Política Internacional e Geopolítica a crise do mundo globalizado

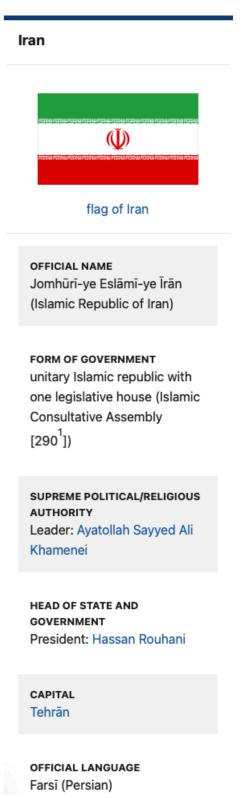
INSTITUTO CULTURAL
D. ANTÓNIO FERREIRA GOMES
José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes
2020-2021
SESSÃO Nº 32



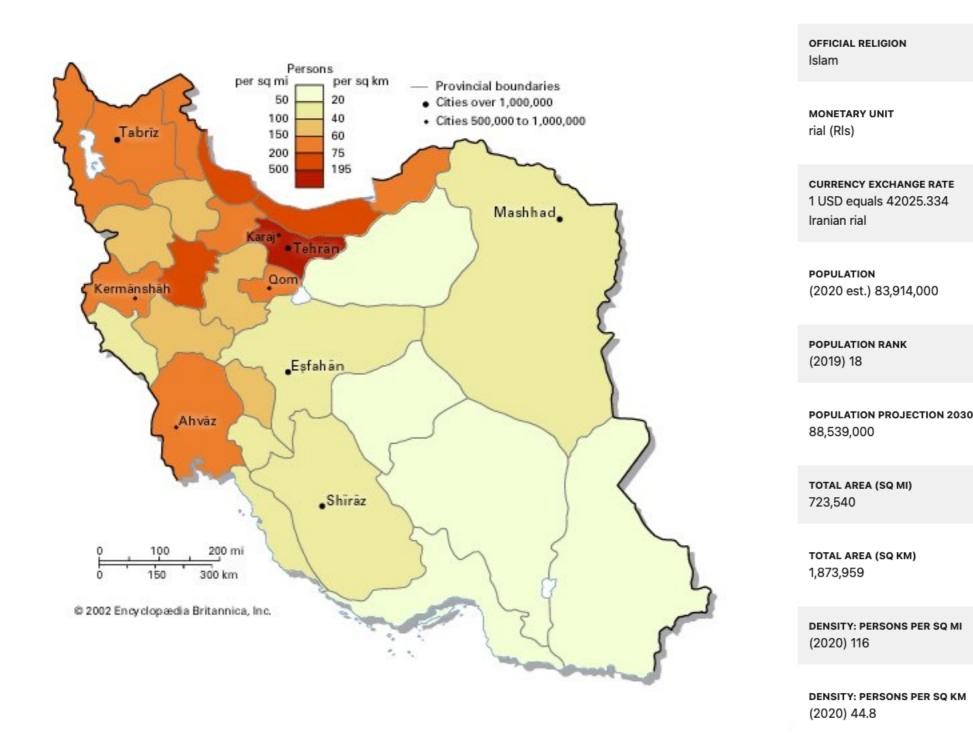
PARTE I – TEMA PRINCIPAL

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (1) [FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]



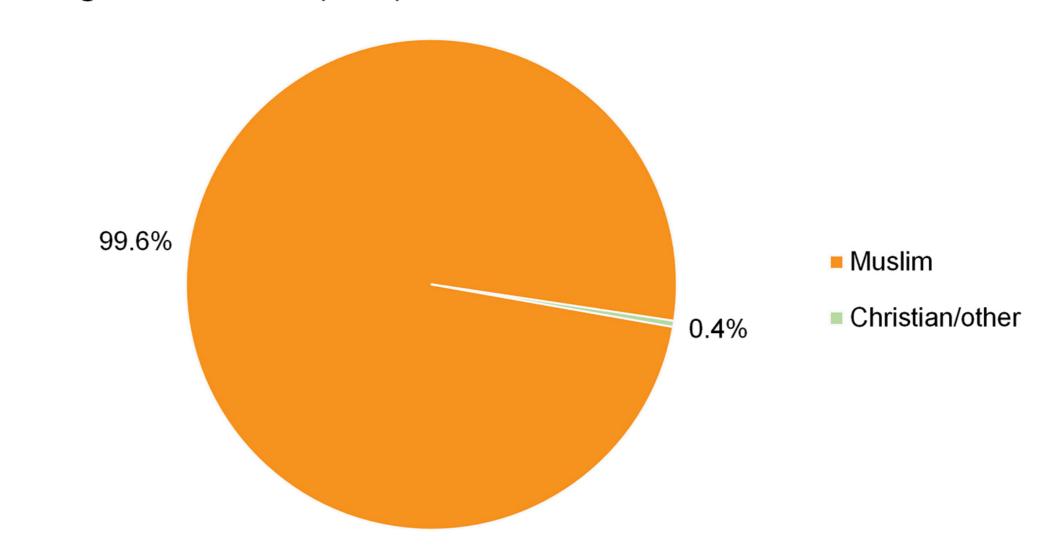


O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (2) [FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]



O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (3) [FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]

Iran religious affiliation (2016)

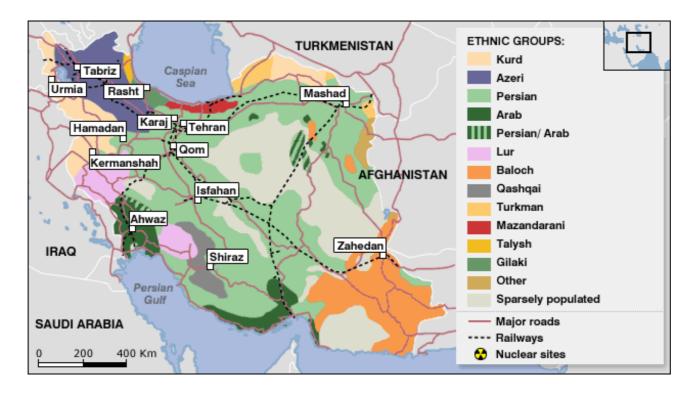


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O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (4) [FONTE: John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies / Harvard University]

Persians and Others: Iran's minority politics

There is a natural tendency to reify countries and think of them as unitary entities, often indicated by calling countries "nations" and presuming a homogeneity and uniformity among the population. But this reification and assumption of homogeneity are almost always inaccurate and misleading. In the case of Iran, it would be a great error to think of the population as being homogeneous, for the people of Iran are in fact quite diverse. There are ethnic, linguistic, organizational, and religious differences among Iranians.



