






IRC WHAT'S NEW November 2008 Part 2 Special Issue on Russia

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<p>Videos http://www.america.gov/multimedia/video.html?videoid=1498976413 Video files on foreign policy, U.S. politics, American life, democracy, science and health.</p>		<p>Blogs http://blogs.america.gov/ Blogs at America.gov offers readers a place to discuss designated topics with experts from the United States and around the world, and to share their comments and reactions with the broader Internet public.</p>		

ARTICLES

Abramowitz, Morton **GEORGIA ON OUR MIND** (National Interest, Web Exclusive, September 16, 2008)

The author, former president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, points out that the financial cost to the United States is only one of the results of the Georgian crisis; the region's energy situation has changed, and it is now more likely that gas will continue to be delivered through Russia rather than Georgia. Turkey and several other NATO member states will be unlikely to support extending NATO membership prospects to Georgia and Ukraine. The European Union has also been affected by the conflict; Abramowitz believes that the EU could begin the process to admit Georgia and Ukraine, but that does not seem likely. Creating an effective policy toward Russia will be an important task for the next administration, Abramowitz says, and "slogans and fulminations won't do the trick." Currently available online at <http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=19884>

Benjamin, Daniel **"THE RUSSIANS MOVED BECAUSE THEY KNOW YOU ARE WEAK"** (Brookings Institution, Posted August 20, 2008)

The Georgia crisis represents a failure to fully integrate Russia into the international system — a process that two previous presidents worked toward, but the current administration ignored. Recent events follow a long-term pattern of symbolic high-level contacts, followed by ignoring Russian interests in lifting Jackson-Vanik (Congressional amendment to the 1974 Trade Act that denied most-favored-nation status to certain countries with non-market economies that restricted emigration rights), withdrawal from the ABM Treaty, invading Iraq, and politicking over Kosovo's status, "a series of blows that convinced the Russians that their mighty country was of piddling significance to Washington." NATO enlargement has been important and positive for Europe's emerging democracies, but communicating its aims to Russia — along with plans to develop missile defense — rank among additional missed opportunities. The next administration will be left with the challenging task of completing Russia's integration into the international system, while making sure it pays a price for its actions in Georgia. Available online at http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2008/0820_russia_benjamin.aspx?emc=lm&m=218456&l=1&v=1017734

Bush, Jason **THE NEW PUTIN GENERATION** (Business Week, No. 4074, March 10, 2008, p. 26)

Despite the authoritarianism of the current regime in the Kremlin, Russian young people are enthusiastic supporters of Vladimir Putin and the current Russian president Dmitry Medvedev. The author notes that the young generation, which has come of age in an era of growing prosperity and stability, see Putin and Medvedev as "guarantors of their bright economic prospects." However, there is an almost cultlike worship of Putin within some groups in the growing pro-Kremlin youth movement. Currently available online at http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/08_10/b4074026082666.htm?chan=magazine+channel_news

Butler, Sarah **RUSSIA'S RETAIL REVOLUTION** (Management Today, June 2008, pp. 52-56)

The Russian retail market is set to nearly double by 2011, to \$745 billion, according to figures from The Economist Intelligence Unit. By 2012, retail sales in the country are likely to exceed those in the UK or Germany, making Russia Europe's second-biggest retail market after France. And at least 60% of that growth is expected to come from the regions, where there are 14 cities with a population of over 1 million. At present, it is the more affordable supermarkets, electrical stores, DIY outlets and fashion retailers that are enjoying the fruits of regional Russia's spending

spree, where growth is running at 30% a year compared to 'just' 16% in Moscow. But doing business in Russia can be far from straightforward, especially for foreign operators. Retail has one great advantage for foreign players: the consumer economy is relatively open -- unlike the strategic parts of the economy, such as oil and gas, which are highly political and fiercely protected. Currently available online at <http://www.managementtoday.co.uk/news/812968/russias-retail-revolution/>

