

Contributors of this volume

Roman Bäcker | Kazimierz Dadak | Zurab Davitashvili | Dariusz Gawin | Paweł Kowal | Stanisław Koziej | Olga Lavrinenko | Agnieszka Legucka | Agnieszka Magdziak-Miszewska | Jan Malicki | Larysa Myrogorodska | Justyna Olędzka | Teimuraz Papaskiri | Vladimer Papava | Jan Piekło | Galyna A. Piskorska | Oleksii Polegkyi | Tetiana Poliak-Grujić | Natalia Yakovenko | Krzysztof Żęgota

 **New Eastern Europe**



2016 // Thirteenth annual session



STUDIUM EUROPY WSCHODNIEJ  **UNIwersYTET WARSZAWSKI**
Pałac Potockich, Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, 00-927 Warszawa
Tel. 22 55 22 555, fax 22 55 22 222, e-mail: studium@uw.edu.pl; www.studium.uw.edu.pl

WEER VOL. VI/2016

THE WARS OF RUSSIA

Warsaw East European Review

Volume VI/2016

editorial discussion

The Wars of Russia

Gawin | Kowal | Koziej | Magdziak-Miszewska | Malicki

R

**Warsaw
East
European
Review**

Volume VI/2016



Warsaw East European Conference

Warsaw
East
European
Review

Volume VI/2016

INTERNATIONAL BOARD:

Egidijus Aleksandravičius, Vytautas Magnus University
Stefano Bianchini, University of Bologna
Miroslav Hroch, Charles University
Yaroslav Hrytsak, Ukrainian Catholic University
Andreas Kappeler, University of Vienna
Zbigniew Kruszewski, University of Texas, El Paso
Jan Kubik, University College London
Panayot Karagyozov, Sofia University
Alexey Miller, Russian Academy of Sciences
Richard Pipes, Harvard University
Mykola Riabchuk, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy
†Alexander Rondeli, Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies
John Micgiel, Columbia University
Barbara Törnquist-Plewa, Lund University
Theodore Weeks, Southern Illinois University

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE:

Jan Malicki, University of Warsaw
(Director of the WEEC – Warsaw East European Conference, chair of the Committee)
John Micgiel (chair of the WEEC Board), University of Warsaw
Wiktor Ross (secretary of the WEEC Board, University of Warsaw)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Paweł Kowal

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Jan Jerzy Malicki

LANGUAGE EDITOR

Bolesław Jaworski

ISBN: 978-83-61325-49-9

ISSN: 2299-2421

Copyright © by Studium Europy Wschodniej UW 2016

TYPOGRAPHIC DESIGN

J.M & J.J.M.

LAYOUT

Jan Malik

PRINTING

Zakład Graficzny UW, nr zam. /2016

STUDIUM EUROPY WSCHODNIEJ**UNIwersytet Warszawski**

Pałac Potockich, Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, 00-927 Warszawa
Tel. 22 55 22 555, fax 22 55 22 222, e-mail: studium@uw.edu.pl; www.studium.uw.edu.pl

PREFACE, Paweł Kowal	7
The Wars of Russia. Warsaw East European Review Editorial Discussion	9
I. RUSSIA. STATE, SYSTEM, PEOPLE	
Roman Backer , <i>Evolution of Russia's Contemporary Political System</i>	33
Justyna Ołędzka , <i>Socio-Political Changes in Russia after 1991 – “Escape from Freedom” or “Lost in Transformation”?</i>	43
Olga Lavrinenko , <i>Determinants of Protest Attitudes: Subjective Well-Being, Value Orientations, and Intentions to Participate in Protest Actions in Russia.</i>	55
Teimuraz Papaskiri , <i>Reconsidering Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century.</i>	69
Oleksii Polegkyi , <i>Soviet Mythology and Memory of World War II as Instruments of Russian Propaganda.</i>	77
II. RUSSIA – A DIFFICULT NEIGHBOUR	
Tetiana Poliak-Grujić , <i>Implementing Eastern Partnership Initiative: Challenges and Obstacles.</i>	93
Agnieszka Legucka , <i>Russia's Peacekeeping Operations in the Post-Soviet Space: “Mirotvorchestvo” Applied.</i>	109
Krzysztof Żęgota , <i>The Kaliningrad Region - Key to Security in East-Central Europe</i>	121
III. RUSSIA. PRICE OF AGGRESSION	
Natalia Yakovenko, Galyna A. Piskorska , <i>The Russian-Ukrainian Conflict as a Threat to European Security</i>	139
Kazimierz Dadak , <i>Price of Aggression: The Impact of Sanctions on the Russian Economy.</i>	151

Larysa Myrogorodska, *Economic Triggers in Ukraine and Crimea
in 2014-2020* 162

Jan Piekło, *OSCE “BIS”: A New European Security Initiative* 181

IV. MISCELLANEA

Prof. Dr. Alexander Rondeli: In Memoriam 191

CONTRIBUTORS 201

Foreword

Dear readers, in your hands you hold the most recent volume of Warsaw East European Review, the yearly academic journal published by the Centre for East European Studies of the University of Warsaw. Previously, WEER was published as a follow-up to the Warsaw East European Conference – probably the largest Polish academic conference dedicated to Eastern policy, with well over a decade of tradition. This year, we wish to widen the format of WEER somewhat, giving the publication a more monographic shape, thus the selection of articles and the editorial discussion of experts, that precedes and binds them into one volume. This publication should find a place on the shelf of every scholar of East European issues, as well as amateur enthusiasts interested in the region. Following in the footsteps of last year’s WEEC, “Russia and its Neighbours”, we have prepared the volume entitled “Russia, its Neighbours and War”, and have invited scholars from over a dozen universities to contribute to it. The texts fall into three sections: the first has to do with system changes in Russia, while the second concerns relations between Russia and its neighbours. The third and final one attempts to address the most difficult question – Russia’s wars with its neighbours. More precisely, the tragedies we have recently observed almost as if we were on the spot, thanks to mass media. The Russian-Georgian War in 2008, the war with Ukraine and armed intervention in Crimea in 2014; these conflicts have opened a new chapter in Russia’s relations with its neighbours, as well as with the West. They have severely damaged levels of trust in the region for many years to come, and put the question on the agenda – how far might the contemporary Kremlin go in its use of force? As the editorial team, we have no doubts that this subject-matter will find a wide audience of interested readers.

The year, our host, the University of Warsaw, celebrates the two hundredth year of its existence. On this occasion, we the editors wish the university all the best for the future, and also offer our heartfelt congratulations on this magnificent anniversary.

Paweł Kowal
7 July 2016

The Wars of Russia

Warsaw East European Review Editorial Discussion

*with: Dariusz Gawin, Stanisław Koziej, Agnieszka Magdziak-Miszewska
and Jan Malicki*

led by: Paweł Kowal

Paweł Kowal¹: Why don't we start with a surprise for Ms Agnieszka Magdziak-Miszewska. This will be an excellent introduction to our discussion – a secret cryptogram from the Polish embassy in Moscow to the Polish Foreign Ministry at the start of the Chechen War. As you know, it is very rare for them to declassify documents from the Third Polish Republic so soon. We can read the predictions that you wrote at the time of the start of the first Russian war of the post-Cold War era, which were written between Christmas and New Year and signed Magdziak-Miszewska.

Agnieszka Magdziak-Miszewska²: If Ambassador Stanisław Ciosek [who originated from the Polish United Worker's Party – editor's note PK] didn't entirely agree with what I was writing, he signed the cryptogram to the Foreign Ministry in Warsaw: "Ciosek from Magdziak". When as the deputy ambassador I was carrying out the responsibilities of *chargé d'affaires*, naturally I signed with my own name.

Kowal: I brought the cryptogram not only to give Madam Minister some enjoyment, but to return to the key – in my opinion – moment, at which the end of the breakup of the Soviet Union can be dated. If we understand the process of the breakup of the USSR

¹ **Paweł Kowal** – WEER editor-in-chief, historian, political scientist, publicist. He works in the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, College of Europe in Natolin and lectures and the Centre for East European Studies UW. He publishes on the topics of system transformation in Central and Eastern Europe. Co-creator of the Warsaw Uprising Museum; from 2005-2014, he was MP in the Polish Sejm and European Parliament. In 2006-2007, he was secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

² **Agnieszka Magdziak-Miszewska** – Polish literary philologist, theatrologist, journalist and diplomat. In the years 1984-1989, she was head of section in the monthly *Więź*. Following this, in 1989-1991, she was director of the independent Centre for International Studies in Warsaw. In 1991-1995, deputy ambassador and plenipotentiary for the Embassy of Poland in Moscow. From 1995, she was deputy chief editor of *Więź*, and, as of 2001, programme director and coordinator of the Eastern Programme of the Centre for International Studies. At the same time, in 1995-1998, she was secretary of the programme advisory committee of the Centre for Eastern Studies. From 1998 to 2000 – adviser for Polish-Jewish relations in the Prime Minister's Office. Since 2000, she is a member of the International Auschwitz Council. In 2001-2005, deputy ambassador, and then Consul General of Poland in New York. After returning home – chief adviser to the Prime Minister's for Polish-Jewish relations. From 2006 to 2012, she was Ambassador of Poland to Israel, and after her return she served as adviser to the Minister of National Defence.

as such a process, and not just a moment in history, then I feel that the act in which this process is halted is the moment when federal troops cross into Chechnya. They do not halt the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, or the “External Empire”, not some spheres of influence, but simply the breakup of that which was the first seed, the heart of the Soviet Union – in other words, the Russian Federation. The First Chechen War was also about the non-disintegration of the Russian Federation, to stop the further breakup of the Empire, already after the formal dissolution of the USSR, when they had shrunk to just Russia – in other words, the state of things before the creation of the Soviet Union in 1922. I propose that we start from this point.

How do you interpret the role of war in contemporary Russian politics? How do you interpret the role of the army in contemporary Russia? I remember a story which Włodzimierz Bączkowski describes in his fundamental work *“Rosja: Wczoraj i Dziś”* [Russia: Yesterday and Today]. He relates how there existed a dispute between Marshals Shaposhnikov and Tukhachevsky regarding the causes of Soviet defeat in the Polish-Bolshevik War. Shaposhnikov proved that Tukhachevsky was incorrect, and the problem with the Soviet Red Army was not that it was poorly prepared, but that the territory which it had entered was poorly prepared with regard to intelligence and information, as well as the fact that the army – in the strongly ideologically-charged Soviet system – was essentially not for conquering, but rather to assure an already ideologically prepared capture. Bączkowski wrote this already at the start of the 1940s and strongly agreed with this type of thinking.

Magdziak-Miszewska: The cultural context of Russia fighting a war is basically the same from the moment that the Russian state was formed with its definition of itself as a separate civilisation. War becomes an important instrument of Russian rivalry with the outside world, so unfamiliar culturally and which definitely felt threatening to her. There are various reasons for Russia to fight a war. For example, in order to discipline and remind others, that in the vicinity of the Russian state, it is not permitted to commit acts which are not agreed with Moscow, or – worse – which may threaten her interests.

War in the “Imperial Pedagogy”

Kowal: So the aim is propaedeutic – “for others to see”.

Magdziak-Miszewska: Yes. The war with Georgia in 2008, was a reminder of Russia’s role in the post-Soviet space. The annexation of Crimea, followed by the war with Ukraine, was presented internally as the defence of its own territory, or “Little Russia”. Russia’s positioning of itself as one of the two main actors in a bipolar world is something else entirely. I think it is this kind of situation that we are seeing at the moment – we are observing the will of Russia to return to the role of a superpower equal in status to the United States, which is tied to the will of designating spheres of influence and positioning itself in relation to different world actors.

Stanisław Koziej³: Searching for an answer to your question, I would divide it into two categories: war and the army, and Russia's military strength and might. How Russia treats war today is the continuation of the traditional approach to war in Russian politics.

Kowal: So, for the Kremlin, war is a series of events starting with preparation, and the army only plays the role of the rubber stamp?

Koziej: Even if the army doesn't fight, Russia achieves its designated interests with its help. I would suggest the thesis that Russia as an Empire, is not at all interested in fighting wars. That it is not Russia who provokes war as an armed conflict, but is, as if, "forced" by defenders that are unrelenting to pressure applied on them. For example, Poland in the 19th century, when it was partitioned. The effect of Russia's policy towards a defeated Poland and the reaction of the Poles was the November Uprising – Russia "didn't want" to fight this war. This is also a reflection of Clausewitz's famous theory that war is caused by the defender; if not for the defender, there would be no war. If the defender does not resist the aggressor, then the army would have forced the achievement of political objectives without firing a single shot. An empire which possesses great power is able to take advantage of its military might to scare, intimidate, pressure, and is happy if it does not need to fire its cannons while everyone bows before them. Yet, this is not the case, because the empire emits pressure while others do not want to acquiesce, so it is constantly surrounded by wars, which it either wins or loses. I would go with the thinking of Shaposhnikov and his philosophy that in 1920, it would have been ideal if the terrain to be attacked had been prepared in such a way, that everyone would have surrendered to the Bolsheviks without a fight. It is necessary to underline the issue of the empire taking advantage of its armed forces to force itself on others without warfare. If Georgia had acquiesced to Russia, this war would not have taken place.

Jan Malicki⁴: In quoting Clausewitz, the General has proposed an interesting thesis.

³ **Stanisław Koziej** - General of Brigade (Ret.), Professor at the Lazarski School, and the National Defence Academy in Warsaw. Former chief of the Office of National Security (2010-2015). Earlier, in 2005-2006, he was undersecretary of state at the Ministry of National Defence. He has taught at the academy for many years and specialises in the politics and strategy of international and national security (including defence) and strategic security management. He has lectured at the University of Warsaw, Jagiellonian University, University of Łódź, Warsaw School of Economics and the Diplomatic Academy. Directly following his retirement from the Polish Army (1994-2001) he was director of the System of Defence Department in the Ministry of National Defence and in 1993-1994 deputy director of a department in the National Security Bureau. There he received his promotion to general in 1993, from the hands of President Lech Wałęsa.

⁴ **Jan Malicki** – Director of the Centre for East European Studies of the University of Warsaw. A member of the first underground editorial board of *Obóz* (as well as later editorial boards), he was founder and head of the underground Institute of Eastern Europe (1983-1985); founder and chief editor of the quarterly *Przegląd Wschodni* (from 1991); cofounder (1990), and later, director of the work of the Centre for East European Studies, author of the Eastern Studies programme, coordinator of government and university scholarship programs for the East; director of the Konstanty Kalinowski Polish government scholarship (since 2006) and permanent deputy chairman of the "Consortium of Ukrainian Universities and the University of Warsaw".

The presented point of view speaks of understanding Moscow and every other empire – “if they won’t bother us, we won’t punish them”. That is like saying that if a victim of rape does not defend oneself, then the rape will not take place. It is impossible to accept such an explanation. I am closer to the thesis of Ms Magdziak-Miszewska, that war and the army are the tools of creating an empire and carrying out imperial politics, in general. Most likely the only point that I would be inclined to agree on with General Koziej is that while creating an empire, placing a strong focus on various functions of the army is *ex definitione*, natural and necessary. In this sense, Alexander II’s reply comes to mind when he was asked what friends Russia possesses. He replied: “Russia has only two friends – the army and the fleet.” In this regard, the Russian, or the Soviet Empire, do not particularly differ from other empires.

Kowal: During the second leap in the development of the Romanov Empire in the 18th century, the army – to a great degree – served to formalise political developments in the Caucasus. Similar processes took place when Russia entered Central Europe, especially into Poland. In essence, not the “army”, but a more widely defined “warfare”; a process which began at the level of intelligence, played its role. In the Russian Embassy, documents pertaining to over a hundred significant agents, including the Primate and the King of Poland, were found. Thus, it is not so obvious, that Russia simply utilises brute force. When we approach the subject more closely we discover that it is not so banal.

Malicki: With respect to Poland, events unfolded in such a way, because the country was in a state of decline. But with regard to Turkey – a genuine, imperial foe – the army and naked strength had to be used.

War as Defeat

Dariusz Gawin⁵: The Russian writer, Krylov, wrote a fairy tale in which the wolf says to his victim: “It is your fault that I am hungry.” In one line, he grasped the essence of the will and strength of Imperial Russia, which always places the fault for its own aggression

⁵ **Dariusz Gawin** – intellectual historian, publicist, deputy director of the Warsaw Uprising Museum, head of the Starzyński Institute. He is director of the Civic Society Department at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology PAN. He is interested in Polish political and social thought, political philosophy, and problems relating to historical politics. He has published in, among others: *Nowa Res Publica*, *Znak*, *Przegląd Polityczny*, *Teologia Polityczna*, *Więź*, *Życie*, *Rzeczpospolita*. Co-author of history and civic education textbooks. He is a member of the board of the Freedom Institute Foundation, member of the Historical-Programme Collegium of the European Solidarity Centre in Gdańsk, member of the advisory committee of the School of Leaders Foundation, member of the Polish-German Cooperation Foundation advisory committee (2007-2008), member of the National Development Council to President Andrzej Duda. As of 2006, along with Marek A. Cichoński and Dariusz Karłowicz he presents philosophy seminars at the University of Warsaw. From January 2007 to June 2010, he co-hosted, along with Cichoński and Karłowicz the TVP Kultura programme *Trzeci punkt widzenia* (reactivated in 2016). He recently published a book: *Wielki zwrot. Ewolucja lewicy i odrodzenie idei społeczeństwa obywatelskiego 1956-1976* (Znak 2013).

on the victim. First of all, there is continuity between Tsarist Russia, the Soviet Union and Putin's Russia, but on the other hand, there are qualitative changes. We are talking of war, but really it is conquest, subordinating another to one's will. Empire puts forth a constant effort to subordinate all those that are weaker. Pressure and attempts to subordinate are the natural, primitive state. From this perspective, war is the moment when the pressure, and attempt to subordinate, carries over a violent phase – this is what the army is for. The first phase, though, takes place through constant effort, the never-ending work of special services and diplomacy – their activities are essentially a different form of violence. From this perspective, it seems that it is also important to grasp the difference between Tsarist, Soviet, and Putin's Russia. From the Soviets, Putin inherits a way of thinking in which foreign policy is perceived as a series of special operations. Russia's diplomacy and soft-power are carried out according to this logic – as a series of offensive special-ops. The army only comes into play when the intelligence service prepares a basis for intervention, or is unable to cope. In this sense, the use of the army stands as a confirmation of success, or as proof of failure. Ukraine is, in a sense, proof of such a failure and thus, our cognitive dissonance in evaluating the effects of the last Russian war.

Kowal: So a 'Russian war' is the kind of war in which the use of the army can be interpreted as the ineffectiveness of other measures?

Gawin: Yes, because when Russia has tangled with a truly powerful, great and equal opponent, she has always stood at the edge of existential destruction. This was the case with the Poles at the beginning of the 17th century, with Napoleon, and with the Germans in both World Wars. In the case of weaker entities, Russia has always behaved completely ruthlessly. Now Ukraine is a specific case, as it goes against all the paradigms of Russian politics, because, firstly, this conflict is proof of the failure of the Russian method of subordinating weaker entities through infiltration and other special methods. What is more, the situation is of an existential character for both countries. Maidan successfully halted the effective and massive special-op, patiently carried out for many years, the goal of which was first to cause the collapse of Ukraine, and later absorb it, in one form or another, by Russia. It questioned this whole operation at a moment when it seemed it had ended in success. The conflict, though, is existential in the sense that Carl Schmitt utilised the term – in others words, that the sheer existence of the opponent in any form questions the existence of the other side...because an independent and "Ukrainian" Ukraine, means the end of Russia in the form it has existed for 350 years. The Russians carried out this massive special-op because the costs of using naked strength were too large. They reached for force only when Maidan – contrary to logic – won, and even then they limited themselves to a hybrid war in Donbas, and not a full-scale invasion. The Soviet Union would not have been so restrained in such circumstances. A further difference is the ideological vacuum existing in contemporary Russia. This is a major weakness of Russia today, especially in comparison with the Soviet era, when they possessed diplomatic services, intelligence services and an army, but also a messianic global ideology. It is true that Putin's Russia possesses an ultra-conservative ideology, the Orthodox Church, but it does

not have a modern Comintern and a network of communist parties. It supports nationalist parties in Europe, but this is not the same, because then, communism was a massive, mainstream idea. Today, they do not have the backing of either Sartre or Picasso, or all the other Western intellectuals it had then. It has money, as it is a “petro-empire”. It can corrupt. But it does not have the support of communism as a great ideological support.

Magdziak-Miszewska: The money is also limited. Russia sometimes uses force in order to test weapons which it cannot, or it is not worth testing for various, for example ecological reasons, on its own territory. Such a place is Syria, where they can demonstrate precise bomb strikes, which fall on the civilian population, and still call it fighting Islamic State. With regard to Ukraine, I would formulate it differently – the situation there is, however, proof of failure. It is worth underlining that amongst all the wars recently fought by Russia, this one is the most “inwardly” experienced by Russians.

Gawin: Because the stakes are the highest.

Magdziak-Miszewska: Also, because war in Ukraine is something impossible for Russians to imagine. It is as if the Poles said to themselves: “We are losing Częstochowa. Częstochowa no longer wants to be a part of Poland.” This is the significance which Kiev and Ukraine hold for Russians. Here also lies the difference in the Russian approach to Georgia, instituting a doctrine of limited independence. From Moscow’s point of view, Ukraine is much more important, even then Belarus is less so.

Malicki: From the point of view of the existence of the Empire? Yes? Or in a spiritual sense?

Gawin: Russianness.

Magdziak-Miszewska: Yes, Kiev is the cradle from which Russia grew. Simultaneously, Moscow is effectively rebuilding this messianism amongst Russians themselves.

Gawin: I was speaking of communism as a tool of global significance, in the sense that the communists were in Buenos Aires, in the United States and everywhere else in the world – in every capital of every country in the world there was a Comintern cell.

Magdziak-Miszewska: This is all true, only that at the moment, Russia is also using other instruments, which it did not use for obvious reasons during the communist period, such as for example taking advantage of the Orthodox Church for dialogue with other churches.

Poland in Russia’s War Perspective?

Kowal: We will return to this war sequence later, but since we are speaking in a Polish group, it is impossible not to address the following issue. Poland is one of Russia’s unique neighbours, who certainly fought Russia as an equal once, perhaps twice, depending on how we treat the views of our modern “revisionist history”, which opines that when Piłsudski defeated the Bolsheviks in 1920, he committed an ideological choice. That he did not finish off Soviet Russia, because he was closer to the left, than to

the right. Of course today, we look at Russia from the position of a weaker partner, as our thinking is affected by the fact that it is a nuclear power, which, in general, situates Russia differently in the world. But if contemporary Russia were to be cut off from this nuclear potential, then maybe Russia would perceive us differently as well. Does this fact – which is very important in the Russian mentality, because, for example, it is constantly explored in historical politics – that at least twice, the Poles stood toe to toe with their neighbours, and could have conquered their nation, at the beginning of the 17th century and then in the 20th century – does that affect Polish-Russian relations?

