. Describing these changes in Kosova, in 1992, the New York Times wrote,

“"In 1989, however, the post-Tito Government revoked Kosovo’s autonomy and turned the region into an integral part of Serbia. The local Parliament was dissolved, most Albanian-language schools were closed, and more than 3,000 police officers of Albanian descent lost their jobs after refusing to take oaths of loyalty to the Belgrade Government."
Continuing, the New York Times noted, tens of thousands of Albanian workers were fired and Serbian soldiers engaged in intimidation tactics towards the civilian population. Along with legalized discrimination, troops and heavy artillery were moved through the streets of Pristina creating a feeling of occupation among the locals.12

Serbia’s claim over Kosovo is based on the myth that it is the cradle of their nationhood, while Kosovo’s case for its right to self-determination is based on both legal and historical claims. On this note, the U.S. involvement in Kosovo cannot be seen as a violation of Serbia’s sovereignty.

American Involvement

By the end of 1980’s and into early 1990’s, changes within the federation of Yugoslavia were leading to the break up of the state. Disintegration was caused mainly by the death of Josip Bros Tito, policies of Serbia, and economic decline. Internationally, the USSR collapsed and the Cold War ended. For the first time in its history, the U.S. had no military, economic or political challenge to match its global role. Consequently, a unipolar system emerged.

One of the first U.S. concerns over Serbia’s policies in Kosovo was articulated by President George H. Bush in 1992. He warned Milosevic that his brutal policies would lead to an American response.14 Considering the new world order and America’s place in it, given the continuum of Serbian policy, it appeared likely that the U.S. would respond. Regionally, it would have been the EU’s responsibility to push for intervention in Serbia’s policies towards Kosovo. It became obvious, however, that the EU was divided at the national-state level and could not reach a consensus regarding the crisis. None of the countries had a strong inclination to intervene in stopping Milosevic. As German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer stated at the time, “We as Europeans never could have coped with the Balkan wars that were caused by Milosevic without the help of the United States.”15 As a case in point, nearly every target during the NATO bombings was identified by U.S. intelligence.15

One of the main reasons the U.S. got involved to the extent that it did had to do with its leadership. U.S. Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright was so influential in shaping the intervention policy that Time Magazine called it “Madeleine’s War.”16 According to Albright, “When violence in Bosnia first erupted, I had not yet entered government...at the UN, I was a member of a team. Now I was Secretary of State. The killings at Prekaz (Kosovo) filled me with foreboding matched by determination.”17 She goes on to state that the violence in Kosovo was recent, but that Milosevic’s merciless policies were not. Albright also notes that she rallied international support of the Contact Group, comprised of the U.S., Russia, the UK, France, Germany and Italy, dedicated to deal with the Balkans issues. Apparently, no other state actor in the group had a greater voice in the decision making process than the U.S.

The Secretary of State’s explanation of having pushed so hard for intervention in Yugoslavia is as follows: “The varying challenges I had confronted in Somalia, Rwanda and Haiti were new to me, but Yugoslavia was familiar. Aside from family ties...I had lived there. As an academic...I had spent considerable time studying the nation.”17

Even though initially hesitant, President Clinton seems to have been convinced that intervention was the right thing to do. “The killings were all too reminiscent of the early days of Bosnia,” he noted, “I was determined not to allow Kosovo to become another Bosnia.”18 Albright also describes former Vice-President Al Gore and National Security Advisor Leon Fuhrt as advocates of justice and human rights.19 Hence, in the Clinton administration, in addition to Secretary Albright, there was a general feeling of sympathy towards the people of Kosovo, and when added to the Secretary’s expertise on the region and her determination to take concrete actions, the result committed the U.S. to full intervention. Describing Albright’s concerns over Kosovo Time magazine wrote:

“Ever since February 1998, when Milosevic began his gruesome campaign against ethnic Albanians in his province of Kosovo, Albright has been resolute about not allowing the West to dither as it did in Bosnia. “History is watching us,” she told a meeting of foreign ministers last year, in the same London conference room where Bosnia had been debated. “In this very room our predecessors delayed as Bosnia burned, and history will not be kind to us if we do the same.” She was in no mood to compromise.”

According to Time Magazine, Madeleine Albright had been traveling to NATO headquarters and visiting military bases in Germany. While in Europe, she kept phone lines opened and conversed with leaders of all ranges, from Kosovo’s leader Ibrahim Rugova to U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan.20

Prime Minister of Great Britain Tony Blair was another significant leader concerned with the Kosovo issue. In fact his concern exceeded President Clinton in advocating intervention. According to the New York Times, he lobbied throughout Europe and in Washington, pushing for NATO ground troops.21 Speaking before the Chicago Economic Club, in April 22, 1999, Blair stated: “Just as I believe there was no alternative to military action, now it has started I am convinced there is no alternative to continuing until we succeed.”22 Another cabinet member in support of intervention was Robin Cook, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the UK. Albright described his perceptions as “on the same wavelength.”23 According to Albright, Cook met Milosevic, and reported that he was uninterested in a political solution.24

Albright admits she had pushed her position hard within the administration. In her memoir she describes her plan to reach a consensus within the U.S. government, noting that the National Security Council and the Pentagon were uncomfortable with her policies, and that
dissent was growing. According to the Secretary of State, the administration was not anxious either to have to use force, and the Defense Department, especially after the violence in Bosnia, was unwilling to commit to further missions in the Balkans. The disagreement is a case in point that the policy debate over Kosova was not driven by national interest.

Interestingly, among the NATO powers, France and Italy were more sympathetic towards Milosevic than the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). According to Madeleine Albright, both the French Foreign Minister Hubert Vedrine and Italy’s counterpart Lamberto Dini, were openly critical of the KLA. Beyond NATO, Russia was strongly opposed to intervention. In the end, however, Albright’s and Blair’s arguments prevailed in persuading the allies that Milosevic had to be stopped.

Albright’s determination to stop Milosevic, her expertise and familiarity with the region as well as her ability to rally support both internationally, and from within her own government, when combined with the U.S.’s position as the leading actor in the worldstage, could be said to have been one of the key ingredients of this policy.

**Failure of Diplomacy**

In 1991, the UN Security Council passed resolution 713, which put Yugoslavia under an arms embargo. According to the New York Times, Serbs, even though heavily armed, easily found ways to get weapons and thus ignore the UN condemnations. The authoritarian regime that had as its goal ethnic cleansing was a tragedy in waiting. Thus, Serbia’s policies and its regime’s defiance of international decisions invalidated any possibility of reaching a consensus through diplomatic means.

On 24 September 1997, the Contact Group expressed deep concerns over developments in Kosova, and called for Serbia to suspend its repressive policies towards the people of Kosova. According to the UN Security Council resolution 223, on 12 March 1998, Milosevic’s actions were highly condemned. The resolution warned of consequences if Serbia defied international standards,

> “We are dismayed that in the period since September, rather than taking steps to reduce tensions or to enter without preconditions into dialogue towards a political solution, the Belgrade authorities have applied repressive measures in Kosovo. We note with particular concern the recent violence in Kosovo, resulting in at least 80 fatalities, and condemn the use of excessive force by Serbian police against civilians, and against peaceful demonstrators in Pristina on 2 March.”

According to the United Kingdom Parliament, Milosevic had not withdrawn but instead increased his military and paramilitary presence in Kosova. At the time, he was claiming to hunt down members of the KLA while houses with whole families were being destroyed, as it was the case with the massacre in the village of Prekaz.

Since Milosevic defied the UNSC resolutions, the Contact Group warning as well as American government, the U.S. and its allies sought alternative actions. Clinton noted that he was not very optimistic that Milosevic would cooperate. He had learned that lesson from previous wars Serbia had waged on Croatia and Bosnia, and from their consequences. Milosevic’s refusal to cooperate was confirming the validity of Albright’s call for an immediate intervention. The next step in coercive diplomacy was through NATO, deemed by the U.S. to be the best instrument to succeed. On October 13, 1998, NATO warned Serbia that if it didn’t change policy within three days, attacks would follow.

This slowed Milosevic down in his brutal campaigns, but did not stop him. That same year, an Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) mission was sent to Kosova. One of the most important results of the team’s observation was that it shed light on Serbian atrocities in the village of Racak, proving that Serbia was ignoring the alliance’s threats.

**Rambouillet Diplomacy**

The Rambouillet Agreement was the next chosen diplomatic step. A two week ultimatum was given to both: the Albanian resistance and the Milosevic regime. There were parts of the text that initially neither party agreed to; however, in the end the delegation of Kosova signed the agreement, while Serbia’s refused. The failure to reach a consensus confirmed the end of the diplomatic effort and opened room for NATO airstrikes.

The agreement called for an autonomous Kosova, with self government, but did legally leave it under Yugoslavia; something that both the Albanian and Serbian parties were opposed to. The former was seeking independence, while the latter was refusing to grant autonomy to Kosova. Article 1.3 of the Rambouillet Accords stated:

> “The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has competence in Kosovo over the following areas, except as specified elsewhere in this Agreement: (a) territorial integrity, (b) maintaining a common market within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which power shall be exercised in a manner that does not discriminate against Kosovo, (c) monetary policy, (d) defense, (e) foreign policy, (f) customs services, (g) federal taxation, (h) federal elections, and (i) other areas specified in this Agreement.”

The settlement also stated that three years later the status issue would be discussed, and that the “will of the people” via a referendum would be taken into consideration. According to the United Kingdom Parliament, however, not all members of the Contact Group were
willing to make a commitment to a referendum. The lack of consensus by the international community brought fear to the Albanian party. Warning the participants for their refusal to sign the agreement, the Secretary of State Albright stated, “If the parties fail to abide by the cease-fire and to reach a settlement on the status of Kosovo, then a “return to massive violence in Kosovo — and beyond it” is all but inevitable.”

As the New York Times noted, “The Serbian authorities have refused to consider the possibility of autonomy for Kosovo, a status that Mr. Milosevic stripped from Kosovo 10 years ago.” This was not the only issue that caused the Serbian party to reject autonomy. Another crucial aspect of the text was that it demanded an international military presence in Kosovo. Whether Milosevic agreed or not, this was seen as the only guarantor for peace. There seemingly was no compromise to be found between these two decisions that were negating one another. With the failure of the Rambouillet Accords, NATO ordered air strikes, defending its mission as an action...to halt the humanitarian catastrophe that was then unfolding in Kosovo. The decision to intervene followed more than a year of fighting within the province and the failure of international efforts to resolve the conflict by diplomatic means.

**Albanian Resistance**

Kosova was the poorest region of Yugoslavia. In 1989, there were no Albanian schools or cultural institutions, and the state of Serbia legally discriminated against, tortured and oppressed the population. Poverty combined with continuously increased oppression could only lead to resistance. In desperation, Albanians set up their own parallel institutions, and in 1991 declared independence. This declaration was recognized by no nation-state and became known as a pacific resistance. It was led by Ibrahim Rugova. However, this peaceful opposition did not alter the reality of poverty, unemployment and intimidation that only kept rising.

The recognition that non-violent resistance was producing no positive ends, but only greater oppression, led to the creation of the armed resistance by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Milosevic viewed this newly formed organization as a perfect excuse to put into practice his speeches for “Serbian Kosova.” This was to be achieved through military might. A Serbian Kosova, in this context, echoed Cubrilovic at work in the year 1937.

Similar to the cases of Bosnia and Croatia, the Albanian resistance had grown out of such circumstances. The Serbian regime was the root cause of the problem. According to the U.S. Department of State, between the years 1993 and 1999, seven UN Security Council resolutions were passed regarding Kosovo and were ignored by Serbia. Milosevic’s noncompliance shaped the U.S. policy of involvement.