Friedman, George **THE MEDVEDEV DOCTRINE AND AMERICAN STRATEGY** (Stratfor.com, Posted September 2, 2008)

The author provides a trenchant overview of Russia's new five-point foreign policy concept, issued in the wake of the August 2008 incursion into Georgia, dubbed the "Medvedev Doctrine" by many regional observers. The doctrine, which stresses international law, multi-polarity, non-aggression, protecting Russian citizens, and "privileged interests" in former Soviet territories, appears to be an ambitious attempt to take advantage of American preoccupation in the Middle East to leverage regional power to redefine the global system in which the United States no longer has primacy. U.S. policymakers face stark and difficult strategic choices in consolidating gains in the Middle East and facing Russia's challenge in the months ahead and cannot discount Moscow's willingness to destabilize the Middle East in the meantime by continued transfers of advanced weapons systems to hostile regimes in the region. Available online at http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/medvedev_doctrine_and_american_strategy

Friedman, George **THE RUSSO-GEORGIAN WAR AND THE BALANCE OF POWER** (Stratfor.com, Posted August 12, 2008)

The Russian invasion of Georgia has not changed the balance of power in Eurasia – it simply announced that the balance of power had already shifted in recent years, argues a senior analyst for one of America's leading geopolitical intelligence and risk analysis consultancies. The U.S. has been absorbed in its wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as a destabilizing situation in Pakistan. It has no strategic ground forces in reserve, is in no position to intervene on the Russian periphery, and must consider the importance of Moscow's cooperation in a host of global challenges, including Iran and North Korea, which are more central to U.S. interests than Georgia. These actions have opened a window of opportunity for the Russians to reassert their influence in the former Soviet sphere. Available online at http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/russo_georgian_war_and_balance_power

Goldthau, Andreas **RESURGENT RUSSIA? RETHINKING ENERGY INC.** (Policy Review, no. 147, February/March 2008)

Russia's global aspirations are growing, and its energy policy is prompting fears that a Sino-Russian alliance, based on oil and gas deals, could challenge existing power structures and threaten U.S. dominance internationally. Despite Russia's ownership of 26.6 percent of the world's proven gas reserves and 6.2 percent of the world's proven oil reserves, the author says the idea that Russia could become an energy superpower is wrong. He challenges some key assumptions underlying Western policy toward Russia, offers an alternative explanation about some recent Russian policy choices and draws conclusions about foreign policy implications for the U.S. and the Western world. Available online at <http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/14931716.html>

Gottemoeller, Rose **ONE WAY TO SAVE THE RELATIONSHIP** (Moscow Times, August 27, 2008)

In an op-ed for Russia's largest English-language daily, the director of the Carnegie Moscow Center argues that Washington and Moscow must not lose sight of their common international security interests in the wake of the Georgia crisis, including ongoing arms control negotiations, Iran's nuclear program, resolving the status of Georgia's separatist regions, and redefining European security in the wake of Russia's abandonment of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty earlier in 2008. The author calls for a high-level commission of former top U.S. and Russian officials to intensively study these and related issues in an effort to get relations between

Washington and Moscow back on track as soon as possible. Available online at <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=20430>

Gray, John **FOLLY OF THE PROGRESSIVE FAIRY TALE** (The Guardian, September 9, 2008)
The belief among many Western thinkers and governments that the world is on an inevitable path to democracy is a “progressive fairy tale,” according to Gray, emeritus professor of European thought at the London School of Economics. He makes the point in the context of mounting concerns about the rise of authoritarianism in Russia. At the end of the post-Cold War era, Gray says we’re seeing “a renewal of geopolitical conflicts of the sort that occurred during the late 19th century.” Neither the West nor the United States will be in charge of events during this period, especially in view of the crashing economies and credit crisis, Gray says. The writer warns that the West must be cautious about intervening in Russia’s sphere of influence. “Western leaders need to acquire a capacity for realistic thinking, or else they will be woken from their dream of progress by the force of events.” Currently available online at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/sep/09/russia>