Koziej: I can't believe that any significance is attached in Russian historical memory to the fact that Poland, as its neighbour, almost ruled Russia. I think that in today's Russia, greater importance is given to the fact that we are part of a larger international system. We are not an independent and separate entity in relation to Russia. Aside to what we were speaking about earlier concerning Russia's activities in relation to its neighbours – for example, Ukraine – I would not only add the problem of Russian identity, but the fact that Russia isn't fighting just Ukraine. Whatever we might say, Ukraine does have international support, which is a wider problem for Russia, limiting its freedom to act. But in a general sense, it behaves like any other empire.

Kowal: I think that the General just presented a trait which demonstrates that this is not an empire like any other. You suggest that the war in Ukraine is not only an issue of war to maintain an imperial sphere, but that this is a part of Russia's obsession on the point of war with the West. This, though, is not typical of every empire, because you are suggesting that this war is a kind of intermediary war, correct?

Koziej: No, but it is not because Russia wanted to fight with the West in Ukraine, but because the West entered on the side of Ukraine. Russia did not trigger the war against Ukraine to defeat the West – I would not say this. What I would say is that Russia, in fighting with Ukraine, must account for the fact that the third party – which is the West – is reacting to the war in Ukraine, and Russia does not have full freedom to act in its resolution. If it did, then Russia would have subordinated Ukraine long ago. Here, in my opinion, Russia is acting rationally from the point of view of its imperial goals, interests, circumstances, etc. I see nothing special or specific which might distinguish Russia's behaviour from other imperial entities.

Kowal: In the film, which shows the 750th anniversary of Moscow, a large part of the historical re-enactment organized for this occasion is "Ridding the Kremlin of Poles". After 1939, Russia's behaviour, the Soviet establishment, on the matter of Katyń, must have resulted from experiencing defeat in the war with Poland, twenty years earlier. As one of just a few of its neighbours which isn't and wasn't an empire, like China or Turkey, Poland looked "the bear" straight in the eyes. I would opine that this does play a role in Russia's attitude towards Poland.

Gawin: When Russians say that Poland is not important to them, I feel that if they were to capture Warsaw, there would be a one-thousand-cannon salute in the Kremlin, notwithstanding how often and vehemently they might say that it is unimportant to them.

Kowal: Our experiences in talks with the Russians indicate that, in fact, they treat Warsaw as a priority matter. This is somehow specifically situated in this Russian way of thinking, because their approach to Poland is 100% ambiguous. But I cede the floor to a person who observed daily as the Empire disintegrated, twenty-five years ago.

Miszewska: Russia definitely favours the strong. Poland's position is interesting since it is not France, which almost precipitated Russia's catastrophe, but later ceased being a serious nation from its point of view; it is not Germany – which for various reasons – Russia values. According to Russia's point of view, Poland was a demi-empire, a part of which later found itself part of the Russian Empire, constantly rebelling, and then along came 1920, when we nearly destroyed the Bolshevik state.

Kowal: Reborn Poland is the Soviet Union's contemporary.

Magdziak-Miszewska: Right, so it is 1920, and the Russians remind themselves that Poland can be a threat to them. Then in 1945, we become a part of the External Empire, but we occupy a rather particular position in this Empire. This is also visible following the collapse of the Soviet Union, especially when talks begin concerning a “partnership for peace” or NATO. Amongst all the East European countries, Poland is the most significant. I watched the growing alarm at the fact that Poland might again leave Russia, for good. At the moment when in Poland, after 1989, talks begin concerning possible membership in NATO, Russia had a panic attack. At this time I even told an acquaintance that I was afraid to open the refrigerator, because someone might shout from inside it that Poland should not join NATO. It was as if the fact that the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary also wanted NATO, didn't mean a thing to the Russians – it was Poland.

Koziej: For Russia, Poland is also important here and now. We are important because we are a large neighbour that is the intermediary between Russia and the West, etc. From Russia's point of view, we are simply an important geostrategic player.

Kowal: Do you feel that it is mainly this way because we are in the central part of the Middle European Plain, or is there some other psychological or historical reasoning?

Koziej: Does anyone else here feel this way? I don't think I do. I don't feel that the reason for what Ms Magdziak-Miszewska is saying – they are so overly sensitive in a given moment to what is going on in Poland – to be any different than those issues resulting from today's strategic location; contemporary interests.

Malicki: For Russia, in the context of relations with Poland, there are a number of issues which are mixed up, of which I am afraid that geostrategic location is of least importance. In fact there are three main things. Firstly, every document of a literary type, up to the most recent re-enactment of this holiday, indicate that remembrance concerning the years 1610-1612 remains especially deeply embedded in Russians, meaning the consciousness of the elites, and from there, carried over into the general consciousness – the year 1612, or the threat to the existence of the nation. The second matter is tied to the first, and is the “Jesuitism” of the Poles, an element which constantly exists in Russian thinking. It is widely recognised, and constantly appears in literature and culture that

the Pole is the Slav-traitor, who only appears to be close to Russians. Poles do not believe that Russians are their absolute closest brothers, and despite all appearances, such a belief does exist amongst Russians. They look at the Slavic world – and I say this without any negative subtext – very closely and they see in it potential unity, while we are seen as the Roman traitors, which is linked to “Jesuitism”, the Dymitriads, the *Lisowczycy*.

Kowal: And with a penchant for war with the West.

Malicki: And the third element, which is entirely different, but is linked to the conception of betrayal, mainly that Russia feels towards Poland like a betrayed lover; they would really like for Poland to be in their corner, have them close. In fact, they have given a number of examples as proof of a unique openness throughout history. They would like to have us as a friend and a lover.

Kowal: And what positive examples where there?

Malicki: To be fair, I feel that good Polish-Russian relations only existed when Poland was basically part of Russia, but within the framework of this, there were positive gestures confirming what I have said. Please recall 1815, the year that Congress Poland was created. Only in 1812, the whole army of the Duchy of Warsaw – around 112,000 men – advanced on Moscow. Nobody remained behind to defend the Duchy. When on 24 June 1812, the Emperor of the French pointed across the Niemen River with his sabre, the 10th Warsaw Hussar Regiment, simply threw themselves into the river on the order of Gen. Konopka. Napoleon commented: “But no, I never asked for this.” Konopka then reported: “Sire, it is nothing. Only two horses died and one Ułan. Moscow is more important.” And after all this, this unbelievable commitment by the Poles, suddenly Tsar Alexander creates Congress Poland, creates the University of Warsaw, grants a constitution, calls up Gen. Zajączek who, if you recall, lost his leg at Berezina. But now I have really strayed from contemporary war!

Magdziak-Miszewska: I have three anecdotes to close this Polish section. The first is from the period when Poland was entering NATO. At the time, the Russian Foreign Ministry was placing enormous pressure on our embassy. Then, one of the Russian diplomats told me this story: “There once lived a beautiful girl in a small but important city. The Tsar believed her to be the most beautiful, desirable and wonderful woman in the land. But the girl ignored the Tsar’s advances and moved to a big city. There she is still a beautiful woman, but not the most beautiful.” Think this over from the position of Poland. The second took place in 1992, when I was invited to lunch by Sergei Karaganov, who said: “Listen, what is the whole fuss with Ukraine? Can we not just come to an agreement and say it straight? Your influence: how many kilometres to the east of Lviv? Why don’t we just settle it...” When I responded that we do not think in such categories, he simply didn’t believe it. The Russians don’t believe in a “Western” approach to certain things. If, for example, they hear that some smaller EU country is of equal importance as a large one, then they immediately suspect this is not true. And the final example: Do you know the name of the medal which was issued to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the birth of Russian diplomacy? The medal of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, the first foreign minister of Russia.

Koziej: And they don't remove it from circulation? They don't topple his monuments?

Kowal: Just the opposite. They renovated his grave in Sienawa.

The Wars of Contemporary Russia

Kowal: In the war sequence of Russia today, most often, the continuation of Russia's imperial policy is underlined. This view is deeply rooted in Polish political thought – Kucharczyński, Bączkowski and later *Kultura* originated from similar positions. Later it was transferred to world Sovietology, as one of its main approaches. Today's neo-imperialism is accompanied by a sequence of wars, which has caused me deep reflection. The first war (in Chechnya) was within the Federation, while the following wars were located on the very border between the Federation and a neighbouring country (which was once a part of the Soviet Union), but without crossing this border, which Russia recognised itself. Russia does not cross the borders of Abkhazia and Ossetia, but limits itself not to go further. Later it crosses these borders also, entering territory which it had previously not denied Georgia. Then it decided to enter Ukraine. In my opinion this was the defining moment. It leads to rapid catalysing of Ukraine's national consciousness, which probably historically settled the question of Ukraine's separateness. Russia further crosses into Crimea and executes an open annexation. Afterwards, Syria. You could say that its prefiguration was the war in Afghanistan – a unique Soviet Russian war, because seemingly the only one so very far from the USSR's borders, not mentioning World War II, of course. Finally, we have recently seen an example of another, different, war in this sequence, the war in Nagorno-Karabakh, where the old conflict was unfrozen for four days, and a kind of "letting off of steam" was allowed to take place between the two neo-empires – Russia and Turkey. But like during the days of the Cold War, it took place through intermediaries – Azerbaijan and Armenia. Is there any logic in this sequence? And what consequences does it hold for the contemporary world?

Conditioning for War

Gawin: Russian society, as a whole, is a society which is prepared for war. It is so, as you would say in the language of Chekhov: In the house of Russia, Putin never stops hanging shotguns on the walls. There are so many, that sooner or later one of them will go off. I must say that over the last two years, two events have shaken me to the same degree as the recent political and military events. The first was when I saw a tank biathlon on television for the first time. The second, was when I saw a weatherwoman on Moscow television who was saying that the weather in Syria is excellent for "our" air force. She said it with real enthusiasm and joy that she was transmitting good news to society.

Such things do not take place without consequences. This type of thinking about the world does not just enter through the ears and eyes, but through the pores of your skin. This generation is completely soaked in it. Russia is a revisionist power which desires revenge for the collapse of the Soviet Union and defeat in the Cold War, or – as Putin himself called it – “the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century”. They are constantly tensed and ready to jump, but at the same time, they are rational enough to know that they are not so strong as to be able to resolve all the matters which they are intent on. Standing in the way are NATO, the Chinese and the international situation. Thus the constant internal tension between the disposition for aggression and war, and rational calculation keeping these emotions in check. As a result of the tension, they constantly attempt to adjust the outside world’s imagination so that it corresponds with rules of any possible future conflict. The testing ground was the conflict in Donbas. Using a method of accomplished facts, they instituted the unwritten rules of this war – the Ukrainians are not allowed to use their air force, the Ukrainians are not allowed to answer artillery fire from inside the Russian border. In other words, they can carry out artillery duels within their own borders, but they cannot fire over the border, even when the shots come from that side. The Ukrainians are not allowed to counterattack, the whole battle of Ilovaisk served to show that Ukrainian units cannot carry out counter-attacks. These rules were agreed: if you don’t use your air force, we won’t use our air force, and if you don’t counter-attack, then we won’t attempt to break through your lines – because Debaltseve was not breaking through the lines, but the closing of a cauldron. The Russians also play this game with the West. We are constantly trained – our imagination is trained in this – to imagine that upcoming conflict will be localised. Localised to the Baltic States. The Americans react to this inducement because when the RAND Corporation released its war simulation, it only encompassed Estonia and Latvia, but why didn’t it encompass Lithuania? Because if it encompassed Lithuania, it would also encompass Poland. With Poland the conflict ceases to be localised and becomes a so-called “big war”. But how come it hasn’t entered anyone’s mind that if Russian planes bomb positions near Riga, and they take off from Pskov, then American Tomahawks fired by submarines will hit a Russian airfield on the territory of the Russian Federation? Because the Russians have already said that if they are threatened existentially they will use tactical nuclear weapons. All this is preparation and conditioning us for the way we think about a future conflict, for us to always view it as localised. The General knows well the operational details of “Anaconda”. They are also localised, but for a large war. This drives the Russians nuts, because the guidelines of Anaconda break the principles of localisation: Estonia, Latvia, possibly Lithuania, and this becomes a large war. Large, but not worldwide. In this sense they would like to trigger this war, but simultaneously they are attempting to build such framework conditions that it is not too large, because they can only win this type of war. And anyone who says that a missile ought to be shot at an airfield outside St. Petersburg or Moscow is a warmonger, who is intent on World War III and nuclear war. An interesting question in this perspective is: What would

happen if they used their air force in the Baltic countries? Then their planes would have to fly everywhere, in which case they are now attempting to establish the corresponding rules. I am saying this as a political philosopher and not as a military expert, because the behaviour of political communities in a conflict is based not only on military aspects, but also on the method of thinking; political philosophy that shapes their imagination.

Koziej: In general, I agree with this chain of thought and with the diagnosis – but returning to the beginning of your question, what does this sequence of war mean and how would I explain it...

Kowal: Maybe it is simply coincidence?

Koziej: It is not coincidence, but it is natural. Just as a tree grows naturally, it doesn't know what shape it will grow to. It grows and over the course of growing it happens, depending on what obstacles it meets: a roof, or a wall, maybe it's at the edge of forest, or in its centre, or perhaps on a boundary between fields. My thesis is the following: this is a clinical example of the birth of an empire attempting to delineate its borders on a case by case basis, and not on the basis of some strategic vision. I also evaluate, maybe inaccurately, that what Putin is doing – what today's Russia is doing – is not some far-reaching strategy, but just the realisation of a certain vision through just such a method of trial and error; small steps, building Empire on the basis of flooding: "I go there, where in a given moment I am able". Of course it began from an internal wake up call, fighting internal crises – the Chechen War, and slowly onwards. Now we are faced with the problem, what else will Russia do? Where will reality stop it? It seems to me, that this depends to a significant degree on how much and on what scale the West will allow it. Will – for example – they be able to incrementally absorb Pribaltika without any real, serious consequences? If so, then after, Russia will again consider: "Maybe just a bit further...?" In my opinion, this can be explained through a particular geopolitical logic concerning the birth of empires. When it comes to specificity, then I would underline what you said at the beginning – the specificity of military tradition: living with wars, dramas which Russia experienced, also during the period of World War II.

Gawin: Timed fieldstripping of Kalashnikovs in school ...

Koziej: In my opinion this was strongly praised during the whole period of the Soviet Union, and now as well, and in connection with this, no one is surprised that during the television weather forecast, planes are flying. Maybe this is a peculiarity of the Russian nation – once fear (from Tsarist times), then pride, hope, support and respect for... whatever uniform, including that of the army.

Nuclear War?

Kowal: As a military man, do you, General, feel that there exists such a thing as a "Cuban-Nuclear complex"? What this would mean is that in military-strategic Russian thinking, there exists a mental complex based on the fact, that when there existed the

possibility of victory during the Cuban Missile Crisis, nuclear weapons were not used in any way, and the leader who allowed this to happen had to leave his post, and in quite particular and embarrassing circumstances; *de facto* he had to leave on the quiet, because he did not utilise a certain resource which war strategy, technical ideas and the economic strength of the nation had created. It sentenced the Empire to – maybe not embarrassment – but a show of weakness, which also brought to light that this complex comprises a further threat, which to get rid of – as in the case of a psychological reaction – Russia would use tactical nuclear weapons for precise strikes.

Koziej: The fact that Russia might use tactical nuclear weapons is obvious to me. In today's thinking, Russian doctrine is realistic in this case, but I don't think I would connect it all the way back to the Cuban Missile Crisis and the complexes it created. At least, I have never come across any Russian (Soviet) literature to present the issue in the way that you have more or less done.

Kowal: But Putin often says “Khrushchev”, as if in this context...

Koziej: Rather, I think similarly as in the West, that example is treated as the opportunity to avoid a terrible drama which might have taken place. Perhaps your hypothesis has some grounds? Perhaps the Russians, in order to avoid suspicions of their weakness, could make a propaganda play on this subject... But I don't see it.

Kowal: The problem rests on the fact that Russia's main imagined opponent, the United States, possesses “everything the same” as they do, but they did make use of an atomic device; they tried out this most powerful weapon and haven't faced the consequences to this day.

Koziej: Are you speaking of a future conflict?

Kowal: I am speaking of a certain psychological state concerning the ownership of nuclear weapons – the money invested in it, the development of technical thought; a massive investment, which should, in fact, serve something. Someone in the Kremlin might think this: “My main opponent possesses the same as I do and he used it when he needed to. What's more, he basically didn't face any consequences, instead they gave him a standing ovation. We, on the other hand, sentenced ourselves to a loss of face by not using this instrument, which was laying just a hand's reach away, all due to a lack of leadership by the very person who was meant to rule.”

Koziej: On the question of nuclear weapons, in my opinion, Russia today has no complex with regard to America. In fact the opposite. I feel that Russia is so much slyer, smarter and surer of itself, that it can allow for this “doctrine of de-escalation” when it comes to tactical nuclear weapons. I think that at a strategic level there is blocking and balance, and no one thinks about winning a great war through the use of strategic nuclear weapons. Everyone rather thinks of blocking, so that this war doesn't take place and so that we don't get too close to the brink of such a war. Here the fully realistic concept of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) is at work. On the other hand, on the level of tactical nuclear weapons, it is entirely different. Here, Russia, with an overwhelming advantage in these weapons in the region – the narrative that you previously mentioned – forces

the West into such an approach to tactical nuclear weapons, that Russia can use these weapons in a limited way, while the West will have a huge problem with their response.

Gawin: This is simplified in what the Russians are saying: “Will there be an exchange of Narva for Chicago?”

Koziej: What I worry about is connected with Pribaltika, that Russia may have a very real plan for this kind of activity; that she will force its way onto a selected and limited territory, and if NATO reacts on a larger scale, Russia will preventatively carry out one, two small-scale nuclear strikes, for example in the air, over Pribaltika, at an objective not belonging to the NATO nuclear countries, in order to signal: “Let us stop the war, or we will cross the precipice of mutual destruction. This is the biggest risk for Pribaltika. Looking at the future consolidation of the Russian Empire, it is easy to imagine that Russia might have in its plans a scenario of limited war with NATO, if the Alliance doesn’t demonstrate in time their “counter-doctrine” to Russia’s “nuclear de-escalation” doctrine.

Gawin: But is it not so, that by doing this the Russian’s are afraid of so-called “full-scale conventional warfare”, and that in fact it is conditioning us not to think that a full-scale conventional war may break out?

Koziej: They cannot even think about a great conventional war, because, quite simply, they have no chance of winning.

The War in Syria

Kowal: It appears to me that the theory with pedagogy – conditioning society and war pedagogy against the opponent is original and requires a certain added commentary. We are looking at it through the prism of imperialism, through the prism of the development of military thought, the personality of Putin, but we can also look at it through the prism of refined results, refined tactics, which leads to concrete results with regard to Russian society in the case of two generations already. To this, we must add that people now live longer, so we will feel the effects of Putin’s pedagogy for at least the next fifty-sixty years. War pedagogy leads to the creation of a large and significant society prepared to apply violence in the name of abstract goals against Western societies, which is structurally pacifistic.

Magdziak-Miszewska: I agree with the “conditioning” of the West. Russia uses many instruments in pursuit of this goal. We call it “information warfare” or “economic warfare” – these are all instruments serving to condition us. In Russia, orthodoxy met with a concrete system of governing and created a specific civilisation. One in which the position of the individual against the community and the state is weak. The conditioning of the Russian nation for war is being carried out without any internal conflicts in society. As a consequence, the difference between internal and external politics is being rubbed out in Russia. It is so intertwined, that the anecdote concerning the weather forecast’s “airplanes in the Syrian sky” do not surprise anyone.

Are the consecutive wars of today's Russia simply coincidence or the result of consequentially realised strategy? Strategy. Especially when it comes to its closest surroundings. An example of this is the fight for the Arctic, because above all, natural resources are needed to secure the future. For now, there isn't any money in it, or any cheap technologies to access the Arctic's resources, but Russia's long-term thinking is intent on marking the territory: "We are here". There are also places where Russia would like to return, but the West has made this impossible... I am thinking of the Middle East.

Kowal: "Expeditionariness" is not typical for Russian wars. When does Russia decide to send their military far beyond its own borders?

Magdziak-Miszewska: The Russians were in Syria much earlier. They have their ships and bases there, and it was like this before the start of the civil war there.

Koziej: They don't have many aircraft carriers, and they are defending one in Syria.

Gawin: This has to do with the fact that the Russians didn't fight wars where their supply lines weren't directly connected to the border of Russia. The war in Syria is a projection of strength in circumstances where the Russian army is surrounded by enemy countries. An example of this type of situation would be when they shot self-guided cruise missiles from the Caspian Sea.

Kowal: In Russia's wars, "expeditionariness" was not typical for the first empire, or for the second, Soviet, one. And yet, now, Putin has decided on operations in Syria.

Koziej: They quite simply didn't have the strategic need, because Russia was a continental power. The United States, Great Britain, or, at one time, the Spanish, were/are sea powers, so this expeditionary nature was natural for them, while for Russia, Syria is an exception. It is the only example... I can't think of any other.

Kowal: In a sense, Afghanistan was an expedition, but there was in fact a common border.

Magdziak-Miszewska: But in this example, there also existed the question of regaining its influence. We look at Syria, because they flew there and are bombing and testing weapons. Let's look at Egypt – the reconstruction of Russia's position in Egypt. I am not just talking about military agreements, but also economic ones – about loans for Egypt, about what is happening in the last two-three years. President Obama made the situation easier with his speech in Cairo, which should be written about in textbooks as an example of a strategic mistake. The Israeli's of course, do not trust the Russians, but thanks to the over half-million-strong diaspora in Israel, as well as the behaviour of the United States, at the moment, Russia is building bridgeheads.

Kowal: It remains to discuss two questions. The issue of war pedagogy, because this continues to be very interesting to me, and the second – interpretation of the war in Syria. In the sequence of Russian wars, it is surprising and doesn't entirely fit with Russian tradition.

Malicki: What is surprising is that it is essentially an overseas expedition, unnatural for Russia, and that Russia never fights two wars at once. The justification why the Soviet Union only entered Poland on 17 September 1939, was not its set of agreements with Hitler, but that – only the day prior – they had signed a peace treaty with the Japanese.