O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (5) [FONTE: John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies / Harvard University]

- In the south around Bandar Abbas and the southwest in Khuzistan, are Arabic-speaking populations.
- In the southwest, in Fars province, are important Turkic-speaking peoples.
- In the west are Lurs, an important population speaking Luri.
- In the west northwest are Kurds, speaking Kurdish.
- In the northwest are the Azeri Turks, speaking Turkish.
- In the northeast are Turkmen, also speaking a Turkish language.
- In the southeast are Baluch, speaking Baluchi.

It is noteworthy that many of these populations have ethnic compatriots across the boundaries of Iran:

- Arabs in Iraq and across the Gulf.
- Kurds in Iraq and Turkey.
- Azeris in the Republic of Azerbaijan.
- Turkmen in Central Asia.
- Baluch in Pakistan.

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (6) [FONTE: Encyclopædia Britannica]

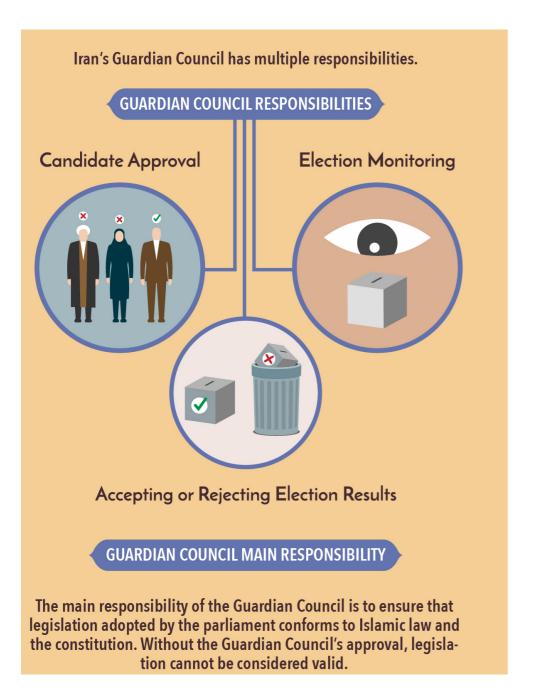
Council of Guardians

Iranian government

Council of Guardians, also called **Guardian Council**, Persian **Shūrā-ye Negahbān**, in <u>Iranian</u> government, a council empowered to vet legislation and oversee elections.

The 12-member Council of Guardians is a body of jurists that acts in many ways as an upper legislative house. Half its members are specialists in Islamic canon law appointed by the country's rahbar, or supreme leader, and the other half are civil jurists nominated by the Supreme Judicial Council and appointed by the Majles (parliament). The Council of Guardians reviews all legislation passed by the Majles to determine its constitutionality. If a majority of the council does not find a piece of legislation in compliance with the constitution or if a majority of the council's Islamic canon lawyers find the document to be contrary to the standards of Islamic law, then the council may strike it down or return it with revisions to the Majles for reconsideration. In addition, the council supervises elections, and all candidates standing for election—even for the presidency—must meet with its prior approval.

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (7) [FONTE: Majlis Monitor / University of Toronto]





O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (8) [FONTE: Time, 29/05/2021]

Who Will Be Iran's Next President and What Does It Mean for the Region

This week, Iran's government announced the seven finalists who will be allowed to compete in the country's presidential election on June 18. The seven candidates to replace the term-limited incumbent president Hassan Rouhani are:

- 1. Saeed Jalili a former nuclear negotiator
- 2. Mohsen Rezaei a former Revolutionary Guard commander
- 3. Ali Reza Zakani a former lawmaker
- 4. Amir Hossein Ghazizadeh a current lawmaker
- 5. Mohsen Mehralizadeh a former provincial governor
- 6. Abdolnasser Hemmati the current head of Iran's Central Bank.
- 7. Ebrahim Raisi Iran's top judge (and next President)

There are several reasons why this field of candidates has generated controversy both inside and outside Iran.

All democracies limit choices available to voters, but Iran's "democracy" is more limited than most. Nearly 600 people registered as candidates with the Guardian Council, a 12-person body made up of jurists and clerics who answer to the country's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. The Council then decided that only the seven men listed above are qualified to run for president. On Thursday, the Supreme Leader endorsed the Council's decision.

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (9) [FONTE: The Economist, 12/06/2021]

The **Economist**



Iran has rigged its election to favour Ebrahim Raisi, a hardliner

Voters may favour staying home
Jun 12th 2021

IT IS PROBABLY a bad sign when one of the few memorable moments in a presidential debate is an admission that the ballot is rigged. The candidates in Iran's spent much of the televised event, held on June 8th, criticising an incumbent who is not even on the ballot. Perhaps they felt there was little to discuss: most are hand-picked conservatives put there to lose. It fell to Mohsen Mehralizadeh, a former provincial governor of little note, to point out the obvious. The regime, he said, had aligned "sun, moon and the heavens to make one particular person the president".

There are no free elections in Iran, where clerics wield ultimate authority and candidates may be disqualified for the flimsiest of reasons. Even by these standards, though, the presidential election scheduled for June 18th is shaping up as a farce. Nearly 600 candidates applied to replace Hassan Rouhani, who took office in 2013 and is barred by term limits from running again. The Guardian Council, a group of clerics and lawyers who vet candidates, allowed only seven on the ballot.

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (10) [FONTE: The Economist, 12/06/2021. IMAGEM: Ali Khamenei e Ebrahim Raisi / NCRI National Council of Resistance of Iran]

This is not meant to be an election, in other words. Rather it is meant as a coronation of Ebrahim Raisi, the head of the judiciary and a staunch hardliner who helped orchestrate the mass execution of political prisoners in the 1980s. Even he seems a bit embarrassed by the brazenness of the rigging. "We should make a more competitive election scene," he said last

month. Mr Rouhani was more direct, calling the election "a corpse".

Apart from Mr Raisi, the meagre choices include Saeed Jalili, a former secretary of the national security council, and Mohsen Rezaei, a former head of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC). Both are conservatives who made unsuccessful bids for the presidency in 2013. The only non-hardliners are Mr Mehralizadeh and Abdolnasser Hemmati, who led the central bank until last month. On his watch the rial crashed, losing two-thirds of its value in three years, largely owing to American sanctions reimposed in 2018 when Donald Trump disavowed the nuclear deal between Iran and world powers.

Hardly an alluring CV, that. But some Iranians have settled on Mr Hemmati as a protest candidate. The others have reacted accordingly. In the first two debates the lower-ranked candidates spent much of their time ganging up on Mr Hemmati, who complained that they were providing "cover" for Mr Raisi. The front-runner, a soporific speaker, tried to float above the fray. The Guardian Council has reminded Iranians that it may disqualify candidates up until election day—a warning, perhaps, that Mr Hemmati could be banished if he seems too popular.



