Creative project

The Double Life of International Diplomacy

Karolina Pavlova in her The Double Life creates a complicated microcosm of intertwined relationships between her characters. The roles of these characters, although complicated, are almost ideal (in Platonic sense) and in many aspects resemble the roles that states play on the international arena. Among states, there is a 'double life', too; a double-bottom-box in which their surface actions in no way reflect the behind-the-scene true motives. This project will demonstrate the utter realism of K.Pavlova's XIX-century novel and at the same time the utter theatricality of the XXI-century diplomatic arena. While the former is admirable, the latter is somewhat worrisome. The enduring appeal of Pavolva's characters makes one wonder to what extent the humanity has progressed during the last two centuries and whether the platforms like the UN are a reliable pillar of worldwide peace and security.

Anna Saakyan

November 17, 2016

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1 ‘Let others wage war: thou, happy Austria, marry’, Latin phrase to imply the Habsburgs 'marriage diplomacy'. Emperor Maximilian I is credited with the greatest success in the implementation of this policy – through his own marriage and those of his son Philip the Fair and his grandson Ferdinand, the dynasty gained Burgundy, Spain, Bohemia, and Hungary. The World of The Habsburgs, 2011, http://www.habsburger.net/dle/ueber-das-projekt/team. Retrieved on November 14, 2016
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<th>UN actors</th>
<th>Role description</th>
<th>Pavlova’s actors</th>
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<td>Gray Cardinal</td>
<td>Madame Valitsky</td>
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<td>Free spirit, but follows the rules and falls victim of them</td>
<td>Cecily</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Protege and closest ally of the Gray Cardinal</td>
<td>Olga</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Follows the rules; Cares about Cecily; But also cares about her own reputation</td>
<td>Vera Vladimirovna (Cecily’s mother)</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Flees when the situation gets out of control</td>
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<td>Wants society membership. Accepts all conditions when end justifies means</td>
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<td>Wants to keep the Society united and powerful, guards the traditions and norms</td>
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<td>and all of the ‘New Europe’</td>
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<td>Has facade appreciation but is deeply disregarded behind-the-scenes</td>
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<td>UN values Everyone declares their respect but none really respects</td>
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THE DOUBLE LIFE MICROCOSM

Diagram showing relationships between characters:
- Cecily
- Olga
- Prince Victor
- Nadeshda
- Ivanchevsky
- Cecily's mother
- Olga's mother

Relationships:
- Mutual love
- One-sided love
- Love through hatred
*The following paper comes in a mixed style at the intersection of conventional stenogram, narration and policy memo. I will be comparing Karolina Pavlova's *The Double Life* and the 70th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly, in order to demonstrate how applicable are social roles constructed by Pavlova in the XIX century to the diplomatic roles that states play in the XXI century. In bold font are the aspects that I focus on in that comparison. All bold and cursive fonts are mine to accentuate certain expressions that better explain my point.

From left to right: Cécily, Olga, Madame Valitsky (Olga's mother), Vera Vladimirovna (Cécily's mother), Nadezhda Ivanovna


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In international diplomacy a lot of issues are subject to international recognition. The international community is that non-human judge which decides things like to recognize or not a new state, to allow or not a certain international initiative, or to condemn or accept a certain act of a given state (e.g. change of a flag or transformation of a borderline). Members of this society are states which are members of the UN and whose membership and sovereignty was recognized by the other states - i.e. their membership is subject to a majoritarian recognition. In Pavlova's novel, the members of the high society earn their membership by recognition, too, subject to "paying the virtue of a debt and morality" (p.12) which in other words means "leading a decorous life, receiving the best society, giving magnificent balls and being always ready to do a favor for her friends" (p.12) This "civilized company" (p.13) is ready to forgive its members an indecent past (in present calling it simply "flighty", p.13) in exchange for the afore-mentioned debt. In both cases, the UN as a society and Pavlova's society, their strength is in their quantity and unanimity. Their authority roots in the long-lasting norms and values which they at some point agreed to follow and collectively insist that everyone else follows them in order to be included in this 'high society'. Their strength, therefore, depends on them guarding carefully and jealously those norms and values and being able to collectively impose necessary sanctions in case the common rules are threatened or broken.
The 70th Regular Session of the UN General Assembly (UNGA 70) took place on 28 September – 6 October 2015 at the UN Headquarters in New York. In Chapter III, Pavlova takes us to the literature evening organized by Vera Vladimirovna, Cécily's mother. The narrator there tells us that

"These days it is not at all difficult to get such a group together since literature is extremely respected, and ladies especially have been getting so involved in it for some time that only by hardly noticeable signs is it possible to guess that in fact they play no living role in it".