Also, Stalin never fought a war on two fronts. But coming back to Syria. Firstly, it was intended to deflect world attention from Ukraine. Secondly, it was an attempt to show the world what the Russian's might possess, which in connection with this, is able to help in resolving contemporary problems. Thirdly, Russia's intervention in Syria is an attempt to return to the bargaining table by a criminal, where the talks revolve around a peace agreement. Fourthly, the point of intervention was to show Russian society that "we are once more an Empire". This is the constant battle for Russia to be treated as a serious partner, without whom it is impossible to solve any important world problem. Fifthly – an added point – it was intended to create even greater chaos in the Middle East, and at the same time, to expand the mess and disorder in the European Union. It was a whisker away from succeeding. Evidence of this is the letter from Brussels to Putin in the matter of resuming their contracts. In this case, the United States blocked the realisation of this resolution, in other words, Russia's return to the bargaining table. Despite the criticism of Obama, it has to be said that this rejection was strong and unequivocal. In my opinion this is the reason they shut down operations. For me, following the closure of the Syrian front, the real question remains: Where will Russia make its next move?

Koziej: To the list of Russia's goals in Syria, I would add a strategic one: the defence of their bases. The situation was that Assad might soon fall, so Russia might lose its bases in Syria and thus become cut off from the Mediterranean Sea. In my opinion, this was the direct impulse for Russian intervention in Syria, I keep returning to my vision of "occasionality" (taking advantage of a situation taking place) in Russia's actions. When new opportunities present themselves, Putin handily takes advantage of them. Those other elements which you spoke of were the effects of their primary aim, to keep their bases. By chance, they were able to solve the Ukrainian issue and send the West a signal that they have a weapon comparable to the Tomahawk, which was tested.

Magdziak-Miszewska: I would add one more factor which Jan Malicki spoke of, the desire of Russia to prove that it continues to be an empire, present on important fronts, which is connected to demonstrating – directly – its readiness for confrontation with the Americans. To this we can add their presence in the Mediterranean, as the Russians are already in a position that they will soon be able to call the Black Sea, "our sea".

Kowal: In 2004, Ron Asmus' famous article appeared "A New Euro-Atlantic Strategy for the Black Sea Region", which was widely commented on, but not as offensive as it was deemed at its reception. The thesis of this article voiced that it was possible to expand NATO, but in a political sense. The idea was that NATO could be very strongly rooted around the Black Sea, but today this already seems like past wishful thinking.

Magdziak-Miszewska: And then there was President Putin's reply in Munich, which at the time no one paid any attention to.

Malicki: One more thought *a propos* the significance of the war in Syria. For over twenty years, Russians have been experiencing the disintegration of the Empire as individual citizens. They were raised in the best and worst sense of the imperial spirit, with a feeling of possessing a great state for many centuries. For them, the key is prestige,

which they get from participating in war. An element of losing prestige, on the other hand, was Russia being kicked out of the G8; the fact they won't talk with them. The Russians are prepared to endure many sacrifices, if there is a chance to return to the main negotiating table.

Russia's War with Ukraine

Kowal: I would like to pause for a moment on the war relation between Russia and Ukraine. Of course we can say that for Russia, this war is like any other war, like the First Chechen War, etc. Ukraine is a country which in reality is experiencing its first national war. No other war in the history of Ukraine has been treated as an all-Ukrainian war, which built the identity of the whole nation. A Ukrainian approach to war is being created, which has arisen from opposition to the Russian approach. For me, the symbol of inadequacy of the Russian and Ukrainian approach to war are the cats on the frontline in Donbas. The Ukrainians are proud of the cats which are on the Ukrainian side for two reasons. First, because almost every Ukrainian soldier buys a cat when he leaves for the front, because the animals warn of danger, as cats react quicker to danger and sometimes aid in finding shelter. The Ukrainian Army is somewhat of a popular movement and is composed of boys who are not entirely trained, who often sit for a couple weeks at a time in trenches, dirty, stinking and thrown in such conditions for the first time in their lives. In such conditions, cats are often recommended as a psychological solution to the emotional problems experienced by soldiers. Finally, these cats are sometimes killed alongside their soldiers-owners and then the memory of the cat remains, or the cats become veterans. When the boys return home, they hand over the cats to various families, which take care of them. The Ukrainians say it is these cats which demonstrate the principle difference between Ukrainians and Russians. From a few young boys who owned such cats, I heard something along the lines of: "We respect cats. To us they are partners, while for the Russians they are only decorations for their living rooms in St. Petersburg."

For the Ukrainians, this is essentially their first "own war" in the history of their nation – in their own interest, on their own responsibility, though of course with the participation of the West. For Russia, this is just one of many wars, for which they are very well prepared, the difference being only that it is an emotional tear in the fabric of the Slavic world.

Gawin: When it comes to Ukraine, it must be said and constantly underlined (I will again relate to the pedagogy of war), that in fact everything that Russia is attempting to create – the framework in which we think about the situation in Ukraine – is aimed at covering the fact that Russia has lost. It lost the first two years, and perhaps even the war expedition to Syria, which despite all its rationality, is a desperate act of adventurism, supposed to rescue the situation internally and abroad. If it is even rescuing anything internally...?

Malicki: In my opinion, no.

Gawin: On the other hand, the whole calculation fell apart with Obama's short statement in Berlin. The whole calculation of improving the reputation of the authorities in Russian society, built on Syria, fell apart then.

Malicki: The remaining goals were achieved.

Gawin: But this one was key. Russia was supposed to come out of isolation, the sanctions were to be lifted. In return for Russian help in solving issues in the Middle East, they would receive a reward, re-admission to the G8. This, though, fell apart. Thus, we are now all being conditioned to think that Ukraine is collapsing, Russia is winning, the West abandoned Ukraine, etc. In the meantime, while we are still alive, the Russian-Ukrainian conflict will continue – in the shape of a war that is hot, secret, frozen, partisan, terrorist, whatever other. I don't see any other way. And this is why the Russians are attempting to build this framework of thinking that they are always foretelling, strategic, rational, that they take advantage of circumstances and they have brilliant diplomatic, intelligence and military structures that are able to carry out everything that is planned at the Kremlin in Moscow. But in the meantime, they still do not possess Ukraine and would have to commit a large-scale invasion to occupy Kyiv, because it is no longer about some Novorossiya, Kharkov, etc. – it is about Kyiv.

Kowal: Novorossiya is an example of Shaposhnikov's thinking, that the territories which the Russians wish to see as Novorossiya are unprepared for the entrance of the Russian army, just like the Bolsheviks were shocked to discover in Poland in 1920.

Gawin: Do you remember the instances of Russian sabotage in many places of so-called "Novorossiya"? It was unsuccessful in Odessa, Kharkov and many other places.

Malicki: A short interruption. I earlier spoke of the five reasons for entering Syria, but I forgot about the sixth, which was obvious, though I wanted to call it differently. One of the goals was to maintain the mess in the Middle East, because this mess destroys Europe and *ex siliento* serves Russia. This is exactly what General Koziej called "maintaining one's own interests". Among Russia's goals in Syria, I feel two key aims were not achieved, though most of them were. Their power in Syria was saved, the mess was maintained, the destruction of Europe continued, attention was turned away from Ukraine, and its own nation saw with joy the greatness of Russia. And now, finally, the key statement: there is really no situation in politics or war where everything is completely won. Thus, we cannot talk about Russia's defeat. Finally, I will say something from my own personal experience. I once had a presentation on the subject of Russia and its policy with regard to its neighbours in front of the Polish Sejm's Foreign Affairs Commission. At its conclusion, a number of questions were posed which fell into two main categories. One was: "Why do you underestimate Putin so much? And the other: "Why are you so afraid of Putin?" This would be my answer on this subject. Everything cannot be achieved, but in my opinion, what was intended to be achieved, has been achieved.

Kowal: It is curious under what name this war with Ukraine will enter history. In Ukraine, recently it is most often called the "Novorossiyan War". I am not sure that this is an accurate description.

Magdziak-Miszewska: I would like to say that what has taken place in Ukraine has been a huge shock. When it was taking place, I was working for the Polish Ministry of National Defence. From the beginning of Maidan, and later with the appearance of green men, there were 24-hour work-days, weekly meetings and we closely monitored the situation. We knew exactly the state of the Ukrainian Army, stripped bare by consecutive ministers, who arrived only to eat another piece of the pie. It was infiltrated by the Russians, and was rid of its backbone, because prior to Maidan, there was no conception at all like the defence of one's own territory in Ukrainian defence doctrine.

Kowal: Because Ukraine didn't have any enemies.

Magdziak-Miszewska: It had the Budapest Memorandum from 1994.

Kowal: And felt that it had bought peace for many centuries; Ukraine didn't have enemies, so it looked for non-alignment.

Malicki: Ukraine possessed thirty-two strategic partners!

Magdziak-Miszewska: On some level, Ukrainian special forces and expeditionary forces did operate – selected for foreign missions within the framework of NATO or the UN. In EU operations, especially sea operations, Ukraine was more involved than Poland ever was. Suddenly it turned out that Russia had entered Ukraine like a hot knife entering butter. When no doctrine concerning defence of one's own territory exists, then the training of officers, soldiers, the army's logistical system are also constructed entirely differently. It is almost impossible to imagine the chaos existing in the ranks of the Ukrainian Army, following the Russians entrance into Crimea. Nonetheless, the Ukrainians simply picked themselves up. I am convinced this wouldn't have happened had they not been aware of the fact that they had three months of Maidan behind them, and its victims. The new Ukrainian administration quickly cut off their senior military commanders from any news of the situation on the ATO front. Russia's failure was indeed spectacular. For Russia, it must have been – especially following events in Crimea – a huge shock.

Kowal: General, do you agree with Ambassador Miszewska and Professor Gawin's theory why Russia – to which the word "war" is a synonym, that intervenes in its neighbour's backyard; a neighbour who has never fought a war, where music videos of war show women running around villages with pots and scythes – suddenly lost. What happened?

Gawin: At the moment it is losing the first round.

Koziej: It is not losing. The expedition to Syria was in my opinion connected to the fact that for Russia, Ukraine is not the only object of interest. The international context is very important there; sanctions, political isolation, etc. In accordance with this, Russia itself decided that in Ukraine it would cease its military push. Before Russia's expedition to Syria, we looked at a multitude of different options and variants many times over, amongst which there was a possibility that Russia would go for Kyiv, defeat and take over Ukraine. Every option was likely, but today, the fact of the matter is that Russia's armed military options ended in Ukraine of its own volition; in my opinion a strategic and conscious choice. However we criticised the stance of the West with regard

to Ukraine that it is too little involved, etc., in the opinion of the Russians, the West's involvement was sufficient so as not to risk full-scale intervention in Ukraine. If I were to risk a presumption, what will remain from the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in future, then I think it will be Crimea, the memory that Russia captured and "regained" Crimea; because I do not imagine it will return it. On the other hand, in Ukraine, the conflict will be frozen, the most convenient kind for Russia.

Conclusions and Predictions

Kowal: Now we move on to what has been missing from Polish discussions and analyses, what everyone fears, in other words, predictions. I would like to ask all of you, what will Russia's future wars be?

Koziej: If I could start, I would attempt to show this prediction as a continuation of Russian Empire building: following the path of consolidation in every internal crisis, later its immediate surroundings, in other words, the capture of as many post-Soviet spaces that it can, for itself. After the "war trip" to Syria, an attempt to directly threaten the interests of the West, there will come a time for the next step. I would predict that now, Russia will focus on how much of a bite they can take out of NATO, but in such a way so as not to cause a catastrophe for itself, not taking huge risks which might lead to a large confrontation and which might threaten Russia's gains and achievements so far. In my opinion, the next few years will reveal a focus on the Baltic countries, through the use of hybrid confrontation methods.

Kowal: So in short, you believe that Russian wars in this particular sequence are natural, and that the next natural war is a war in which Russia will clearly provoke NATO?

Koziej: Yes, but in a controlled manner, not crossing the limit of risking a large war, so more in the character of "subliminal aggression" (diversionary, asymmetrical, below the level of open, regular warfare, although limited open aggression can also not be discounted, utilising a calculated and timely doctrine of "nuclear de-escalation". The threat of both these options will always remain "on the political table", which means a new, permanent, hybrid Cold War, following the conclusion of the post-Cold War period. And this is a challenge the West must take on.

Gawin: This is why potential opponents are conditioned all the time, so that these wars are localised and limited, and they come out in opposition to such activities as those in the RAND Corporation's report. We imagine for ourselves a limited war. The stakes, though, are trust and the existence of the North Atlantic Alliance in its entirety. There is no NATO without Narva, just as it doesn't exist without New York. The key to understanding what has taken place and what will, would be knowledge on the subject of how Putin's decision-making process unfolded before he attacked Ukraine; that he didn't decide on a large-scale invasion of Ukraine.

Kowal: Perhaps because of a lack of preparation.

Gawin: No, I sometimes think that he struck at Syria because of the presence of many people in his circle, who secretly believe (because no one will say it publicly) that he showed a certain, historical weakness on the issue of Ukraine, as a result of Russia's yielding.

Kowal: So like Khrushchev on Cuba – he began to talk to the West too early?

Gawin: Yes, because he then gave Ukraine time to consolidate.

Magdziak-Miszewska: Or he was unprepared and did not entirely appreciate the Ukrainians.

Gawin: As a colonel in the KGB, Putin felt that the war in Ukraine would be won through a special-op. Some of the top brass at the Kremlin surely believe that they should have entered, as the Ukrainians were not really prepared – and that in not entering and by choosing special ops, Putin gave the Ukrainians time to dust themselves off, and the West was able to organise itself in defence of Ukraine.

Kowal: But maybe Russia will stop using tanks and military force altogether, since the warfare we used to call diversionary warfare – now called hybrid warfare – is going so well? Maybe Russia will change its methods once it sees that conservative methods are working out for it, but are not as costly in propaganda; as they had to pay a stiff price in the West for the open, so-called “Novorossiyan War”, while paradoxically it paid less of a price for Crimea.

Magdziak-Miszewska: In general, I agree, but I believe that Putin, as long as he doesn't have to, will take advantage of other instruments of economic, informational and diplomatic warfare. Most significantly, he will attempt to divide the West. I would, though, like to turn attention to the fact that Russia is a Eurasian country and yet we haven't said a word about Asia. I would like to add that I heard today that the authorities in Beijing have agreed to allow Chinese citizens living near the border with Russia to have three children.

Malicki: The question was asked: what name will be given to the failed (as everyone here agrees it will) operation, if in Donbas it does indeed end in failure? In Russia, a massive propaganda operation will get underway for it to be named the “Second Crimean War”, or “War of Victory”. For the sake of necessity, it will be made into a virtuous war.

Kowal: It would be in the propaganda interest of the West to divide these activities into two: in Crimea, and the other, that in Donbas, which ended in failure. But for Russia, it will be in their interest to unite them into one, and thus somehow attempt to mask the latter's failure.

Malicki: It is in the strategic interest of the West and Ukraine to get rid of Donbas and Crimea and thus, create a decidedly more homogenous nation, both politically and nationality-wise, because then it would be able to defend itself against attacks, and what's more, allow them to create a state capable of joining the West. But of course this is only an opinion from the outside looking in.

Koziej: Yes, but rationality does not decide here.

Malicki: But in Ukraine, when such things could have been carried out, first off, there was no political leader who would have had the courage to say it and secondly,

later, when the numerous victims were brought up, who would have been able to take on such an immoral statement?

Of course Russia, will do plenty to discover how far it can push. Here, I think we all agree. Russia reasons in the category of spheres of interest. Thus, I must make my prediction and I will only do so because my background is in Medievalism, and a Medievalist must risk analysis of the situation without full access to all documents, as he usually possesses too little. I predict three Russian “war-strikes” in the future. The first in Transnistria, if chaos continues to rule in Moldova and the belief of Moldovan citizens – that they should unite with Romania – continues to rise. If Romania, which continues to pretend that it is not interested, declares an interest in Moldova, then I have no doubt that Russia will enter Transnistria. Another potential direction is a strike at the Baltics, which nearly everyone predicts. The third possibility of another Russian war is a strike at Georgia. My prediction is that after October, and depending on the results of the NATO summit in Warsaw, and the result of elections in Georgia, a new conflict in the Caucasus may arise.

Warsaw, 28 April 2016

I

RUSSIA. STATE, SYSTEM, PEOPLE

Evolution of Russia's Contemporary Political System

ROMAN BÄCKER

Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń, Poland

1. Three Assumptions

To begin with, the paper's theoretical approach is based on three assumptions:

- 1/ the comparison of all societies and political systems with adequate ideal types is possible (as per the writings of Max Weber).¹
- 2/ in studies pertaining to Russia, it is possible to use categories of a closed society (anonymously of open society), as well as authoritarianism and totalitarianism.
- 3/ in the author's opinion, Juan Linz's definitions of totalitarianism and authoritarianism (slightly modified) are most useful.

2. Question One: Is Russia an Open or Closed Society?

One interesting typology is Natalia Zubarevich's concept of "the four Russias": 1/ capitals (Moscow, St. Petersburg) 2/ great and middle towns, 3/ small towns and villages 4/ North Caucasus.² In each of these four categories, she identifies a different social structure and consciousness. In my opinion, the geographical division is not as valid as civilizational criteria. I suppose is possible to differ on Russia in the categories of: I/ high-tech society (or web-society or network society in Castells meaning), II/ epigonic industrial and post-Soviet society, based on factories and single-industry towns (about 14 million people lived in the latter), III/ social society – a huge number of people receiving money from the state (i.e. pensioners) and IV/ epigonic tribal society typical for the North Caucasus and parts of Siberia.

It is very hard to define proportions between these societies, but some facts may be useful. Usually, the so-called "middle class" is composed of highly educated officials with high loyalty to the Kremlin without educational aspirations. The middle class is

¹ See: Pawel Zaleski "Ideal Types in Max Weber's Sociology of Religion: Some Theoretical Inspirations for a Study of the Religious Field", *Polish Sociological Review* No. 3 (171), 2010.

² Екатерина Жприцкая, «Четыре России» на одной территории. О жизни страны за пределами Москвы, региональной стратегии, мегаломании власти и отделении граждан от государства, <http://www.nowaygazeta.ru/society/60998.html>, 18 November 2013

not a part of network society.³ In 2013, the average size of a bribe was 145,000 roubles – twice as much as in 2012. More than half of society is dependent on pensions, salaries and welfare paid by the state (40 million pensioners, 10 million unemployed, 1.1 million police functionaries and similar formations, 700,000 bodyguards, etc.). About 10 million emigrants work in Russia, mostly from Central Asia and Caucasus.⁴ The greatest part of Russia society belong to groups II and III, while I and IV are marginal. It is a bureaucratic-military society based on a *rentier* economy stricken by a resource curse (in the opinion of Richard Auty⁵). For the most part, Russian society is living in conditions typical for a closed society.

3. Question Two: After February 2014, where was Russia on the Continuum between the Two Ideals of Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism?

According to a declaration from 14 May 2014, of fifty-two leading human rights activists, opposition political leaders and commentators (collectively form the December Roundtable), Putin's Russia is “already almost a totalitarian state” in which “citizens are losing their individual rights” and “government propaganda is stupefying the people”. Among the signees were Lyudmila Alekseyeva, Vladimir Voynovich, Leonid Gozman, Andrey Zubov, Mikhail Kasyanov, Mikhail Krasnov, Vadim Lushkevich, Boris Nemtsov, Andrey Piontkovsky, Lev Ponomaryev, Vadim Prokhorov, Liliya Shevtsova, and Igor Yakovenko⁶

Why is Russia almost a totalitarian state for them?

- 1/ the “anti-terrorist package”, according to which the FSB gained broad powers to invigilate citizens and to search places of residence was accepted. Bloggers are controlled and their websites are treated as editorial offices;
- 2/ the Internet (and social portals in particular) is watched. Some oppositional websites were taken down, while others were threatened with closure;
- 3/ NGO's began to be closely subordinated to the government authorities. The authorities were entitled to carry out unsolicited inspections. The practice was accepted that those non-government organizations which allegedly received foreign support are condemned in public by foreign agents;

³ -, *Средний класс в современной России: 10 лет спустя*. Подготовлен в сотрудничестве с Представительством Фонда имени Фридриха Эберта в Российской Федерации, Москва – 2014, http://www.isras.ru/analytical_report_sredny_klass_10 лет_sputya.html, 19 September 2014.

⁴ -, Средний размер взятки в России в 2013 году составил 145 тысяч рублей, <http://www.novayagazeta.ru/news/1679726.html>, 21.03.2014 ; Юлия Латынина, ГОСЗАВИСИМОСТЬ, или новые люмпены, <http://www.novayagazeta.ru/politics/55269.html>, 2 November 2012

⁵ Ross, Michael L. (May 2015). “*What have we Learned about the Resource Curse?*” *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 239–259. doi:10.1146/annurev-polisci-052213-040359

⁶ Paul Goble, Putin's Russia “almost totalitarian”, *Democracy Digest*, <http://demdigest.net/blog/putins-russia-almost-totalitarian-state/>, 28 June 2014

- 4/ non-violent oppositional gatherings and demonstrations are increasingly rarely given permission to be organised;
- 5/ oppositional organizations are deprived of the right to present their election candidate lists. Thus, the possibility to falsify voting results can occur.
- 6/ the attempt to create a sole state ideology is taking place. This ideology aims at increasing the level of social consolidation with the Kremlin through: a ban on accusing the Soviet Union of committing crimes, demonizing the opposition (fifth columnist traitors), the attempt at education uniformity (for example the lonely history handbook that speaks highly of the Russian state's traditions), creating an image of the Russian system as superior to that of the rest of Europe.⁷

Totalitarianism is presented as an antonym of the state where civil rights and freedoms are respected, as well as where free, competitive and honest elections are held. The political regime is identified with a repressive system: the higher the level of repression, the stronger the totalitarianism. Totalitarianism is understood as an extremely undemocratic form of system. It is a popular⁸, but incorrect point of view. It is the author's belief that it is possible to define authoritarianism and totalitarianism as two antonymous political regimes, based on Juan Linz's definitions.

Linz defined authoritarianism as characterized by four essential features:

- legitimacy based on emotional mentality
- common social apathy
- sovereignty of bureaucracy and/or junta ("silovki")
- the above can be complemented with: economic structures – natural resources, energy and arms industries, which are located within the state's decision making structures.