O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (11) [FONTE: Governo do Irão / The Office of the Supreme Leader]





The leader's message following the epic participation of the Iranian nation

19 / Jun / 2021

The real winner is the Iranian participants in these elections

This participation in the elections added another brilliant page to your pride

The spectacular scenes of your attendance were a sign of your firm determination

Religious matters

Question on religious matters

Jurisprudence & Religious affairs



Image gallery of the Leader of the Islamic Revolution

In the name of God, the most beneficent the merciful

The Great and Proud Nation of Iran

This epic and enthusiastic participation in the presidential election on June 18th, 2021, added another brilliant page to your pride. Among the several factors that could have somehow diminished the turnout, however, The spectacular scenes of your attendance in polling stations across the country were a clear sign of your firm determination, the hopefulness of your hearts, and your expanded insight. The great winner of yesterday's election is the Iranian Nation who showed its presence in the heart of the country's political arena, which once again stood up against the propaganda of the enemy's cunning media and the temptation of the criminals and ill-wishers. Neither grievances about the hardships of the deprived social class, nor the threat of the ongoing pandemic situation, neither the dissent that began months ago to discourage the people nor the disturbances in the voting system within hours of election day could defeat the determination of the Iranian Nation. Those issues did not create any problems in the presidential and city council elections.

I prostrate with thankfulness in the court of God for allowing the Iranian Nation to fulfil its democratic responsibilities and for the mercy He has bestowed on Iran and the Islamic Republic. I Congratulate the people of Iran and the esteemed gentlemen. They have achieved the high responsibility of the presidency and membership of the city councils throughout the country, Along with congratulating the faithful Nation for their total adherence to the duties prescribed by law. I remind the elected individuals, your duties and responsibilities to serve the country and the Nation, and always remember divine motives in your actions.

I also have to thank the esteemed Guardian Council, the Ministry of Interior, the security, health agencies, the national media, the esteemed candidates and all those who have contributed in some way to this great event.

I greet and salute our awaited Imam Mahdi (as), the primary ruler of this country and the system. I ask God Almighty to give the highest rank to the dear Imam Khomeini who was the initiator of the momentum of the Iranian Nation, and the martyrs who are the highest honours of the country.

Seyed Ali Khamenei

June 19th 2021

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (12) [FONTE: Reuters, 20/06/2021]

Khamenei protege wins Iran election amid low turnout

Parisa Hafezi June 20, 202111:23 AM WESTLast Updated a day ago

DUBAI, June 19 (Reuters) - Ebrahim Raisi, a hardline judge who is under U.S. sanctions for human rights abuses, secured victory as expected on Saturday in Iran's presidential election after a contest marked by voter apathy over economic hardships and political restrictions.

With all 28.9 million ballots counted, Raisi was elected with a tally of 17.9 million, Interior Minister Abdolreza Rahmani Fazli said on state TV.

Turnout in Friday's four-man race was a record low of around 48.8% and there were 3.7 million invalid ballots that were likely to have been mostly blank or protest votes.

Appointed by Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei to the high-profile job of judiciary chief in 2019, Raisi was placed under U.S. sanctions a few months later over human rights violations.

Those included the role that human rights group say Raisi played in the executions of thousands of political prisoners in the 1988 and in the violent suppression of unrest in 2009.

Iran has never acknowledged the mass executions, and Raisi himself has never publicly addressed allegations about his role.

Seen by analysts and insiders as representing the security establishment at its most fearsome, Raisi, 60, <u>had been widely tipped to win</u> the contest, thanks to Khamenei's endorsement.

Iran's regional allies, Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and militant Islamist group Hamas welcomed Raisi's election. Amnesty International's

Secretary General Agnès Callamard said his victory was <u>"a grim reminder</u> that impunity reigns supreme in Iran".

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (13) [FONTE: The Diplomat, 31/06/2013. Ordem para as

execuções em massa do Ayatollah Khomeini / Wikimedia Commons]

The Forgotten Mass Execution of Prisoners in Iran in 1988

On the 25th anniversary, it is time for those responsible to be held to account.

The <u>massacre of political prisoners</u> by the Iranian regime, which took place in the summer of 1988 has never been acknowledged by Tehran and remains one of the darkest stains in recent history, although it is relatively unknown in the West.

The executions began in late July and continued for several months. As many as 30,000 political prisoners or more, the overwhelming majority of them activists of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI or MEK) were slaughtered.

Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khomeini issued a decree in July 1988: "Whoever at any stage continues to belong to the PMOI must be executed. Annihilate the enemies of Islam immediately!" He went on to add: "... Those who are in prisons throughout the country and remain steadfast in their support for PMOI are waging war on God and are condemned to execution...It is naive to show mercy to those who wage war on God."

The executions soon began and every day hundreds of political prisoners were hanged and their corpses were buried hurriedly in unmarked mass graves in all of Iran's major cities, in particular in Khavaran cemetery in south Tehran.

درس مدر در ان دا تعدم ما رسون آن وجل رمدم آن در لا ل وا ، مِن ربين رحر بعث عراق کي لوکي که ن دارهدله عليه عندسل ن ، و ، ترجه برارت ط المكارجان وهروات ماج فردانه كان لذبه الميسرية وجهد المدوي اكول ك في كدوره مربر کور در رمض ماق خد یا ف رکرد میکند م رب میکی به جدی بیاند و منع رمنع کر سران ، را ر برت و و المحر مرسم بری دهار و رسرات دارد دارت طهره ... الرحيطة ط درجاع ب وبلي طر درندن رم أزب ف كوردار كريت مان فافيرع، 9 في في كر محموم معمد أن ف والم والله والمدونك، والمع كنده المتماد ع المقار ، المند . روي در وك فرقعان المسلم المديد ما در رفق حن المرفعر

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (14) [FONTE: The Diplomat, 31/06/2013. IMAGEM: filme /

documentário "The Secret Fatwa"]

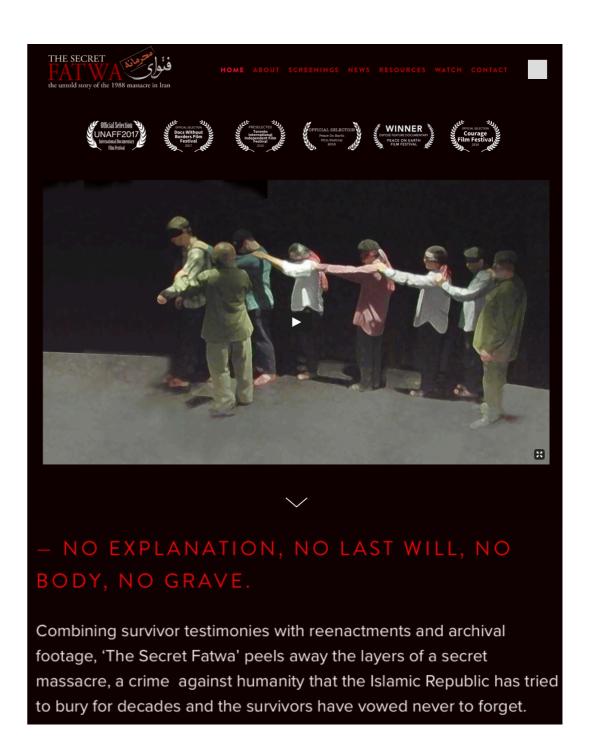
Khomeini insisted that there should be no mercy shown and ordered that all prisoners, including even teenagers and pregnant women, be put to death immediately.