In September 2015, 193 states came together in New York from all over the world to discuss more than 170 issues. The UN GA is the only universal organization that is responsible for world peace and security, development, disarmament, poverty abolition, protection of human rights, global health access and environment protection - sovereign states today do not have any other options. As with Vera Vladimirovna's literature evening, it is indeed not so difficult to get such a group together since the 'society' doesn't have an alternative platform for interaction, and it is the regularity and frequency of their interaction that keeps the collective authority high. In the morning of September 28, 2015, the delegates entered the room, took their seats and prepared to listen to the speeches of other delegations from all around the world. The Secretary General of the UN H.E. Ban Ki-moon and then the newly elected President of the UNGA 70-th session H.E. Mogens Lykketoft took the floor and announced the beginning of the annual debate.

Madame Valitsky / Germany

The 'Gray Cardinal' - respected member of the society but not the titular leader of it. Masterfully enhances his interests through carefully built reputation and behind-the-scenes manipulations; the driving engine of the society's primary agenda.

When Germany took the floor on October 1 morning session, everyone already knew that the chief concern of that state was the severe pressure of heavy migration flows from the East. According to Eurostat, EU member-states received over 1.2 mln asylum applications in 2015, with Germany being the

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most sought-after destination of the migrants (46%)\(^4\). The "policy of open arms" ("Willkommenskultur"), declared and backed by Chancellor Angela Merkel, attracted over 800 000 asylum seekers (some claim that number to be over 1,5 mln)\(^5\) and was accurately grounded on article 16 of Germany's Basic Law\(^6\).

Almost immediately the government launched a quota system of distributing migrants among all German lands, with or without their consent. A year later, however, the German government will admit that the situation got out of control and they lost track of some 13% of all registered asylum seekers in 2015; according to the official statement, they either went to other European states or live illegally in Germany\(^7\). It was not the numbers that was Germany's main woe, though, but rather unpreparedness for, quite a predictable to my mind, cultural and civilizational clash. The world shook to the frequent reports on crimes committed by immigrants, specifically sexual assault and violence, from all over Germany. The open-arms policy absolutely backfired, both domestically and internationally. Numerous EU states built walls along their borders to prevent migrants from entering their territories. By the time Frank-Walter Steinmeier, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany, took the microphone at the UN Headquarters in New York in October 2015, the world already knew what to expect - Germany vitally needed to get rid of its immigration burden. His aim was to convince the other European states to share the costs (in all the senses of that word) of immigrants influx. His mean was to appeal to shared values and amity. His tools were behind-the-scenes and/or open negotiations.

Meanwhile, Pavlova's Madame Valitsky had a burden of her own to get rid of, too - her daughter Olga who needed a good match for marriage.

p. 58

Those prudent, vigilant, cautious women <...> rely totally on their maternal efforts. They are extremely consistent with their daughters. In place of the spirit they give them the letter, in place of live feeling a dead rule, in place of holy truth a preposterous lie. And they often manage through these clever, precautionary machinations to steer their daughters safely to what is called "a good match". Then their goal is attained. Then they leave her, confused, powerless, ignorant and uncomprehending, to God's will; and afterwards they sit down tranquilly to dinner and lie down to sleep.

