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Vladislav, you have the floor.

Vladislav Inozemtsev, Director of the Centre for Post-Industrial Studies in Moscow, Special Advisor to Middle East Media Research Institute's Russia Media Studies Project in Washington, DC.

Thank you all for being here. I would like to go a bit further and address a phenomenon that I have tried to call a kind of alternative globalization. If one talks about more or less tariff regulation, more or less intensive trade, I would say that switches from one extreme to another have happened once and again. Globalization – or, in earlier times, internationalization – rose and fell, increasing and decreasing like a pendulum for several centuries so far. I think that what we are witnessing today is a seriously different process because after the Cold War for the first time globalization became almost unregulated, pursued by private actors rather than states, which propelled it to the status of the single most forceful trend in the global economy. As soon as it happened, not only states and corporations but other actors entered the stage – many of them being not only informal and non-governmental, but in some degree criminal or at least illicit and anti-systemic.

Moisés Naím, the former Venezuelan Minister of Trade, is to my mind a very thoughtful analyst who 20 years ago wrote a provocative book called *Illicit*. Later he developed a concept of “five wars of globalization” and talked about five big challenges facing the globalized world from the illegal drug trade to violation of intellectual property rights, smuggling and many other issues. At the time he wrote this book it was a very interesting idea, but all these trends were fostered by anti-systemic forces and non-governmental agencies, groups or networks.

What I am talking about today is a different story: after some period of collaboration between the global actors, we can see the rise of revisionist powers – Russia clearly became a revisionist power, China gained influence – and alliances are building between them and less important evildoers, like Iran or North Korea. We can see a rise of a global system that defies the rules created by the generations since the end of World War II and this “alternative globalization” is now fostered by governments rather than non-state actors. I think this is actually a very important issue because we see unregulated trade with first Iran and then Russia creating shadow fleets of tankers that sell oil around the world without proper authorization. We see the rise of government-managed mercenary armies because that is

what the Russian army is now rather than a contract army. We see state-sponsored trade which defies any kind of internationally recognized restrictions. The evasion of sanctions is also a process that is managed and coordinated at the interstate level, as well as the disregard for intellectual property rights in this part of the world.

I would conclude by saying that even the system of international settlements is also challenged by different new measures, which are widely used by the countries sanctioned by Western powers. My point is that we should therefore be quite careful and astute in assessing the current state of affairs. The new system is very different from the one that emerged during the Cold War when there was a market-oriented, democratic, law-based Western system and an ideologized Communist system dominated by authoritarian governments and based on regulated planned economy. Now, there are the same forces pushing developments on both sides since not only the West with its “orderly globalization” but its adversaries that adopted the “alternative globalization”, are driven by market forces and individual commercial interests – so therefore I believe their fight will become much more prolonged and tuff. I will stop here and just say that I think the major problem in the world is not whether we have more or less globalization, but if we have an orderly globalization or one that is anti-systemic. The fight and the contradictions between them will challenge and shape the world order for the coming decades.

Bertrand Badré

Thank you, Vladislav, for asking us to stay tuned because a lot of things are going on and we should pay attention to what is happening now because it will shape the world in the coming years.