Because of his opposition to the killings, Ayatollah Montazeri quickly fell out of favor with Khomeini and was eventually sacked in March 1989. In December 2000, Montzaeri published his memoirs and revealed shocking details about the massacre and the brutality of Khomenei.

In 2008, on the 20th anniversary of this massacre, Amnesty International renewed its call for those responsible for the "prison massacre" to be held accountable, stating "there should be no impunity for such gross human rights violations, regardless of when they were committed."

The new so-called "moderate" President of Iran, Hassan Rouhani, was Deputy Commander-in-chief of the regime's armed forces at the time of the massacres and, since 1982, was a member of regime's Supreme Defence Council, so was fully aware of the crime and in full conformity with it.

In another report in 2009, Amnesty International called on "the Iranian authorities to immediately stop the destruction of hundreds of individual and mass, unmarked graves in Khavaran, south Tehran, to ensure that the site is preserved and to initiate a forensic investigation at the site as part of a long-overdue, thorough, independent and impartial investigation into mass executions which began in 1988, often referred to in Iran as the "prison massacres". The organization fears that these actions of the Iranian authorities are aimed at destroying evidence of human rights violations and depriving the families of the victims of the 1988 killings of their right to truth, justice and reparation."



O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (15) [FONTE: Amnistia International 19/06/2021]





MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA KILLINGS AND DISAPPEARANCES

© Meghdad Madadi ATPImages/Getty Images

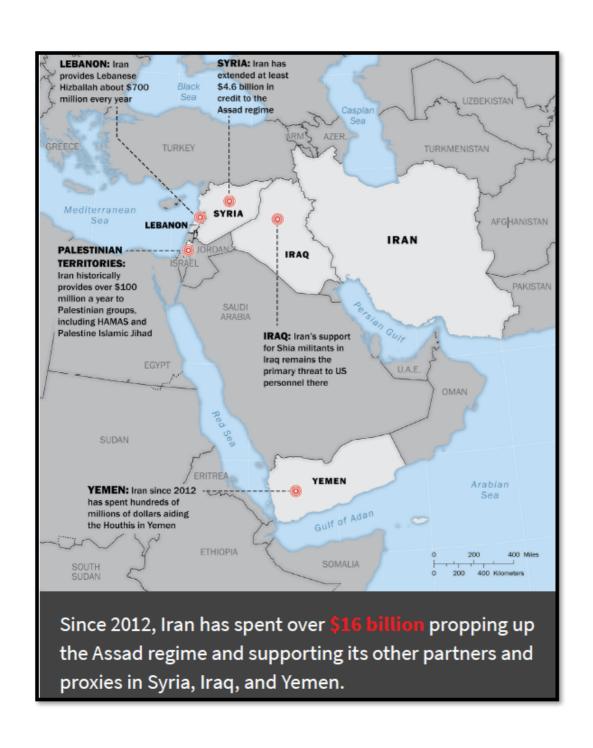
Iran: Ebrahim Raisi must be investigated for crimes against humanity

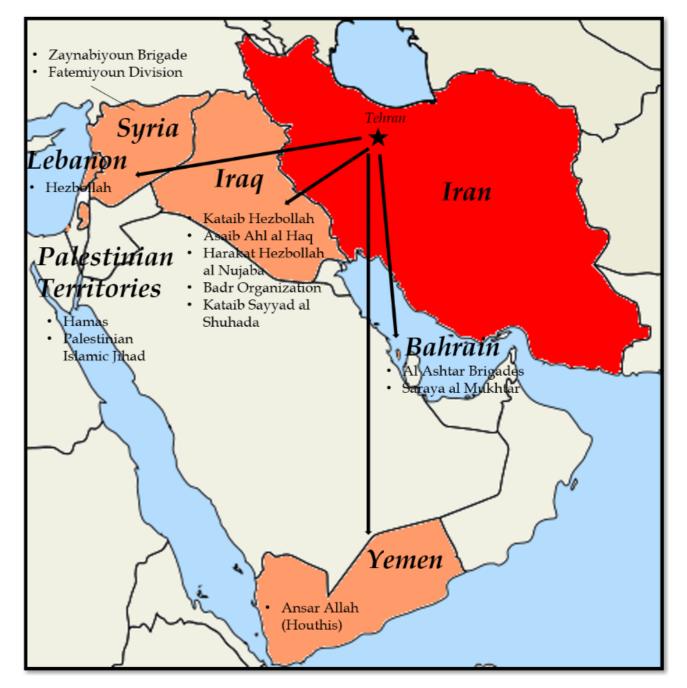
19 June 2021, 09:18 UTC

Responding to today's announcement declaring Ebrahim Raisi as Iran's next president, Amnesty International's Secretary General Agnès Callamard said:

"That Ebrahim Raisi has risen to the presidency instead of being investigated for the crimes against humanity of murder, enforced disappearance and torture, is a grim reminder that impunity reigns supreme in Iran. In 2018, our organization documented how Ebrahim Raisi had been a member of the 'death commission' which forcibly disappeared and extrajudicially executed in secret thousands of political dissidents in Evin and Gohardasht prisons near Tehran in 1988. The circumstances surrounding the fate of the victims and the whereabouts of their bodies are, to this day, systematically concealed by the Iranian authorities, amounting to ongoing crimes against humanity.

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (16) [CARTOON: Wilson Center 17/12/2020]





O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (17) [CARTOON: Patrick Chapatte / NYT 13/03/2019]



O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (18) [FONTE: Nature, 5/02/2020]

Did the 2015 deal reduce Iran's nuclear capabilities?



As of 2015, the country had stockpiles of 11 tonnes of a uranium hexafluoride enriched to as much as 20% ²³⁵U. Weapons-grade uranium must be enriched to 90%. Uranium is commonly processed as uranium hexafluoride gas, which is separated by isotope in high-speed centrifuges, and Iran had more than 10,000 of these centrifuges. When the JCPOA was signed in July 2015, experts had estimated that the country was months — perhaps weeks — away from producing weapons-grade uranium.

But the JCPOA forced Iran to ship most of its stockpile abroad, and to mothball the majority of its centrifuges. The aim was partly to stretch the time Iran needed to stockpile enough fissile material for a bomb — known as 'breakout time' — to at least a year. The deal also subjected Iran to a stringent regime of IAEA inspections. In the following years, the agency periodically reported that Iran was fully complying with the deal.

The JCPOA was also a "big win" for global non-proliferation efforts, says Seyed Hossein Mousavian, who was the spokesperson for Iran's nuclear negotiating team in 2003. "Over 200 nuclear scientists worked on the technical details for years," says Mousavian, now a nuclear-policy specialist at Princeton University in New Jersey. As a consequence, he says, Iran's inspection regime is more detailed than the one described in the NPT, which could make the 2015 deal a precedent and model for future disarmament accords.