**From UNMIK to Independence**

Three months of NATO air strikes marked the end of the conflict, and ground troops entered Kosova—with the mission to preserve peace and security. The reality was, however, that people in Kosovo needed support in every aspect. According to United Nations statistics, thousands had been tortured and massacred, and about 750,000 refugees were now returning to their homes. In this case, food, shelter and civil administration were provided which were crucial to the stability of the region.

On June 10, 1999, the UN passed resolution 1244 authorizing the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) as the main administrative body. As Kofi Annan, then Secretary-General of the UN, stated, “The task before the international community is to help the people in Kosovo rebuild their lives and heal their wounds of conflict.” A provisional government was established and the platform Standards for Kosovo was introduced: Its objective was to form,

“A Kosovo where all - regardless of ethnic background, race or religion, are free to live, work and travel without fear, hostility or danger where there is tolerance, justice and peace for everyone.”

These standards contained eight major proposals: first, to create strong democratic institutions; second, to enforce the idea that no one is above the law; third, to guarantee freedom of movement to everyone; fourth, to achieve sustainable returns and rights of communities and their members; fifth, economic reforms, to help Kosovo attain the European standards. The sixth proposal concerned with property rights. A system that transfers and registers property would have to be created, and it would also have to make sure that there were no coerced property sales. The seventh was to make sure that negotiations between Belgrade and Pristina would lead to constructive results. The eighth proposed that the Kosovo Protection Corps would be representative of the entire population, and would have to comply with the Constitutional Framework.

Kosova’s future status was one of the key issues to be dealt with. In January 2006, UNMIK initiated talks between Pristina and Belgrade. Reflecting its views on the issue, the U.S. stated its determination to reach a settlement, since the status quo was perceived as dangerous. Yet, according to the U.S. officials, there was not much hope that a compromise would be found. In 2006, Voice of America interviewed Ambassador Frank G. Wisner, U.S. Special Representative for Kosovo Status Talks, and asked why his country seemed in a rush to reach a deal. Wisner’s reply was, “I can assure you the conditions of the negotiation will not change if it lasts another month or two or three months or six months or even another year. The positions of the parties are unlikely to be remarkably different. The Serbian side has one point of view, the Albanians another.” That was precisely the case, as the two parties declared commitment in

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their differing views. Albanians were opposed to any solution that treated Kosovo as a part of Serbia, while Serbs were against any settlement that treated Kosovo and Serbia as two separate entities. Negotiations went on until the end of 2007, proving unsuccessful. On February 16, 2008, the UN Security Council issued a report stating that no agreement had been achieved. On the next day, February 17, 2008, the parliament of Kosovo declared independence.

One day later, the U.S. State Department issued an official statement recognizing Kosovo as a sovereign nation. The American Permanent Representative to the UN, Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad, described the U.S. position on the issue by stating, "Kosovo is a unique situation—it is a land that used to be part of a country that no longer exists and that has been administered for eight years by the United Nations with the ultimate objective of definitely resolving Kosovo's status."

**Conclusion**

The policy of U.S. intervention in Kosovo can best be understood when viewed as one that is a result of a number of factors rather than if seen as having been driven by one single variable. Providing explanations that America’s involvement in Kosovo was a result of national interest solely takes out of equation the factors that helped in the implementation of the policy.

The most influential variables in the development of the policy have been:

- The history of Kosovo and its place in the region. Serbia forcefully and illegally treated Kosovo as an integral part of its territory. In order to strengthen its hold there it implemented operations of mass killings and population displacements repeatedly throughout history.
- Failure of Diplomacy. In the 1990’s, the humanitarian crisis caused by Milosevic’s unwillingness to cooperate through peaceful means increased tensions that produced further destruction.
- The U.S. leadership’s perception over the situation. Great importance was also played by individual actors, specifically Secretary Albright, her familiarity and expertise regarding Yugoslavia, and her determination and capability to act and rally support at both the national and international levels.
- The political reality of a unipolar world with the U.S. having been the leading actor on the issue. This came to mean that among every involved state actor, America’s footprint was the greatest.
- Kosovo’s armed resistance and its claim of Serbia’s illegitimacy over Kosovo. Until 1989, Kosovo had been a de facto independent entity, a component with same say in Yugoslavia’s central government decisions as any other sub-national unit. Almost a decade after the end of the conflict, leaving Kosovo under Serbia while the whole concept and reality of Yugoslavia no longer existed would create a greater potential for instability.

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Introduction

Public relations as a profession does not require a person to be a genius to do the job, but there are some important key rules about doing it successfully. Effectiveness of a public relations professional in communicating with various publics depends on how well a key public has been approached. It is important to remember that each public is to be approached differently according to its culture, ethics, and values.

The first public relations practices were established in North America, when American Colonies were looking for new settlers, in particular, during the American Revolutionary War and the “Boston Tea party.”

Edward Bernays, Arthur Page, and Ivy Lee are considered the fathers of a public relations field. Ivy Lee is recognized for creating a successful crisis communication plan, and always advocating the truth. Edward Bernays developed a set of skills to persuade people from the psychological point of view by looking at publics’ needs, and desires. Arthur Page was the author of the six important principles of successful public relations practice used by professionals today.

The history of public relations is a part of the American history. Over the years many countries have adopted and implemented public relations into communication of their corporations, government, and daily lives. Countries adapted the idea of the profession, but did so according to their needs. For some countries, public relations became a medium between the mass media and the government, for instance, in China. And in Europe, it is viewed more as a marketing relations job. Importantly, none of these are considered public relations in the United States. Therefore, the differences make international communication complicated, especially in today’s fast growing world of multicultural and international business communication.

The key rules for establishing successful international public relations are in a thorough research of the publics’ cultures, needs, values, and ethics. It is important to never assume what was successful locally won’t necessarily have the same effect anywhere else.

Communication- culture relation

Communication is a process, and culture is the structure through which the communication is formulated and interpreted. It has often been said that communication and culture are inseparable. When different cultures interact, adaptation must take place for the culture to communicate effectively. Dealing with an intercultural business communication, being aware of each culture’s symbols, how they are the same, and how they are different is important. These are the qualities of the cosmopolitan public relations professional.

As Alfred G. Smith (1966) wrote:

“Culture is a code we learn and share, and learning and sharing require communication. Communication requires coding and symbols that must be learned and shared. Every cultural pattern and every single act of social behavior involves communication. To be understood effectively in international setting different cultures and their ways of communicating must be researched and studied thoroughly. And it is important to keep in mind that a culture cannot be known with a study of communication, and communication can only be understood with an understanding of the culture it supports.”

Globalization is a term that becomes familiar to more people every day. The world becomes borderless. Corporations are looking for ways to become multinational and to do business internationally. The first step is to establish communication between various publics by sending the right message and making sure it is received properly. It is not an easy task many public relations professionals are faced with.

It is important to be familiar with a public culture, ethics, and values. A lack of effective intercultural communication skills often causes misunderstanding, and as the result a failure to communicate. Misunderstanding often leads to irritation and even distrust between the parties involved. More often problems arise from differences in ways various publics communicate.
In a study of different cultures Grunig, et al. suggests that there are different cultural structures in the world, and the knowledge of each of them would enable a professional to determine aspects of behavior and communication such as information that is accepted as proof for an opinion or argument, the interchange of information, and topics that are considered appropriate to discuss.²

If a particular cultural attitude is constant across cultures, then there would be no concern of being misunderstood. But if you find that a particular cultural attitude varies among cultures, a professional should consider the effect it might have on communication with cultures that possess this attitude.

There is a cultural symbolism in all cultures. It could be a word, act or object that represents something. Cultural symbolism variability may be included in social cognitive processes such as information processing, persuasion strategy selection, conflict management styles, personality, social relations, and self-perceptions as well as habits, norms, roles, networks, language, and environment. All those factors interact and influence each other. To communicate effectively in the intercultural business environment, it is important to know all the cultural factors that might affect a situation.

Thus, the function of public relations as a field is to establish a communication among the parties involved. Successful establishment of such relationship depends on how well the key public is being approached. It is important to keep in mind that every public is to be approached differently. Any public is best worked with if a communicator complies with cultural needs, ethics and values of the receiver. That’s a tough job a public relations professional has to deal with in order to do this job the best way.

**Function and qualities to the profession**

Public relations professionals deal with different publics, and do numerous types of work. No matter what the company does, public relations people’s job involves maintaining either internal or external communications, (in some instances both), but they all involve working with people. Public relations professionals must be generalists by nature. That includes being always aware of current events, local as well as international, and, being a good writer because most of the time a public relations professional communicates with the key publics using written communication tools. And most importantly, a professional must understand various publics, their cultural needs, ethics, and values.

Generally speaking, there is no standard set of duties to the profession, and one never knows what kind of work he/she might have to do. In fact, one public relations professional defined his duties this way:

> "In addition to the standard duties, a PR person might have to shepherd an alcoholic and half-mad but brilliant author through a twenty-city interview tour or try to put a warm and fuzzy spin on the company’s latest oil-spill." ³

As to the qualities of a good public relation professional, they have to include an understanding of popular cultures, their needs, values, and ethics, in order to be successful in getting their attention. Also, professional qualities should include analytical thinking and creativity. All these factors generally enable a professional to do his job successfully and get the best results. Daily duties generally are not set and may vary as well as unforeseen changes occur every day.

**The first public relations practices**

Lattimore, et al. states:

> “Even before the term and the need for public relations practice was acknowledged, public relations as a practice was used by the American colonies in order to attract new settlers.” ⁴

According to Lattimore, et al., Harvard School first initiated a systematic fund-raising brochure, entitled “New England’s First Fruits.” In 1758, Columbia University issued the first press release to announce graduation exercises. These were the first public relations works.⁵

The need for the establishment of public relations, or as it was referred to earlier, “the need for public support,” was highest in times of great crisis, difficulties, and pressure. The publicity techniques were used to “move publics to act” and thus, make progress, change, or accomplishment of something that was needed. For instance, according to Lattimore, et al., at the beginning of the American Revolutionary War, Samuel Adams came up with something like a public relations campaign. He became a communicator to the Revolutionary War. He understood the value of symbolism and used the Liberty Tree to raise emotions in the general public. Adams still is known for the famous slogan “taxation without representation is tyranny.” He also started what is known now as the “Boston Tea Party” to influence public opinion.⁶

According to Lattimore, et al., the greatest public relations effort in history was during WWI, when publicity gained support for the United States. At that time the military had never before launched a massive, diverse, and well-planned program that brought success in mass mobilizations, intercommunication and behavioral persuasion.⁷
Common definitions of the practice

Initially, the priority need for public relations practice was to win people, to inform them, form an opinion, and gain support of the people. And the functions of public relations practice included generating positive opinion, moving publics to action, building a reputation, and moving publics to your side.

Some professionals defined themselves as “image shapers.” The image could be of a company, government, or a person. The following are some well known definitions of public relations:

“Public Relation is a management function which tabulates public attitudes, defines the policies, procedures and interest of an organization followed by executing a program of action to earn public understanding and acceptance.” Edward Bernays.8

“Public Relations is a management of strategic relationships.” Unknown author, as stated in Lattimore, et al.9

“Public Relations is the management function that identifies, establishes, and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between an organization and the various publics on whom its success or failure depends” Scott Cutlip, former Dean of the University of Georgia. He is recognized as the Father of Public Relations Education.10

The listed common definitions are just some of many. They might be phrased differently but they are very similar in their objective.