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\(^7\) *Germany admits 130,000 asylum seekers 'lost' raising fears over crime and terrorism*, The Daily Telegraph, February 26, 2016. Retrieved on November 14, 2016
Her aim is to connect Olga with Prince Victor, the best match for marriage. Her mean is to connect Cécily, the main rival, with Dmitry Ivachinsky. Her tools are behind-the-scenes and/or open negotiations with other characters in attempts to convince them to follow her plot, most of the times quite successfully. For example, after private conversation with Dmitry after the horse promenade in Ch. IV, she managed to obliquely convince him of advantages of marrying Cécily:

\[
\text{Madame Valitsky was also silent thinking how incredibly easy it is to manage things with certain people.}
\]

In her negotiations, she starts way far from the actual reason of negotiation. She engages Dmitry into a conversation by a completely innocent abstract question that later strategically enables her to set him on the right viewpoint:

\[
\text{In the Ostankino gardens, } <...> \text{ she walked quietly and slowly, having taken the arm of Dmitry Ivachinsky. "What time is it now, Dmitry Andreevich? I haven't a watch".}
\]

\[
\text{Dmitry, who hadn't the least suspicion where that most innocent of questions, "What time is it?" can lead, took out his watch and answered simple-heartedly, "Quarter to eight".}
\]

\[
\text{"I don't know", continued Natalia Afanasyevna, "whether I will permit Olga to go home on horseback. I'm always afraid of that ride. I just had a terrible fright seeing how Cecily's horse ran away with her".}
\]

\[
<...>
\]

\[
\text{"Well, I ... I didn't notice anything. She was ahead of me".}
\]

\[
\text{"That's just fine! But Prince Victor noticed right away and raced headlong to stop the horse".}
\]

Back in the UN Headquarters in New York, Mr. Steinmeier began his speech by introducing the idea of "good neighborliness". "Noting that good neighborliness presupposed respect for each other's borders and sovereignty, he said that a fundamental norm was being violated by the Russian Federation's annexation of the Crimea and its actions in eastern Ukraine. In the interest of common security, his country wished to further strengthen the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Noting that active political responsibility was also part of good neighborliness, he recalled that this summer the Security Council’s five permanent members and Germany had concluded an agreement with Iran to ensure that it would never have an atomic bomb. They had also brought many actors, including the Russian Federation and the United States, to “sit at the same table”, proving that while neighbors may not like each other, they could still solve problems together.\(^8\)

Pressing upon the concept of "good neighborliness" he further developed it into saying that if the world had indeed become a village in the age of globalization, then “we are all neighbors”. Nobody was investing so much hope in that spirit today as the millions of women, men and children who had fled their homes. His country had, since the start of the year, taken in 600,000 refugees and continued to do so daily. Yet, his country could not shoulder the issue alone in the long-term. “We need a European solution”, he urged, one built on close cooperation with neighbors around the Mediterranean, especially Turkey. Prior to that speech, as it turns out, Germany has held negotiations with G7 and several other states, and raised $1.8 billion for the UN relief agencies - Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the World Food Program (WFP), which are entitled to remove a big part of expenses (again in all the senses of that word) that Germany had to carry alone.

Simultaneously, Angela Merkel and other top-ranked German officials were paying diplomatic visits to a number of African states in order to discuss how their governments could improve conditions which cause people to flee those countries and how illegal migration through and from these countries could be reduced. Let me remind here that the top five countries from where the migrants arrive to Europe are Syria (20%), Afghanistan (14%), Kosovo (11%), Iraq (10%) and Albania (5%) - none of them is African. Does it look like solving a problem of one states at the expense of others? Yes. Similar to trying to connect Olga and Prince Victor by means of connecting Cécily and Dmitry Ivachinsky, instead of, for example, fostering more frequent meetings of the two former or their closer interaction.

Finally, we know from the novel that Madame Valitsky had what is called not the most decent past. She, "a very rich woman, a woman extremely stern in all her opinions and judgements, fully earned the respect of high society, for which neither the future nor the past exists" (p. 12). "Who would think of worrying about the past youth of a woman who for ages had led the most decorous life" (p.12). In September 2015, The New York Times came up with an interesting thesis that as Germany takes in refugees, it also rehabilitates its image. "Europe is once again wary of Germany. This time, it is not an aggressive Germany that wants to expand its borders but an aggressively generous one that is opening its borders, recent controls notwithstanding”, says the author. Two questions are frequently raised: Is Europe’s richest and most populous country still trying to ease its conscience 70 years after the war? And does its new “Willkommenskultur” have a mercantilist edge? While answers to these questions are subject to heated debates, in case of Madame Valitsky the mercantilist rationale of all her actions is clear as daylight.