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (19) [FONTE: Nature, 5/02/2020]



But how quickly could Iran actually make a bomb once it has enough weapons-grade uranium?

Possessing fissile material is not enough: a country also has to master the design, and manufacture, of a bomb. In particular, uranium hexafluoride must be converted into uranium metal, which is not straightforward, says Richard Johnson, a proliferation specialist at the Nuclear Threat Initiative, a policy research centre in Washington DC.

A study prepared for the US Congress and updated last December suggests that by the time Iran partially froze its weapons development in 2003, it had not yet mastered all the skills necessary to build bombs — and that it probably did not make significant progress in later years.

According to Albright, some intelligence agencies estimate on the basis of this information that it could take the country about two years to make its first two bombs, if it wanted to do this.

If the nuclear deal is scrapped, will Iran be legally entitled to arm itself with nuclear bombs?

No. Because Iran has signed the NPT, it is committed to using nuclear technology exclusively for peaceful purposes. Members of the NPT must allow the IAEA to verify their compliance, or face consequences such as UN sanctions. However, Iran could withdraw from the NPT, as North Korea did in 2003, as it was becoming a nuclear power. Iranian foreign minister Mohammad Javad Zarif said on 20 January that the country is prepared to withdraw if its continued enrichment programme is reported to the UN Security Council.

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (20) [FONTE: Foreign Policy, 10/03/2021]

Iran Is Starting to Want the Bomb

The U.S. maximum pressure campaign accidentally spurred a strategic shift in Tehran.

Maysam Behravesh March 10, 2021, 7:43 AM

An expert's point of view on a current event.



Picture obtained from the Iranian ISNA news agency on Dec. 16, 2009 shows the test-firing at an undisclosed location in Iran of an improved version of the Sejil 2 medium-range missile which the Islamic republic says can reach targets inside Israel. VAHI REZA ALAEE/AFP via Getty Images

On Feb. 8, Iranian Intelligence Minister Mahmoud Alavi, in an interview with Iranian state television, made a veiled threat about his country's pursuit of a nuclear weapon. "The supreme leader [Ayatollah Ali Khamenei] has explicitly said in his fatwa that nuclear weapons are against sharia law and the Islamic Republic sees them as religiously forbidden and

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (21) [FONTE: Foreign Policy, 10/03/2021]

does not pursue them," Alavi <u>said</u>. "But a cornered cat may behave differently from when the cat is free. And if they [Western powers] push Iran in that direction, then it's no longer Iran's fault."

The unprecedented public threat captured wide media attention. Domestic critics, particularly hard-liners, slammed President Hassan Rouhani's intelligence minister for harming Iranian interests by undermining Khamenei's religious edict against weapons of mass destruction. Middle East watchers abroad focused on the fatwa factor as well, mostly to demonstrate Iranian leaders' untrustworthiness. Others construed Alavi's statements as a "pressure" tactic to spur the Biden administration into rejoining the 2015 Iran nuclear accord—officially known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)—or otherwise lifting sanctions.

All these responses misunderstand the real significance of Alavi's "cornered cat" threat. The whole debate over Khamenei's fatwa banning nuclear weapons has always been much ado about nothing; it never really mattered in the first place for either side. (The very fact that world powers engaged in marathon talks with Tehran from 2013 to 2015 to verifiably curb its nuclear program in exchange for economic relief confirms as much.) Far more important is what the comment reflects about an ongoing shift in Iran's thinking about the bomb. Wide swaths of Iranian society, among the public and policymakers alike, seem to increasingly see the weapon not just as an ultimate deterrent but as a panacea for Iran's chronic security problems and challenges to its sovereignty by foreign powers.

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (22) [FONTE: Times of Israel, 21/06/2021]

Iran's Raisi says won't meet Biden or negotiate on missiles, support for proxies

In first press conference since win, president-elect says he is a 'defender of human rights' when asked about involvement in 1988 mass executions

By Agencies Today, 2:20 pm



TEHRAN — Iran's president-elect said Monday he wouldn't meet with US President Joe Biden nor negotiate over Tehran's ballistic missile program and its support of regional terror groups, sticking to a hardline position following his landslide victory in last week's election.

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (23) [FONTE: Courrier International, 21/06/2021]

On a possible meeting with Biden, Raisi simply answered: "No." His moderate competitor in the election, Abdolnasser Hemmati, had suggested during campaigning that he'd be potentially willing to meet Biden.

The White House did not immediately respond to Raisi's statements Monday. Raisi will become the first serving Iranian president sanctioned by the US government even before entering office, in part over his time as the head of Iran's internationally criticized judiciary — one of the world's top executioners.

Of those who did vote, 3.7 million people either accidentally or intentionally voided their ballots, far beyond the amount seen in previous elections and suggesting some wanted none of the four candidates.

In official results, Raisi won 17.9 million votes overall, nearly 62% of the total 28.9 million cast.

Raisi's election puts hardliners firmly in control across the government as negotiations in Vienna continue to try to save a tattered deal meant to limit Iran's nuclear program, at a time when Tehran is enriching uranium at 60%, its highest levels ever, though still short of weapons-grade levels.

Representatives of the world powers party to the deal returned to their capitals for consultations following the latest round of negotiations on Sunday.

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (24) [FONTE: AP, 20/06/2021]

Diplomats: Progress made in Vienna at Iran nuclear talks



VIENNA (AP) — Top diplomats said Sunday that further progress had been made at talks between Iran and global powers to try to restore a landmark 2015 agreement to contain Iranian nuclear development that was abandoned by the Trump administration. They said it was now up to the governments involved in the negotiations to make political decisions.

It was the first official meeting since Iran's hard-line judiciary chief won a landslide victory in the country's presidential election last week.

Some diplomats expressed concern that Iran's election of Ebrahim Raisi as president could complicate a possible return to the nuclear agreement.

O Irão teocrático e a sua ambição de poder regional (25) [FONTE: AP, 20/06/2021]

Enrique Mora, the European Union official who chaired the final meeting of the sixth round of talks between Russia, China, Germany, France, Britain and Iran, told reporters that "we are closer to a deal, but we are not still there."

"We have made progress on a number of technical issues," Mora added. "
We have now more clarity on technical documents — all of them quite
complex — and that clarity allows us to have also a great idea of what the
political problems are."

He did not elaborate.

Top Russian representative Mikhail Ulyanov said the members of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, or JCPOA, "took stock of the significant progress made at the Vienna talks, including at the sixth round, and decided to make a break to allow participants to consult with their capitals in preparation for what is supposed to be the final round of negotiations."

"There are a few controversial points which require political decisions. Apparently diplomatic efforts to find common language have been almost fully exhausted. So the time has come for political decisions," Ulyanov added.