Hahn, Jeffrey; Logvinenko, Igor **GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN RUSSIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND THE ECONOMY** (Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 60, no. 8, October 2008, pp. 1345-1369)

In a study of the attitudes and beliefs of those Russians who came of age after the fall of the Soviet Union versus the earlier generation that grew up during the Soviet period, Hahn notes that, not surprisingly, the younger generation is generally more supportive of democratic institutions and a free-market economy. However, the younger generation is much more in favor of economic than political reforms, indicating that they are more interested in getting ahead economically than in participating in political life. Currently available online at http://pdfserve.informaworld.com/167794_731211589_902427749.pdf

Hamilton, Robert **COMMENTARY: A RESOLUTE STRATEGY ON GEORGIA** (Center for Strategic and International Studies, Posted September 4, 2008)

The author, a defense analyst and former head of U.S. security assistance programs in Georgia, takes aim at Moscow’s narrative that Tbilisi, and ultimately Washington, instigated the August 2008 Georgia crisis, providing on-the-ground perspective on Russia’s provocations in separatist South Ossetia and Abkhazia calculated to spur Georgian military intervention. The resulting conflict discredits critics’ claims that recovery assistance should avoid new military assistance – a path that “risks encouraging Russian leaders to continue their occupation of Georgia, undertake further military intimidation of its neighbors, and challenge the United States and its NATO allies more directly.” The author concludes that “the lessons of U.S. and NATO strategy of firmness and negotiation in the 1970s have relevance today.” Available online at http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/080903_geo_rus_article.pdf

Hassner, Pierre **RUSSIA’S TRANSITION TO AUTOCRACY** (Journal of Democracy, Vol. 19, No. 2, April 2008)

In his 2007 Seymour Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World, Hasner raises grave concerns about anti-democratic trends in the government introduced by Vladimir Putin. He calls Putin’s authoritarianism “harsh” with “some fascist features,” drawing on both czarist and Soviet history. Putin deceptively maintains appearances of democracy “while progressively emptying democratic institutions of their content,” he says, citing the attacks on free media, public debate, and human rights. Hessner says it is a “virtual democracy” in which Putin appointed a “virtual president” while still remaining power himself, head of a “virtual empire” which is part pretense and part aspiration to be a major world power. He traces Putin’s increased belligerence toward the West to the Russian desire to be on an equal footing with the European Union and the U.S., and resentment at perceived encroachment on former Soviet territories. He is pessimistic about the prospects of democracy in the short term, but lauds the “uphill struggle” of courageous people like the late Anna Politkovskaya, who strive to pursue the truth at great personal risk. Available online at <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Hassner-19-2.pdf>

Holbrooke, Richard **WHAT THE WEST CAN DO** (Washington Post, Friday, August 22, 2008)
Holbrooke, top Clinton Administration diplomat and Obama campaign foreign policy advisor, urges U.S. and European leaders to tone down the overheated rhetoric toward Moscow and focus on delivering economic and security assistance to Georgia. Holbrooke endorses a \$1 billion aid package proposed by Obama running mate Joe Biden, which subsequently mirrored the Sept. 3 aid proposal rolled out by the White House. While Georgian leaders must reassess their approach to Russia and Europe, Holbrooke urges the international community to stand united in telling Moscow that “it will pay for using force, or the threat of force, against neighbors that were once part of the Soviet space. This is especially true for Ukraine and Azerbaijan, which are likely to be Moscow's next targets for intimidation.” Available online at:
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/story/2008/08/14/ST2008081401253.html>

Holloway, David **RUSSIA RISING** (Commonweal, vol. 135, no. 15, September 12, 2008, pp. 13-14)

The author notes that the crisis in Georgia has brought relations with Russia to the forefront of the foreign-policy agenda, and has brought to a head a debate that has been taking place for some time on how to deal with Russia. The Georgia situation has strengthened those who believe Russia has taken the wrong path and should therefore be isolated, but the author cautions that this may not be a wise course of action; a better choice might be to listen to those who advocate finding a way to cooperate with Russia on a variety of important issues, such as nuclear proliferation and disarmament, climate change, energy and Iran's nuclear ambitions. Currently available online at http://www.commonwealmagazine.org/article.php3?id_article=2301