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The full speech in text, audio and video of H.E. Mr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier can be found at the link https://gadebate.un.org/en/70/germany.

**OIGA / France**

The Gray Cardinal's protege and closest ally. Aims are shared, means are shared, both success and failure are shared. Therefore, concerted actions are key to success for both.

p. 56

*Although Olga was too young to know what levers to pull, she was clever enough to use them according to her mother's directions.*

The French delegation at the UN 70 session was led by H.E. President François Hollande. In his speech he jumped straight to the topic of migration. He said that immense progress had been made since the establishment of the United Nations. However the world still experienced tragedies, dramas and wars. There were hundreds of thousands of refugees, terrorism from which no country was safe and conflicts that had been unresolved for years and which could disintegrate at any moment. The whole mid part of the speech was devoted to the traditionally shared values and re-statement of commonly accepted opinions in Europe: environment, terrorism, condemnation of Russia, and peace process in Syria. President Hollande then used the Syrian topic to come back where he started - migration crisis. Although his own country accommodated less migrants than the agreed quotas proscribed it to, and the French police regularly deported large numbers of migrants back to Italy (from where they usually move towards France), President Hollande called all other European states to treat the migration problem with higher responsibility. Following Germany's example, France earlier contributed €100 mln to the WFP for refugees in countries neighboring Syria.

In other words, what happened was that there emerged a problem for France, the problem had to be solved. France didn't know how to solve it ( didn't know "what lever to pull") but trusted Germany's example ("was clever enough to use them according to her mother's directions"; the "mother" here being Germany who started to deal with the migration crisis much earlier).

The full speech in text, audio and video of H.E. Mr. François Hollande can be found at the link https://gadebate.un.org/en/70/france.

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## Cécily / Greece

### Greece at the UNGA 70th session

Greece has never signed up to deal with the migration problem, but its geographical location made it be in the vanguard of the crisis. Greece was the port through which the biggest number of migrants in 2015 entered the EU through the so-called Mediterranean Route (by sea through Turkey to Greece).

H.E. Alexis Tsipras, Prime Minister of Greece and the leader of its delegation at the UNGA session, said that his country had been hard hit by the 2008 economic crisis due to the structural weaknesses of its economy and its high debt and budgetary deficits. Yet the neoliberal recipes that Greece and other European countries were called to implement came at a devastating social cost, and continued to deepen the economic and fiscal crisis instead of curing it. Greece lost 25 per cent of its gross domestic product (GDP), its debt to GDP ratio grew to 180 per cent, unemployment reached 27 percent, and the migration of graduates to European countries accelerated.

### Cécily in The Double Life

Cécily never wanted Prince Victor, she was "thinking of someone else" (p. 16). But because she was the only real competitor of Olga for the attention of "good matches" on the horizon, Madame Valitsky's scourge fell on her.

Vera Vladimirovna, Cécily's mother, says on p.28: "Cécile is exactly what I wanted to make of her. Every kind of daydreaming is foreign to her. I knew how to make reason important to her and she will never occupy herself with empty infatuations; but naturally I haven't, so to speak, taken my eyes off her".

Cécily is not wealthy, she is dowerless and has often health issues (headaches and sickness). Because of her mother's efforts, she also is deprived of critical mindset and out-of-box thinking ability('she heard that there were even women poets')
Greece is traditionally considered the "mischievous child" of the EU, for pretentiously opposing many of the commonly accepted norms and codes of conduct. But his misconduct mostly stays is in the realm of very minor issues like smoking in public places or water consumption. The EU patriarchs, like Germany, using various financial and political incentives, never let the situation get too chaotic.

Cecily galloped forward. She struck her horse with the whip and went forward at top speed. Suddenly someone caught up with her and someone's hand grabbed the reins of her horse and stopped it. (p. 33) She went on at a walk, <…> and the Prince stayed beside her and continued the conversation.