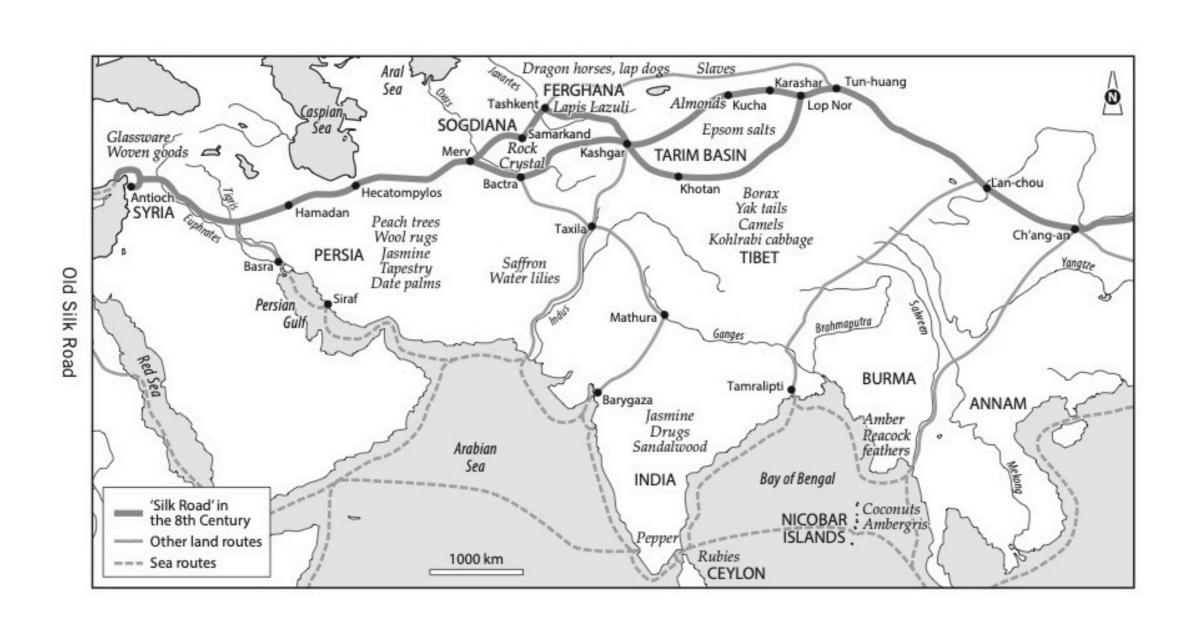
The nations involved in the negotiations have been trying to resolve the major outstanding issues on how to return the U.S. into the landmark agreement, which then-U.S. President Donald Trump pulled Washington out of unilaterally in 2018. Trump also restored and augmented sanctions to try to force Iran into renegotiating the pact with more concessions.

Ulyanov said after heading back to report on the talks' results to their respective governments, he expected the diplomats to return for the final round of talks in Vienna in about 10 days and said they could finalize negotiations by mid-July.



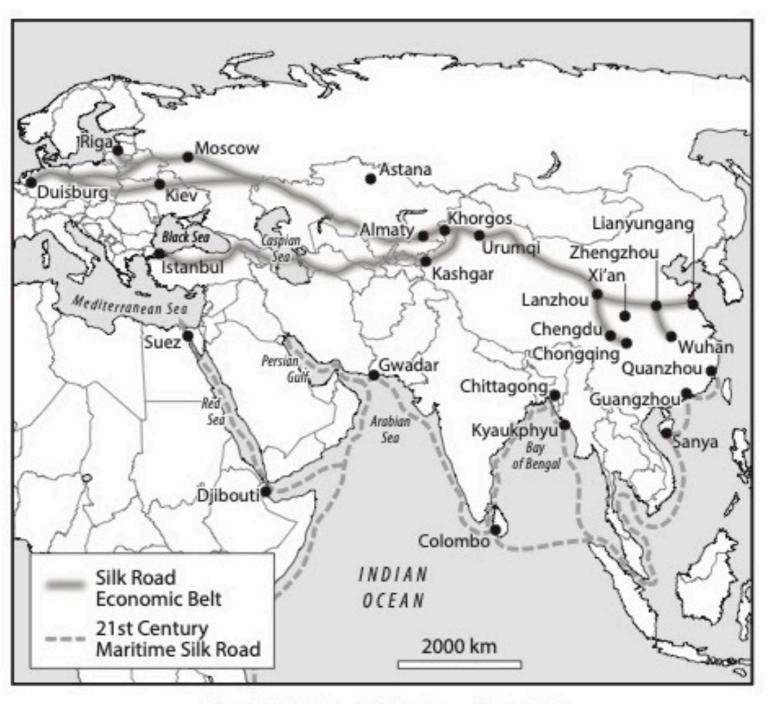
PARTE II – NOTAS BREVES

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (1) [FONTE: Tom Miller, China's Asian Dream: Empire Building Along the New Silk Road, 2017]



Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (2) [FONTE: Tom Miller, China's Asian Dream: Empire Building Along the

[FONTE: Tom Miller, China's Asian Dream: Empire Building Along the New Silk Road, 2017]



New Silk Road ("Belt and Road")

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (3) [FONTE: Tom Miller, China's Asian Dream: Empire Building Along the New Silk Road, 2017]

BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE

The centrepiece of Xi Jinping's "proactive" foreign policy is the Belt and Road Initiative. Stretching from the South China Sea across the Eurasian land mass, it is arguably the most ambitious development plan ever conceived. Taking its inspiration from the ancient Silk Road that ran from China to Europe via central Asia, it envisages building roads, railways and industrial corridors across some of the wildest terrain on earth, and linking these to upgraded ports in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Europe. Beijing says the initiative will dismantle investment barriers, create new trade routes, improve international logistics, and deepen regional financial integration. It even grandly claims that it will promote "world peace". 12

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (4) [FONTE: Tom Miller, China's Asian Dream: Empire Building Along the New Silk Road, 2017]

ASIAN INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT BANK

China's ambitions are built on economic power. The most potent symbol of this is the AIIB, which is closely associated with the Belt and Road Initiative. In fact, Xi Jinping first proposed that China set up its own multilateral development bank during the same speech, in Jakarta in October 2013, in which he announced plans to build a Maritime Silk Road. The rapid success of the venture surprised everyone, not least Beijing: within just eighteen months, fifty-seven countries had agreed to become founder members of the new bank. These included most Asian and many European countries; even states with which China has a difficult relationship, such as the Philippines and Vietnam, were among them. When the AIIB's articles of agreement entered into force on 31 December 2015, the only two noticeable absentees were the US and Japan.²¹

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (5) [FONTE: AIBB]



ABOUT AIIB POLICIES AND STRATEGIES NEWS AND INSIGHTS PROJECTS TREASURY OPPORTUNITIES CONTACT



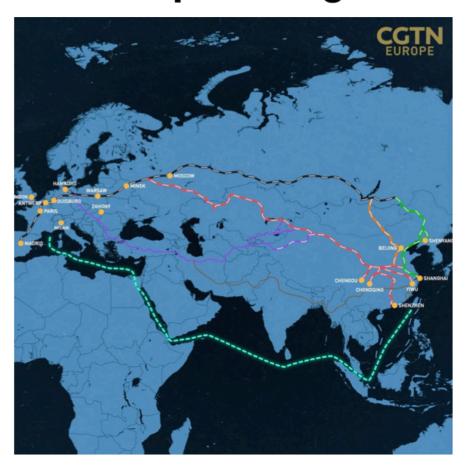
Who We Are

We enable clients to build Infrastructure for Tomorrow (i4t)—green infrastructure with sustainability, innovation and connectivity at its core. We do this by unlocking finance that brings this vision to fruition. As our clients succeed in building i4t, society shares in that success.