Horowitz, Joseph **VODKA IN SOUTH BEND: THE LIFE AND MUSIC OF A SOVIET DEFECTOR** (Humanities, Vol. 29, no. 5, September/October 2008, pp. 44-47)

Defectors from the former Soviet Union have had a profound influence on the American art scene; George Balanchine, for example, had gone on to transform American ballet. Alexander Toradze, a Georgian-born pianist, found a new home in South Bend, Indiana. In 1991, Toradze accepted a piano professorship at Indiana University at South Bend; he went on to make South Bend his artistic and social base. To date he has recruited more than seventy gifted young pianists, mainly from Russia and Georgia. Giving a toast at a wedding of one of his friends held at Toradze's home, Toradze described his artist community's relationship to South Bend: “From 1994 we started to travel a lot and we absorb very powerful experiences. But then we return to the quiet and humble atmosphere of South Bend and it feels like home. This is where my boys were born. This is where some of us grew older and others of us grew up.” Available online at http://www.neh.gov/news/humanities/2008-09/South_Bend_Artists.html

Kagan, Robert **HISTORY'S BACK** (Weekly Standard, Vol. 13, no. 46, August 25, 2008, pp. 18-23)

In an analysis of Russia's return to an authoritarian system of governance, Kagan notes that “the core assumptions of the post-Cold War years have proved mistaken.” While the West assumed that more open markets and capitalistic economic activity in Russia and China would lead to greater political freedoms, “the autocracies of Russia and China have figured out how to permit open economic activity while suppressing political activity.” Kagan sees a period of growing tensions ahead, but he does not believe that the West and the U.S. are in a poor position to respond. Despite the damage the war in Iraq has done to U.S. popularity in the world, Kagan sees the traditional allies “pursuing policies that reflect more concern about the powerful autocratic states in their midst than about the United States.” He writes that “the future is up for grabs” and the U.S. and other democratic nations must rise to the challenge of “keeping the hopes for democracy alive in Russia and China.” Currently available online at <http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/015/426usidf.asp>

Klare, Michael **PUTIN'S RUTHLESS GAMBIT** (Tomdispatch, posted September 2, 2008)
Russia invaded Georgia to gain control of the oil and natural gas reserves of the Caspian basin, in the view of Michael Klare, professor of international affairs at Hampshire College and author of *RISE AND FALL OF THE GREAT POWERS: THE GEOPOLITICS OF ENERGY*. The proven oil

reserves of Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, all former Soviet republics, amount to 48 billion barrels, equivalent to what is left in the U.S. and Canada. The known natural gas reserves in those countries total 248 trillion cubic feet, about what exists in Saudi Arabia. All the energy transportation channels from the Caspian basin region pass through Russia, except for the pipeline that runs through Tblisi, Georgia, connecting Baku, Azerbaijan with Turkey's Mediterranean port of Ceyhan. Klare contends that Russian leader Vladimir Putin is aiming to resurrect Russia as a global power by imposing state control over energy supplies of the former Soviet Union. Putin's gambit is to ensure that that most oil and gas from newly developed field in the Caspian basin travel west via Russia, according to Klare. "Today, the Georgian army is in shambles, the BTC (Baku-Tblisi-Ceyhan) and South Caucasus gas pipelines are within range of Russian firepower, and Abkhazia and South Ossetia have declared their independence, quickly receiving Russian recognition, Klare notes. Currently available online at http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/174971/michael_klare_the_bush_administration_checkmated_in_georgia

Kuchins, Andrew C. **COMMENTARY: WHERE SHOULD U.S. POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA GO FROM HERE?** (Center for Strategic and International Studies, Posted September 8, 2008)