The Fathers of the public relations practice

According to Hiebert, the first public relations practice was established in North America. Ivy Lee is considered to be one of the founders of public relations. He was the first one to generate a successful crisis communication plan. Lee was a great advocate for the truth. His main idea in public relations was that the public could not be ignored no matter what the truth is. He believed that telling lies is worse than the cruel reality.11

One of Ivy Lee’s famous quote states: “Tell the truth because sooner or later the public will find out anyway. And if the public doesn’t like what you are doing, change your policies and bring them into line with what people want.”12

His achievements in public relations practice include a change in railroad regulations and establishment of good business and reputation for John D. Rockefeller Jr.13

While pursuing and advocating publics, Ivy Lee developed a strong competitor. He is believed to be another co-founder of public relations practice. His name was Edward Bernays.

This brilliant person understood the basis for successful persuasion. Edward Bernays’s philosophy of persuasion was based on the key factor that any public is best persuaded if the message you are sending supports their values and interests.14 Many scholars think that this brilliant ideology of persuasion has come to him due to the fact that his uncle was the greatest psychologist in history, Sigmund Freud. Bernays probably learned a lot about the nature of humans and their minds through daily observations of Freud’s works.

Edward Bernays’ many accomplishments included celebration of the 50th Anniversary of Thomas Edison’s invention of the electric light bulb. By this campaign he assured the American public of the geniality and brightness of American business and entrepreneurship. 15

Along with Ivy Lee and Edward Bernays, who had invented the key principles and approaches to public relations practice still being used today, another co-founder of public relations was Arthur Page, a successful businessman, public advocate, and writer. He created six important principles for successful public relations practice, followed by professionals still today:

Tell the truth;
Prove it with action;
Listen to the customer;
Manage for tomorrow;
Conduct public relations as if the whole company depends on it;
Remain calm, patient, and good-humored. 16

In fact, according to Raucher, a well-known and successful telecommunication company, AT&T, owes the biggest part of its success to Arthur Page. Page made the company act from the public point of view, even when the problem seemed to be arising from the operating system of the company. 17

European public relations

Since its first practice in North America, public relations gradually evolved while spreading around the world. Many nations understood the importance of public relations in building and maintaining successful businesses, governmental relations, and generally, in building relationship with various publics.
In the practice of public relations, it is very important to understand and implement adaptation/localization. According to Schmidt, et al., it is a process of adaptation to the needs, values, and culture of the local publics. Every public is different, and needs to be approached differently.18

It is very important to understand that if an American style of public relations, including its principles and approaches, succeeded in the United States, it may not necessarily have the same effect somewhere else. In many cases an American public relations professional will not be able to successfully apply what he has learned in the U.S. when working in some other places of the world. It is very important to understand that each nation is to be approached differently, based on the characteristics, and needs of the local publics.

**German model of public relations practice**

Although an American pattern of public relations has been adopted throughout Europe, that doesn’t necessarily mean the same principles and approaches will be as successful in Europe.

According to Nessman, German public relations professionals perceive their job as establishing a relationship that influences what is published in mass media, in particular newspapers. At early stage German public relations was a subject of scientific debate. The practice of public relations, the press and public opinion, were discussed thoroughly during the Seventh German Sociology Conference in Berlin in 1930. German professionals distinguished the importance of social analysis of the practice’s approaches and principles. The German fathers of public relations, Hundhausen and Oechel, made 1522 changes to the American model of public relations in order to "Germanize" it.19

According to Kunczik, European public relation is completely opposite to the American model. For instance, European professionals are more interested in finding the reasons of public relations and an American model is more about the effects of it based on thoroughly conducted research. This example points out that even though the two practices are called the same, the approaches are opposite.20

In fact, Manfred and Franz Ronnenberger, as stated in Nessman, state that:

“A German public relation is a public communication that depends on the social conditions of the bourgeois European society.”21

**McManus comparative analysis of the different public relations practices**

Moreover, Nessman states that many European public relations professionals think of their profession in an American way but do it in the perspective of their own countries. For instance, according to MacManus’s comparative analysis of public relations practice (1993), in Nessman, eighty eight percent of the United Kingdom professionals agreed on an American definition of public relations, and only eight percent disagreed, even though in the United Kingdom the practice of public relations is viewed more as a marketing job. Continuing on the comparative analysis, Austrian professionals agreed sixty six percent with an American definition of public relations, and disagreed thirty two percent.22

Therefore, we can see that public relations professionals around the world deal with different sets of jobs. And so there is no widely accepted definition of public relations practice that could be applied and successfully used throughout the world.

**Differences in educational systems**

Only a few years ago a practice of public relations was recognized in Europe as an independent profession, but still heavily depends on theories, partially because the term is not well defined and understood yet.

In European countries, the first knowledge of public relations is gained in college. Every perspective public relations professional learns about the practice through educational institutions in Europe. And the knowledge that is gained differs on the structure and nature of communications programs offered at different colleges.

In fact, there are significant differences found between an American public relations program and one in Europe. According to Nessman, the first difference is defined as the degree of generality found in college programs. The educational program in communications, with concentration in public relations, is more general in America than it is in Europe.23

According to well-known European public relations professionals Hazleton and Cutbirth, European students when studying public relations receive bigger and heavier emphasis on theory than on practical skills. It is expected for European students to get the basic skills before entering a college, or students are expected to gain the practical knowledge through work experience. European public relations programs are more concentrated on preparing students for management positions. On the contrary, in the United States the heavy emphasis on job related training is perceived as a preparation with technical skills in order to compete effectively for entry-level jobs. Finally, Europeans devote more time and effort to the study of public relations and relevant communication theories than students in the United States.24
Therefore, an American graduate public relation major has a different bag of knowledge and has a different set of goals in front of him/her than a graduate communications major in Europe. The way European college graduates have been taught is different than students are taught in the United States. It becomes one of the reasons why public relation professionals around the world might not completely agree with each other on the function of their profession, and not have the same outcome when dealing with publics of other origin that they would have when dealing with people they have been taught how to approach.

**Approaching style to the German model of public relations practice**

According to Nessman, of all European countries most similar practice to that of the United States is in the United Kingdom. And the reason for that is a cultural similarity between the United States and the United Kingdom. This key factor enables a successful implementation of an American public relations practice in the United Kingdom, and at the same time demonstrates the importance of complying with the public’s cultural needs, ethics, and values.  

Coombs, et al. conducted a study on a professionalization of public relations around the world, comparing the United States, Norway, and Austrian public relations professionals in order to prove the difference in practices depending on the practicing country. This study stated that Austrian practitioners have much stronger professional performance than Norwegian and American. This finding Coombs explained as due to cultural and work related values. Precisely, a better professional performance by Austrians is related to the value of schooling and learning expected by their culture.

Not only does the practice of public relations around the world have different understandings, learning systems and different functions of the practice, but practitioners also have different styles of approaching its key public.

According to Nessman, in Europe a two-way symmetrical approach is commonly used in order to approach different publics. This approach implies theoretical and empirical analysis of the situation, issue or problem. On the contrary, in the United States many public relations professionals use symmetrical or dialogical, and asymmetrical approaches.

Therefore, approaching styles taught at an American college and later implemented accordingly by American professionals might not be commonly understandable by professionals in Europe. Again, such factors as their cultural values and ethics make the style used on the American public unsuccessful in Europe.

Due to the fact that public relations plays an important role in any business communication, European professionals have developed their own approach called “consensus-oriented” that is best fitted for European publics. According to Nessman, the principle of this communication practice is described as a method that focuses on mutual conduct between a professional and a key public. This method is mostly used in cases of great crisis in order to find a sense of mutual understanding in a process of negotiation.

**Chinese public relations**

Public relations practice has spread to Asia as well. In today’s world of globalization, and international business, Asian countries, in particular China are developing very rapidly. Many financial experts predict China will become one of the power countries of the future. And there is a lot to learn about Chinese and their way of communication.

**Gao Guanxi a contemporary Chinese philosophy**

In China, when studying communications there is a term known as “contemporary Chinese philosophy” of public relations, (also known as the principle of “Gao Guanxi,” which translates as a “personal influence,” or “relational principle” model of public relations), used in East Asian countries. It is known to be performed in an unethical way. Compared to the American public relations, Chinese practice is rooted in government relations rather than in private sectors.

**History of the Chinese model of public relations, and its role**

According to Huang, the first evidence of the existence of governmental public relations in China originated in the 1950s. In fact, in 1954 the government of China created a special organization to be responsible for public relations practice on the government level. The organization was named the Government Information Office. Within a couple of years of the existence of this organization, the postal offices of China were all required by the government to establish public service departments. In fact, in 1979 the government of China required all of the departments in the Executive Yuan to set up a designated spokesperson system.

Many factors have affected the establishment and evolvement of Chinese public relations practice. For instance, the political system of the country played an important role. According to Huang, on July 15, 1987, the Republic of China brought up an old martial law that took place in China some thirty-nine years ago. A common definition states that martial law is the system with an absolute power over everything in the state, its government, legislative and administrative branches.
Since then the nationalist government of China has changed its authoritarian regime to a more democratic one; this transformation in the political system resulted in the change of governmental control over the media.

According to Chen and Culbertson, before the lifting of martial law, the mass media were merely a political tool and propaganda vehicle for the government. Whereas, afterward many laws and regulations that dominated the press through government control were rescinded. Thus, the new “free” press became a field that all public and private organizations tried to influence. At that point, the practice of public relations started developing rapidly in China. The number of public relations firms kept increasing at a very high rate.

**Confucian teachings**

Chinese culture has affected development of the Chinese practice of public relations greatly. According to Chen and Culbertson, in Chinese culture Confucianism teachings play a very important role. It is the foundation of the culture. In the philosophical and cultural history of East Asia, Confucianism has been the basic social and political value system for over 1,000 years. As Chen states:

“For the Chinese it is a secular religion, teaching, or a doctrine of human wisdom that philosophically guides people toward fulfillment and perfection. Confucianism is a philosophy of human nature that considers proper human relationships as the basis of society.”

According to Huang, these teachings teach the Chinese to socialize within family, help various groups, have a sense of hierarchy, and have a sense of reciprocity in relationships, and, as the result of a Confucian ideology, have a significant impact on day-to-day life and communication of the Chinese within the nation as well as internationally.

As any phenomenon, Confucianism has positive and negative sides. The good is that the ideology brought a rapid development of the economy of the country, but the negative impact is causing major communication problems between the Chinese and other nations.

**Relationship patterns**

According to Huang, Chinese culture is “relation-oriented,” or “social-oriented.” In other words, in Confucian ideology everyone is related to another. The people are the relational beings, which social behavior must have an interactive context. The ideology teaches the Chinese that everyone has some relational ties, and they overlap between each individual, and so the whole society is related to each other through this complicated relational network.

Confucianism teaches the people to follow the social-oriented and relation-oriented patterns, by which traditional Chinese decide their relationship with others from the two aspects, a relationship hierarchy and relationship closeness. People define human relationships depending on the extent to which they are hierarchically and closely related to others, and then, they decide the patterns for interacting with these people.

In fact, Confucianism, which emphasizes hierarchical authority and justifies the unequal distribution of power and wealth, has been the major and most powerful source of legitimacy for the upper classes to rule Chinese society, which advocated an authoritative and patriarchal ruler.

This system of relational orientation takes in governance of China as well. The Chinese government is like a patriarch, and the relationship to its people is described as that of a father to his son. According to Chen and Culbertson, the government disciplines and rewards its people, is responsible for what they are, but also takes away from those who would disobey its orders.