In the carriage, Madame Valitsky didn't let her lorgnette fall from her eyes for a moment an was very preoccupied with Cecily.

Despite ideological rebelliousness, Greece remains one of the most ancient constituents of the European civilization. Its role in Europe's political and cultural development is never underestimated, and in exchange Greece marches abreast of the fellow EU members in most fundamental political, economic and cultural issues.

She was so used to wearing her mind in a corset that she felt it no more than the silk undergarment that she took off only at night.

Combined, this social pressure of common norms and values alongside with absence of critical thinking made Cécily the main victim of Madame Valitsky's double play, though not directed purposefully against her.

Greece was also at the forefront of another regional, European crisis, namely the recent unprecedented migration flows, Mr. Tsipras pointed out. Since the beginning of the year, over 300,000 people, mostly from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan had entered the country with the aim of transiting to Western European countries. Greece, like all other European countries, was taken aback by that development. Nevertheless, the people of Greece had shown their solidarity by providing food and shelter to the refugees. The future of Europe or the world could not be built on ever-higher walls, or children dying on the doorstep. The international community could not allow racism and xenophobia to destroy its common principles.

The full speech in text, audio and video of H.E. Mr. Alexis Tsipras can be found at the link https://gadebate.un.org/en/70/greece.
**Prince Victor / UK**

Respected by the society. Free spirit, independent from the society but has a prominent niche in it. Wants happiness and stability. Flees when the situation evolves in an undesirable way (Brexit).

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<th><strong>UK at the UNGA 70th session</strong></th>
<th><strong>Prince Victor in The Double Life</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>H.E. Philip Hammond, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, said that 70 years ago leaders of the countries that founded the United Nations gathered in London to institutionalize the conditions for peace. From the ashes of war, the quest for peace and human dignity had begun. His country was proud to be a founding member. Today, it was proud that the United Kingdom was the only industrialized nation that met development assistance targets set by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the United Nations alike. <strong>BUT</strong> The world today faced numerous challenges, old and new, and immediate and long-term, including humanitarian crises, denials of fundamental freedom and violations of territory integrity. In addition to those challenges, longer-term threats had emerged, such as climate change. &lt;...&gt; Crucial to the success of the United Nations was to embrace change and remain relevant. The Council must be reformed, and a transparent process was needed to select the next Secretary-General.</td>
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<td>&quot;Prince Victor is a remarkable young man&quot; (p. 13). He repeatedly demonstrates his interest to Cécily but stays unappreciated. After she herself begins openly favoring Ivachinsky, &quot;the abandoned Prince Victor began to pay his attentions to Olga, considering this, in all the naïveté of his self-veneration, a cruel revenge for the insult Cécily had dealt him&quot; (p.37).</td>
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9:14, the speech on September 29, 2015
Each country must follow its path to prosperity.

June 2016
Brexit. The UK voted, by 52%, to exit the EU.

p. 109
"At the exit, Prince Victor went up to Madame Valitsky with his haughty, barely noticeable bow. "Can I do any errands for you in Paris?" he said to her casually. "I am leaving for there tomorrow". "What?" the frightened Natalia Afanasyevna asked. "You are going? I hope not for long." "I don't know", the Prince answered. "Probably for long".