The U.S. must very carefully consider and calibrate its response to prevent a complete breakdown in the U.S.-Russian relationship that would seriously damage a number of its core security and foreign policy interests around the world, says the director of the CSIS Russia and Eurasia program. While the Georgia crisis represents a breakdown in U.S. policy in the region, the author argues against overreacting, noting that global economic forces are already exacting a significant toll on Russia. Advocating a massive aid effort for Georgia and a careful interests-based engagement with Russia, the author urges Washington to take quick action to avoid diminished policy options for the next administration. Available online at http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/080908_kuchins_russia.pdf

Lieven, Anatol **UNITED MOSCOW** (National Interest, Web Exclusive, September 19, 2008)

During the week-long 2008 meeting of the Valdai Discussion Club, the participants met with President Dmitri Medvedev, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, Deputy Prime Minister Igor Shuvalov and Deputy Chief of the General Staff Anatoly Nogovitsyn. The author, professor in the War Studies Department of King's College, London, and senior fellow at the New America Foundation in Washington, D.C., describes the similarity of the visions of all of these leaders and contends: "From the point of view of shaping Western policy towards Russia, it would therefore be wise to proceed from the assumption that what we are facing is a very united and determined Russian approach which is strongly supported by the entire top leadership." He also describes the support he witnessed among the overwhelming majority of the Russian population for the fight in South Ossetia. Quoting Medvedev and Putin, he highlighted their determination to protect the lives of Russian citizens and their confidence in the resilience of the Russian stock market, as well as their criticism of the "U.S.-led unipolar world" and their opposition to NATO expansion. He stresses the Russian leaders' dedication to the defense of Russian interests and Russian honor. This is the third of a three-part series by Lieven on the 2008 Valdai Club conference. Currently available online at <http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=19906>

Matthews, Owen **WHY MCCAIN LOVES MISHA** (Newsweek, September 29, 2008)

During the August 2008 Russian invasion, Georgian president Mikheil Saakashvili was in daily contact with long-time friend and Republican presidential candidate John McCain. The author provides a solid roundup on the relationship, which began in 1995 when McCain chaired the International Republican Institute, striking up a friendship with the young Georgian law student based upon shared belief in democratic values. The author provides a balanced view of both the high and low points of Saakashvili's political career, the clear path of Russian provocations that led up to the Georgia crisis, and perspective on competing foreign policy perspectives within the Republican Party. Currently available online at: <http://www.newsweek.com/id/160069>

Pascual, Carlos; Pifer, Stephen **SECURING GEORGIA** (Brookings Institution, Posted August 18, 2008)

Moscow has defined Georgia's European aspirations as a threat to Russian interests, says two former top U.S. diplomats, and the U.S. must mobilize the international community as it considers whether Russia and the West can share a core base of values to combat terrorism, stop proliferation, and promote energy security. The authors set out 10 recommendations for the U.S., the EU, OSCE, and U.N. to more effectively coordinate their response. Available online at http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2008/0818_georgia_pascual.aspx?emc=lm&m=218456&l=5&v=1017734

Quinn, James **RUSSIA FEELS CHILL WINDS OF THE GLOBAL DOWNTURN** (Telegraph, October 27, 2008)

Russia's booming economy has been affected by the global financial crisis, notes the author, with the leading stock market index down by 75 percent since May, and a recent temporary trading halt. The majority of the money in the Russian stock markets has been from hedge funds and other leveraged investors, who left almost as quickly as they appeared. The lack of participation by the Russian public in the equity markets is a primary reason that the transnational "hot money" has had such a strong effect; only about one percent in Russia invests in the markets, versus about fifty percent in the U.S. Russia's economy is facing a frozen banking sector, a slowing real estate market and falling commodity prices. The lack of pension fund reform, notes the author, is depriving the country of a source of long-term money. Currently available online at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financetopics/financialcrisis/3264822/Russia-feels-chill-winds-of-the-global-downturn.html>

Sakwa, Richard **TWO CAMPS? THE STRUGGLE TO UNDERSTAND CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA** (Comparative Politics, vol. 40, no. 4, July 2008)

The author notes that present-day Russian politics can be divided into two groups -- the "failed democratization" school which asserts that the transition is over, and the "democratic evolutionist" approach, which believes that the situation is dynamic, and any shortcomings of the current regime can be resolved within the existing framework. Among the important issues to be monitored, going forward, are problems of class and economic power and how they relate to the political system, the relationship between geopolitics and democratization, and national development.