**The “tie” principles**

The “relation” principle is one of the components of Guanxi. It also includes a “tie” principle. The “tie” principle is divided into three categories. According to Chen, the first category is an expressive “tie” that describes a relationship within a family. The second “tie” is the guanxi (relationship) of a person with an outside world other than a family. This tie describes a relationship of people that share common interests, birthplace, school, college, neighborhood, etc. In other words, it is a principle of favoritism, whose ultimate goal is to build a strong networking system, and obtain resources. The third category is an instrumental “tie.” This “tie” describes a temporary or anonymous relationship of an individual with others.

In general, these “tie” principle categories are based on: “How much reward can I obtain? How much must I pay in order to obtain the goal? Is my final benefit comparable to that of the other side’s after the cost is subtracted from the reward?”

Essentially, Confucian teachings teach of harmony and order. People are encouraged to maintain hierarchical order and harmonious interpersonal relationships among the social structure of China. So the Chinese are raised to always ask themselves a relational question. Everyone, when interaction between individuals takes place, should carefully consider: “What is the guanxi (relationship) between us? How strong is our guanxi?”
According to Chen and Culbertson, the ethics of human relationships assigned by Confucianism is described as particularistic, in contrast to universalistic under Western culture, like the United States. The ethics are based on relationships and situations rather than on some absolute good, and common sense. In other words, it is a situation-centered regulation.

Chen and Culbertson state that the particularistic/ethical norm of Chinese culture, in turn, is suggesting humanism, faithfulness, propriety, wisdom, or liberal education. These particularistic relationships apply to the daily activities when a Chinese views himself or herself in a hierarchical relationship. For instance, when a Chinese perceives himself or herself to be in such situations, the notions of "loyalty, obedience, respect, and service" will be expected of the subordinate by the superior. Conversely, wisdom, moral purity, and leadership will be expected of the superior by the subordinate. This normative system provided the Chinese with a sense of security. Thus, every person is clear about his relationship with other people around him, and he has a sense of his expected social and behavioral roles.

Negative and positive aspects of Confucianism

From the positive viewpoint, the Chinese culture provides its people with a social fabric in which people are taught to see the reality clearly. This, in fact, enables them to easily adapt themselves to a changing environment. However, a society where relationships among various people have been clearly defined, and where certain behavioral and social roles are expected from everyone, caused the Chinese to develop a unique cultural characteristic. It is a characteristic that has both negative and negative implication, centered on "Gao Guanxi." It is not as negative for the Chinese as it is for other cultures in the world, and can affect intercultural communication.

Compared with American and European styles of approaching various publics, the Chinese, according to Chen and Culbertson, use an asymmetrical or hierarchical style where power association/suppression is used to solve practical daily life problems.

Looking back at History, Chen and Culbertson state that China has evolved from an agricultural society where the major social resources were controlled by a few powerful figures. The traditional Chinese developed a cultural system of courtesies. This system seeks an individual to interact with people across different guanxi (relationship) in accordance with various standards of social exchange. Thus, the use of Gao Guanxi has been a strategy for attaining desirable social resources in Chinese society.

According to Confucian teachings, by ensuring order in society, many times individual rights, needs, and freedoms were ignored. Huang states:

"A typical Chinese cannot get rid of Confucianism, which renders an important part of the meaning of life, but the unpredictable superior behavior often fails to provide him with a stable environment for self-actualization."

Conclusion

Movements of modernization, globalization, multinational businesses and corporations have touched China, as well as other countries in the world, and, considering a unique culture of the Chinese, when dealing with local businesses, European or American public relations practitioners will be faced with serious challenges.

Lack of multicultural communications skills

Multinational companies in the world practice the universalistic norms, rather than particularistic norms as it is in most of Asian countries. It carries possible communication problems arising from the cultural differences in establishing communication. Due to the employment of Guanxi people often manipulate relationships to expand their human networks and obtain various sorts of resources. Given this fact, it is not practical to completely root out the asymmetric relationship structure practiced by the Chinese or merely ignore this cultural element.

Ethical issues

Every Chinese is raised to see the Guanxi between people, and looks for some good out of the relationship. In order to establish good communication, a public relations professional in this case would have to supply a traditional Chinese with that good he is looking for. Now, that creates another issue that in many countries is considered to be illegal and referred to as a form of bribery.

Lack of knowledge of various cultures and their ways of communicating

In conclusion, by examining public relations practice in Europe, Asia, and North American we can see that there are significant differences in the function of the professional field, as well as in approaching styles. Such differences occur according to a local public's needs, values, and ethics. Communication is a process, and culture is the structure through which the communication is formulated and
interacted. Every culture consists of its own language, traits, values, and ethics. What is normal for one culture might be considered inappropriate for another. That’s why public relations’ job requires a thorough research of a key public before establishing a relationship. If not doing so, a public relations professional might unintentionally touch some unethical issues, and by doing so, fail to establish communication.

Examples of miscommunication

Here are some examples of how public relations job has been done very poorly, due to a lack of research that resulted in not knowing a local culture, its language, and ethics. And importantly, these real-life public relations campaigns failed because it has been assumed that what makes sense and works locally would have the same success anywhere else:

The GM fiasco in trying to market a car in Central and South America, by giving a slogan to a campaign that says “Chevy Nova,” which means in Spanish, “Chevy it doesn’t go.”

Coors tries to launch a campaign in South America with a slogan, “Turn It Loose,” when translated into Spanish was read as “Suffer from Diarrhea.”

Scandinavian vacuum manufacturer Electrolux used the following in an American campaign: “Nothing sucks like an Electrolux.” Scandinavians literally translated the slogan from their language into English.

Pepsi’s slogan “Come Alive with the Pepsi Generation” translated into Chinese as “Pepsi Brings Your Ancestors Back from the Grave.”

Purely global or international public relations is not yet possible. As to qualities of a cosmopolitan PR professional, he/she must have general skills in how to communicate effectively. That includes having common sense, general worldviews, and norms of interaction patterns. It is important to remember that each public is unique and should be approached differently by taking into a count its culture, values, and ethics.

References


End Notes


Bulgaria and the European Union: The Process of Becoming a Member State

Teodora Sabeva

The Beginning

The accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union (EU) in January 2007 completed the fifth and largest wave of new members - 12. EU officials believe that this was the most well-planned and smoothly executed accession in the history of the union. Even though some might argue that the EU is a rather recent formation, it has a vibrant history.

It all began on May 9, 1950, when the French foreign minister Robert Schuman presented Jean Monnet's idea of having a united Europe. His main concern was how to recover Europe after it was torn by WWII. Everyone wanted peace and stability but the question was how to achieve it. Jean Monnet, an experienced diplomat was approached by Schuman asking him to draft a plan to recover the European economies. Monnet proposed a "High Authority" to be established which was to govern the production of steel and coal in France and Germany. The main supplies used for the production of munitions, could now be geared to a different application. That cooperation would later grow to a wider economic collaboration between the two countries. The major issue was to warm the relationship between the old enemies, France and Germany. The pact was also open to other countries interested. Schuman envisioned a huge change on the way for Europe. During the press conference Schuman declared, "It is no longer a time for vain words, but for a bold, constructive act. France has acted, and the consequences of her action may be immense. We hope they will. She... For peace to have a chance there must first be a Europe. Nearly five years to the day after the unconditional surrender of Germany, France is now taking the first decisive step towards the construction of Europe and is associating Germany in this venture. It is something which must completely change things in Europe and permit other joint actions which were hitherto impossible. Out of all this will come forth Europe, a solid and united Europe. A Europe in which the standard of living will rise thanks to the grouping of production and the expansion of markets, which will bring down prices ...". On April 18, 1951, The Treaty of Paris (The Coal and Steel Community Treaty) was signed by France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux. Now this treaty is said to have laid the foundation of the EU as we know it today.

All of that was less than sixty years ago. Now Europe is more united than ever. The European Union has become something like an elite club to which most European countries have gradually become a part of. However, the principles set upon by the Treaty of Paris are still valid. The EU is aiming at keeping the continent peaceful and financially stable. Officials believe that by eventually having all European countries join the Union, the aim will be achieved.

The Policy

Before becoming a full-fledged member and enjoying the benefits of the common market, a country has to go through a lengthy process of negotiations with the EU Enlargement Agency which performs a thorough analysis of all economic, social and political aspects of the applicant nation. The initial screening process includes two steps: first, the EU evaluates how prepared the candidate country is to start negotiations; secondly, the candidate country examines the Acquis and accepts it. Only then does the Enlargement Committee begin the negotiations. The candidate country has to comply with all the requirements by raising its standards up to a certain threshold, which is not necessarily as high as the financial situation in the current member countries. The candidate country is offered considerable support which includes an influx of subsidies from the union's various funds and agencies. Finally, the application has to be approved by the EU Parliament and by each member state before a country can officially enter the union.

Factors Affecting the Negotiation Process

Bulgaria submitted its application for membership on December 16, 1995. It has walked a long way to January 1, 2007 when the country, along with Romania, officially became one of the twenty-five EU member states. Unlike the other post-communist countries (Poland and the Czech Republic for example) Bulgaria wasted six years in the beginning of the 1990s after the communist regime collapsed. Those years turned out to be essential later on when the rest of the post-communist countries moved quickly to a market economy, while the Bulgarian government was still confused and disoriented. Then came the recession of 1997 combined with hyperinflation of 1,085%, which severely hurt the economy clashing the GDP to -7%.

Such a dire situation required strict measures. The solution was for Bulgaria to enter a currency board arrangement. So on July 1, 1997, Bulgaria pegged its currency, the Lev, to the Deutsch Mark and later on to the Euro. At the time the exchange rate was set at 1:1 ratio. The current exchange rate is set to BGN 1.955830 for EUR 1. It took the country two years to recoup and 1999 was the first year when
growth was registered. Around that time, on the southeast border there was a civil unrest which soon turned into an armed conflict involving the whole EU and the United States. Naturally, Bulgaria could not sustain healthy economic growth rate. Since 2000, the economy has finally been able to recoup and grow every year and despite the global slowdown in 2001-2002 due to the 9/11 attacks and the war in Iraq and Afghanistan, Bulgaria's economy is steadily growing.

First Steps

Since the beginning of 1996, the government in Bulgaria has been taking the necessary steps towards implementing the pre-accession requirements. In its 1997 status report, the Enlargement Committee concluded that the country is not yet ready to begin formal negotiations. In May 1998 Bulgaria developed the National Program for the Adoption of the Acquis, which is a plan of action to bring Bulgaria's legislation to the requirements of the Acquis. The country had to modify a lot of its laws in order to comply with the EU accession criteria.

During the EU council in Helsinki on December 10, 1999, considering the report from the Enlargement Committee concluding that Bulgaria has reached a satisfactory level to commence negotiations for accession, it was determined that formal negotiations for accession would be opened in February the following year. A negotiation guide was set up containing thirty-one chapters dealing with everything from financial to social and environmental requirements. Every chapter was dealt with on an individual basis by the appropriate ministry. Regular reports were issued on the progress the country had made in implementing the chapters. After an acceptable level of implementation had been achieved, the monitoring committee from the EU would officially close this particular chapter and Bulgaria would move on to the next step. In December 2002, the EU Commission developed a road map to speed up the efforts of the Bulgarian government and to draw its attention to the problematic areas. By 2004, all of the chapters in the negotiation guide were successfully closed. The EU acknowledged that the country is ready to become a member state. However, after the EU government decides to introduce a new country to the table, the proposal has to pass the approval of each individual member state before it becomes official.

Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant

Nuclear safety is a major issue in the EU especially since the Chernobyl explosion on April 26 1986. During the G-7 meeting in Munich in 1992, Germany called for measures aimed at improving the safety of nuclear plants. The EU committed to providing the financial support needed. Currently there are 110 plants in the EU undergoing decommissioning. This chapter in the negotiation process turned out to be difficult to close because of the rigorous public discussion and protests it provoked.