Totalitarianism by Linz was understood as: *Weltanschauung*, and more precisely, in my opinion, political gnosis (the belief that knowledge enables both worldly and eternal salvation, this gnosis is recognizable with the use of an objective enemy and new-speak), mass and controlled mobilization, party-state apparatus aimed at subordinating all spheres of social life and the destruction of all social relations.⁹

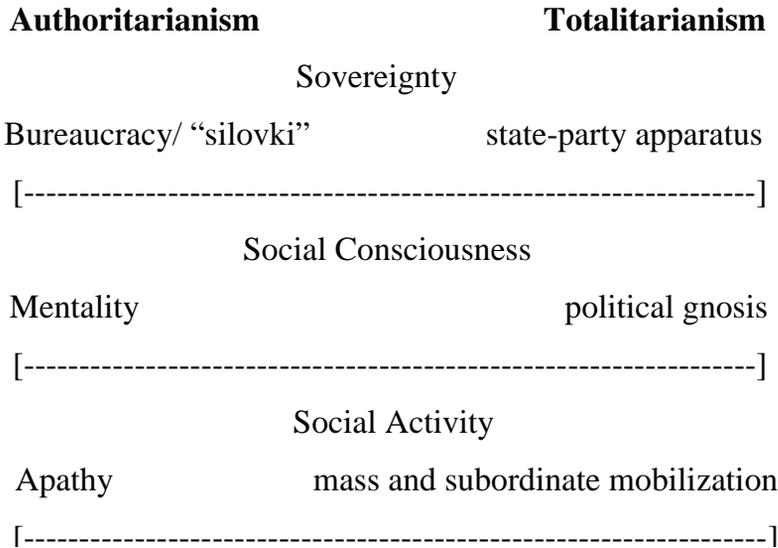
⁷ Михаил Касьянов, Это уже почти тоталитарное государство, *Заявление о ситуации в стране, ответственности гражданского общества и политических элит*, http://www.chaskor.ru/article/eto_uzhe_pochti_totalitarnoe_gosudarstvo_36027, 28 June 2014

⁸ For a similar point of view, see: Zimmermann William, *Ruling Russia: Authoritarianism from the Revolution to Putin*, Princeton University Press 2014.

⁹ See: Bäcker Roman, *Nietradycyjna Teoria Polityki*, Toruń 2011.

Figure 1.

Continuums between Ideal Types of Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism



4. Who Rules Russia?

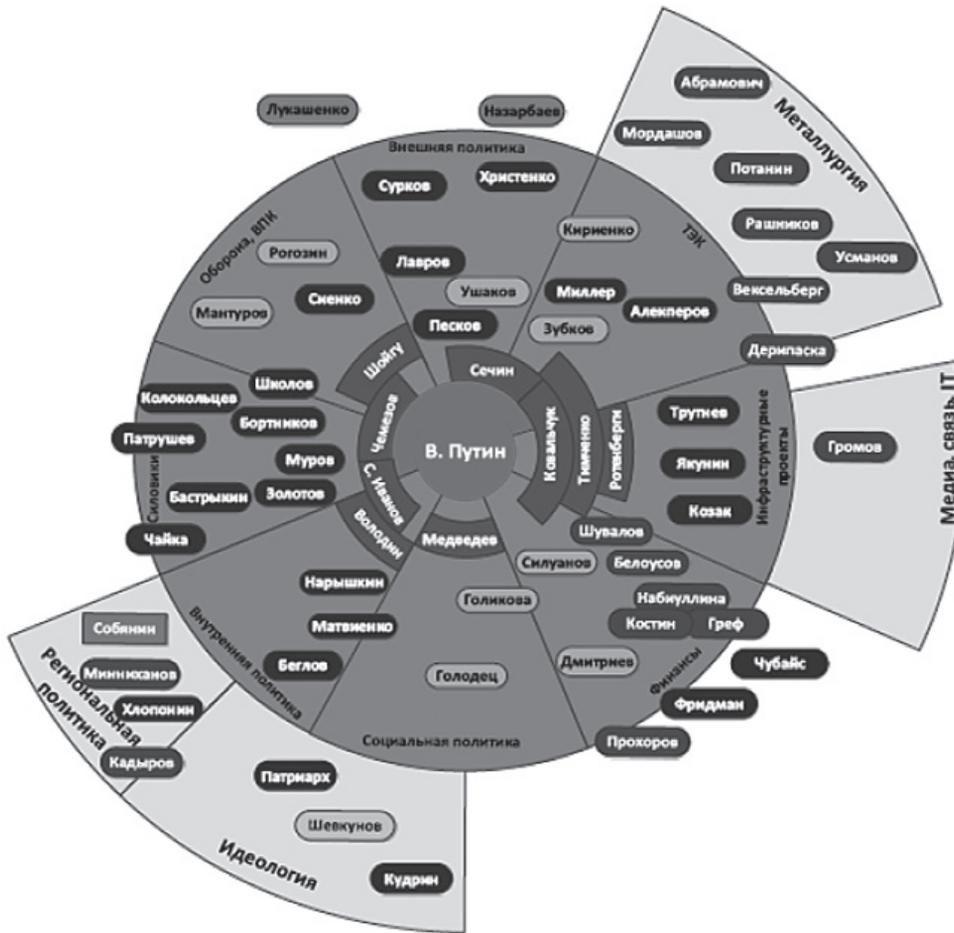
Who rules Russia, or more precisely: who is sovereign?

The reply is very simple: the army and other military structures (more exactly: silovki) dominate the state. In Russia, hard military authoritarianism exists. Is it possible to transform this hard military authoritarianism into a state-party apparatus? This depends on the structure of the ideological mosaic in Russia. Its structure in Russia is typical for authoritarianism.

Each ideological group can enjoy the “stratocracy” camp under one condition – that they accept the state as the main, or very worthy, value. For this reason the authoritarian ideological camp is very diverse and similar to a mosaic, yet unified by one value – a strong state.

Surrounding the stratocratic polymorphic government camp are some ideological groups which possess independent thought structures (resource dependency may be on differently levels). These are communists, occidentalists, nationalists and so on.

Figure 2.
Structure of the Ruling Elite after February 2014 (Politburo 2.0)



Minchenko Yevgeny, Формулировка «Политбюро 2.0», in: Мария Елифанова, «Посткрымский» расклад: Медведев окончательно проиграл Сергею Иванову, <http://www.novayagazeta.ru/news/1688589.html>, 23 October 2014

Figure 3.
Predominant Types of Political Thinking in the Russian Government Camp



Figure 4.
Structure of Ideas in Russia before February 2014



Figure 5:
Ideological and Political Structure of the Kremlin Camp after February 2014



After February 2014, we can observe a process of unification in high-priority values and in language level between the government camp and the communists, nationalists, national Bolsheviks and a few other small ideological groups. This is a typical process in times of war, and amid common feelings of insecurity. It usually co-exists with a number of other processes, including: excluding the followers of modernization, technocracy and occidentalists out of decision-making centres; the growing dominance of power structures within decision-making centres and attempts to restrict the resources of the real opposition, aiming at its gradual, but final, elimination (the cases of Navalny and Niemtsov).

The army, police structures and so on (or to be more exact: "silovki") dominate the state apparatus. The ruling group is gradually subordinating the structures which were previously relatively autonomous (parties: A Just Russia-*Spravedlivaya Rossiya*, LDPR, communists, NGOs etc.). The ruling group is an authoritarian structure with (potentially) increasingly stronger elements of the party-state apparatus.

5. Social consciousness

New stereotypes after February 2014, usually concern Ukrainians. Among them, a typical example for totalitarian newspeak is "Ukrofascist".

Who personifies a Ukrofascist for Russian journalists?

1. Leonid Kuchma – first president of Ukraine
2. Ihor Kolomoisky – oligarch from Dnepropetrovsk, leader of the United Jewish Community in Ukraine
3. Serhiy Taruta – businessman from Donetsk.

The essence of Ukrofascism is often described in the Russian media as follows: “Once again the abominable Ukrofascist shows his animal face” or “Banderist Ukrofascists have the cheek to pronounce us bandits and protest against Russia’s help.”¹⁰ The dehumanization of Ukrainians is very strongly connected with “diabolization”.

Stereotypes concerning the political opposition increased after February 2015. These are not only unpatriotic foreign agents.

In a speech to the National Assembly after the annexation of Crimea, Putin commented on: “the activities of a fifth column – of various kinds of national traitors.”¹¹

During the time of Stalin’s regime, it was a typical phrase used to define the objective enemy. National traitor is a designation for obligatory evaporation. Putin repeated the phrase once again in autumn of 2014, and it then disappeared from the president’s speeches. Now, it is only still used by Ramzan Kadyrov.

The song *My Putin*, by Mashany¹², is proof of efforts to achieve a finishing stage through the creation of a totalitarian new-speak. Mystic love between the fortunate Russian nation and oppressive Ukrainian nation (occupied by the Western Imperialists), not to mention the strong man Putin’s love, is very similar to the love between Stalin and progressive/oppressive mankind.

Totalitarian political gnosis has rapidly grown after February 2014, but it is not dominating the public scene in Russia. So-called “Putinism” – a totalitarian political gnosis in mature form existing from January 2015 – coexists with the dominant (black and white) fundamentalist way of thinking.

6. Social Activity: Between Apathy and Mass Mobilization

It is impossible to define the levels of apathy or mass mobilization in Russia without some facts.

1/ between 120,000-150,000 people participated in the 2012 May Day parade in Moscow – in 2014, and in later years, the number of participants was comparable;

¹⁰ “Кучма – первый **укрофашист**”, <http://whotalking.com/Back%20in%20the%20USSR>

“‘Беня’ Коломойский-еврей-**укрофашист**”, www.odnoklassniki.ru/video/12243896985

“Говорят **укрофашист** Тарута под Донецком канав накопал?”, nosikot.livejournal.com/1516009.html

tramel-mister.livejournal.com/515.html: 7 May 2014 – Еще один отвратительный **укрофашист** показал своё зверское обличье. Смотрите! К чему здесь Лена Миро? А вот к чему. Вот она ...

Машины были под белыми флагами” – и бандеровские **укрофашисты** ещё имеют наглость заявлять свои бандитские протесты России против спасения...rg.ru/2014/06/12/obstrel-site-anons.html

¹¹ “действия некоей пятой колонны – разного рода национал-предателей.” See: Светлана Павлова, **Национал-предатели Путина**. Кто и как использует термин «национал-предатель», <http://www.svoboda.org/content/article/25302687.html>, 19 March 2014 17:57

¹² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-v6Jw9rsWCE&x-yt-ts=1422579428&x-yt-cl=85114404&feature=player_embedded, 27 I 2015, Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 30 January 2015; mashany.ru;

- 2/ the manifestation against Maidan (2 March 2014) gathered around 20,000-27,000 Moscow residents;
- 3/ the “Brotherhood Demonstration” of 15 March 2014, attracted some 10,000 people – twice as many participated in the oppositional March of Peace and Solidarity with the Ukrainian nation;
- 4/ the Victory Day celebrations of 9 May 2014, assembled 2-3 million people in Moscow – similar figures were recorded in 2015 and 2016;
- 5/ opposition protests held on 18 May and in January 2015, were very sparsely attended¹³.

The level of apathy – particularly in rural areas and small towns – is very high. Efforts were taken to heighten the level of mass mobilization – however their image in March 2014, was still not appealing enough because the opposition did not possess the ability to mobilize its followers. In May 2014, the opposition was still unable to organize any mass actions. The mass participation in the Victory Day celebrations can be interpreted, on the one hand, as a manifestation of national affinity (it is the only anniversary ritual accepted by all Russians), and on the other, as a manifestation of the desire to defeat Ukraine – that is, to regain dominance over this post-Soviet territory.

Conclusion: the level of social activity is unique for its hybridism – from apathy to partly successful attempts to undertake controlled social mobilization.

7. Summary

Undeniably, Russia is a hard authoritarian state, dominated by “silovki”, military structures and with a decreasing role played by the opposition. Totalitarian structures are still, as yet, not at the crystallized stage, and still weak elements of political gnosis. Mass and controlled social mobilization is a fact, but it is by no means still effective.

Russia, after February 2014, is the hybrid of two political regimes – hard military authoritarianism and elements of totalitarianism, rapidly growing since January of 2015 (especially in levels of consciousness).

¹³ <http://svpressa.ru/society/news/83161/>
<http://news2night.com/ru/news/v-moskve-proshel-marsh-v-podderzhku-sootechestvennikov-na-ukraine>
<http://www.interfax.ru/photo/1599/20003>
http://www.discred.ru/news/marsh_protiv_putina_majdan_na_manezhnoj_obernulsja_zhutkim_pozorom_oppozicii/2014-05-19-5835



Abstract

Over the last several years Russia has become a state of hard authoritarianism where power structures dominate and the role of the opposition decreases. Totalitarian structures are not yet at a crystallized stage. However, mass and controlled social mobilization is already in place, even if not fully effective. Thus, today's Russia can be qualified as a hybrid of two political regimes: hard authoritarianism and some immature elements of totalitarianism.

Key words: totalitarianism, authoritarianism, ideal type, mentality, political gnosis, “silovki”, state-party apparatus, apathy, social mobilization.

Socio-Political Changes in Russia after 1991 – “Escape from Freedom” or “Lost in Transformation”?

JUSTYNA OŁĘDZKA
University of Białystok, Poland

1. Introduction

The disintegration of the USSR was undoubtedly a traumatic moment for the Russian people. Difficulties in fulfilling basic social needs overshadowed both the sentimental yearnings for imperial glory and the proper moment for society to begin authentic socialization, and the development of the political participation process. The results of perestroika were disappointing not only for its authors, but also for the recipients of the effort to modernize an extremely ideological reality¹. Of course the animators of the reforms, which were conducted on such a huge scale, assumed the existence of objective difficulties affecting the speed and effectiveness of the changes resulting from historical-cultural context, as well as the territorial, religious and ethnic structure of the country². According to A. Stelmach, it was a kind of trap for a society, which in the initial phase of the transformation process was full of enthusiasm for changes, but which plunged into frustration at the lack of expected results in the form of the allocation of the democratic system, as well as in the non-institutional layer³. In addition, the principle of the primacy of representatives of the old regime over oppositionists was also adopted then, as all reform activity took place in an atmosphere of strict conspiracy and secrecy on the part of state representatives. Such system transformation reduced the possibility to conduct effective social dialogue at even a minimal level, and

¹ Alexandra George, in the famous *Escape from “Ward Six”* assessed the project as follows: “perestroika and glasnost contained the idea of moral regeneration. Gorbachev was probably aware from the beginning that changes at the institutional level were not enough for the political and economic renewal of the country, that we should pay attention to the ‘mental aspect’, that is mainly introduce better discipline and eradicate corruption and neutralisation, as well as increase the real impact of the masses on the political life of the country. This meant democratisation, electoral reforms and glasnost.” cit. Alexandra George, *Ucieczka z, “sali numer sześć”. Rosja na rozdrożu przeszłości i teraźniejszości*, (Warsaw: 2004), 57.

² According to T. Bodio, in studies of the post-Soviet area interest in “transformation-democratisation” is decreasing, while there has been an increase in the popularity of the civilisation paradigm. See Tadeusz Bodio, , “Wyjaśnienie cywilizacyjne w badaniach transformacji w Azji Centralnej”, in *Przynależność, Elity i Transformacje w Krajach WNP: Problemy Metodologii Badań*, ed. Tadeusz Bodio, (Warsaw: 2010).

³ Andrzej Stelmach, *Zmiana i Stabilność w Systemie Politycznym Współczesnej Rosji*, (Poznan: 2003), 351.

thus increased the confusion of society⁴. Widespread disappointment regarding the lack of real effective capitalism and the prosthetic social policy of the country was not compensated either with the idea of freedom to captivate the crowds, nor a regime equipped with the ability to design an alternative axiological system and, therefore, an ideological one. These phenomena were described by B. Misztal as “political orphanhood” and “worldview homelessness”, which occur as one of the elements associated with the processes of system transformation, ultimately causing the atrophy of the political, social and axiological system⁵.

Russian society did not accept the proposal of other solution patterns in the sphere of ideas specific to Western civilisation and political circles. In place of the comprehensive Soviet vision of the whole internal and geopolitical reality, an ideological vacuum was created⁶. Social reactions even included elements of “escape from freedom” – also present after the period of transformation and with a direct effect on the legitimised paradigm of the state leadership of Yeltsin, Putin and Medvedev⁷.

Was the demand for a particular leadership model encoded in social awareness?⁸ Individuals personifying political power in the system transformation period, starting from Gorbachev and his associates to Yeltsin, represented the generation of post-Stalinist party activists (“children of the 20th Congress”), for whom the monolithic Soviet ideology had been permanently affected by the de-legitimising actions of Khrushchev. These politicians did not represent the environment of extreme party doctrinaires⁹.

2. Lost or Confused Society?

Rich literature analysing the range of behaviours in societies undergoing phases of system transformation shows the many different social reactions. Especially important is the study of reactions that are the consequence of increasing levels of social stress – the effect of axiological revolution (these social reactions are described by the concept of

⁴ Sylwester Gardocki, *Instytucja Prezydenta w Polityce Federacji Rosyjskiej*, (Torun: 2008), 282-288.

⁵ Bronisław Misztal, “Wstęp. Subtelności liberalizmów współczesnych”, in *Aktualności Wolności. Wybór Tekstów*, ed. Bronisław Misztal et Marek Przychodzeń (choice), (Warsaw: 2005), 13.

⁶ Growth of social stress and axiological confusion, see Victor Tarnavskiy, *Dzieci Swoich Czasów. Ruchy Młodzieżowe w Rosji a Zmiany Kulturowe po Upadku ZSRR*, (Warsaw: 2007), 53.

⁷ See Leszek Szerepka, “Sytuacja Demograficzna w Rosji”, CES studies, No. 24, July 2006.

⁸ According to Stanisław Bieleń: “Russian democracy, therefore, has its characteristics, conditioned by a peaceful transformation of the totalitarian system. The drama of the Russian country lies in the fact that despite the social and political changes, it still remains hostage to the centuries-old tradition of patriarchal and authoritarian governments. For these reasons, there is a permanent danger that Russia agrees to a certain degree of democratisation not due to the conviction of its ruling elites, but as a result of a momentary weakness”, Stanisław Bieleń, “Rosja w Poszukiwaniu Demokratycznej Tożsamości”, in: *Szkice o Rosji*, ed. Alicja Stepień- Kuczyńska, Janusz Adamowski, (Łódź – Warsaw, 2000), 27 – 28.

⁹ Bieleń, *Tożsamość*, 106.

“lost in transformation”¹⁰). The step of designed state sanctions was to bring the basic effect in the form of the “de-totalitarisation” of Russia. Real reconstruction was required not only by the post-Soviet economy and public institutions, but social fibres needed to be regenerated, as they had decayed and been physically exterminated (to a greater or lesser degree) in a systematic way for many decades. Elimination of the intellectual elites in the USSR was coupled with activities which promoted universal education and eliminated illiteracy. However, these actions were calculated only for the preparation of society to receive propaganda messages in different forms, and not for the construction of authentic intellectual culture. As a result, contemporary Russians were not able to generate a real alternative to the government, which channelled almost the whole intellectual and economic potential of society. The same mechanism which was used during the formation of the Soviet establishment, completely adapted to a new Russia, almost without any difficulty¹¹. The important aspect of mass reactions (with a significant emotional charge) in Russian society should be underlined. One should indicate the tendency for negative voting and its susceptibility to populist slogans, often possessing huge propaganda potential, but, in fact, oxymoronic¹². Similarly, propaganda structures are significant: conspiracy theories, the syndrome game of the “besieged fortress”, and the hyperbole of external and internal threats, as well as a clear polarisation of the world: own – strange, friend – enemy, Russian – “black”.

The “de-ideology” of intellectual and cultural elites by the hegemony of the authority elites is a deliberate action by the Kremlin leaders – it is one of the tools used to “Putinise” the country. Manifestations of this process can be regarded as symptoms of the critical crisis in the civilisational identity of Russia, which is the time of troubles. Therefore, the silence of the elites towards the progressing “authoritarisation” of social-political life, and the replication of the defective mechanism used to create political power, is easily explainable.

Despite the obvious decline in the position of the country on the international arena, the belief in the privileged role of Russia generally functioned in the collective consciousness. It was one of the elements of the post-imperial syndrome, which engulfed society. These behaviours can be included more in the sphere of compensatory measures, because the psychological needs signalled by society (e.g. the need to confirm the auto-stereotype) were not realized. On the contrary – they were noted as another disaster of propaganda actions calculated to improve the morale of the nation. An example would be the abandonment of the arms race as an expression of transferring the

¹⁰ Andrzej Skrzypek, *Druaga smuta. Zarys dziejów Rosji 1985-2004*, (Warsaw: 2003), 63.

¹¹ Outside the communist renegades of Yanayev.

¹² According to Adam Bartnicki: “The key to the system became the formation of a parallel political reality. The Russian project with “democracy without representation” perfectly fits in with the communist propaganda, “the Soviet democratic country”. The goal is the same: to maintain the monopoly of power, but also to monopolize the potential competition”, [in:] Adam Bartnicki, *Demokratycznie legitymizowany autorytaryzm w Rosji 1991-2004*, (Białystok: 2008), 73.

measures and attention of the authorities from the military industry to other branches of the country's economy. Also due to economic reasons, the pursuit of the conquest of space was abandoned. The nuclear arsenal was reduced not as a result of the troublesome decline after the Cold War, but as a result of pro-military education of the global military powers. The disintegration of the Soviet Union, even if it generated sentiments for some part of the old political solutions, did not translate into social mobilisation. People did not want to bear sacrifices in the name of ideas whose arguments had significantly weakened. Russian society started on a process of self-regeneration, mostly based on economic activity on the macro and micro scale, and conformist adaptation to the post-transformation political-economic reality. Social stratification transformed in a violent manner. The most important effect of these changes was the creation of the layer of so-called "New Russians", not to mention the mass impoverishment of the middle class and strictly developed professional groups – for example, military officers' families¹³. The attempts to compensate shortages within the economy, resulting in the lowering of the standard of life, were compensated to Russians by offers to rebuild the ideological project – Empire. However, the young generation was not interested in similar world view projects. It adapted to new rules and purely pragmatically accepted the change of the geopolitical role of the Russian Federation, creating in its place something devoid of political context, as consumers of mass culture goods¹⁴. New Russians did not undertake attempts to sanction deeply retarded (atrophic) social ties. The process of alienating the poor layers of society progressed¹⁵. It is true that a part of society, expressing firm resistance against the rapid system reforms, constituted by representatives of the party bureaucracy, transported itself almost without prejudice into the state administration of the Russian Federation. However, the real mechanism used to regulate socio-economic life remained unchanged.

A major problem for the social recipient of the effects of the Russian transformation from a totalitarian system into a democratic one was the weakness of the ideological counter positions, as well as the method of chaotic and non-planned reformation of socio-political-economic relations within the triangle: power – property – layer of ownership consumers. The changes took place outside official, free-market regulations. The abolition of property nationalisation did not bring results in the form of free-market privatisation. The process of generating the axiological and economic liability of society had begun.

Changes taking place in the political culture, undergoing transformation from non-democratic into democratic (even formally), were only partially the result of spontaneous social interactions. Assimilation of the system of democratic values by civil society

¹³ Tadeusz Kisielewski, *Schylek Rosji*, (Poznan: 2007), 76.