Thayer, Bradley; Skypek, Thomas **RUSSIA GOES BALLISTIC** (National Interest, no. 97, September/October 2008, pp. 61-68)

The authors believe that Russia could acquire a nuclear advantage over the U.S. within the next two decades. America's strategic force is a Cold-war relic with an arsenal that is growing obsolete, while Moscow is designing a new generation of weaponry. Thayer and Skypek write that the erosion of American nuclear superiority will have major ramifications for the global balance of power. They warn that decades-old alliances may fracture amid a drift toward multipolarity, as governments from Tokyo to Riyadh to Seoul develop their own deterrents in the face of growing power of states like Russia and China. The authors note that the United States is the only nuclear power with a self-imposed moratorium that has halted the modernization of warheads and delivery systems. Currently available online at http://www.thefreelibrary.com/_/print/PrintArticle.aspx?id=186015822

Trenin, Dmitri **A LESS IDEOLOGICAL AMERICA** (Washington Quarterly, vol. 31, no.4, Autumn 2008, pp. 117-123)

The author, deputy director of the Carnegie Moscow Center and chair of the center's Foreign and Security Policy Program, states that no one seriously expects a magical transformation of U.S. foreign policy, but there is hope in Russia that the state of world affairs will make the next U.S. administration less ideological and more pragmatic. There is keen interest in Russia over the outcome of the U.S. presidential election, but also a feeling of detachment about the possible implications for Russian-U.S. relations. There is a consensus that, after eight years of the Bush administration, America will enter a period of major foreign policy adjustment but Russia will not

be at the heart of it. Widespread in Russia is the belief that the peak of U.S. power and influence is over and the country is on a slow decline. Russia is unlikely to become a U.S. ally like Europe or Japan, but it is equally unlikely to emerge as a challenger seeking to topple the U.S. More probably, Russia will be one of the pivotal countries in the twenty-first century whose eventual orientation will help shape the future global system. A United States that takes time to bring itself to eye level with some of the other major independent players around the world may not immediately be ideal in its own eyes, but it might well become a more respected and effective leader as a result. Available online at <http://www.twq.com/08autumn/index.cfm?id=318>

Young, Cathy **DON'T CRY FOR RUSSIA** (Weekly Standard, Vol. 13, no. 47, September 1, 2008, p. 10)

The author argues against the idea that Russia's aggressive position is a result of Western attempts to humiliate Russia after the fall of the Soviet system, mostly through NATO expansion. Using quotes from Russian dissidents and scholarly articles, Young says that the West has not embarrassed Russia, comparing it with the treatment of Germany after World War II. She argues that Germany was forced to endure true humiliation -- occupation, de-Nazification, massive education campaigns on collective German guilt for Nazi crimes, war reparations, and loss of territories. In contrast, she says, Russia was given \$55 billion in aid from 1992-97 that was not tied to political demands like those imposed on Germany under the Marshall Plan. Young makes a case that Russia's aversion to NATO was its unwillingness to accept the broad strategic policy of the organization, rather than Western attempts to shut it out of NATO. She says that, in spite of Russia's "not free" rating by Freedom House, it was still allowed to join the G7 and assume the chair, reflecting an attitude by the West to turn a blind eye to Russia's aggressions. She also argues that Russia has not publicly rejected Soviet ideologies since the days of the Yeltsin administration, like Germany did with Nazism. Lessons in humility, she says, would go a long way toward changing Russia's foreign and domestic policies. Currently available online at <http://www.weeklystandard.com/Content/Public/Articles/000/000/015/453svsfc.asp>