Other performers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turkey</th>
<th>Desperately wants membership in the society and its recognition. Ready to accept any conditions that bring him to that aim or close to it. Dmitry Ivachinsky &quot;Was a good man, even a noble man, in an ordinary sense of the word, but why should a good and noble man not wish to be a rich man as well?&quot; Throughout 2015, Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan reportedly threatened to send the millions of refugees in Turkey to EU member states. The EU eventually negotiation an agreement according to which Turkey would take back every refugee who entered Greece (and thereby the EU) illegally. In return, Turkey requested €3 bln financial contribution to sustain 2,7 mln refugees in its territory, visa-free entry of its citizens into the Schengen area, as well as to travel freely into the Schengen area starting at the end of June 2016, as well as an increased speed in talks of a possible inclusion of Turkey to the European Union.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Dmitry Ivachinsky</td>
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<td>EU</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protector of Greece but simultaneously cares about the reputation of the society because her own reputation directly depends on it, and cares about her own reputation because her membership in the society depends on it, too. Vera Vladimirovna repeated, with emotion, &quot;C'est délicieux! C'est charmant?&quot; and thanked the poet for the pleasure he had given them. Delegates from the EU states can be seen holding their smartphones in order to take videos and photos, and nodding in support of what some other delegations say - mainly about poverty, environmental issues, pandemics, world literacy and human rights. &quot;A few graceful heads leaned forward, some rosy lips smiled sweetly, some lovely listeners fixed affable looks upon the young poet, while making a mental note that this was a very long piece. (24) &lt;…&gt; Looking around, she saw that everyone seemed a bit wearied by the delights of poetry. Besides, it was already pretty late and her evening could end satisfactorily without the aid of any new artistic admixture. And indeed, this society of literary dilettantes&lt;…&gt;&quot;</td>
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| Vera Vladimirovna |

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<th>The 'New Europe'</th>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Nadezhda Ivanovna was one of those precious ad useful friends with whom clever society women usually provide themselves. She belonged to the countless majority of ladies who have no money, no beauty and not even attractive minds - futile and insufficient substitutes for these two more important possessions. She shared in all the merriment of that brilliant circle and, poor thing, every day, without tiring, she set her thick figure, her thirty-year-old, ordinary face, her miserable dress alongside Olga's graceful figure, fresh face and marvelously artful clothes&quot;.&quot;There are oeiok who are ready to pay with the blood from their own veins in order to brush up against high society and as it were play a part in its amusements&quot; (p.32). The 'New' European states are bound by various agreements and treaties signed as a requirement frothier EU membership. Particularly, the 2013 Dublin Regulation. They have Several of them attempted scattered resistance acts like building walls along their borders, but they were met with reprobation and soon were stopped, just like Nadezhda Ivanovna when she added her comment to the common conversation. &quot;The Prince looked at her with some surprise, not having expected the unseemly retort from this living piece of furniture, and continued lazily &lt;…&gt;&quot; (p. 46)</td>
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### Oil-rich authoritarian states

"Vera Vladimirovna's nephew had unexpectedly brought her a traveller just arrived in Moscow, a **Spanish count**, terribly interesting, a swarthy proud Curliest with sparkling eyes. Naturally, he became the object of general attention, the focus of all female glances and the focus of the drawing room. All the ladies present were busy trying with fervent effort to please the new arrival, to ingratiate themselves with the foreign visitor by that well-known, incurable hospitality which is sometimes so fond and jealous that it becomes a bit indecent, and often makes us appear comical and foreign guests arrogant". (p. 21) The world still lives on the canvas of power politics. Much of power comes to states from the resources that they possess, central among which are natural resources like oil and gas. The developed states are frequently being blamed for their double-standards which are reflected in their benevolent ignorance towards the atrocities that take place in a number of oil-rich countries. They condemn violation of human rights, women's rights, freedoms and human dignity from the UN rostrum but continue diplomatic relations and friendly interaction with the high political officials of those countries. Which is both comical and very sad.

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The similarity between interactions in *The Double Life* and in international diplomacy is wondrous. The accuracy of Pavlova's observation of societal roles is astonishing, as is its realism and enduring appeal. It is a common wisdom that men don't change. May it be indeed so? There are roles that people play, and there are roles that states play. Each role has its requirements: entourage, strategic planning and appropriate behavior. Each role has its risks and implications. Societies, all kinds of them, create and jealously guard norms and values. Smaller outer actors make all kinds of sacrifices to gain membership and recognition. In their efforts, they are often manipulated by stronger actors who masterfully play on the norms of societies to enhance their personal interests. There are innocent victims. There are indifferent observers. There are free spirits who rebel against the common rules. And, as Pavlova reminds us, there are often unexpected circumstances that can ruin even the most perfectly plotted plan since all people live in communities and, that is, everyone plays her own double life.