¹⁴ Andrzej Furier, *Dekada Jelcyna. Uwarunkowania Przemian Politycznych i Społecznych w Rosji 1991-2000*, (Szczecin: 2003), 52.

¹⁵ Władysław Igrunow, (discussion), *Nacjonalizm Jest Eksportowym Towarem Zachodu*, [in:] *Słudzy i Wrogowie Imperium. Rosyjskie Rozmowy o Końcu Historii*, ed. Filip Memches, (Cracow: 2009), 82.

and public institutions, which took place on Russian soil, was determined by historical experiences and propaganda devaluing democracy and its tools, both before and after 1991. The failure of the project of democratising Russia was decided by widespread social opinion, with the external (strange in terms of civilisation) non-system ontology of this hierarchy of values¹⁶. Therefore, the successful process of the diffusion of democratic values in Russian society did not taken place, while democratic rituals were accepted with ease to the canon of basic political actions¹⁷. The effectiveness (especially economic) of state leaders opened before them a virtually unlimited arsenal of measures limiting democracy or preventing its selective treatment¹⁸. Russian society built its trust for state power primarily on the basis of trust for the authorities. The ease of the personalisation of political power was the result of general reluctance to politicise different areas of life, while historical experiences of society justified this rush towards an apolitical character¹⁹. Of decisive importance for the essence of Russian democracy was to exercise strict control over information by the state (even its rationing and selection). It was all the easier, because the core of power consisted of representatives of power sectors equipped with special prerogatives used in the field of information security. Alternation of the highest authorities took place outside the process of democratic social choice. It was basically

¹⁶ Although there are different opinions: "In contrast to Poland, in Russia, democracy was not conceived as a Western idea, but as a spontaneous liberalization of society and its return to its own traditions", [in:] Gleb Pawłowski, Lidia Szewcowa, "Kim jest Dmitrij Miedwiediew", in *Studzy i Wrogowie Imperium. Rosyjskie Rozmowy o Końcu Historii*, ed. Filip Memches, (Cracow, 2009), 160.

¹⁷ Mikhail Leontyev, "Rosyjska demokracja nie różni się od zachodniej", in *Studzy i Wrogowie Imperium. Rosyjskie Rozmowy o Końcu Historii*, ed. Filip Memches, (Cracow, 2009), 157. The essence of Russian democracy: "In the West, democracy came at a time, when the society was ready to carry out specific procedures. If, however, democratic procedures apply, and the society cannot meet their implementation, democracy becomes an instrument of domination of the bureaucracy. This is what happened in Russia. Democracy has become a façade, behind which the real power was exercised by oligarchic or bureaucratic groups. This could have been observed since 1993 from the moment when president Yeltsin has performed the armed dissolution of parliament." [in:] Maksim Shevchenko, "Miedwiediew Szansą Oligarchów (Rozmowa)", in *Studzy i Wrogowie Imperium. Rosyjskie Rozmowy o Końcu Historii*, ed. Filip Memches, (Cracow, 2009), 209.

The compromised word "democracy": *diermokracja*. *Diermo* means turd in Russian.

¹⁸ Sergei Markov wonders: "I have still not obtained the answer to my question. Does democracy in Russia deserves to be called "virtual"?" A more adequate is the term "imitation democracy". Russia is in motion. Communist authoritarianism has been left far behind. Now it moves from anarchy and chaos towards democracy. The current system contains the elements of authoritarianism, chaos and anarchy, as well as democracy proportionally of a little bit of everything. While the authoritarian part imitates the democratic institutions. Besides, it cannot be any different. Today democracy is seen as the only form of the international legitimacy." Sergei Markov, "Polska tylko przeszkadza", in *Studzy i Wrogowie Imperium. Rosyjskie Rozmowy o Końcu Historii*, ed. Filip Memches, (Cracow, 2009), 98.

¹⁹ M. Leontyev: "We have the concept of real sovereignty. It is not so that the sovereign democracy is a cover for the specifics of the Russian system. Sovereign democracy is based on the belief of the elite that Russia, due to the historical conditions and current circumstances, cannot and should not cede sovereignty to other countries and international organisations", Leontyev, "Minska Demokracja", 156; see Andrzej de Lazari, "Pozytywista Putin", *Przegląd Polityczny* 2004, no. 66: 139.

the denial of previous achievements of the Russian system's transformation. Parliamentary elections were becoming less important for the construction of political and state structures, and the legislature also lacked instruments of real control over the executive power²⁰. Nomenclature, existing in literature, was once used to determine the Russian variety of democracy (façade democracy, imitation democracy, virtual democracy, controlled democracy) and thus defines the same phenomenon²¹.

For the analysis of legitimacy models of the powers of presidents Yeltsin and Putin, their moderation of the political culture initiated by them are important²². These actions are all the easier, because the unchanged deficit of the activity of civil society is noted in the Russian Federation and primarily expressed in the ritualized elements of direct democracy, with the systematic weakening of the appropriate formal axiological solutions of motivation²³. In the early 1990s, President Yeltsin offered society the construction of a new political-socio-economic project, combining the seeds of political participation of civil society and the first-fruits of free-market economic mechanisms. Political practice proved that these plants were mainly focused on the effectiveness of populism, explored by the leader.

The passivity of Russian society towards political actions shaping the social reality, directly concerning particular individuals and the image of the institution of the country using intermediaries-officials in dealing with members of society, is the hallmark of social macro-groups, living in the post-Soviet area. It seems that it can be said that the cultivation of elements of the Soviet standard of embedding the individual in social life – that is the acceptance of a specific place in social and political life, meaning the preference of community solutions over individualistic activity – is implemented within the representative democracy.

Auto-alienation of members of society from political life – with extremely poor orientation in the mechanisms of exercising and reproducing political power at all levels – generates bold behaviours of the political power, which, with the lack of authentic social control and the lack of formalised symptoms of the social protest in a clear way, focuses different forms of power. The central authorities treat the role of performing the role of the sovereign of state power granted by the people only in an ornamental way. State power treats society not as an equal partner in public dialogue, but engages the process of its objectification. Degeneration of democratisation takes place at all levels of the country, also including the institutions established after 1991, and functions in a pathological way (see: the process of peculiar personal reproduction of the institution of president). The most acute social problem is corruption, in various sizes and degrees.

One of the manifestations of stratification changes within political power was the creation – by the post-Soviet nomenclature-party structures – of uniformed officers and

²⁰ The 1993 Constitution was particularly important with regard to the position of the president outside the sphere of the three branches of government.

²¹ Adam W. Jelonek, *W Stronę Nieliberalnej Demokracji*, (Warsaw: 2002), 196.

²² Jakub Potulski, *System Partyjny Rosji: Tradycja i Współczesność*, (Gdańsk: 2007), 165.

²³ Potulski, *System Partyjny...*, 222 – 223.

representatives of the oligarchic business of the common set (hard to identify by virtue of its provenance), creating the plasma of power, key to the process of Putin's presidential legitimacy. It is the organisational base which constructs the leaven of the social layer, and the parallel world to the official representatives of political power²⁴.

When Yeltsin was performing the highest function of the state, socio-political support of the regime – in the form of the newly created class of oligarchs – was easily identifiable. Big business created the economic-political corporations with the support of the media, and although the principles of its functioning were unclear, this situation did not undermine the principle of legality of the institutions and actions representing the country²⁵.

The party system of the Russian Federation has undergone a deep metamorphosis since the beginning of the 1990s. Its transformations can be regarded as the metaphor for all changes in the system and practices of governance in contemporary Russia²⁶. The appropriate manipulation of the democratic, multi-party beginnings of the formation of the party system led to the stage of stabilisation and façade institutionalisation of political pluralism²⁷. Initial party activity on the political scene was the implementation of different visions of developing the inheritance of the Communist Party, both in terms of ideology and personnel²⁸. Structures of the multi-party system gradually disintegrated, while the party system generated as a result of the actions of system transformation mechanisms was extremely complex, with a very broad ideological spectrum²⁹. Polarisation generated by ideological differences (e.g. Communists-Nationalists) did not translate into program polarity (especially caused by the relation to capitalism and marketisation). This favoured the foundation of intentional, although often single, alliances between ideologically extreme organisations³⁰. However, most often, the community of inter-party interests had a different genesis – the desire to conduct personal confrontations³¹. Both politicians and society presented completely different emotional attitudes, from euphoria to total despair. This resulted in ephemeral political initiatives:

²⁴ According to Adam Bartnicki: "Mechanisms of power began to structurally resemble the semi-mob dictatorship of South America. The whole country became a big cartel of institutions and people connected with the network of dependency and mutual interests. In the era of Putin, any rivalry has been brought to a minimum, because it would violate the functioning and bringing benefit", Bartnicki, *Demokratycznie*, 80.

²⁵ Bieleń, *Tożsamość*, 41.

²⁶ The electoral system did not fulfil the role of the stabilizer of the party system, see Stelmach, *Zmiana*, 109.

²⁷ The process of democratization of the political system (see Potulski, *System Partyjny*, 192).

²⁸ The social and institutional scope of the Communist Party was almost unlimited.

²⁹ Furier, *Dekada*, 31.

³⁰ Political party categories such as right, centre, left, do not coincide with Polish typologies. In Russia, the division of political parties was established based on the criterion of relation to power, and not on ideological and program differences.

³¹ Motivation of activities of political parties, see Jarosław Bratkiewicz, *Rosyjscy Nacjonaliści w Latach 1992-1996. Od Detradycjonalizacji do Retradycjonalizacji*, Warsaw 1998, p.13.

quasi-political parties, cliques, camarillas³² were created, representing a very narrow circle of founders³³. “The infantile stadium of political pluralism” was even harder to convert into a stable multi-party system. The more openly President Yeltsin sought the construction of Russian “presidentialism”, the more pragmatically he treated the formation of the so-called “disposable parties”³⁴. For obvious reasons, this tendency has been maintained and intensified during Putin’s presidency.

However, the provenance of the political elite has never been broken³⁵. For years it was a group which monopolised intellectual and political activity, and even the leaders of democratic movements, most often descended from CPSU structures³⁶. The potential of young reformers was rejected by a society experienced in the nuisance effects of economic modernisation processes and conviction in the low effectiveness of actions by political parties. Political parties representing the multi-party system, for obvious reasons, did not have opportunities to participate in the social and legal structure (the lack of so-called “constitutionalisation” of political parties)³⁷. This fact has also been negatively influenced by their multitude and the inability to identify a party based on characteristic program features, and the instantiation of recipient demands. Classic typologies of political parties are not capacious enough to reflect the criteria of socio-political divisions of the Russian party system³⁸.

A major factor shaping the Russian party system both under presidents Yeltsin and Putin was the tendency of politicians to conduct cabinet meeting and behind the scenes actions. This gave effects in the form of commonly used measures of manipulation for the needs of managing public opinion, low incentives for politicians to actively participate in the party system and a high level of personalisation of political parties³⁹. Russian society does not collectively express opposition in the form of protest (except for a relatively small number of protests, demonstrations) towards the roadblock of political

³² Multi-party system began to shape in Russia in the years of 1988–1990.

³³ Stelmach, *Zmiana*, 147.

³⁴ From “Choice of Russia” (Yegor Gaidar) through “Our Home – Russia” (Viktor Chernomyrdin) and “Fatherland All Russia” (Yury Luzhkov and Yevgeny Primakov), as well as from “Interregional Unity Movement” to “United Russia”.

³⁵ “The Russian ‘earthquake’, despite a very dramatic course and a high rate of changes, was still far from completion. Many elements of the old order have survived. The smartest caciques in the party have long since found employment as businessmen and consultants. Average apparatchiks have practically not moved from the stools they previously occupied. Although the headquarters of the Central Committee has now become headquarters of the Russian government, changes among the employees of the building were small.” [in:] David Remnick, *Grobowiec Lenina*, (Warsaw: 1997), 564.

³⁶ Potulski, *System Partyjny*, 206 – 207.

³⁷ In Russia the phenomenon of so-called “constitutionalization” of political parties did not take place (after Potulski, *System partyjny*, 14).

³⁸ Roman Bäcker, *Rosyjskie Myślenie Polityczne za Czasów Prezydenta Putina*, (Torun: 2007), 42-48.

³⁹ According to Jakub Potulski: “The property of Russian creation of political organisations is a widespread phenomenon that the leaders become the creators of the party, and not the other way round – that the parties create leaders”, Potulski, *System Partyjny*, 205.

promotion. Elections only formally represent the circulation of power – they are merely intended to serve legitimacy.

Until 1993, the opposition functioned by representing different poles of the party scene especially active in parliament. Such moderation of the political scene led to the practical destruction of an authentic opposition system. Of course, it was necessary for the preservation of the country's democratic form, which led to the evident devaluation of the democratisation process. In the Kremlin, a basic element institutionalising social distrust was created – the pro-Kremlin opposition. It should be noted that the first-fruits of opposition, naturally evolving from the Russian party system, were categorised by President Putin as a “non-system opposition”, referring to the non-democratic methods delegitimising state leadership⁴⁰. One of the elements of the project intended to animate the opposition instituted by the Kremlin leaders (“rationed opposition”) was maintaining the attractiveness of the Communist Party by modernising its program and stimulating the nationalist parties' actions (especially concerning the elements of programs referring to imperial traditions). Creating a nationwide protest movement against the control of the authorities within the party system is so difficult that such attempts by systematic opposition actions were undertaken only in big urban agglomerations. Peripherals exhibit the anti-Kremlin attitude, sympathising with the various Communist parties, although this can be qualified rather as the manifestation of *soyuznostalgyi*, rather than an expression of genuine political preference. Despite the formal, scrupulously followed, restrictions for institutional attempts at initiating the political activity of Russian society, the actually existing, powerful socio-political structures are organisations not formulating state policy. Russia's party system is a hybrid model combining democratic rules (democratic legitimacy) with authoritarian interpretations of these provisions⁴¹. Russian electoral campaigns are the chain, which links that which is the least absorbing for the team in power in the field of social engineering, while a particularly large degree of “routinisation” is shown by presidential campaigns. In the case of presidential elections in 1996, the candidate for re-election presented a theatrical creation, constructed only for the purposes of a single electoral effect. Even then, Yeltsin's *familia* had a decisive impact on the actions of the almost-puppet ruler. His weakness was mainly determined by biological barriers. However, campaigns before parliamentary elections have corresponded, to a large extent, to the real situation on the political scene. The situation changed during Yeltsin's presidency. The outcome of parliamentary and presidential elections gave clear legitimacy to the exercising of state power by Vladimir Putin. This legitimacy was not the result of authentic electoral rivalry, but, rather, high media frequency⁴². The electoral process, therefore, had the character of a plebiscite, whose easily predictable results were largely the result of pre-election campaigning, monopolising the public message.

⁴⁰ Characteristics of the fragmentation of the opposition, see Bäcker, *Rosyjskie Myślenie*, 257-273.

⁴¹ “The collapse of the normative regulators of social life and the inherent phenomenon of anatomy can create the need for authoritarian solutions”, an opinion of Bartnicki, *Legitymizacja*, 22.

⁴² Stelmach, *Zmiana*, 30.

Putin proposed a peculiar interpretation of the social contract to Russians. In it, society accepts the fact that the partisan president fulfils the basic role marked out by the Constitution from 1993 and, in theory, is an arbitrator. However, the political practice of the president's actions indicate that he is an active player on the Russian political scene (in different spheres of its activity, he presents multiple shades of initiatives)⁴³. Political culture built after 1991 in Russia, included many solutions reducing the importance of social engagement in the democratic process⁴⁴. Especially, the system of checks and balances, key for the formal expressions of social distrust, was poorly developed. This applies both to the control of the institution of president and the state parliament – the validity of the free mandate, in practice, means the lack of legal possibilities to exert influence on MPs by the voters. Contemporary Russian parties are staff (and not mass). They do not constitute a link mediating in the dialogue between society and the political authority. They also do not review the actions of the political establishment, because they do not select candidates taking part in the elections – this function was taken over by the president⁴⁵. Their weakness is also determined by constitutional provisions: they predict a small, symbolic influence on the shaping of the government, and thus the executive policy of the country. Besides this, we must remember a certain regularity listed within this system: election results are an impulse to create further political parties. The party system itself, from purely ideological reasons, does not generate political parties and it only creates the organisations marginalised by the voters. The weakness of the Russian party system is thus directly proportional to the length of the democratic reforms formally transposing a totalitarian country into a democratic one (of course only in the declarative sphere). Numerous irregularities undoubtedly having a trace impact on electoral results (various depreciation of the opposition candidates, including registration difficulties, problems with the liquidity and rationality of the boundaries of constituencies, the lack of respect for electoral silence). However, they do not decide the legitimacy of the leadership team⁴⁶. Especially in the case of the team of President Putin, the use of borderline-legal activities seems to be unnecessary.

The introduction of personalities outside the official mainstream of political life onto the political scene is essentially equivalent to the displacement of such a person from business circles and/or from special services. This results in a specific structure of the party system. A clear simplification for these types of actions is the fact that the Russian electorate responded very positively to the form and appearance of the “power party” in its successive incarnations. Although at the beginning of the construction of the party system of the Russian Federation, the electorate varied in its decisions, after 2000, it has been faithful to the power party. Free elections – the flagship achievement

⁴³ Stelmach, *Zmiana*, 208.

⁴⁴ Furier, *Dekada Jelcyna*, 257.

⁴⁵ Monika Nizioł, *Dylematy Kulturowe Międzynarodowej Roli Rosji*, (Lublin: 2004), 111.

⁴⁶ Jurij Felsztinski, Władimir Pribiłowski, *Korporacja Zabójców. Rosja, KGB i Prezydent Putin*, (Warsaw: 2008), 132-135.

and the basic argument of the political legitimacy of the democratic system transformation of the Russian political system – are not mechanisms for implementing democratic initiatives. Also, a selective expansion of the base of presidential prerogatives has taken place, at the expense of resigning from the use of elections. As an example, we can indicate the *casus* of appointing governors.

Since 1996, the presidential elections have taken on the characteristics of routinisation⁴⁷, while the reduction of fragmentation on the party scene has been reflected in the composition of the party representation proposed during electoral campaigns, although it seems that the composition of the Duma has mainly been determined by the strong position of the president⁴⁸.

The above work is the result of research project No.UMO-2014/12 / S / HS5 / 00370 funded by the National Science Centre.

References:

- Adam Bartnicki, *Demokratycznie Legitymizowany Autorytaryzm w Rosji 1991-2004*, (Białystok: 2008).
- R. Bäcker, *Rosyjskie Myślenie Polityczne za Czasów Prezydenta Putina*, (Torun: 2007).
- Bratkiewicz, *Rosyjscy Nacjonaliści w Latach 1992-1996. Od Detradycjonalizacji do Retradycjonalizacji*, (Warsaw: 1998).
- Stanisław Bieleń, “Rosja w Poszukiwaniu Demokratycznej Tożsamości”, in: *Szkice o Rosji*, ed. Alicja Stępień- Kuczyńska, Janusz Adamowski, (Łódź-Warsaw: 2000).
- Tadeusz Bodio, “Wyjaśnienie cywilizacyjne w badaniach transformacji w Azji Centralnej”, in *Przywództwo, Elity i Transformacje w Krajach WNP: Problemy Metodologii Badań*, ed. Tadeusz Bodio, (Warsaw: 2010).
- Jurij Felsztynski, Władimir Pribiłowski, *Korporacja Zabójców. Rosja, KGB i Prezydent Putin*, (Warsaw: 2008).
- Andrzej Furier, *Dekada Jelcyna. Uwarunkowania Przemian Politycznych i Społecznych w Rosji 1991-2000*, (Szczecin: 2003).
- Sylwester Gardocki, *Instytucja Prezydenta w Polityce Federacji Rosyjskiej*, (Torun: 2008).
- Alexandra George, *Ucieczka z “Sali Numer Sześć”. Rosja na Rozdrożu Przeszłości i Teraźniejszości*, (Warsaw, 2004). English Title: *Escape from “Ward Six”: Russia Facing Past and Present*.
- Tadeusz Kisielewski, *Schyłek Rosji*, (Poznan: 2007).
- Andrzej de Lazari, “Pozytywista Putin”, *Przegląd Polityczny*, 2004, No. 66: 139.

⁴⁷ Bieleń, *Tożsamość*, 176.

⁴⁸ Potulski, *System Partyjny*, 232.

Bronisław Misztal, "Wstęp. Subtelności Liberalizmów Współczesnych", in: *Aktualności Wolności. Wybór Tekstów*, ed. Bronisław Misztal and Marek Przychodzeń (chojce), (Warsaw: 2005).

M. Nizioł, *Dylematy Kulturowe Międzynarodowej Roli Rosji*, (Lublin: 2004).

Andrzej Stelmach, *Zmiana i Stabilność w Systemie Politycznym Współczesnej Rosji*, (Poznan: 2003).

Andrzej Skrzypek, *Druga Smuta. Zarys Dziejów Rosji 1985-2004*, (Warsaw: 2003).

Leszek Szerepka, "Sytuacja Demograficzna w Rosji", *CES Studies*, No. 24, July 2006.

Victor Tarnavskiy, *Dzieci Swoich Czasów. Ruchy Młodzieżowe w Rosji a Zmiany Kulturowe po Upadku ZSRR*, (Warsaw: 2007).



Abstract

The disintegration of the USSR was undoubtedly a traumatic moment for the Russian people. Difficulties in fulfilling basic social needs overshadowed both the sentimental yearning for imperial glory and the proper moment for society to begin authentic socialization, influencing also the development of the political participation process. The results of perestroika were disappointing not only to its authors, but also to the recipients of the actions aimed to modernise the extremely ideological reality. Of course, the animators of reforms conducted on such a huge scale assumed the existence of objective difficulties affecting the pace and effectiveness of changes, resulting from the historical-cultural context, as well as from territorial, religious and ethical structure of the country. According to A.Stelmach, it was a kind of trap for society which, in the initial phase of the transformation process, was full of enthusiasm for changes. The lack, however, of expected effects in the form of the allocation of the democratic system, also in the non-institutional layer, plunged society into frustration. In addition, the principle of the primacy of the representatives of the old regime over the oppositionists was adopted, for all reformative activity took place in the atmosphere of strict conspiracy and secrecy. Such transformation of the system reduced the possibility to conduct effective social dialogue to a minimal level, and increased the confusion of society.

Keywords: Russian society, post Homo Sovieticus, Russian state leadership, legitimation of the political leadership of the Russian Federation.

Determinants of Protest Attitudes: Subjective Well-Being, Value Orientations, and Intentions to Participate in Protest Actions in Russia

OLGA LAVRINENKO

Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland

Introduction

Usually, when observers try to predict protest mobilization, the main indicator for them is the deterioration of the economic situation in a country. However, political and social practices of authoritarian regimes indicate that people do not necessarily mobilize against these regimes, even if economic, social and political conditions are far from ideal. By contrast, in recent years, even democratic governments were challenged by anti-systemic mobilizations, which not always possessed purely economic reasons complemented by cultural claims.