Bulgaria has a nuclear plant, "NPP Kozloduy", which was built in three stages. The first stage consisted of units one and two which began operations in July 1974 and November 1975 respectively followed by units three and four which represented the second stage and started working on December 1980 and May 1982 respectively. The last two units which are the most modern were completed in September 1988 (unit five) and December 1993 (unit six). The power plant serves as the major producer of electricity for the country with a share close to 50% of total electricity output. Moreover, it manages to produce extra energy which is sold to neighboring Greece and Albania. All that being said, the safety issue remains and the EU is fully aware of the potential threat this plant poses. This is the reason why the EU has been firm in its decision to have the reactors closed one by one.

The community in Bulgaria however, looks at the situation from a different angle. They see the EU as being hostile. First, the plant provides jobs for most on the people living in the nearby areas. Closing of the reactors will seriously paralyze the local economy. Second, the country will no longer be able to export energy. And last but not least, Bulgaria might find itself short of electrical power and on the verge of becoming an importer of something which it used to have an overcapacity of. Thus, the public was against closing the reactors. The sad part is that there is a lot of important information, which was not presented to the public. The EU has provided substantial financial support through the PHARE program allocating a total of €200 million for the decommissioning of reactors one and two for the period 2000 – 2004. Another €350 million is set aside until 2009.

Under the Cologne Agreement from November 29, 1999, Bulgaria committed to closing down reactors one to four. The first two reactors which ceased operation were units one and two. They were shut down on December 31, 2002. For the remaining two units – five and six, Bulgaria signed an agreement with the European Atomic Energy Community on June 20 2000, according to which a loan would be provided to further guarantee the safety of the reactors. Interestingly enough, in its 2006 report, the Kozloduy NPP indicates that it has reached operational levels close to the ones before reactors one and two were shut down. During the same year, on December 21, 2006 reactors three and four were closed before their operational closing date, following the agreement with the EU. However, thanks to the high degree of safety of the two reactors and the support of the public and nuclear power experts, the reactors were brought back to operation.

As this step clearly indicates, the EU as a whole is not against using nuclear energy. While some members like Denmark have totally distanced themselves from operating NPP (nuclear power plants), others rely heavily on nuclear energy. France, for instance, has four fifths of its energy produced in NPP. What the EU is trying to achieve is boost the safety in the plants and decrease to minimum the likelihood of any potential accidents. In the majority of the former Soviet satellites NPP were built – Romania, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Slovenia and Slovakia. Similarly to the NPP in Kozloduy, almost all of those plants are nearing the end of their lifespan and are undergoing decommissioning.
Free Movement of Goods

Bulgaria’s trade partnership with the EU goes back to 1993, long before the accession negotiations began. A free trade zone was created between the EU and Bulgaria. The EU market is an open market, meaning that goods which are sold in one member state can be freely traded in any other member state. Upon its entry to the EU, Bulgaria will automatically enter the European Economic Area Agreement (EEA), which established the EU economic area and deals with the free movement of goods, persons and capital. Bulgaria, as a member state has access to this open market, but before that the government has to ensure that all goods that come out of Bulgaria comply with the uniform EU standards for quality control, packaging and labeling. Bulgaria is required to adopt these requirements before it becomes a member state, which will ensure a smooth transitioning into the common market. Bulgaria has long traditions trading with most of the EU members. Due to that most of the exports already meet the stringent requirements.

Free Movement of Persons

With regards to the free movement of persons, Bulgarian citizens still face restrictions. Since December 1, 2000 Bulgarian citizens can travel freely in the members of the Schengen Agreement. Bulgarian nationals can also reside temporarily in those countries for no more than three months every six-month period.

The movement of workers is more strictly regulated. After Bulgaria’s accession in the EU, there is a two-year period during which EU labor markets will be partially restricted. Moreover, each member country has the right to extend this restriction period with another five years should it determine that its labor market might be negatively affected. National regulation or other bilateral agreements that a particular country has will prevail over the above limits. If a member state applies such measures to Bulgarian citizens, the Bulgarian government has the right to reciprocally limit its market to the citizens of that country. However, the labor market in Bulgaria is probably less attractive than the market of the other countries. Thus, even though the provision is there on paper, in practice it has no value. Currently, Germany and Austria have restrictions to the number of workers and the professions they can take on. When accessing the EU labor markets, Bulgarian nationals should be given preference over candidates from third countries.

Bulgaria has to work to harmonize the professional qualifications it issues. Degrees obtained from Bulgarian institutions are not widely recognized abroad.

Free Movement of Capital

Free movement of capital is another aspect requiring attention. According to the 2007 yearbook, EU businesses from the fifteen old member states have poured EUR 2 billion in the Bulgarian economy in the form of foreign direct investment (FDI), or 1% of the FDI of the members in 2005. This gives the country eighth place in terms of FDI invested among the twelve newly accepted member states (since the 2004 enlargement). Eurostat, the EU’s statistical agency estimates that in 2006 the FDI which came to Bulgaria from EU-25 was EUR 3.7 billion.

The difference between FDI and regular portfolio investment is that for a FDI, the investor obtains at least 10% capital. Investors are taking advantage of Bulgaria’s cheap labor and attractive location close to most EU members’ market. The Federation of European Employers publishes data on the changes in minimum wages in all European countries. As of January 1, 2008, Bulgarians have the lowest monthly minimum wage among all the EU members – EUR 112.49 opposed to an average of EUR 400 in the EU zone.

Another reason is the growth potential that exists in the economy. Until recently, major companies were reluctant to invest in Bulgaria because of the unstable economy and lack of stimulating legislation. At that time Greece was the largest investor. Many businesses, primarily in the apparel industry, operate close to the border and export the production to Greece. In the past five years, the situation has been changing and FDI from the other of the EU countries have been operating at a profit. The Bulgarian Central bank has estimated the imports for 2007 from EU states alone is over EUR 11.3 billion. Germany ranks as the largest trade partner spending EUR 2.5 billion, followed by Italy with close to EUR 1.9 billion and Greece placing third with EUR 1.1 billion. However, estimates that at the end of 2004, looking at FDI only, Italy had the largest assets from FDI worth EUR 440 million, followed by Germany with EUR 253 million. The Bulgarian economy has become a very attractive destination to invest as evidenced by the 200% increase in extra-EU-25 FDI from 2004 to 2005. Enterprises in countries like the United States, Switzerland, and the Gulf Arab Countries have assessed and cashed in on the good investment climate in Bulgaria.

When the parliament first started discussing a proposed legislature regarding foreigners being able to buy land in Bulgaria, a heated dispute arose. The government felt threatened that outsiders will come and purchase major chunks of land. In recent years the policy has become much more liberalized for EU member states. In 2007 the government passed a law allowing citizens from the EU or members of the EEA Agreement to own property in Bulgaria, nevertheless keeping some restrictive classes, which following EU directives, can be valid until 2012.
Rural Development

Bulgaria is an agricultural country producing cereal: wheat, grain maize corn and barley, as well as tobacco, wine grains, rose oil and dairy. It has been assessed that the country has a huge potential for producing energy crops.24

Dairy manufacturing has a long tradition in Bulgaria. This is the only business for many families in the rural areas. Small farms of three animals around the country produce cow milk. The owners then sell the milk to several major processing companies. Having in mind that Bulgarian products will gain free entry to the EU market, they have to comply to the uniform standards. The EU requires certain procedures to be followed when raising the cattle, and collecting and storing the milk before it arrives at the processing facility. Most farmers were concerned because they could not obtain the capital to comply with the new conditions. The milk which does not comply is to be sold on the domestic market only. The country has until December 31 2009 to fully comply with the requirements. Under the Special Accession Program for Agriculture and Rural Development (SAPARD) program for the period 2000-2006, 164 projects in the milk sector were approved, which translated into EUR 35.7 million.23

The agricultural sector in Bulgaria suffers from two major deficiencies. First, the equipment technology used is outdated, thus, the level of production is low. This stems from the second reason: land ownership is decentralized. The practice of private cooperation is still not widely spread. The average land ownership is 1.6 ha., but the majority is less that 1 ha.25 From the late 1950's until 1989, the population was forced to surrender their agricultural land to government co-operatives which developed it. After the communist regime fell, the land was distributed back to their owners, who were now unwilling to cooperate.

Young people in Bulgaria flee the rural areas, which offer employment only in the agricultural sector. They prefer to settle in the nearby towns where they get positions in the service or manufacturing sectors. People who are in the agricultural sector are either retirees or people who have found it expensive to live in the city and have moved to the villages where they can set up a small farm and earn their living from it. Other people living in the villages are those who have grown up managing the land they have inherited. Having this in mind, it is not surprising that the SAPARD committee has estimated that the average age of the manager of an agricultural holding is sixty years.26

The EU is known for providing generous support to its farmers. SAPARD is especially designed for candidate countries. Its objectives for Bulgaria were:

“to develop efficient and sustainable agricultural production and raise food processing standards to EU levels through new technology, better market structures and strategic investment; and to achieve sustainable rural development, based on alternative employment opportunities and best environmental practice.”27

SAPARD’s support for Bulgaria was determined to be, with accruing interest, EUR 53.026 million annually (2000 prices), the third largest figure for the twelve candidate states at the time28. SAPARD usually sponsors 75% of eligible initiatives and the rest is provided by the government or the private sector. Rarely, the commission will cover up to 100% of the expenses. Thus, yearly, close to EUR 115.478 million go towards agricultural projects. From 2000 when the SAPARD program started in Bulgaria until 2006, before the country entered the EU zone, EUR 1.07 billion went for rural development from both EU and national sources29. The branches which received the most money were (in million euros):

Investment in agricultural holdings – EUR 403.6
Processing & marketing of agricultural and fishery products – EUR 395.4
Development and diversification of economic activities, providing for multiple activities and alternative income – EUR 150.7

Interestingly, SAPARD has a section called “Renovation and development of villages; protection and conservation of rural heritage and cultural traditions” under which some EUR 54.1 million were allocated. Partly due to those funds, for the last two years Bulgaria has become a popular destination for rural tourism among the EU citizens. The problem is that Bulgarians place little value on the history and traditions which are preserved in the villages; hopefully; that will change.

Part of the SAPARD funds was offered to farmers who developed a business plan and applied for the financial support. In the case of Bulgaria, the intent was to help Bulgarian farmers rise up to be competitive in the open market. Once a farmer was approved for funding, there was a scheme based on which she receives the support:

- 5 %, 5 %, 4 %, 3 % and 2 % of the value of the production up to EUR 1,000,000 marketed respectively in the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year, and
- 2.5 %, 2.5 %, 2.0 %, 1.5 % and 1.5 % of the value of the production exceeding EUR 1,000,000 marketed respectively in the first, second, third, fourth and fifth year.30

2004 data show that only 3% of farm managers have agricultural or managerial education. Half of the people engaged in agricultural activities have only elementary or lower secondary education31. Such knowledge is insufficient to develop and defend a successful busi-
ness plan. They have to hire someone to prepare the business plan for them. After that they have to go through a cumbersome approval process. That is why a lot of farmers are discouraged or unable to apply for the subsidies. The procedure itself is cumbersome and the committee reviewing the plan often requires amendments. In its intent to facilitate the assimilation of the SAPARD funds, the State Fund Agriculture formed a special agency in several pre-approved commercial banks. Still the SAPARD committee admits that allocation of the money was a problem. In some divisions, the actual projects approved exceed by more than 100% the planned numbers. In the area of meat quality improvement, Bulgaria outperformed by 4.355%. SAPARD Monitoring Committee usually redirects funds to the areas where more projects are approved than the initial funds allow to be sponsored. After the SAPARD program ended on December 31st 2006, 95.2% of the budget has been allocated to various projects.\textsuperscript{30}

Realizing the shortcoming from the inappropriate education, SAPARD has provided money and resources for project for vocational training. So far two projects have been approved: one focused on milk production, livestock breeding and beekeeping, which required EUR 57.7 thousand; the other dealt with plant growing and consumed EUR 129.5 thousand.\textsuperscript{30}

Unlike other initiatives, which people get to know only after the deadline has passed, SAPARD has been publishing information on regular basis in the local and national media including newspapers, national and cable TV and radio channels, giving the audience the chance to participate and express any concerns or questions.