As a multilateral development bank focused on developing Asia, but with members from all over the world, our investments in infrastructure and other productive sectors seek to foster sustainable economic development, create wealth and improve infrastructure connectivity.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (6) [FONTE: CGTN, 7/06/2021]

World's longest rail network turns China-Europe trade green



The past century has been a story of expansion and development, from home conveniences to space exploration.

But could the next one be dedicated to a return to the land and realizing the usefulness of existing technology?

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a new superhighway connecting China to Europe, and Eastern Europe is a crucial gateway for the project.

The rail aspect of the ambitious BRI is faster than cargo ships and cheaper than flying – so let's take a look at some of its vital statistics.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (7) [FONTE: CGTN, 7/06/2021]



The European Leg

Once the freight line gets to Europe, it connects some of the most important capitals and industrial areas on the continent.

Its first stops are Minsk and Warsaw, before the lines continue west to Berlin (where all three lines meet), on to Hamburg, Duisburg, Antwerp, Paris, Madrid and London.

How long is it?

The full route isn't complete yet, but the rail line stretches more than 10,000km from Chengdu, southwest China to Milan in northern Italy.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (8) [FONTE: CGTN, 7/06/2021]

How does it get to Europe?

There is going to be a Northern, Central and Southern route.

The Northern and Central routes both come through Russia and enter Europe through Belarus and Poland.

The third Southern route will come through Turkey before traveling north through the Balkans.



What's the point?

The total trade between China and Europe in 2020 was worth \$703 billion.

The worth of goods carried by train was "only" \$50 billion, that's 7 percent of the total.

But China wants to see that figure increase.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (9) [FONTE: CGTN, 7/06/2021]



Time, cost and environmental benefit

As we were all reminded this year, the global shipping industry is a delicate one that can be held up at pinch points, such as the Suez Canal for example. A problem in one of these areas can cause serious delays – with the associated costs mounting into the billions of dollars.

By ship, cargo takes approximately 25 days to travel from Asia to Europe or vice versa.

By air, that journey is between one and seven days, depending on the route.

And the rail trip is between 12 and 15 days.

Although it's the quickest, air freight is much worse for the environment, expending 95 percent more carbon dioxide than rail.

Rail is also far cheaper than air freight, although it is slightly more expensive than the slower sea option.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (10) [FONTE: The White House, 12/06/2021]



BRIEFING ROOM

FACT SHEET: President Biden and G7 Leaders Launch Build Back Better World (B3W) Partnership

JUNE 12, 2021 • STATEMENTS AND RELEASES

The United States is rallying the world's democracies to deliver for our people, meet the world's biggest challenges, and demonstrate our shared values

Today President Biden met with G7 leaders to discuss strategic competition with China and commit to concrete actions to help meet the tremendous infrastructure need in low- and middle-income countries.

Build Back Better World: An Affirmative Initiative for Meeting the Tremendous Infrastructure Needs of Low- and Middle-Income

Countries. President Biden and G7 partners agreed to launch the bold new global infrastructure initiative Build Back Better World (B3W), a valuesdriven, high-standard, and transparent infrastructure partnership led by major democracies to help narrow the \$40+ trillion infrastructure need in the developing world, which has been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (11) [FONTE: The White House, 12/06/2021]

In addition to the billions of dollars which the United States mobilizes in overseas infrastructure financing through existing bilateral and multilateral tools, we will work with Congress to augment our development finance toolkit with the hope that, together with the private sector, other U.S. stakeholders, and G7 partners, B3W will collectively catalyze hundreds of billions of dollars of infrastructure investment for low- and middle-income countries in the coming years.

Together with leaders of the G7, the Biden Administration fully endorses the guiding principles of B3W:

- Values-Driven. Infrastructure development carried out in a transparent
 and sustainable manner—financially, environmentally, and socially —will
 lead to a better outcome for recipient countries and communities. We will
 offer countries a positive vision and a sustainable, transparent source of
 financing to meet their infrastructure needs.
- Good Governance and Strong Standards. High standards have become ever more important at a time when governments are grappling with complex decisions on how to tackle climate change, build back local economies, direct scarce financing, and boost employment in an inclusive way. We are committed to providing citizens of recipient communities with the long-run benefits they expect and deserve from infrastructure projects. Our efforts will be guided by high standards and principles, such as those promoted by the updated Blue Dot Network, relating to the environment and climate, labor and social safeguards, transparency, financing, construction, anticorruption, and other areas.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (12) [FONTE: The White House, 12/06/2021]

- Climate-Friendly. The investments will be made in a manner consistent with achieving the goals of the Paris Climate Agreement.
- Strong Strategic Partnerships. Infrastructure that is developed in
 partnership with those whom it benefits will last longer and generate more
 development impact. Infrastructure created under the B3W will be
 developed through consultation with communities and assessing local
 needs as a true partners. We will establish a taskforce together as a G7, and
 with others, to coordinate, harmonize our efforts, and increase our impact
 and reach.
- Mobilize Private Capital Through Development Finance. Status quo
 funding and financing approaches are inadequate to address the
 tremendous infrastructure gap in low- and middle-income countries. We
 are committed to augmenting the development finance tools at our disposal
 to support and catalyze a significant increase in private capital to address
 infrastructure needs. Infrastructure investment by a responsible and
 market-driven private sector, paired with high standards and transparency
 in public funding, is crucial for long-run development effectiveness and
 sustainability.
- Enhancing the Impact of Multilateral Public Finance. Multilateral
 development banks and other international financial institutions (IFIs)
 have developed rigorous standards for project planning, implementation,
 social and environmental safeguards, and analytical capability. The United
 States will incorporate these standards and safeguards to help ensure that
 U.S. taxpayer resources are used appropriately and effectively. We will
 work with the IFIs to enhance their catalytic impact and increase the
 mobilization of capital—both public and private—needed for impactful and
 sustainable infrastructure investment.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (13) [FONTE: Financial Times, 13/07/2021]

G7 set to agree 'green belt and road' plan to counter China's influence

Environment groups criticise lack of detail on how proposals will be financed

June 13 2021



An Extinction Rebellion demonstration in Falmouth, Cornwall @ Jon Rowley/EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

Leaders of the G7 countries will back a western rival to China's Belt and Road Initiative on Sunday, with a plan to mobilise billions of dollars to help developing countries tackle climate change.