Paradoxically, in economically advanced countries, voices of protest are often raised not among disadvantaged groups, but among those rather wealthy individuals who potentially could gain advantages if they would agree to accept the given system's norms. Take, for example, the Anonymous movement, which actually unites highly professional people, who could achieve success by working as programmers, but who have chosen another (strictly speaking, illegal) way of self-expression.

The wave of protest mobilization against the fraudulent parliamentary elections of 2011 and presidential elections of 2012 in Russia, was also driven by educated and creative people. They represented the rather wealthy classes and socio-economic claims were not the issue of interest. Rather, they felt under-rewarded in political terms, (i.e. deprived of the right to choose their representatives, since the elections were fraudulent). By contrast, most people in Russia have a low, but consistent socio-economic status, and they are reluctant to participate in protest actions.

All the issues mentioned above call for the introduction of such determinants of protest participation as subjective well-being and value orientations. These determinants indicate that there is always something beyond objective economic indicators. Therefore, for the complete understanding of active involvement in unconventional political participation or, by contrast, the rejection of participation, it is necessary to apply more complex determinants, finding their expression in the individual's subjective evaluation of the situation, as well as their attitudes and values.

Part 1. Theoretical Approaches to Subjective Well-being and Materialist/Post-Materialist Value Orientations

1.1. Theoretical Approaches to Subjective Well-Being

Subjective well-being is one of the most important social phenomena of equal interest to scientists and researchers (primarily sociologists and economists), and policy-makers. The widespread research interest of this phenomenon could be explained by its complex structure, making it possible to develop various methods of research and explanation of this phenomenon. Policy-makers (primarily in economically developed countries), in their turn, are interested in the practical side of the issue: how to bridge the gap of inconsistency between high macro-economic indicators and problems of individual, as well as social well-being. Thus, subjective well-being exists in an area where “economic” is faced with “social” and “psychological”, and sometimes these elements conflict with each other.

It is possible to elicit two approaches to the phenomenon of subjective well-being: hedonic and eudemonic. The hedonic approach¹ concentrates on the measurement of sensitive elements, connected with life-satisfaction (happiness, satisfaction in different spheres of life). The eudemonic approach² implies measurement of not only sensitive elements, but also elements connected with functioning (strength of relationships, involvement, meaning and purpose of life).

The eudemonic approach, in contrast to the hedonic one, focuses on “social” capital³. Therefore, it is more able to explain the phenomenon of subjective well-being in developed countries, where the question of existential survival is generally resolved and, therefore, problems associated with the construction of social relations, interpersonal communication, and the search for meaning in life, come to the fore. This approach can also be associated with post-materialistic value orientation, while hedonic – with a materialistic orientation.

From a methodological point of view, it is possible to distinguish one-dimensional and multi-dimensional approaches to drafting sections of questionnaires on the study of subjective well-being. The one-dimensional approach includes measuring the level of

¹ Edward Diener, and Robert Biswas-Diener, *Happiness. Unlocking the Mysteries of Psychological Wealth* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008); Daniel Kahneman and Alan B. Krueger, “Developments in the Measurement of Subjective Well-Being.” *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20 (2006): 3-24; Robert A. Cummins, et al., “Developing a National Index of Subjective Well-Being: The Australian Unity Wellbeing Index.” *Social Indicators Research*, 64 (2003): 159-190.

² Sonja Lyubomirsky et al., “Pursuing Happiness: The Architecture of Sustainable Change.” *Review of General Psychology* 9 (2) (2005): 111-131; Carrol D. Ryff, “Happiness is Everything, or Is It? Explorations on the Meaning of Psychological Well-Being.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 57 (1989): 1069-1081; Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*. (New York: Random House, 1999).

³ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

satisfaction with life in general and/or various aspects of life such as work, family, health, financial well-being, etc. (i.e. it corresponds with hedonic orientation from the theoretical point of view). It also involves comparing the current position of the respondent with his/her expectations for the future. It is important to note that a high degree of satisfaction with life may be associated with low expectations for the future. Conversely, a respondent may report a low level of satisfaction with life, if his expectations are too high. Therefore, for a more valid assessment, an additional indicator is used called “positive/negative effect”, which is built on questions of positive/negative experiences during the day prior to the interview (known as Day Reconstruction Method, DRM).

A multidimensional approach is consistent with eudemonic orientation, including a range of questions relating to both the senses and functioning of the individual, both on an individual and interpersonal level. This approach could be called integrated, because it also includes the hedonic elements manifesting themselves in questions about the sense of satisfaction with life/work. However, the orientation identifying the eudemonic component of subjective well-being can be traced.

The above mentioned approaches to the studies of subjective well-being find their expressions in the largest trans-national studies: Gallup World Poll, Eurobarometer, European Social Survey, World Values Survey. The most elaborate questionnaire among these trans-national research works is the European Social Survey questionnaire, which includes measurements of both eudemonic and hedonic elements, applying strategy aimed at measurement of as many components of subjective well-being as possible. In this paper, however, I analysed data from Round Six of the World Values Survey, gathered in 2011, as the subject of my particular interest is connections between materialist/post-materialist value orientations, subjective well-being and political participation.

1.2. Materialist/Post-Materialist Value Orientations and Participation in Political Actions

Inglehart’s⁴ theory of the value shift from materialism to post-materialism, which advanced industrial democracies experienced from the end of the 1970s, is based on the presumptions of Maslow’s famous hierarchy of needs⁵. According to these presumptions, the individual – after satisfying basic existential needs – aspires to fulfil self-realization needs. In other words, when an individual is assured that his/her need for security is satisfied, he/she begins to aspire to more high-order, cultural needs of the search for meaning in life, preserving autonomy and freedom of choice.

Materialist/Post-Materialist value orientation strongly influences the degree of in-

⁴ Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

⁵ Abraham Maslow, *Motivation and Personality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1954).

volvement in the activities of social/political organizations (conventional participation) and participation in protest actions (unconventional participation). If post-materialist value orientation is more widespread in a country, it implies the overall high level of both conventional and unconventional participation. If materialist value orientation is more widespread in a country, it implies that the level of conventional and, especially, unconventional participation will be lower, than in countries with more widespread post-materialist orientation.

Overall, post-materialist values can occur, when a country experiences economic growth, complemented with increasing individual prosperity, which, in its turn, leads to changes in an individual's lifestyle, including patterns of political behaviour. In this way, the approach proposes a socio-economic explanation of the values' shift. Correlations between value orientation and political behaviour have been widely studied using data from Western countries⁶. However, there is certainly a gap in the studies of these correlations concerning data from post-Soviet countries.

Besides the clear positive correlations between post-materialist value orientation and involvement in unconventional forms of participation, there is also such a phenomenon as the struggle for post-materialism. In practice, it implies that people participate in unconventional forms of political action not only because they have post-materialist value orientation, but also because they support post-materialist demands (such as improving the environment, LGBT rights, etc.).

In this way, the legitimacy of the traditional model of decision-making is questioned. Citizens require more credentials in decision-making than a traditional representative democracy can provide. Therefore, they doubt that bureaucratic systems are able to meet citizens' challenges⁷. However, this phenomenon does not imply the rejection of democracy as such. The World Values Survey also indicates that post-materialists express their support for the democratic system⁸.

Membership in associations is certainly a more conventional form of participation, than participation in different types of protest. This is connected with the eudemonic aspect of subjective well-being, since involvement in associations signifies thick social ties, which are considered part of an individual's good-functioning. Thus, post-materialist value orientations factually give more for the fulfilment of subjective well-being than materialist ones.

⁶ Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1990); Karl-Dieter Opp, "Postmaterialism, Collective Action and Political Protest." *American Journal of Political Science* 34 (1) (1990): 212-235; Russel Dalton, *Citizen Politics. Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (New York: Chatham House Publishes, 2002).

⁷ Pippa Norris, *Democratic Phoenix. Reinventing Political Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Karl-Dieter Opp, "Postmaterialism, Collective Action and Political Protest," 212-235.

⁸ Dalton, *Citizen Politics*.

Part 2. Subjective Well-Being, Value Orientations and Unconventional Political Participation in Russia⁹

2.1. Indicators of Subjective Well-Being in Russia

The subjective well-being section in the World Values Survey includes questions regarding evaluation of the hedonic component of subjective well-being: individual's level of happiness, health and life satisfaction; and the eudemonic component of subjective well-being: level of trust, membership in different type of associations.

Overall, research indicates that the hedonic component of subjective well-being in Russia is predominant over the eudemonic one. In general, Russians are happy (73.3%), satisfied with their health (88.6%), life (79.3%)¹⁰, and the financial situation in their households (Tables 1-4).

By contrast, the eudemonic components of subjective well-being have low indicators. Russians believe that it is necessary to be careful with other people (66.2%), which indicates a low level of social trust (Table 5). Besides this, involvement in activities of all types of organizations mentioned in the research (church and religious; sport and recreational; art, music, educational; labour union; political party; environmental; professional association; humanitarian and charitable; consumer; self-help, mutual aid group), are enormously low, not exceeding 2.4% of active members. Labour unions possess the highest percentage of inactive members (8.6%); churches occupy second place (4.1%); and sport and recreational organizations take third place (3.9%) (Table 6).

2.2. Indicators of Materialist/Post-Materialist Value Orientations in Russia

The post-materialist index is measured in two ways. Initially, Inglehart proposed a four-item index¹¹, and later he elaborated a twelve-item index¹² of post-materialism. Questions include statements about preferable policy choices, some of which are compatible with a materialist choice, while others – with a post-materialist choice. In the four-item index, there are four choices for the question: If you had to choose among the following things, which are the two that seem most desirable to you?

⁹ All the data in this article came from: WORLD VALUES SURVEY Wave 6 2010-2014 OFFICIAL AGGREGATE v.20150418. World Values Survey Association (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). Aggregate File Producer: Asep/JDS, Madrid SPAIN.

¹⁰ In the life-satisfaction question, a 10-item scale was used – 1 indicating completely dissatisfied and 10 indicating completely satisfied. Consequently, the aggregate percentage value for life-satisfaction was counted for values from 5 to 10

¹¹ Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Evolution*.

¹² Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*.

- Maintaining order in the nation
- Giving the people more say in important political decisions
- Fighting rising prices
- Protecting freedom of speech

Among these items, the first and the third choices reflect a materialist orientation, while the second and fourth reflect a post materialist orientation. Besides an item of primary priority, the respondent chooses an item of secondary priority. If a respondent chooses two post-materialist statements, he/she gets a score of “3”, whereas in the case of two materialist statement choices, a score of “1”. In Russia, the majority of respondents chose materialist statements as their first and second choices: “maintaining order in the nation” received 45.2 % and 31%, while “fighting rising prices” received 37.3% and 36.2%. Post-materialist choices were less supported: “giving the people more say in important political decisions” received only 14.8% as the first choice and 22.1% as the second choice. “Protecting freedom of speech” – only 2.2% and 7.2%, respectively (Table 7).

Overall, according to the four-item index, materialist value orientation dominates in Russian society (52.7%). Mixed value orientation occupies second place with 41.8%, while post-materialist value orientation is inherent to only 2.2% of respondents.

In the twelve-item index, an additional eight statements are attached to the previous four statements. If respondent had chosen post-materialist statements in all blocks as first and second choice, he/she receives a pure post-materialistic orientation, while in the case of choosing all materialist items – a pure materialistic orientation. Other choices are located between these two opposites, where “1” is approaching materialism and “4” is approaching post-materialism.

The first block of questions includes the following (corresponding percentages of the first and second choice are provided in brackets):

- A high level of economic growth – Materialist (68.4%; 18.2%)
- Making sure this country has strong defence forces – Materialist (9.8%; 28.4%)
- Seeing that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities – Post-Materialist (15.9%; 34.3%)
- Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful – Post-Materialist (3.6%; 13.4%)

The second block is the same with a four-item block of questions.

The third block includes the following questions:

- A stable economy – Materialist (63.3%; 20.1%)
- Progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society – Post-Materialist (9.7%; 17.8%)
- Progress toward a society in which ideas count more than money – Post-Materialist (10%; 19.5%)
- The fight against crime – Materialist (16.3%; 38.7%)

And, again, materialist choices dominate amongst the answers of respondents in Russia. If one were to place them in the six-item scale, the pure materialistic orientation

receives 16.3%, 1 – 27.9%; 2 – 30.6%; 3 – 13.8%; 4 – 3.5%; pure post-materialism – 0.3% (Table 9).

These low indicators of post-materialist value orientation account for the low level of involvement in unconventional protest activities. The section in the World Values Survey concerning unconventional political participation includes the following activities: signing a petition, deliberately boycotting a product, participating in a demonstration, taking part in an unofficial strike and occupying a building. These actions have different degree of social acceptability and require different degrees of an individual's involvement in the collective political action. The most innocent and socially acceptable types of participation, requiring less effort, are signing a petition and boycotting products, whereas the most radical forms, requiring the most effort from a participant, are taking part in an unofficial strike and occupying a building.

In Russia, the overwhelming majority of respondents would never take part in any form of unconventional political participation. The most rejected types of unconventional participation are boycotting and unofficial strikes. Only 2.1% and 2.3% of respondents claimed they had taken part in these forms of protest, while 17.2% said they might take part in these activities in the future. Signing a petition and taking part in peaceful demonstrations belong to the types of participation which Russians regard more positively, than the previous two - 11.1% and 12.1% of respondents have taken part in these type of actions, while 24.6% and 22.1% might take part in the future (Table 10).

Conclusions

As indicated by the data, the low level of involvement in unconventional political participation in Russia could be explained by the predominance of the hedonic component in subjective well-being and materialist value orientation. The low ratings of the eudemonic component in subjective well-being imply that people in Russia do not trust each other and have flimsy social relationships. The low ratings of post-materialist value orientation, in their turn, imply that Russians are not eager to fight for human rights or freedom of speech.

Only a small group of the population in Russia could mobilize under political claims of free and fair elections, and overall regime change. We observed such mobilization following massive electoral fraud during the parliamentary elections of 2011 and presidential elections of 2012. These protests mainly failed due to the fact that they were not supported (and would not have been supported) by the majority of the population, since the majority possesses materialist value orientation, which does not presume support for the claims raised during the wave of mobilization.

Real regime change in Russia will only be possible in the case of a value-shift to post-materialism. At the same time, it is very doubtful to assume that people with materialist value orientation will begin to protest in the case of price rises (one of the materialist

issues of concern), since such people are reluctant to take part in any unconventional political action, even in support of issues which belong to the materialist sphere of concern. But, on the other hand, this is a very optimistic point, since it also indicates that these people will not take part in a “conservative” kind of revolution with pro-fascist claims.

References:

- Cummins, Robert A., Eckersley, Richard, Pallant, Julie F., van Vugt, Jackie, and Roseanne Misajon. “Developing a National Index of Subjective Well-Being: The Australian Unity Wellbeing Index.” *Social Indicators Research*, 64 (2003): 159-190.
- Dalton, Russel. *Citizen Politics. Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. New York: Chatham House Publishes, 2002.
- Diener, Edward. “Subjective Well-Being.” *Psychological Bulletin* 95(1984): 542-575.
- Diener, Edward, and Robert Biswas-Diener. *Happiness. Unlocking the Mysteries of Psychological Wealth*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.
- Inglehart, Ronald. *The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Inglehart, Ronald. *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1990.
- Kahneman, Daniel, and Alan B. Krueger. “Developments in the Measurement of Subjective Well-Being.” *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20 (2006): 3-24
- Lyubomirsky, Sonja, Sheldon, Kennon M., and David Schkade. “Pursuing Happiness: The Architecture of Sustainable Change.” *Review of General Psychology* 9 (2) (2005): 111-131
- Maslow, Abraham. *Motivation and Personality*. New York: Harper and Row, 1954.
- Norris, Pippa. *Democratic Phoenix. Reinventing Political Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Opp, Karl-Dieter. “Postmaterialism, Collective Action and Political Protest.” *American Journal of Political Science* 34 (1) (1990): 212-235.
- Putnam, Robert D. *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000.
- Ryff, Carrol D. “Happiness is Everything, or is it? Explorations on the Meaning of Psychological Well-Being.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 57 (1989): 1069-1081.
- Sen, Amartya. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Random House, 1999.
- WORLD VALUES SURVEY Wave 6 2010-2014 OFFICIAL AGGREGATE v.20150418. World Values Survey Association (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). Aggregate File Producer: Asep/JDS, Madrid, Spain.

Annexes

Table 1.
Overall Happiness of Russians, %, WVS 2011

	Total	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50+
Very happy	14.8	14.5	15	21.1	15.1	10.6
Rather happy	58.5	60	57.3	66.5	61.1	51.3
Not very happy	20.7	20.3	21.1	9.6	17.9	30.1
Not at all happy	1.8	1.4	2.1	0.5	1.8	2.5
Inappropriate response	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	-	0.2
No answer	0.3	0.2	0.4	-	0.5	0.2
Don't know	3.8	3.5	4	2	3.6	5
N	2500	1129	1371	629	865	1006

Table 2.
Overall Satisfaction with Health, %, WVS 2011

	Total	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50+
Very good	5.1	6.5	3.9	11	4.9	1.5
Good	39	44.6	34.4	63.9	43.4	19.7
Fair	44.5	39.6	48.6	23.4	46.5	56
Poor	10.6	8.1	12.6	0.9	4.6	21.8
Missing, inappropriate response	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.4	-	0.4
No answer	0.1	0.2	0.1	-	0.2	0.1
Don't know	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.6
N	2500	1129	1371	629	865	1006

Table 3.
Overall Satisfaction with Lives, %, WVS 2011

	Total	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50+
Completely dissatisfied	3.1	2.4	3.7	0.9	3.3	4.4
2	3.2	3.9	2.6	2	2.4	4.6
3	5.3	5.8	4.9	1.6	4.1	8.6

	Total	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50+
4	7.6	7.4	7.7	6.4	7.8	8.2
5	18.7	17.7	19.5	5	17.7	21.8
6	14.6	13.3	15.7	14.4	16.1	13.5
7	16.4	16.8	16.2	18.6	19.9	12.1
8	16.6	17.9	15.5	19.5	17.4	14.1
9	6.4	6.2	6.7	11.1	5	4.8
Completely satisfied	6.6	7.4	5.9	10	4.7	6.1
Inappropriate response	0.1	-	0.1	-	-	0.1
No answer, refused	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
Don't know	1.2	1.2	1.3	0.6	1.4	1.5
N	2500	1129	1371	629	865	1006
Mean	6.17	6.23	6.12	6.86	6.17	5.74
Standard deviation	2.18	2.2	2.17	1.98	2.05	2.3
Base mean	2464	1115	1349	625	851	988

Table 4.

Satisfaction with the Financial Situation in the Household, %, WVS 2011

	Total	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50+
Completely dissatisfied	12.2	10.3	13.8	6.8	11.6	16.1
2	5.3	4.5	5.9	3.6	4.7	6.9
3	12.8	13.8	12.1	12.7	12.9	12.9
4	13	13.7	12.5	14.7	14.4	10.8
5	12	13.5	10.8	14.7	12.7	9.8
6	19.3	19.4	19.2	19.5	20.1	18.3
7	10.7	10.1	11.1	11.6	10	10.7
8	7.9	7.3	8.3	8.3	7.9	7.5
9	2.6	2.5	2.7	3.3	2.5	2.3
Completely satisfied	3.1	3.3	2.9	3.5	2.2	3.6
Inappropriate response	0.1	0.3	-	0.5	-	-
No answer, refused	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.4	-	0.1
Don't know	0.8	1.1	0.6	0.5	1	0.9
N	2500	1129	1371	629	865	1006
Mean	4.87	4.92	4.82	5.2	4.84	4.67
Standard Deviation	2.38	2.31	2.43	2.21	2.29	2.52
Base mean	2473	1112	1360	620	857	996

Table 5.
Social Trust in Russian Society, %, WVS 2011

	Total	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50+
Most people can be trusted	27.8	27.3	28.3	30.1	28.8	25.6
Need to be very careful	66.2	66.7	65.7	62.9	65.5	68.8
Inappropriate response, missing	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.4
No answer	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.5
Don't know	5	5.1	4.9	5.9	4.7	4.6
N	2500	1129	1371	629	865	1006

Table 6.
Inactive/Active Membership in Associations, %, WVS 2011

Type of organization	church and religious	sport and recreational	art, music, educational	labor union	political party	environmental	professional association	humanitarian and charitable	consumer	self-help, mutual aid group
Inactive/Active membership	4.1/2	3.9/2.4	2.1/1.5	8.6/2	2.3/0.5	0.9/0.4	1.9/1.4	0.5/0.6	1.1/0.3	1.8/1

Table 7.
4-Item Index of Post-Materialism, First and Second Choice Aggregated, %, WVS 2011

Item	First choice	Second choice
Maintaining order in the nation	45.2	31
Giving the people more say in important political decisions	14.8	22.1
Fighting rising prices	37.3	36.2
Protecting freedom of speech	2.2	7.2

Table 8.
Post-Materialist 4-Item Index, %, WVS 2011

	Total	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50+
Materialist	52.7	49.7	55.1	43.4	53.6	57.7
Mixed	41.8	44.6	39.6	51	40.4	37.3
Post-materialist	2.1	2	2.1	2.7	2.3	1.5
Inappropriate response, unknown	3.4	3.7	3.2	3	3.6	3.5
N	2500	1129	1371	629	865	1006

Table 9.
Post-Materialist 12-Item Index, %, WVS 2011

	Total	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Up to 29	30-49	50+
Materialist	16.3	17.1	15.6	14	15.4	18.5
1	27.9	28.7	27.2	25.3	27.9	29.5
2	30.6	29.3	31.8	33.8	30.8	28.6
3	13.8	13.9	13.7	16.7	14	11.7
4	3.5	3.3	3.7	3.2	4.1	3.2
Post-materialist	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.3
No answer	7.6	7.4	7.7	6.6	7.6	8.2
N	2500	1129	1371	629	865	1006

Table 10.
Unconventional Political Participation in Russia, %, WVS 2011

	Have done	Might do	Would never do
Signing a petition	11.1	24.6	62.8
Deliberately boycotting a product	2.1	17.2	78.5
Participating in a demonstration	12.1	22.1	63.5
Taking part in an unofficial strike	2.3	17.2	76.3



Abstract

With the exception of wide protest mobilization in 2011-2012, the Russian population has not demonstrated active involvement in various types of protest activities in recent years (signing petitions, joining boycotts, attending peaceful demonstrations, joining strikes, etc.). For the external observer, it seems rather strange, since the deterioration of the social-economic situation and increasing systemic pressure usually causes negative reactions from the population, which leads to wide protest mobilization. Paradoxically, this does not take place in Russia.