**Taxation**

Bulgaria has lower taxes on petroleum, cigarettes, and alcohol than the EU. This corresponded to lower prices of these goods. For unleaded petroleum used as propellant the excise tax had to be raised to EUR 323 per 1000 l by January 1, 2008, which translated into an increase of BGN 0.04 to 0.06 per liter at the pump or 3.36%. Another increase is scheduled for January 1, when the tax will reach the minimum level for the union of EUR 359 per 1000 l. Following the hype for incorporating bio-fuels, the Bulgarian government mandated that starting January 1, 2008, the fuel has to be mixed with bio-components which was supposed to counteract 5% of the increase in excise taxes.\textsuperscript{32} However, the refineries are ill-prepared. Ironically, at this time making biofuel is more costly that refining petroleum.

For cigarettes the new taxes were imposed starting January 2008. For the most popular brand of cigarettes an extension is allowed – December 31, 2009. In the meantime, taxes will be raised gradually. The new taxes have resulted in a significant increase in the price of a box of cigarettes. Abiding by the EU norms, the government raised the taxes with 33% to reach the minimum level. The additional money coming in is covering the healthcare costs for treating lung cancer and other smoking related diseases. As a result the price per box climbed BGN 0.55 or about 20% more than the original price.\textsuperscript{33} The major tobacco companies lobbied for gradual implementation of the new taxes, which would help them retain their position mainly in the domestic market where the impact will be most significant. The current high demand for cigarettes is likely to remain, which will open a lucrative market for smuggled cigarettes. According to a recent study done by the Bulgarian Ministry of Health, close to 50% of the population smoke.\textsuperscript{34} Despite the fact that smoking has been decreasing in developed countries, Bulgaria does not follow this pattern. On the contrary, since the last survey conducted in 2002, an increase has been registered in the percentage of people smoking. The growth can be partly explained by the low prices of cigarette. The EU has agreed to provide support to tobacco-growers for a limited threshold of output, a total of 47,137 tones.\textsuperscript{35}

People in Bulgaria produce their own alcohol, called rakya in small refineries located around the country. Even though most of it is for personal consumption, some of it is sold for profit. Until recently the activity was not regulated in any manner and no one was keeping track. The EU placed a transitional regulation regarding the distilling of fruit and wine spirits. A family is allowed to refine up to 30 liters/yr, for personal consumption. Any amount above the threshold will be taxed at a preferential rate of 50% of the regular excise tax on ethyl alcohol.\textsuperscript{36}

**Euro**

In its 2002 status report the Enlargement Committee concluded that Bulgaria has a “functioning market economy.” The Euro Parliament stated that “Bulgaria is as close, or in many cases closer, to fulfilling accession criteria fourteen months before accession, as any of the new Member States were at the same stage in the accession process of the fifth enlargement.”\textsuperscript{77}

Nevertheless, this is not a sufficient criterion to adopt the common currency. Currently, Bulgaria has not adopted the Euro. It is expected to do that in 2011. Currently the country is part of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) as an EU member state. However, the country participated with derogation. There are three main requirements, on which Bulgaria is currently working:

- Independence if the Central Bank
- No privileged access of the private sector or the government to financial institutions
- No direct funding of the private sector

As with the previous wave, new member states have to go through at least two years of evaluation of their financial performance before adopting the Euro. As a member state, Bulgaria will gain access to the Exchange Rate Mechanism which is not available to candidate countries. After the country's performance is assessed, a decision will be made regarding the common currency adoption.
Last Steps

By the end of 2004, the negotiation process was brought to an end and all thirty-one chapters were closed. Bulgaria was getting ready to sign the accession treaty. First, on February 3 2005, the permanent representatives of the EU in Bulgaria issued their opinion, confirming that the country is ready to enter the Euro zone. Between then and April 2005 the various committees had to ratify the accession document. On April 13, the EU parliament voted with an overwhelming majority “for” Bulgaria’s accession. The formal adoption of the treaty took place two weeks later, on April 25, 2005 in the Neunmuster Abbey in Luxembourg. Then, the government of each member state had to endorse the treaty by the end of 2006, so that on January 1 2007 Bulgaria can consider itself a full-fledged EU member.38

The time between the ratification of the treaty and its implementation is rather long. There was a provisional clause, similar to previous enlargements, according to which the accession of Bulgaria could be delayed one year to January 1, 2008 in the event Bulgaria fails to continue its progress in the areas, which do not meet the Acquis criteria fully, giving the impression of being unprepared for membership. The Enlargement Agency announced its final favorable verdict, attesting once again that Bulgaria deserves to be a part of the EU.

The New Phase – January 1, 2007

The EU parliament and committees enlarged, allowing for representatives from the new states. Bulgaria was given eighteen seats in the parliament. Bulgarian became one of the official languages of the union, making Cyrillic the third official EU alphabet.

Becoming an EU member is a great privilege but it carries its responsibilities. Bulgarian legislation has to abide by the binding regulations of the EU legislation and the latter takes dominance over the former in case a conflict arises. Any trade agreements Bulgaria has signed with third parties have to be reconsidered in light of the European restrictions. So far Bulgaria has received funds from the EU agencies, but as a member, the country has to contribute its share. Bulgaria committed to eight annual payments of EUR 1,850,000 each to the European Investment Bank beginning in 2007.39

Even though Bulgaria has a transitional status in terms of the Schengen Agreement, the country benefits from free entry into any EU state. As part of the EU, Bulgaria’s borders to the east with the Black Sea, the west with Serbia and Macedonia and the southeast with Turkey, became external borders of the union. In its effort to ensure the safety of each member state and to enforce more strict security and control at the checkpoints, the union will allocate EUR 239.5 million until 2009. Bulgarian institutions will continue to receive financial assistance to help them reform according to the EU guidelines. For each of the years 2007-2009 the amounts are as follows: EUR 539 million in 2007, EUR 759 million and EUR 1002 million in 2008 and 2009 respectively.40

The country has to sustain its current satisfactory level of implementation of the Acquis. Compared to the countries which entered in 2004, Bulgaria has been outperforming. Only ten months after its accession, the country has attracted more investment and has achieved a higher economic growth than was expected from the EU.41

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The Acquis, as defined by the EU, includes:

- the content, principles and political objectives of the Treaties on which the Union is founded;
- legislation and decisions adopted pursuant to the Treaties, and the case law of the Court of Justice;
- other acts, legally binding or not, adopted within the Union framework, such as interinstitutional agreements, resolutions, statements, recommendations, guidelines;
- joint actions, common positions, declarations, conclusions and other acts within the framework of the common foreign and security policy;
- joint actions, joint positions, conventions signed, resolutions, statements and other acts agreed within the framework of justice and home affairs;

international agreements concluded by the Communities, the Communities jointly with their Member States, the Union, and those concluded by the Member States among themselves with regard to Union activities.

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Vladimir Putin’s Impact on Russia’s Foreign and Energy Policies

Sean Stein Smith

Introduction

As tensions and strife continue to worsen in the Middle East, Russia takes on greater importance as a source of oil and natural gas. As the world’s largest exporter of natural gas and holder of vast oil reserves, with the infrastructure to refine export said oil, Western nations, as well as China, are all facing a future of dependence on Russian oil. However, then-president Vladimir Putin was not one to grant altruistic favors; he used Russia’s considerable regional clout to influence and bully neighboring countries into acquiescence and submission. As the primary, and in some cases, the sole supplier of natural gas and oil to countries in the region, Russia has the ability to dictate prices, especially of natural gas. In January of 2006, Russia cut off gas supplies to Ukraine and Moldova during negotiations, and threatened to cut supplies to Georgia and Belarus during late 2006 negotiations. In a June 28th Associated Press article from this year, further tensions were revealed during a round of renegotiation regarding military-technology contracts between Russia and the Ukraine. Putin, now prime minister, was in charge of these negotiations and expressed satisfaction with the way they progressed. However, as the negotiations concluded, Putin announced that Gazprom, the Russian state-owned natural gas monopoly, would more than double prices from $179 to $400 per 1,000 cubic meters (prices given in US dollars).1

“Russia far outpaces other countries in the production and export of natural gas; it accounts for 22% of the world’s gas production. And although its domestic gas consumption stays at 15.5% of the world’s figure (ranking second after the U.S.), its export potential (the difference between extraction and consumption) exceeds the aggregate export potential of three regions in the world – the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.” 2

The above citation reinforces the previous statements: Russia’s influence and power is growing as the need for its natural gas increases. Not only are the supplies substantial but many regions of the world now depend on natural gas as much as they depend on oil, as the following selection states:

“So, America, together with the large corporations representing its ‘gas interests,’ will offer bitter competition to the West European and Northeast Asian countries within the international gas markets. This factor, in addition to the fast-growing demand for hydrocarbons in China, suggests that Russia will play an ever growing role in ensuring a normal balance between supply and demand on the world’s natural gas market.”3

As these selections show, Russia is in a very enviable position at the current time: it possesses large quantities of a commodity that is very much in demand presently, with this demand only increasing as time passes. Neighboring countries are heavily dependent on Russian natural gas and oil: the nations of Lithuania, Moldova, Latvia, Georgia, and Estonia all import 100% of their natural gas from Russia. Some will point out that these countries are small, impoverished, and therefore of no great strategic importance in the grand scheme of things. Returning to the Ukraine once again, it imports a reported 35% of its natural gas from Russia. However, it is not just poor, former satellite countries that Russia has under its thumb. European Union members Germany (39%), France (24%), and Italy (31%) all import a significant amount of their natural gas from Russia. 4

Gazprom

The fact that Russia has these resources and uses them as a geopolitical tool has been made abundantly clear in the preceding statements, what has yet to be addressed is the vehicle with which Russia delivers these resources: the monolith known as Gazprom. Gazprom Neft, as it is officially known, operates primarily in Russia, is headquartered in Moscow, and its principal activities include exploration, producing, refining, and marketing of crude oil and natural gas. The Russian government owns and controls 51% of the company, making it a state entity. Revenues were $20.172.1 million during the fiscal year ended December 2005, which was an increase of 38.3% over 2005.5 During recent years, foreign oil companies have been forced to “sell” their refining and other industrial equipment to Gazprom and cease operations in Russia, the most recent case being that of BP. In addition to foreign companies, the domestic oil firm Yukos, founded and operated by Mikhail Khodorkovsky was forced into bankruptcy by state tax claims that exceeded its profits. Russia’s most modern and transparent company was forced into bankruptcy and had to “sell” its most profitable assets to the government-controlled entity Rosneft. Khodorkovsky had supported, with millions of his own dollars, an opposition candidate to Putin, and many believe this is the true reason he is now serving an 8 year sentence in a hard labor prison camp on the Sino-Russian border. Perhaps even a more important reason for the systematic destruction of this once large and powerful company is the fact that Khodorkovsky was considering selling a major stake to a multi-national oil company. This would have resulted in a “loss of control” of the company from the hands
of a Russian national, subject to the will of the Russian government, to a multi-national firm with no reason to consider the effect of their actions on Russian foreign policy. As will be explained in more detail, natural gas and oil play a large role in Russian foreign policy and the state requires control over these industries to implement the policy they so desire effectively.