US president Joe Biden has led calls to offer poor countries a new source of infrastructure finance, providing a "democratic" alternative to Chinese loans, which are seen in the west as a tool to spread Beijing's influence.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (14) [FONTE: Financial Times, 13/07/2021]

Johnson wants to focus on supporting green initiatives and has been wary of presenting the initiative as an "anti-China" effort. British officials said they wanted the group of leading western economies to "show what we are for, not who we are against".

But the White House favours a wider package of infrastructure support and <u>has been explicit</u> about wanting to provide a counterweight to China's influence.

"We have a slightly narrower focus," said one British official.

The G7 has an unprecedented opportunity to drive a global green industrial revolution, with the potential to transform the way we live

Boris Johnson

On Saturday, G7 leaders held talks to co-ordinate China strategy. "There was broad agreement that we should co-operate with Beijing on things like fighting climate change, compete in areas like global supply chains and contest on issues like human rights," said one official briefed on the talks.

The "build back better for the

world" plan will grant countries improved access to financing for lowcarbon projects such as wind farms and railways.

The programme aims to boost climate funding from multilateral development banks as well as the private sector and was billed as a "green Marshall Plan" by some officials, but at a smaller scale.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (15) [FONTE: DW, 13/07/2021]

US President Biden persuades G7 to be more competitive towards China

The US leads efforts to create a western alternative to China's New Silk Road project, but the EU is wary of setting up an anti-China coalition. Bernd Riegert reports from Carbis Bay.



The Group of Seven (G7) rich industrialized nations and the EU are presenting a harmonious front at their summit in the Cornish seaside resort of Carbis Bay in southwestern England. Diplomats seem pleased new US President Joe Biden is making transatlantic cooperation possible once again.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (16) [FONTE: DW, 13/07/2021]



Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (17) [FONTE: DW, 13/07/2021]

G7 leaders agree plan to counter China's influence

EU attitude more nuanced

Germany's G7 delegates gave the impression that generally they agreed to following a robust course towards Beijing. They said that human rights violations — with regard to the Uyghur minority — the pro-democracy movement in Hong Kong or dissidents on the mainland, had to be raised and condemned.

However, the EU's attitude in Carbis Bay is that China is not only a systemic and economic rival, but a necessary partner in many areas. German Chancellor Angela Merkel said there could be no real progress with regard to the <u>climate crisis without Beijing</u>. After all, China is the biggest emitter of harmful gases. It aims to be carbon neutral only by 2060, whereas, the EU has set 2050 as its goal.

One US diplomat said that Joe Biden had criticized forced labor in China, particularly concerning the Uyghur minority, "very strongly." He agreed that many Europeans had also condemned the forced labor but said they were not in agreement as to how to respond. An EU diplomat said that sanctions had to have an effect and not only be symbolic.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (18) [FONTE: DW, 13/07/2021]

The US is more concerned than the EU by China's military provocations and threats in the South China Sea, which will be on the agenda at Monday's NATO summit.

Both the US and the EU have imposed sanctions on China because of human rights violations. However, ahead of doing this, the EU signed a trade deal with Beijing which Washington was very critical of.

The Comprehensive Agreement on Investment (CAI), which has not been ratified, is currently frozen. The European parliament refuses to debate it as long as Beijing maintains its sanctions against European lawmakers.



China has invested billions into infrastructure projects around the world to build up its political influence

'Build Back Better'

What is new is that the G7 richest democracies have agreed to set up a global infrastructure partnership. Biden arrived in Cornwall with the firm intention of driving through his "Build Back Better World" investment plan.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (19) [FONTE: Hindustan Times, 13/07/2021]

PM Modi makes global health pitch at G7

Speaking during the virual session, PM Modi made the pitch for a coordinated global response against Covid-19 and future pandemics.



Pedestrians walk past a wall mural representing awareness measures against the Covid-19 coronavirus, in Navi Mumbai.(AFP)

 Speaking during the virual session, PM Modi made the pitch for a coordinated global response against Covid-19 and future pandemics.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Saturday urged the G7 states to adopt a united approach to the coronavirus pandemic and future health emergencies with the mantra of "One earth, one health", amid support for India's proposal for a waiver of patent protections for Covid-19 vaccines.

Modi made the pitch for a coordinated global response while virtually addressing an outreach session of the G7 Summit in Cornwall, the theme for which was "Building back stronger", people familiar with developments said on condition of anonymity.

Uma alternativa ocidental à rota da seda chinesa? (20) [FONTE: Hindustan Times, 13/07/2021]

Explained: How G7 counter to China's Belt and Road Initiative will benefit India

More than 100 countries have signed agreements with China to cooperate in Belt and Road (BRI) projects like railways, ports, highways and other infrastructure. The G7 proposed Build Back Better World (B3W) initiative.

What the G7 countries are offering?

The B3W plan discussed by the US, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Japan and Italy calls for spending hundreds of billions of dollars in collaboration with the private sector while adhering to climate standards and labour practices.

It's designed to compete with president Xi's BRI, which has been criticised for creating massive debt and exposing countries to undue influence by Beijing.

However, there is no announcement about how exactly the plan would work or how much capital it would ultimately allocate.

India's concerns

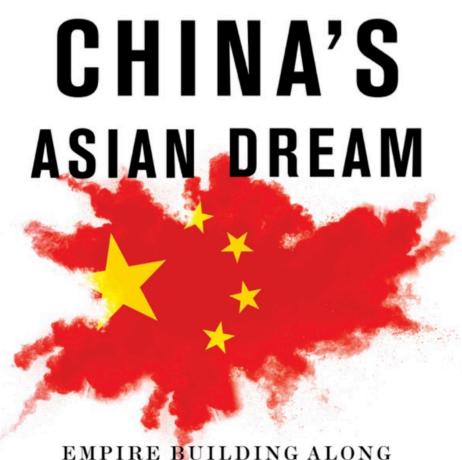
India has expressed concerns about the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the flagship project of BRI, as it traverses through Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK). The massive infrastructure project connects China's Xinjiang province with Gwadar port in Pakistan's Balochistan province.

China has been defending the CPEC, saying it is an economic project not aimed at any third country.

India refused to join the Chinese initiative in the past and raised its voice against the BRI. Though India has officially not reacted to G7 countries' latest plan, it is expected to be a welcome news for New Delhi.

Sugestões de leitura

'Essential reading' WALL STREET JOURNAL 'A lively work' FINANCIAL TIMES



EMPIRE BUILDING ALONG
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TOM MILLER

'An indispensable guide... brimming with telling insights and arresting stories'

JAMES KNYGE, Emerging Markets Editor for THE FINANCIAL TIMES