This paper attempts to find explanations for the population's low level of participation in protest activities in Russia, applying such determinants of protest mobilization as value orientations and subjective well-being. For the present research, data from the sixth round of the World Values Survey were analysed with the aim of revealing connections between materialist/post-materialist value orientations, subjective well-being (consisting of both hedonic and eudemonic elements) and intentions to participate in protest actions.

Overall, the low level of civil engagement in all types of protest activities could be explained by the prevailing materialist value orientations and hedonic component of subjective well-being, which certainly dominates over the eudemonic factor. Only changes in these determinants will lead to greater involvement in all types of social activities, including protest participation.

Keywords: subjective well-being, value orientations, organizational involvement, protest mobilization.

Reconsidering Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century

TEIMURAZ PAPASKIRI

Tbilisi State University, Georgia

The Russian occupation of Crimea in February-March 2014, marked the beginning of a new phase of tension between the Western world and Russia. Although it was predicted several years prior to the conflict that Ukraine would be Russia's next victim,¹ nobody paid much attention to these warnings. Thus, the Russian moves proved surprising for most Western societies, especially for the leaders of Western countries. It effectively ended the inefficient policy of "reset", which was actually stillborn, because of the inability of the American administration to understand Vladimir Putin's person and his goals. In June 2001, Putin met US President George W. Bush, who said after this meeting: "I looked the man in the eye. I found him to be very straightforward and trustworthy. We had a very good dialogue. I was able to get a sense of his soul; a man

¹ Then Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili, along with some other experts, made numerous warnings both before and after the Russian-Georgian War of 2008. He made those assertions not only in interviews, but in the talks with the US officials too. These are two examples (emphasis added – T.P.) of his warnings: "This order was based on principles that borders are inviolable and small states have the same rights as great ones. What we see now is that Russia and Prime Minister Putin exactly undermine these principles. We see a policy of repartition, which dates from the 19th century, according to the motto: We are back on stage, now we show you how strong we are. And because we are so strong, we must get more than others. Georgia is just the beginning. Tomorrow it will be Ukraine, the Baltic States, Poland." ("Diese Ordnung beruhte auf Prinzipien: Dass Grenzen unverletzlich sind und kleine Staaten dieselben Rechte haben wie große. Was wir aber jetzt sehen, ist, dass Russland und Ministerpräsident Putin genau diese Prinzipien untergraben. Wir sehen eine Politik der Umverteilung, die aus dem 19. Jahrhundert stammt, nach dem Motto: Wir sind zurück auf der Bühne, jetzt zeigen wir Euch, wie stark wir sind. Und weil wir so stark sind, müssen wir mehr bekommen als andere. Georgien ist nur der Anfang. Morgen ist es die Ukraine, dann die baltischen Staaten, Polen." – WELT ONLINE: Georgien wirft Russland Zaren-Gebaren vor. Das Interview mit Michail Saakaschwili, 26.06.2008, accessed May 15, 2016, <http://www.welt.de/politik/article2145974/Georgien-wirft-Russland-Zaren-Gebaren-vor.html>); "Saakashvili stressed repeatedly that he expected Russia to follow its 2008 invasion of Georgia with intervention in Crimea. He predicted that Russia would incite tension in the peninsula and then make a generous offer to Yanukovych (presumed as the next president) to help solve the problem. Saakashvili said that Putin wants to keep the pressure on Ukraine and Georgia as a lesson and a warning to others in the former Soviet Union." – *Georgia: Misha Tells ASD Vershbow Georgia Is Committed to Peaceful Integration and a Long-Term Defense*. Confidential. From American Embassy in Tbilisi (Georgia) to Department of Defense, Group Destinations European Political Collective, National Security Council, Secretary of State, United Nations (New York). November 2, 2009, accessed May 15, 2016, https://www.wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/09TBILISI1965_a.html.

deeply committed to his country and the best interests of his country.”² President Bush was ridiculed for these words, yet even nine years later, he did not acknowledge his mistake. In 2010, he said: “I did not make a mistake in [my] assessment of Russian leader Vladimir Putin [...] Putin became a different person [...] I think, to a certain extent, he changed.”³ It seems that George W. Bush was not able to figure out that it was not Putin who had changed. It was the fact that U.S. and European leaders did not grasp which country Vladimir Putin was “deeply committed” to. For the Russian president, “his country” meant the Soviet Union, not the Russian Federation. He even officially declared that, “the collapse of the Soviet Union was the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century”.⁴ (Emphasis added – T.P.) This phrase was not just mere nostalgia for the “good old times”, otherwise no one in his right mind would ever call the break-up of the Soviet Union “the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century.” When talking about the 20th century, during which two world wars cost more than 80 million lives combined, the break-up of one empire with nearly no casualties cannot be considered “the greatest catastrophe.” Therefore, those words meant that Putin’s intention was to restore, at least, to some extent, the “old greatness” of the Soviet Empire.

Vladimir Putin pronounced those words in 2005, but he actually utilized this style from the beginning of his political career. When Vladimir Putin was appointed prime minister of the Russian Federation in August 1999, he was little known to both Russians and foreigners. The question, “Who is Mr. Putin?”, asked by American journalist Trudy Rubin in Davos, in February 2000, quickly became one of the most popular questions regarding the new Russian leader.⁵ The first impressions were not favourable for Putin. Shortly after his appointment, the second campaign in Chechnya began. As it later turned out, the main goal was to show Putin as a worthy successor to Boris Yeltsin

² Press Conference by President Bush and Russian Federation President Putin, Brdo Castle, Brdo Pri Kranju, Slovenia, June 16, 2001, accessed May 15, 2016, <http://georgewbushwhitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/06/20010618.html>.

³ Bush explains his comment about Putin’s soul, says Russian leader ‘changed’, *The Daily Caller*, December 14, 2010, accessed May 15, 2016, <http://dailycaller.com/2010/12/14/bush-explains-his-comment-about-putins-soul-says-russian-leader-changed>.

⁴ Putin deploras collapse of USSR, *BBC News*, April 25, 2005, accessed May 15, 2016, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4480745.stm>. BBC made the correct translation from the Russian transcript: «Прежде всего следует признать, что крушение Советского Союза было крупнейшей геополитической катастрофой века.» Послание Федеральному Собранию Российской Федерации, 25 апреля 2005 года, accessed May 15, 2016, <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/22931>. It should be noted that the official English translation of the speech differs from the Russian transcript. Putin’s words were transformed to “the collapse of the Soviet Union was a major geopolitical disaster of the century” in the official English text of his speech (“Annual Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, April 25, 2005,” accessed May 15, 2016, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/22931>). This change seems definitely deliberate and marks the attempt to lessen the significance of Putin’s words.

⁵ Trudy Rubin, “The world keeps asking: Who is President Putin?” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 20, 2001, accessed May 15, 2016, http://articles.philly.com/2001-07-20/news/25316631_1_putin-critic-president-putin-vladimir-ryzhkov.

and to increase his popularity.⁶ Russian methods used to conduct the war against the Chechen rebels made the Western community angry and were followed by condemnations from the UK and the US governments.⁷ The European Union and the US briefly considered the possibility of economic sanctions, but failed to even initiate talks on the issue.⁸ This was a poor sign, since it demonstrated to Putin that he could get away with anything. Western condemnation had virtually no effect on him. Therefore, he could continue his policy.

Meanwhile, the situation changed, as the war in Chechnya was won and in May 2000, Putin became president of the Russian Federation. But Putin's finest hour came with the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the US. Putin and Russia soon became an important ally in the "War on Terror" for the US government. The American invasion in Iraq proved even more fruitful for the Russian leader, as oil and natural gas prices skyrocketed, significantly increasing the budget of the Russian Federation. Putin decidedly grasped the opportunities which were presented to him after September 2001, although he was cautious at first. Only starting from 2004, did Putin decide to actively get involved in the neighbourhood. The trigger was "The Revolution of the Roses" (November 22-23, 2003) in Georgia, but the most significant turning point became "The Orange Revolution" in Ukraine (November-December, 2004). Not long after, the first steps were taken against Georgia.

The Russian policy towards Georgia after the collapse of the Soviet Union was never friendly, but it deteriorated significantly when Putin became president of Russia. Even before the Rose Revolution, the Russian leader had shown his intentions towards Georgia. On 1 July 2002, a new law of citizenship was adopted by the Russian government, after which they started the illegal process of giving Russian citizenship to Georgian citizens of Abkhazian and Ossetian origin, living in Abkhazia and so-called "South Ossetia".⁹ After the Rose Revolution, when the new Georgian government started reforms and declared Georgia's membership in NATO its top priority, Georgia became

⁶ Today there is little doubt left that it was Putin, who organized the bombings of houses in Russia prior to the second Chechen campaign. The bombings in Buynaksk, Moscow, and Volgodonsk were followed by the Ryazan incident, where the Russian FSB (Federal Service of Security) were captured, and released afterwards, after planting explosives in the apartment building. The "failed terrorist attack," as it was declared on September 22, 1999, became "training" on the next day. For a detailed account see: Alexander Litvinenko, Yuri Felshtinky, *Blowing Up Russia: The Secret Plot to Bring Back KGB Terror* (Encounter Books, 2007), 54-99.

⁷ UK condemns Chechnya ultimatum, *BBC News*, December 7, 1999, accessed May 15, 2016 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/554075.stm; U.S. Response to Decision of UNCHR To Pass Resolution on Chechnya, April 26, 2000, accessed May 15, 2016 <http://1997-2001.state.gov/www/briefings/statements/2000/ps000426.html>.

⁸ Putin rebuffs Chechnya warnings, *BBC News*, December 7, 1999, accessed May 15, 2016 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/554019.stm>.

⁹ Kakhaber Kalichava, Some Aspects of Russian "Passport Policy" in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali Region, *Saistorio Dzeibani (Historical Researches)* XII (2015): 217-232 (in Georgian with English and Russian summaries. Online version accessible at <https://sites.google.com/site/saistoriodzeibani/saistorioZiebaniiXII.pdf>).

the greatest single threat to the Russian ruling elite because, from their point of view, Georgia joining NATO would mean the end of their own dream/desire to restore the Soviet Empire. During the period 2004-2008, the Russian government took several anti-Georgian measures, but none of them brought the desired results. At first, the Russians attempted the institution of an economic blockade on Georgia and banned the import of Georgian (and Moldovan) wines.¹⁰ But this step backfired, eventually leading to the diversification of the Georgian economy and the improvement of Georgian product quality. The expulsion of several thousand Georgian citizens from Russia, following the so-called “spy scandal” in 2006¹¹, also did not help much. Russia then backed a number of the leaders of the mass demonstrations which took place in Georgia in 2007, protesting mistakes made by the government. The use of force against the protesters on 7 November 2007, nearly gave Putin the chance to succeed in his intentions, but the situation quickly changed after snap presidential and parliamentary elections, ending with the victory of Mikheil Saakashvili and the United National Movement. Meanwhile, the majority of Western countries decided to recognize the independence of Kosovo, which made Georgia’s position even more vulnerable. During his informal meeting with Saakashvili, Putin openly declared his intentions: “You know we have to answer the West on Kosovo. We are very sorry, but you are going to be part of that answer.”¹² Soon the world found out that “that answer” was – the invasion of Georgia and the occupation of certain Georgian territories, namely, Abkhazia and Tskhinvali (“South Ossetia”), which occurred in August 2008. The war was “victorious” for the Russian government, since they established full control over Abkhazia and Tskhinvali. Nevertheless, they were unable to change the regime in Georgia, which had been their main task. Because of this, they recognized the “independence” of Abkhazia and Tskhinvali.

The causes of Russian aggression are well covered in historiography,¹³ therefore this will not be discussed here. As for the consequences of the conflict, I wish to recall my own prediction, made in 2009. At the time, I said that one of the possible scenarios would be “the continuation of the current situation: where Russia is doing whatever it wants and the Western countries just make verbal condemnations of their moves. Of course, this cannot continue forever, but at least, the European leaders consider it safe to preserve this situation, since Russia is not yet a menace to them, and they prefer to deal with this problem in the future.” I also said that it could cause a dangerous situation where no one would be

¹⁰ Russian Wine Move Draws Protests, *BBC News*, March 30, 2006, accessed May 15, 2016 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4860454.stm>.

¹¹ Michael Stott, Putin to Georgia: Don’t Provoke Russia, *The Star Online*, October 4, 2006, accessed May 15, 2016 <http://www.thestar.com.my/news/world/2006/10/04/putin-to-georgia-dont-provoke-russia/>.

¹² Ronald D. Asmus, *A Little War that Shook the World. Georgia, Russia and the Future of the West*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 106.

¹³ A detailed analysis of the causes can be found in: Teimuraz Papaskiri, “Russian-Georgian August War: Causes, Results, Consequences,” *Proceedings of Institute of Georgian History I* (2009): 298-302 (online version accessible at <http://geohistory.humanities.tsu.ge/images/SHROMEBI/SHROMEBI-1/019>).

satisfied with the results, eventually leading to a new war.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the events of 2014 proved that I was correct in these predictions. The decision of Western leaders not to press Russia to fulfil the 12 August 2008 agreement, and to continue their co-operation with Putin, resulted in Russian aggression against Ukraine. At the same time, the change of government in Georgia following the parliamentary elections of 2012, also brought no real changes in Russian-Georgian relations. It is quite evident that Russia is only interested in placing more hurdles in the way of Georgia's ambition to join NATO and the EU, with the hope of restoring its control over the whole territory of Georgia in future.

For a long time, Russian policy in Ukraine was not as active as that in Georgia. In Ukraine, Putin chose to actively support Viktor Yanukovich and his "Party of Regions." In 2004, electoral fraud during the presidential elections resulted in the "Orange Revolution," ending in the victory of pro-Western politician Viktor Yushchenko. Nevertheless, the Russian government continued to support Yanukovich. Since ethnic Russians are a significant part of the Ukrainian population, the pro-Russian party retained its strength, especially in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine. At the same time, President Viktor Yushchenko made several mistakes and never attempted to conduct real reforms. The Ukrainian elite was corrupt and nothing was done about this.¹⁵ This caused the pro-Western parties in Ukraine to lose the 2010 presidential elections and 2012 parliamentary elections. Yanukovich became the president of Ukraine and the "Party of Regions" became the governing party. Nevertheless, officials in Moscow were not satisfied with just having a pro-Russian government in power in Ukraine and practically forced Yanukovich's refusal to sign the EU Association Agreement in November of 2013. The protests and bloodshed that followed resulted in Yanukovich's impeachment in February 2014. The Russian government was somewhat passive during this crisis because of the Winter Olympic Games, which were held in Sochi, Russia from 7-23 February, 2014. Once the Games ended, Putin had no further need to pay attention to the international situation and he started taking control of Crimea. Before the Games, he was clearly afraid of a boycott taking place, similar to the one at the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympic Games. Yanukovich's four-year presidency allowed the Russians to take over key positions in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine. The poor state of the Ukrainian army meant that it was unable to oppose the Russians in Crimea, which was occupied and annexed a few weeks after Yanukovich's removal from office. Before annexing Crimea, Putin heartily denied that Russian troops were participating in events in Crimea.¹⁶ Nevertheless, just a month after annexing Crimea, Putin admitted that the so-called "little green men", who took control over the peninsula at the end of February, 2014, were in fact Russian

¹⁴ Teimuraz Papaskiri, "Russian-Georgian August War," 303.

¹⁵ Andrew Wilson, *Ukraine Crisis: What It Means to the West* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 45-47.

¹⁶ Владимир Путин рассказал об Украине, March 4, 2014, accessed May 15, 2016, <http://ru-an.info/новости/владимир-путин-ответил-на-вопросы-журналистов-о-ситуации-на-украине/>.

soldiers.¹⁷ This is clear evidence of how Russian policy is based on lies and deceit. It was the same in the case of Georgia, when the Russian side at first stated that Russian troops were just answering Georgian aggression and accused the Georgian side of “genocide”.¹⁸ Yet several years later, Russian leaders admitted that “the invasion of Georgia in August 2008 was indeed a pre-planned aggression and that so-called ‘Russian peacekeepers’ in South Ossetia and Abkhazia were in fact the vanguard of the invading forces that were in blatant violation of Russia’s international obligations, and were training and arming the separatist forces.”¹⁹ The Russian government still denies that there are Russian troops in the Donetsk and Lugansk regions of Ukraine, which are controlled only partially by the Ukrainian government and where there are quasi-republics created by the Russian government. Although internationally it is well-known that the Malaysian passenger plane MH-17 was downed by a Russian BUK anti-aircraft missile system,²⁰ the Russians continue to deny it and invent conspiracy theories that have nothing to do with the truth.²¹ There will not be any surprise when, in one or two years, the Russian government admits that their troops did take part in fighting in Donetsk and Lugansk, and that they downed the plane due to some mistake.

For a long time, Western societies did not consider Russian foreign ambition as a threat to themselves. All the events happening in the post-Soviet space were not considered inter-related. As it is correctly mentioned in research by the Centre for Military Studies of the University of Copenhagen:

“The problems with Russia were treated as isolated problems rather than as an expression of general tendencies. The conflict in Chechnya, which began in the 1990s, was seen as a local, Islamist-inspired rebellion against the central government in Moscow rather than as an expression of the central government tightening its grip on the regions and replacing a pluralist, federal system with rigorous control from Moscow. The invasion of Georgia in 2008 was seen as a local, nationalist conflict where President Mikheil Saakashvili’s defiance of Russia was seen as equally much of a major problem as the subsequent Russian invasion, rather than as a challenge to European security. Russian hackers’ attack on Estonia in 2007 was seen as an example of the risk of cyber warfare in the future rather than as an expression of the Russian will to also use this area to destabilise former Soviet republics. Russian support of Bashar al-Assad’s regime in Syria was similarly seen as an expression of relations between Syria and Russia that

¹⁷ Direct Line with Vladimir Putin, April 17, 2014, accessed May 15, 2016, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20796>.

¹⁸ Putin accuses Georgia of genocide, August 9, 2008, accessed May 15, 2016, <https://www.rt.com/news/putin-accuses-georgia-of-genocide/>.

¹⁹ Pavel Felgenhauer, Putin Confirms the Invasion of Georgia Was Preplanned, *Eurasia Daily Monitor* Volume: 9 Issue: 152, accessed May 15, 2016, [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=39746&cHash=1..#.Vzj-luQ4Xz8](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx_ttnews[tt_news]=39746&cHash=1..#.Vzj-luQ4Xz8).

²⁰ Full coverage of the investigation conducted by the independent journalists can be found at <https://www.bellingcat.com/?s=MH-17>.

²¹ Aric Toler, The Weird World of MH17 Conspiracy Theories – Part 1, August 7 2015, accessed May 15, 2016, <https://www.bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2015/08/07/mh17-conspiracies/>.

*had their roots in the Cold War and not as a general opposition to Western intervention and as a defence of allied regimes without due regard to the way they treated their own citizens. The Ukraine Crisis cancelled out this reading of Moscow's policy as a reaction to isolated events that could be excused on the basis of concrete circumstances. Instead, the Russian intervention in Crimea became the final piece of evidence in a series, where events in Chechnya, Georgia, Estonia and Syria appear as part of the indictment against the Kremlin.*²²

As we can see, the new imperialistic policies of Vladimir Putin have brought some gains to Russia. Russia has now annexed Crimea, possesses a foothold in Eastern Ukraine, and has established full control over Abkhazia and “South Ossetia”. Nevertheless, all these actions have no recognition from the civilized world. Therefore, all these gains look to be temporal. Russia has lost the opportunity to create a stable and pro-Russian neighbourhood. Because of the annexation of Crimea, most Ukrainians have turned against Russia and there will be no change in their attitude as long as Russia holds Crimea. Moreover, prior to 2014, all elections in Ukraine were close and it was difficult to predict the winner. After the annexation of Crimea, which was previously a stronghold for pro-Russian parties, the situation has changed and, in the nearest future, all elections will be dominated by pro-Western political organizations. The same applies to Georgia, which will never agree to full reconciliation with Russia while Russian troops are stationed in Abkhazia and Tskhinvali. The Russian moves in Ukraine have even caused fear in Belarus. Therefore, it is safe to say that it is Russian foreign policy that has created an anti-Russian mood in the neighbourhood and throughout the whole world.

In conclusion, it has to be said that there is only one way out of the present situation. The West must admit that the “Second Cold War” (or “New Cold War”, as it called by Edward Lucas²³) has already started. Therefore, the West needs to conduct the same policy that allowed it to end the “First Cold War.” Russia (and by extent Putin) only recognize force and, thus, the only way to stop Russian aggression in the neighbourhood is to meet force with force. The economic sanctions which have been instituted against Russia are at least partially successful²⁴, but they must be strengthened. NATO has to strengthen its defences on its Russian perimeter in order to avoid new acts of aggression from Putin. Aggressors like Putin have to be stopped in time, before it is too late. These types of aggressors cannot be appeased. It is time to remember the definition of appeasement – which, according to *The Manchester Guardian* in 1939, “is a clever plan of selling off your friends in order to buy off your enemies”²⁵ – and to learn from the lessons of history.

²² Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen et al., *The Ukraine Crisis and the End of the Post-Cold War European Order: Options for NATO and the EU*, *Centre for Military Studies of University of Copenhagen*, 2014, 19.

²³ Edward Lucas, *The New Cold War: Putin's Russia and the Threat to the West* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

²⁴ Larissa Krüger & Silke Mühlherr, „Karl Bildt: Ganz einfach, Europa muss liefern,“ *Die Welt*, June 24, 2014, accessed May 15, 2016, <http://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article129387167/Ganz-einfach-Europamuss-liefern.html>.

²⁵ *The Manchester Guardian*, February 25, 1939.



Abstract

The Russian occupation of Crimea in February-March 2014, marked the beginning of the new phase of tension between the Western world and Russia. Although it was predicted several years prior to the conflict that Ukraine would be Russia's next victim, nobody paid much attention to the warnings. Therefore, the Russian moves were surprising for most of Western society, especially for the leaders of the Western countries. It effectively ended the inefficient policy of "reset", which was actually stillborn, because of the inability of the American administration to understand Vladimir Putin's person and his goals. The Western society has to admit that the "Second Cold War" (or the "New Cold War" as it is called by Edward Lucas) has already started. Therefore, the West needs to conduct the same policy that allowed to end the "First Cold War." Russia (and Putin) recognize only force and the only way to stop the Russian aggression in the neighbourhood is to show a force. The economic sanctions, which are adopted against Russia, are at least partially successful and they have to be strengthened. NATO has to strengthen its defences on the perimeter around Russia in order to avoid new aggression from Putin. The aggressors like Putin have to be stopped in time, otherwise it will be late. The aggressors cannot be appeased. It is time to remember the definition from *The Manchester Guardian*: appeasement is "a clever plan of selling off your friends in order to buy off your enemies," and it is time to learn from the lessons of history.