In spite of the fact that Gazprom is portrayed as a huge monolithic company that has successfully established a stranglehold on many of the former Soviet satellite states and that ruthlessly is expanding its iron-fisted policies west towards Europe and east toward Asia, there are significant chinks in the armor that become obvious upon closer examination of the firm. Gazprom, up to very recently has been following a state mandated business policy, selling natural gas and oil to the aforementioned former Soviet states at deep discounts, sometimes at cost. This policy, as the cost of maintaining the aging infrastructure increases exponentially and the dearth of new fields puts added pressure on existing ones to increase production, has made Gazprom unprofitable in its “domestic” markets (for the purposes of this article, domestic will be expanded to include the Eastern European nations mentioned above, whereas this quote refers to Russia exclusively).

“The surprising Achilles heel of Gazprom is that it produces only about 550 billion cubic meters (bcm) of gas—just enough to supply its own domestic market. It relies on cheap imports from Central Asia to meet the majority of its other commitments to customers in Europe, amounting to nearly 80 bcm. And since only Gazprom’s foreign customers pay full market value, it’s the company’s exports which make up the bulk of Gazprom’s revenues—$21 billion for the second quarter of 2007 alone.”6

In addition to this, Gazprom has not opened a new gas field since 1991, and according to a statement by the Russian Industry and Energy Ministry, by 2010 Russia will be unable to fulfill even its domestic obligations if the rate of decline continues. In an attempt to forestall this ominous scenario, former Gazprom chairman and now President of Russia Dmitry Medvedev, has announced an expensive, $420 billion mandate dedicated to exploration of new gas fields and the construction of new gas production facilities. If Russia wants to maintain its preeminent position as a powerful natural gas supplier it is imperative for these actions to be undertaken with the utmost speed. Former suppliers such as Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan are constructing their own pipelines and forming bilateral deals directly with other nations, most notably China.

**Foreign Policy**

Despite the numerous differences of opinion and diplomatic spats that the United States and the People’s Republic of China have been involved in recently, this is one area in which both sides seem to have a mutual objective: to break the stranglehold Gazprom has on Europe and Central Asia, and to humble Putin in light of his statement:

“There is complete certainty that Russia will fulfill all its contracts.”8

The United States diplomatically encourages “diversity of supply” in this area, and has allies across said region. Germany’s Lufthansa air company recently switched its Asian cargo hub from Krasnoyarsk, Russia to Astana, Kazakhstan. Russia banned all Lufthansa flights from its airspace in a retaliatory action when word of this proposed move became known. Germany switched hubs regardless. As a Kazakhstan minister said regarding these actions:

“The Russian government thought they would frighten us by flexing their muscles, the same way they did with Georgia and Ukraine” says the minister. “But we have others we can turn to.”9

To delve briefly into specifics regarding increasing the diversity of supply, two major projects are currently underway in East European and the Near East that, if completed as originally intended, could significantly reduce dependence on Russian natural gas and oil. The first is a route that would go from the Caspian-Black Sea-Ukraine-Poland, which would transport Kazakhstan’s oil, by pipeline and tanker, to Gdansk, Poland bypassing Russia completely. The second proposed route, named Nabucco, would ship Azerbaijani gas via Turkey into Central and Western Europe.10 With increased cooperation from the countries involved evident in the last few months, the so far tepid pace of construction should increase.

In addition, China has signed a contract with Turkmenistan for 30 bcm of gas a year, in addition to the 14 bcm and 50 bcm earmarked for Iran and Russia, respectively. One American diplomat in the region commented that Turkmenistan had undoubtedly promised more gas than it can feasibly produce, and will have to choose which of these customers they decide not to supply. Despite all these problems, obstacles, and issues facing Gazprom it remains a large, powerful, extensive, profitable company that is an enviable position, and is controlled by the state. “State” equated with Putin, who has made a systemic effort to gain control over the entire governmental and businesses apparatus of modern Russia.

**Vladimir Putin**

The rise of Gazprom and the return of state-owned businesses coincides with a larger pattern of power concentration, and that larger pattern coincides with the rise to prominence of Vladimir Putin as president of Russia. His hard-fisted, authoritarian style of rule fits nicely with his earlier career as a member of the Soviet Union’s state security apparatus, the KGB. From 1975 to 1991, Putin recruited
spies and agents of other kinds for the KGB, but in 1991 returned to Russia and took a post as deputy mayor of St. Petersburg, one of the most pro-democratic enclaves in Russia at the time:

"Mr. Putin built a career as a deputy mayor in one of Russia’s most progressive city governments with a reputation as an advocate for economic reforms and foreign investment. He won over prominent liberal politicians. When he moved to Moscow in 1996, those connections helped propel a headlong rise to Russia’s presidency four years later."  

Once in office, however, he began to roll back on a national level many of the reforms he himself has implemented on a local level in St. Petersburg. In addition to restricting the freedoms of the press and the people he governed, he also began surrounding himself with former associates from the KGB, as the following quote is in reference to:

"Instead, Mr. Putin cracked down on rivals, in part with the help of old security allies. He gave Mr. Cherkessov, the KGB veteran, command of a national antidrug agency. Another staff job went to Mr. Sechin, the Portuguese-speaking former spy."  

However, considering Putin’s long tenure as a KGB operative (1975-1990) and his role as Director of the Federal Security Service, (FSB) which is the replacement to the KGB, Putin’s decision to surround himself with hard-nosed and like minded people should not truly surprise anyone. Despite preaching and embracing democratic principles more recently, Putin grew up a self-admitted admirer of the KGB and prefers the state controlled model of the nation state the Soviet Union embodied.

People in the public spotlight: actors, politicians, etc. often have separate personas: one for the public world and the other for their personal lives. According to Lyudmila Putina, Putin’s wife, the cold, calculating, brusque man that is so beloved by the public for the assertive and decisive manner in which he runs the nation, is the same at home. She states that his marriage proposal to her was blunt and so riddled with warnings she thought at first he was going to dump her, that he lied to her about being a KGB spy, he was habitually over ninety minutes late on their dates, missed the birth of their first child, and criticizes her cooking.  

The biography in which Putin is quoted is the second volume in an expected trilogy: the first volume focusing on Putin’s time at the KGB to when he was elected president on December 31, 1999. Putina’s comments are not considered critical or even complaining in nature; she states that her husband is a “good, hard-working man” but is “emotionally cold.” Some contend that the somewhat harsher tenor of this volume is to try and portray a sense of balance, since the first volume was seen by some as over-fawning. In somewhat of a contradiction, Putina, at the request of her husband, asked for and got assurances that their two daughters, Masha and Katya, would not be mentioned. Putina had up until recently shunned the spotlight with her husband, but their daughters are even more exclusive: very few photos of them exist in the public sphere and they are almost never spotted “out in public” at shopping centers, concerts, etc. Putin is obviously trying to protect his loved ones from people who might do harm to them, but it is still interesting that a man so involved in government and the public sphere can manage to keep his family relatively sheltered.

In addition to the biography set that is being written about his life, there is a growing personality cult surrounding Putin, culminating with a public celebration on his 52nd birthday this past year. He is idealized by Russian women as a strong, dependable man, and idolized as a strong leader who will do what is necessary to restore Russia to its proper status as a world power. There is also a movie that was released this February, A Kiss —— Off the Record, about Putin and how he met his current wife. While alone that may seem inconsequential, when taken as a piece of a larger picture, it demonstrates just how popular, beloved, and deeply entrenched Putin is and has become in everyday Russian life.

While Putin is officially the Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, the party he has run, One Russia, controls Parliament, and since Putin is the figurehead and leader of the party, Putin for all intents and purposes controls the Russian Parliament. Before leaving office in May, he reorganized the system of governorships so that now they report to and are accountable to the prime minister. In addition, Putin restructured the lower systems of local government to tie them more strongly to the governors of their respective regions, indirectly tying them to him. Far from stepping aside and not interfering as he had mentioned, Putin’s restructuring of the government into a more vertical format will enable him to retain control or at the very least, exert substantial influence over many of the government positions he oversaw as president.

As prime minister, Putin has taken an even greater interest in modernizing the aging Soviet-era infrastructure that much of Russia still relies on, including several statements regarding energy efficiency and the implementation of large-scale projects across the industrial complex:

"The Russian economy is interested in the implementation of new large-scale projects in industry, transportation as well as in comprehensive urban development and housing construction."  

Regarding the issue of energy efficiency, Putin stated that Russia needed to raise the energy effectiveness of its economy by 2020, and that a large part of this improvement lies in increased investment and maintenance of existing thermal power stations, electrical networks, and finding reusable sources of energy. If one looks at the mandates set forth by Putin, both as president and as prime minister, it becomes very obvious that these are long-term goals, indicating that despite allegedly embracing the idea of a democratic transition of power, Putin plans to remain an influential and public figure in the Russian government for the foreseeable future.
"The Russian Business Model"

Putin also put his stamp on the way foreign companies do business: in order for the Russian state to effectively control the natural gas and oil reserves the nation possesses and to use them as leverage in policy-making decisions the state has to have at the very least a 51% (controlling interest) in said firm. Quoting The Putin Thesis and Russian Energy Policy:

"Mr. Putin asserts that rational resource use, environmental protection, and ensuring long-term economic security are beyond the capacity of market mechanisms. "In Russia, as a consequence, it is necessary to implement this principle of rational resource use by an organic combination of market mechanisms of self-regulation and support for rational resource use and conservation." 19

Referring back to the article, Mr. Putin states that while the Russian state does not need nor require total control over the energy and natural industry, it does require that it has a major voice in all decisions. As the article succinctly states, a policy of “guided control” is the ideal Putin is looking for; by placing like-minded people in positions of governmental and business power, Putin has at least reduced the risk of another public affair like that concerning Yukos. 20

As mentioned above, Putin has ensured a certain level of stability in at least the short-term by appointing people friendly to his policies to all key positions: the Kremlin, government offices, and the state controlled companies. Putin has also developed and written down his official policy for how companies in the natural gas and oil industry are to do business in Russia:

"Putin’s policy for foreigners will remain: form alliances with state firms; agree to a minority role, bring technol- ogy and money, and help Russian companies expand abroad.” 21

This has also been referred to as “playing by a different set of rules.” Western firms can indeed enter and do profitable business in Russia, just as long as it is not forgotten who is in control: the Russian state. Putin, and his like-minded protégé Medvedev, both follow this policy to the letter and companies that do not play by the rules are forcibly removed from the market, and have their assets nationalized. Shell, after not agreeing to certain provisions set forth by the Russian government, had a two-year campaign waged against them, and eventually had to surrender control of a $20 billion dollar oil project on the Russian island of Sakhalin. Even TNK-BP, which is a joint venture established by three Russian oligarchs: Viktor Vekselberg, Mikhail Fridman, Len Blavatnik, and the British firm British Petroleum (BP) in 2003, is currently under attack; 22 this is part of a larger campaign to nationalize assets considered too sensitive or too strategically important to be in the hands of foreigners. In recent months, the Russian regulatory apparatus has been turning up the pressure on BP.