Zakaria, Fareed **THIS ISN'T THE RETURN OF HISTORY** (Newsweek, September 8, 2008)

The Georgia crisis does not contradict the forces of globalization and integration -- rather, it is a consequence of them, argues the author, a noted Indian-American foreign-affairs scholar and chief editor for Newsweek's international editions. Economic growth is producing new centers of influence, leading to greater national pride, confidence and assertiveness in Russia's but Moscow's actions are ultimately "a major strategic blunder" that has driven its neighbors into the arms of the West, brought Europe and the United States closer together, even alienated longtime ally China and neighboring Central Asian autocracies. While Russia's actions reflect less than total integration into the international system, powerful new countervailing economic forces almost guarantee forces of globalization that are working to mitigate nationalism and unilateralism. Available online at <http://www.newsweek.com/id/156350/output/print>

Zeihan, Peter **THE RUSSIAN RESURGENCE AND THE NEW-OLD FRONT** (Investors Insight, posted September 18, 2008)

Zeihan, a scholar in the research group Stratfor, sees Russian expansion and contraction of empire as a cycle going back hundreds of years. Just as the United States can be expected to rally allies to contain Russian expansion in Europe, the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Far East, Russia can be expected to pose challenges to U.S. security, especially in Latin America. Using Cuba and Venezuela as bases, the Russians could threaten U.S. commerce by deploying naval forces to interdict shipping in the Gulf of Mexico and Panama Canal. In South America, Russia could promote export of more illegal drugs to the United States, "generating massive costs for social stability, law enforcement, the health system and trade." Russia can be expected to work to destabilize Mexico, right on the U.S. border, making it into a hostile state or, even worse, a failed state ruled by drug cartels. Currently available online at http://www.investorsinsight.com/blogs/john_mauldins_outside_the_box/archive/2008/09/18/the-russian-resurgence-and-the-new-old-front.aspx

U.S. Government Texts and Transcripts on Georgia

(Official remarks from March 2008 to present)

U.S. Mission to OSCE on Russian Noncompliance with Cease-Fire (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081031163652eaifas0.2123072.html&distid=ucs>)

Statement on U.S. Pledge of \$1 Billion in Aid for Georgia (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081022174538ihecuor0.9638025.html>)

Kramer Speech on the Future of the OSCE (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081020103033xjsnommis9.714907e-02.html>)

State's Daniel Fried on Georgia Talks (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081016111859xjsnommis0.4291498.html>)

U.S. Mission to OSCE on Situation in Georgia (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081031162934ptellivremos0.6205561.html&distid=ucs>)

U.S. Mission to OSCE on Russian-Circulated Statement on Ukraine (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081031140423xjsnommis0.2542536.html>)

Taken Question on Separatist Representatives at Geneva Talks (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081031145312xjsnommis8.048648e-02.html>)

Representative Berman Discusses U.S.-Russian Relations (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081014180219xjsnommis6.542605e-02.html>)

Remarks by Rice with Latvian Foreign Minister Maris Riekstins (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081009192703xjsnommis0.5422327.html>)

Statement on Bombing in South Ossetia (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081006124749xjsnommis0.5803339.html>)

Rice Interview with Mike Schneider of Bloomberg News (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/October/20081001110227eaifas0.3345758.html>)

Remarks by Bush and Ukrainian President Yushchenko (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/September/20080929172712eaifas0.7695429.html>)

Visit of Ukrainian President Yushchenko to White House (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/September/20080925153734eaifas0.7424433.html>)

State Dept. Briefing by Daniel Fried on U.S.-European Relations (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/September/20080925112633xjsnommis5.004519e-02.html>)

Speech by Defense Secretary Gates on Global Security (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/September/20080922132945eaifas0.5572016.html>)

Taken Question on South Ossetia Provisional Administrative Entity (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/September/20080919115149eaifas0.6926844.html>)

Rice Speech at German Marshall Fund on U.S.-Russia Relations (<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2008/September/20080918155132eaifas0.4152033.html?CP.rss=true>)

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