Corporate offices have been raided by the FSB, allegations of visa breaches and violations of corporate law have been leveled against employees, all reminiscent of the campaign waged against Shell. Now, BP is not going to simply fold and leave because of this increase in unpleasantness. BP's boss Tony Hayward has a large investment in Russia and is relying on the success of this venture to restore some of the luster and prestige BP had lost after suffering a series of environmental and safety setbacks during the tenure of Lord Browne. In addition to the qualitative matter of projecting a good image, BP's Russian operation counts for almost a quarter of its global production and 13% of its profits; the loss of this would be a staggering blow for the company as well as a huge personal embarrassment for Hayward. 23 At the writing of this article things are not looking good for BP. As was reported in the International Herald Tribune on July 20th, 2008:

“For all its efforts to retain an equal share in a Russian joint venture here, BP seems to be edging ever closer to los- ing control.” And,

“As is often the case in Russia these days, industry analysts say, the dispute will probably be resolved with a Russian state company taking control of the venture, by buying out either BP or the Russian partners.” 24

Adding yet another wrinkle and further complicating this precarious matter is that this arrangement was arranged by Putin during his time as President and his strategy is to simply drive BP out. This makes the situation even more delicate and precarious; the same tactics used to destroy the oligarchs that were established during the Yeltsin era—that assets were sold at knock-down prices to insider cronies—cannot be used. Putin understood and fully approved of this arrangement.

However, now Putin is prime minister, and Medvedev is the president of the Russian Federation; this is the first true test of the power-sharing arrangement that has been put in place. Putin cannot be seen as meddling or as the puppet-master at a time when Russia is trying to put a slightly softer foot forward. Despite all of this, the Russian government is still determined to retain control over the natural gas and oil industry:

“[Russia] in February it passed legislation that mining and oil companies should be controlled by a Russian share- holder. Potentially that puts Medvedev's new government on a collision course with BP, its biggest foreign investor and third-biggest Russian energy company after Gazprom and Rosneft.” 25

Russia is not alone in the nationalization of Big Oil assets, as this previously cited article from The Observer indicates:

“Last week, the Bolivian government seized control of Transredes, a pipeline company partly owned by Royal Dutch Shell, and in Venezuela, President Hugo Chavez has nationalized the oil industry as part of a plan to redistribute wealth to the poor.” 26
Iran

Russia has a fine line to travel. To implement the foreign policy that the government desires, control of the natural gas and oil industry is required, but driving away Western companies is not going to improve matters. Even Putin’s own “business model” cited above for Western companies includes an area where they bring their technological expertise to Russia. As has been mentioned several times in this article and almost daily in the media, Russia’s infrastructure is deteriorating rapidly and a massive overhaul is required of almost all critical components. To accomplish this, Russia needs Western technology and investment, but Western companies are going to be more and more reluctant to invest in Russia if they believe that as soon as the work is completed it will be nationalized and stolen from them, costing them financially and embarrassing them. The cooling off of relations between Russia and the West in general, but particularly the United States, has led Russia to seek other partners in its quest to reassure itself as a world power: Iran.

While the apparent chumminess Russia expresses towards Iran may at first blush seem simply like an attempt to do the opposite of what the United States and other Western nations want, upon closer examination it is not so simple. It is a known fact that both Russia and Iran sit atop of huge natural gas reserves and are very interested in using these reserves to further their national agendas, policy wise. The phrase and idea of a “gas OPEC” has been mentioned several times and while Putin is quick to say that he supports “co-ordination” of the gas markets rather than the creation of some kind of cartel, Putin was also quoted as such, in reference to the possibility of creating a gas-OPEC:

“We are already trying to coordinate our actions on the markets of third countries. And we intend to do it in the future.”

Putin also attended a meeting this past October in Algeria, which is the world’s fourth-largest natural gas producer: together with Iran these three nations could indeed form a very powerful consortium of gas exporting nations, with immense political leverage. However, Algeria is not blacklisted by Western nations as a terrorist sponsoring state and is not actively trying to develop nuclear plants, the end goals of which are unknown; Iran is. Before delving into the details of why Russia appears to be so helpful to Iran and disregarding all the requests and demands of the West to help rein in their nuclear ambitions, one must look at the other side.

Moscow is often the voice of moderation when tensions between the West and Iran reach dangerous levels of heated rhetoric and threats of acts of violence. While at an October 2008 summit of the Caspian states, Putin made clear several times his opposition to any attack on Iran because of its nuclear ambitions, as well his strong opposition to using any Caspian state as a military launching site for said attacks. He never openly stated that Russia would come to the aid of Iran in the event of such an attack. In fact, Putin never said anything at all about what Russia would actually do if the United States or a Western nation attacked Iran or launched a proxy campaign using another Caspian state as the front.

In addition, Putin visited Tehran this past October, the first visit by a Russian leader since Joseph Stalin in 1943. After this meeting, Ali Larijani, the head of the Iranian Security Council, left his post. Known as a voice of moderation who sought to temper the often heated and sometimes outlandish rhetoric of the Iranian president, Mr. Ahmadinejad, Larijani’s departure indicates a shift in Iranian policy towards more of a hard-line stance. What was not known until later and was overlooked by some was that Russia had earlier offered what seems to be a compromise that would have appeased the West and kept relations with Iran cordial: Russia would enrich uranium in Russia for use in Iranian reactors, assuring that Iran would not produce the highly enriched uranium needed for nuclear weapons. Tehran rejected the idea. However, in general the cycle of international diplomacy follows this general pattern; Iran commits an act or says a statement that irritates the West and raises the possibility of increased sanctions and/or the likelihood of military action. A high-ranking delegation from Iran travels to the Kremlin, where economic and political favors are exchanged, and than Russia offers a compromise that at least appears to be genuine. In this manner, Russia and Iran keep their good relations, and the West cannot say Russia is doing nothing to help.

Furthermore, Putin has made clear that he too is concerned about Iran becoming a nuclear power; Moscow is far nearer than Washington D.C. and has not taken Iran’s threat to wipe out Israel lightly. Putin addressed a European Jewish Congress in Moscow, saying that Israel and Russia were the two countries most threatened by the rise of nuclear Iran. These quotes summarize the current state of affairs:

“He did not pledge Russian support for Iran in case of military attack, and he refused to set a date for the delivery of the nuclear fuel for the Bushehr nuclear reactor complex.”

“An American pilot hit by a Russian-made rocket would not be in Russia’s interest.”

Even Saudi Arabia is throwing its hat into the ring in an attempt to smooth over relations between Iran and the West: Prince Saud Al Faisal, Saudi Arabia’s foreign minister offered a proposal on behalf of his kingdom and the other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states. The council would develop a multi-national consortium to provide low-enriched uranium to all users in the region, an understanding that would be “acceptable to all Arab nations.”

Despite all of this, the bond between Russia and Iran is as strong as ever and is perhaps Putin’s greatest hope to achieving regional dominance. As mentioned above, Russia has delayed the final construction and the shipment of nuclear fuel to the Bushehr power plant in Iran, ostensibly for lack of payment of part of the Iranian government. Quoting an article from the Gale Learning Center, this stalling tactic cannot and will not last indefinitely:
“This issue is of enormous immediate concern to Russia as well as Iran, for it lies at the heart of Putin’s long-term endeavor to project the power of the Kremlin worldwide by becoming the dominant global supplier of reliable energy exports.”

However, the true reason behind the warm relations between Iran and Russia is much more basic and easier to understand; both nations have what the other desires. Iran was and still is in need of new military technology and weaponry, which Russia provides without asking questions about some of the human rights violations Iran has been accused of by Western nations, as well as some diplomatic protection. Russia’s defense industry needs hard currency, so this deal makes sense for both nations in that regard. In addition, Russia sees Iran as a future power, outside the sphere of the United States, and so sees wisdom in cultivating a friendly relationship with Iran. Some specifics of this lucrative arms trade are provided below:

“Putin wants to cultivate expanding trade relations with Iran, which now stand at $2 billion a year. Russia recently signed a deal with Iran for the sale of a surface-to-air missile system worth $700 million to defend the Busher reactor site.”

Still, Iran and Russia are not obvious allies. Iran is an Islamic Republic, while Russia does not specifically endorse any state religion and is waging a campaign against Chechen rebels. However, as opposed to the 1970s when the Shah had several multi-national firms and nations willing to invest in nuclear technology, after the Islamic Revolution in 1979, Russia was the only nation willing to continue doing business with Iran, and talks about the Busher plant began in 1990. A deal struck in 1995 included the education of twenty to thirty Iranian experts in nuclear science and engineering, as well providing technological and scientific assistance and supply three light water reactors to the Busher plant. Russia refused to construct a heavy water facility, which could be used to create nuclear weapons. Further details follow:

“The potential yield of the this project was not to be limited to $800 million, it was to amount to $2.7 billion over a seven-year period of cooperation.”

This nuclear contract further strengthened the economic ties between the two nations and contributed to further improvements in bilateral relations. More recent contracts agree on an $8.5 billion nuclear energy facility contract with Iran, with the total yield from the construction of the Busher facility estimated at $25 billion, estimated by Aleksander Gluhov, the man in charge of the Busher plant. In addition, China is projected to have forty nuclear power plants by 2020 with twenty more in India. Even projects currently underway closer to home (Ukraine, Slovenia, and Hungary) have projected revenues of $14.5 billion dollars; these relatively small projects alone provide employment for 300,000 to 400,000 Russians, which makes the administration very careful when dealing with matters concerning the industry.

Although the issue of Iran and its nuclear program is one of the major problems between Russia and the United States, Russia needs to pursue this endeavor to ensure it has a dominant place in the regional politics, as well as solidifying its position as a dominant energy provider of gas, oil, and nuclear power. By standing with Iran during tense times Russia preserves the monopoly of the Iranian nuclear energy market, demonstrates its reliability as a provider and mediator, and leverages favors and political considerations out of Iran regarding regional politics. Iran sees Russia as its only ally in the region, but Russia plans to use the prestige and reputation as a reliable partner it is developing with Iran to expand its nuclear energy program. The market is not yet dominated by Western nations, and Russia strongly wants to take the preeminent role as a responsible nuclear power and influential nuclear negotiator on the international level.

Perhaps the single most important reason as to why Russia is being Iran’s ally during these extremely tense times is the craving the Russian government possesses to once again weigh heavily on the policies of the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Middle East, and South Asia. Russia’s rise on the wave of high natural gas and oil prices has enabled it to begin this climb back to prominence, but a strong relationship with Iran will help ensure that strategic endeavors important to Russian interests will not be stymied by this other influential regional power. Russia deflects and absorbs some of the barbs emanating from Washington with its roundabout negotiations and time-bidding strategies, while Iran helps Russia once again become “The Power” in its geographic neighborhood. This political exchange is invaluable; it gives both countries something that each desperately desires: Iran gets protection from the West, military and nuclear technology, and a reliable trading partner; Russia gets an aggressive customer for its military and nuclear technology and other products, as well as Iran’s permission to play the role of big dog in the region.

**Looking Ahead**

Vladimir Putin, in his two terms as president of the Russian Federation, to his current role as prime minister, has had a palpable effect on Russian foreign policy. The use of natural gas and oil as political tools, as well as cultivating economic relations with Iran are all a result of Putin’s influence. He is positioning Russia as a regional power in energy resources from oil and natural gas to nuclear power. He has restructured the nation into a more authoritarian society, with massive state-controlled companies at the center, and with like-minded people heading all key areas, including the presidency. Putin is a beloved figure who has a cult-like following and is entering more and more into mainstream life with the biography and movie mentioned previously. He has met with Nicholas Sarkozy, Angela Merkel, President Bush, Ayatollah Khamene’i and Ehud Olmert and discussed international policies with all of them. Russia, since the time of Peter the Great, has wanted nothing less than to be seen as an equal by the West. With the industrial complex he has created, the
lucrative future for this industry, and the fact that Putin will be at the controls for the foreseeable future, makes the likelihood of that dream becoming reality more and more certain with each passing year.

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