Keywords: Russian Policy, Crimea annexation, August War

Soviet Mythology and Memory of World War II as Instruments of Russian Propaganda

OLEKSII POLEGKYI

University of Antwerp, Belgium

History and Politics

History and dominant historical narratives are dependent upon the demands of the ruling elite and are constructed according to dominant political patterns of power. Thus, the construction of historical discourse is “about the play of power in the delimitation of who or what is recognised and valorised and who benefits from such a narrative”¹. The aim of the politics of history is to introduce into the mass consciousness the dominant version of the past.

In post-Soviet countries, politics of history becomes an important battlefield for competing narratives of the past and is constantly used as an instrument for political struggle. The post-Soviet countries still have contradictory relations with the past and their attitudes toward historical events are constantly changing. As a result, history and the past are becoming tools for realizing political goals and strongly influence domestic and foreign policy.

An important factor determining specifics of the politics of history in post-Soviet Russia was the incompleteness of political changes after 1991. Russia – as well as other former Soviet republics – faced with the need to transform its own national identity after the collapse of the Soviet Union, found itself in a situation of an unfinished process of “political nation” construction.

According to Stuart Hall (1990), a nation is constructed and established in the process of discursive productions, mainly by the common narratives of national history and culture. A “shared past” is crucial for the formation of national identity, that is, the sense of belonging to a particular society that, recognizes itself in a shared past thanks to these common myths, thus recognizing itself in the present.

History is an indirect memory – mediated and interpreted, where the past is a social construction mostly formed by present context, its needs and various other factors. Col-

¹ Renwick, Neil, Cao, Qing. (2003) “Modern Political Communication in China” in: Rawnsley Gary D., Rawnsley, Ming-Yeh T. (eds.) *Political Communications in Greater China: The Construction and Reflection of Identity*, London, Routledge, 62

lective memory is distanced and consequently abstracted from individual knowledge. As Lev Gudkov claims, the work of memory is not just a process of selecting events and facts, but also a way of constructing a story or narratives based on a particular interpretive scheme. Thus the relevance of memories depends on who provides such a scheme, what its overall purpose is and, also, to whom these memories will be addressed².

Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy and Politics of History

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, every former Soviet republic was looking for its own identity, a place in the new world and a conceptual basis for a model of state development. For the Russian authorities, it was a serious challenge – to find a common ideological background that could serve as a basis for the integration of the whole of Russian society. The discussion on the principles of foreign policy and the role of Russian nationals living abroad had deep connections with Russia's ongoing search for national identity.

It was very important for Moscow to restore Russia as a global centre of power and to build the appropriate surroundings for it. Using the resources available, Russia is striving to preserve its presence and influence in neighbouring states. Under the rule of Putin, it has become the core of geopolitical strategy of Russian foreign policy.

By the mid-2000s, the favourable condition of the energy market and Russian economic development combined to grant Russia a position of power that it had not enjoyed since the disintegration of the USSR. Russia used this position to reassert itself internationally as a great power (*Velikaya Derzhava*), and as an autonomous centre of power and influence. Russia used its neighbouring countries' policies and the presence of Russians living abroad as a way of spreading influence in the post-Soviet area.

Changes in Russian foreign policy became known in 2005. The consequence of a series of "colour revolutions" in the neighbouring countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States was the aspiration of new states to form their domestic and foreign policy independently of Russia.

For Russia, the strategic breaking point was the events which took place in Ukraine in 2004. When the Orange Revolution took place in Ukraine, Western perception was that it was a civic protest and the rise of grassroots democracy in Ukraine. The Russian elite interpreted the meaning of the event totally differently. In the eyes of the Kremlin, it was a well-prepared "special" operation of the "West" (mainly the USA) to encourage an anti-Russian and pro-Western revolution in Ukraine. In 2005, Kremlin political consultant, Gleb Pavlovsky, announced that the Kremlin would make a serious redefinition of Russia's policy in the "post-Soviet space". Linking the possibilities of Russian

² Gudkov, Lev. (2005) "The Fetters of Victory. How the War Provides Russia with its Identity." *Eurozine*, Accessed on 25 October 2012 from <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2005-05-03-gudkov-en.html>

influence in the post-Soviet area at the time and its global ambitions for the future, Pavlovsky mentioned that: “The concept of the ‘near abroad’ is dead [...] Russia is currently revising its policy in the post-Soviet space and the mechanisms of its implementation.”³

Putin radically shifted political course in 2012. After a series of Russian opposition protests, the largest of which took place on *Bolotnaya* Square in 2012, the nature of the regime changed. The Kremlin began developing a rival “counter-revolutionary” ideology, supporting NGOs controlled by the government (in fact, such organizations are “NGOs” only in name), using new internet technologies, social media and exporting its own brand of political, cultural and economic influence⁴. The reality of a new “colour revolution” on the territory of Russia was one of the Kremlin’s main fears.

The 2013-2014 Euromaidan protests in Ukraine, were perceived by Russian elites as another “special operation of the West”, directly targeting Russia.

To keep in power and mobilize the support of Russians, Putin is now trying to rebuild a kind of “neo-Soviet Empire” and in doing so, he is offering an alternative to the Western model. Putin’s regime tried to create an ideology of a “special path”, having planted a mixture of Stalinism and conservative orthodoxy into the soil of Russian ethnic exclusivity. Today, Russian foreign policy debates are revisiting major geopolitical paradigms and incorporate old Soviet myths into the current Russian political discourse.

During the last decade, Russia has developed a form of state nationalism incorporating neo-imperial discourses such as “neo-Eurasianism” and the concept of the “Russian World” (*Russkiy Mir*), which are intended to serve as an ideological base for Putin’s regime. The concept of the “Russian World” can be viewed as the Russian elite’s answer to the dominant position of the West in international discourse.

The term “Russian World” is generally understood to comprise not only the Russian diaspora itself, but also an ideological concept of Russian foreign policy towards former Soviet republics. The basis of the “Russian World” is Russian language and culture, Orthodox faith, and common historical memory. Russia uses its fellow nationals living abroad, including their policy, language issues and historical narratives, as a way of exerting dominance on neighbouring countries and as a way of protecting the geopolitical interests of the Russian Federation outside its own territory⁵.

An important part of Russian foreign policy is concerned with affecting very specific discursive elements, for instance by trying to manipulate the narratives and interpretations of World War II in one “ideologically proper way”, appropriate to the current regime. The Kremlin also used its fellow nationals’ policy and historical narratives as a way to justify the occupation of Crimea and provide support for pro-Russian rebels in Donbas.

³ Socor, Victor. (2005) “The Kremlin Redefining Policy in ‘Post-Soviet Space’”, *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Volume: 2, Issue: 27, February 7.

⁴ Popescu, N., Wilson, A. (2009) *The Limits of Enlargement-lite: European and Russian Power in the Troubled Neighbourhood*. European Council on Foreign Relations. London, June, 29

⁵ Polegkyi, Oleksii. (2011) *Changes in Russian foreign policy discourse and concept of “Russian World”*, PECOB’s papers series, University of Bologna, Italy, September/October.

The Cult of Victory

Putin's regime in Russia has actively exploited the heritage of common memory of former citizens of the Soviet Union. The Soviet myth of the Great Patriotic War was one of the main cornerstones of Soviet identity and now possesses the same function in contemporary Russia. Thus, memories of World War II are exploited by the Kremlin in order to legitimise the political regime in Russia and its foreign policy.

The main feature of the Soviet legacy of using the politics of history is a monistic view of history that promotes only one "proper" or "correct" interpretation of the past. In essence, it is the nationalization of the myth of the Great Patriotic War while highlighting imperial values, but with very little room for acknowledging Stalinist crimes. According to Lev Gudkov (2005), the victory of the Soviet Union in 1945 is not simply "the central junction of meaning of Soviet history", it is in fact the only positive reference for post-Soviet society's national consciousness. As he wrote: "Victory does not only crown the war, but, as it were, purifies and justifies it, at the same time withdrawing its negative side from any attempt at rational analysis, tabooing the topic. It makes it impossible to explain the causes and course of the war, or to analyse the actions of the Soviet leaders and the nature of a regime that subordinated all spheres of social existence to its preparations for the war."

A few years ago Russia even introduced a law prohibiting the "rehabilitation of Nazism". First, President Medvedev created the "Commission of the Russian Federation to Counter Attempts to Falsify History to the Detriment of Russia's Interests". In April 2014, the Russian State Duma adopted the law: "On the prevention of the rehabilitation of Nazism, Nazi criminals and their collaborators in the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union". Also, amendments were made to the criminal code, and criminal liability was introduced for the "rehabilitation" of Nazism and "falsification" of the results of the Nuremberg trial.⁶

The "Great Patriotic War" cult of victory came into being during the era of Brezhnev's rule of the Soviet Union. May 9, Victory Day, was not even a non-labour national holiday until 1965. Victory in the Great Patriotic War was used as the main basis for the legitimacy of the communist system in the Soviet Union. The commemoration of the holiday necessarily included a reference to the leading role of the Communist Party in the victory over Nazism.

After the collapse of the USSR, Russia has utilized the concept of the Great Patriotic War to bind together the whole of the post-Soviet space. On the one hand, it helps neighbouring countries join in shared ownership of victory in the war, and on the other, it solidifies Russia's status as the main "defeater" of fascism.

"Today, we can say that the Great Patriotic War and our victory in it is the central event of not only Soviet, but also Russian history. In 1941-1945, the Russian people,

⁶ <http://www.interfax.ru/russia/373414> [access 12.10.2013]

using the Soviet regime and the Stalinist system as a sword and shield, not only defended their right to historical existence, but also to greatness.”⁷

Nowadays, Russian narratives concerning World War II are based on the three main myths of power, suffering and liberation.

The Myth of Power

The myth of power is the basis for representing Russia (and its leaders) as a powerful actor and to evoke feelings of “Great Country” (*Velikaya Derzhava*) glory. The concept of power is extremely important in the Russian public’s imagination and helps rulers justify their actions. Power itself has sacred meaning in the perception of Russians.

Among Russians who regretted the collapse of the USSR, the main reason for this regret was that: “People no longer feel they belong to a great power”. In 2012, 51% of respondents (29% in 1999) answered in this way according to Levada-Center⁸.

This is also connected with the feeling of disorientation and abasement in the 1990s, as well as widespread claims among Russians to rebuild the “Greatness of Russia”. This is why one of the main pillars for Putin’s ideology is the so-called “getting up off one’s knees” (*ustavanie s kolen*).

From the very beginning of his rule, Vladimir Putin tried to create an image of Russia as a superpower. Putin began to build his version of Russian history, emphasizing the need to modernize a country using a “strong hand” to lead the country back to the status of superpower. For Putin and the majority of Russians, the war has become not a symbol of tragedy, but a cause for celebration.

The Myth of Suffering

Suffering is another aspect of the myth of power and is also a constitutive element of the myth of the Great Patriotic War. The price of victory is the suffering of a powerful country, and this myth also justifies the need for victims⁹.

The main arguments used by defenders of Joseph Stalin are that he won the war and rebuilt a great country, all of which was impossible without victims. During the last few years, there has been a significant increase in the number of people who believe that repressions may have been politically necessary and historically justified, while,

⁷ Fursov, Andrej. (2015) “Советская победа, всемирная история и будущее человечества” [Soviet victory, world history and the future of humanity]. *Strategicheskie priority*, No. 2 (6), 61-62

⁸ *Russian Public Opinion – 2012-2013*. (2013) M.: Levada-Center., 196

⁹ Elerte, Sarmite. (2015) “Memory of the Great Patriotic War in Russia’s Expansionist Policy”, *Euromaidan Press*, April 22; <http://euromaidanpress.com/2015/04/22/memory-of-the-great-patriotic-war-in-russias-expansionist-policy-latvias-experience/>

correspondingly, the number of those who thought that these repressions were a political crime and could not be justified, has declined.

At the same time, the rehabilitation of Stalinism during Putin's rule has resulted in some instances of denial of the repressions themselves. In 2001, 75% of Russians believed that mass political repressions were carried out in the USSR, but, in 2012, only 62% believed so. Similarly, 8% of respondents in 2001, thought that there were no mass political repressions at all in the USSR, with the number doubling to 16 % in 2012.¹⁰

Table 1.

Which of the following opinions about these repressions would you rather agree with?

	They were politically necessary and justified historically	It was a political crime and it cannot be justified
2007	9	72
2011	14	70
2012	22	51

Source: *Russian Public Opinion* 2013, 198

Myth of Liberation

Since the start of the new millennium, due to increased Russian claims to play a greater role in international politics, the “symbolic” capital of victory over the Nazis in 1945, has been actively used by the Russian political elite to strengthen Russia's position in Europe and to restore control over the “near-abroad”. In 2014, the historian Nikolay Koposov considered that the myth of “soldier-liberator” was needed for the rehabilitation of the cult of the authoritarian state – the reanimation of the myth of the Soviet Union saving the world from fascism.

Recently, the Russian authorities took steps towards the rehabilitation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939. As a result of the secret annex to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, Eastern Europe was dividing into two spheres of influence. Soviet and, later, Russian historiography attempted to skip over or justify this fact of Soviet-German cooperation.

According to Levada-Center, acknowledgement of the existence of this pact is very low in Russian society.

¹⁰ Fund of Public Opinion [Fond obshchestvennogo mneniya], 30.10.2012, <http://fom.ru/posts/10675>

Table 2.

Have you heard of the secret protocol and the non-aggression pact signed between the Soviet Union and fascist Germany in August 1939 (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact), which allowed for the division of Poland and spheres of influence in Europe?

	Feb. 2005	July 2009	Aug. 2010	July 2014	Mar. 2015
I have heard of it and believe that it actually existed	43	38	36	39	38
I have heard of it and think that it is a lie	9	11	11	14	17
I haven't heard of it	31	39	41	33	32
I don't know anything about this/ It is difficult to say	17	13	12	14	13

Source: Levada-Center, 06.10.2015; <http://www.levada.ru/eng/world-war-ii>

Table 3.

Do you support or condemn the non-aggression pact between fascist Germany and the Soviet Union?

	Feb. 05	July 09	Aug. 10	July 14	Mar. 15
Definitely support	14	11	9	13	19
Probably support	26	23	24	32	31
Probably condemn	18	17	17	15	10
Definitely condemn	6	6	5	3	3
I don't know anything about this/ It is difficult to say	37	44	46	38	38

Source: Levada-Center, 06.10.2015; <http://www.levada.ru/eng/world-war-ii>

Few respondents answered “yes” to the question: “Did you know that in September 1939 the Red Army invaded Poland and that soon after the defeat of Poland a joint parade of Soviet and German troops took place in Brest?” In 2014, only 19% of respondents claimed they knew this (21% in 2010), while 63% answered “no” (56% in 2010). In addition, the Russian population does not recognize that the Soviet Union was an aggressive and expansionistic state. Only 20% answered “yes” (53% “no”) to the question: “Can we say that in 1940, before the Great Patriotic War the Soviet Union occupied the Baltic States?”¹¹.

¹¹ *Russian Public Opinion – 2014*. (2015) M.: Levada-Center, 217

Perceptions of Stalin

For a majority of Russians, when evaluating the role of Stalin in history, the most important factor is that under his leadership, Russia was victorious in World War II. Nearly 60% of respondents in 2012 (66% in 2008) agreed with the statement that, regardless of any mistakes or flaws attributed to him, the most important factor was that the Soviet Union emerged victorious in the Great Patriotic War. At the same time, 66% of respondents (68% in 2008) agreed that Stalin was a cruel and ruthless tyrant, guilty of killing millions of innocent people¹².

About half of respondents in 2012, agreed that Stalin was a wise leader who made the USSR a powerful and prosperous nation:

Table 4.

To what extent would you agree with the statement that Stalin was a wise leader who made the USSR a powerful and prosperous nation?

Year	Completely agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Completely disagree	Difficult to answer
2008	13	37	26	11	14
2011	12	35	22	10	21
2012	15	32	25	13	10

Source: (Russian Public Opinion 2013, 196)

According to surveys conducted by the Russian sociological institution Levada-Center¹³ in December 2015, 28% of respondents believed that the Stalinist period brought Russia “more good than bad”, while 45% claimed that it was equally good and bad, and only 16% answered that his rule brought “more bad than good”.

Russians evaluate the role of Stalin in history as follows, below:

Table 5.

Which of the following opinions do you agree with most? (*multiple answers*)

	Feb. 98	Dec. 99	Feb. 03	Dec. 04	Dec. 05	Dec. 07	Dec. 15
Whatever flaws and failures are attributed to Stalin, the most important thing is that under his leadership Russia was victorious in World War II.	31	32	36	29	32	28	34
Stalin was a cruel, inhuman tyrant, guilty of the murder of millions of innocent people.	27	32	27	31	29	29	21

¹² *Russian Public Opinion – 2012-2013*. (2013) M.: Levada-Center, 197

¹³ Levada-Center. *Perceptions of Stalin*, 01/20/2016; <http://www.levada.ru/eng/perceptions-stalin>

	Feb. 98	Dec. 99	Feb. 03	Dec. 04	Dec. 05	Dec. 07	Dec. 15
Stalin was a wise leader who led the USSR to greatness and prosperity.	16	20	20	21	21	14	20
Only a stern leader could have maintained order in the government given the class struggle, external threats, and lack of discipline in Russia 50-70 years ago.	15	21	20	16	22	15	15
Stalin's policies (purging the military, his deal with Hitler) left the country unprepared for war in 1941, and led to devastating losses.	14	18	18	15	18	17	13
Russian people cannot do without leaders like Stalin; sooner or later, one will come along and establish order.	13	18	16	16	15	9	12
We still do not know the truth about Stalin and his actions.	28	30	27	33	35	30	11
Stalin continued what was begun by Lenin and other Bolshevik revolutionaries.	7	6	5	8	8	5	6
Stalin distorted Lenin's ideas and created something far from the ideals of true socialism.	10	8	9	9	9	9	5
Those who vilify Stalin do not understand the interests of the Russian people and government.	4	5	6	5	4	4	5
It is difficult to say.	10	8	6	5	5	9	10

Source: Levada-Center. *Perceptions of Stalin*, 01/20/2016;
<http://www.levada.ru/eng/perceptions-stalin>

The results of the public opinion survey show, not only, the post-Soviet *ressentiment* inherent to a large part of Russian society, but also reflect the “sacred” place of power and state in the mass consciousness of Russians. Stalin is a symbol of a powerful state, and a model of society where the individual means nothing and state interests prevail over human life.

The Euromaidan Revolution in Russian Propaganda

Soviet mythology and historical narratives were widely used by the Russian media for the depiction of Euromaidan protests in Kiev in 2013-2014. Ukrainians fighting against the regime of Viktor Yanukovich were portrayed as neo-Nazis and enemies of the Russian people in order to legitimize an aggressive policy towards Ukraine.

Vladimir Putin justified the occupation of Crimea with the need to protect Russians against neo-Nazis and anti-Semites. “What worries us the most? We see the rampancy of neo-Nazis, nationalists, anti-Semites in some parts of Ukraine, including in Kiev”, he said to journalists on 4 March 2014.¹⁴

¹⁴ <http://kremlin.ru/transcripts/20366> [accessed 12.10.2013]

The Russian media plays a decisive role in transmitting the stereotypes and myths adapted from the Soviet narrative of the Great Patriotic War. The main framework through which the Kremlin sought to interpret the events in Ukraine was “fascism”. Russian propaganda presented the Ukrainian revolution of 2013-2014, as a Nazi coup and blamed the Europeans for supporting these supposed “fascists”.

Also, Russian propaganda presented Euromaidan “as a manifestation of ‘geopolitical’ conflict involving the clash of Russian and Western interests, rather than as a social movement”¹⁵. Moreover, any people who supported the Ukrainian protesters at Maidan were automatically treated as nationalists, Russophobes and even neo-Nazis.

“The American-Nazi (i.e. American-Banderites) coup in Kiev in February 2014 and the aggression of the Ukrainian junta was egged on by the USA against *Novorossiya*. This is, in fact, the first direct aggression of the West against the Russian world since 1941, against historical Russia. The result of the aggression is the creation of a bridgehead for political, and, if necessary, military pressure on Russia.”¹⁶.

The language of the Russian media was chosen to serve the purposes of aggressive propaganda on a discursive level. Russia-backed rebels were called “*opolchentsy*”, a term referring to volunteers who struggled with foreign invasions. The Ukrainian soldiers were called “*karateli*” (punitive squads), a popular term used in Soviet literature and cinematography concerning World War II.

The term “*banderovtsy*” (Banderites) was widely used to negatively describe Ukrainian nationalists during Soviet times and has now become a very popular term to describe any Ukrainian national groups by the Russian media. In Soviet times, any manifestation of the Ukrainian national movement was treated as nationalism in the negative sense of the word. In Soviet mythology, all Ukrainian radical nationalists have always been referred to as criminals and Nazi collaborators.

The threatening of eastern Ukraine and the pro-Russian part of the Ukrainian population with “banderovtsy” had already begun before the 2004 Ukrainian presidential elections and after the Orange Revolution. Supporters of Yanukovich and the Party of Regions labelled their opponents “fanatical nationalists”, “Nazis”, “fascists”, etc., and tried to present themselves as an “anti-fascist” force. Pictures of Victor Yushchenko with a Nazi swastika appeared in eastern and southern Ukrainian cities. The aim was to discredit pro-Western Ukrainian elites as archaic nationalists and to present even moderate and democratic Ukrainian nationalism as “fascism”, threatening Russians and Russian speakers living in Ukraine¹⁷.

¹⁵ Osipian, Alexandr. (2015) “Historical Myths, Enemy Images, and Regional Identity in the Donbass Insurgency”, *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society*, Vol. 1, 109-141., 113

¹⁶ Fursov, Andrej. (2015) “Советская победа, всемирная история и будущее человечества” [Soviet victory, world history and the future of humanity]. *Strategicheskie priority*, No. 2 (6), 63-64

¹⁷ Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. (2014) “From Borderlands to Bloodlands”, *Eurozine*, September 19. Accessed on 20 May 2015 from <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2014-09-19-zhurzhenko-en.html>

As a result of applying such terms as “fascist junta” or “neo-Nazi” to the political discourse, it was easy to depict the Ukrainian authorities as “the direct successors of the Banderites” and “fascist accomplices” of World War II, against whom a “holy war” was being waged by the “militia of Novorossiia” – the heroic successors of the “Soviet liberator-soldier”¹⁸.

Thus, the Kremlin attempted to justify the war in Ukraine not as an act of aggression against an independent, neighbouring state, but as a struggle against the “fascists” who illegally came to power in Kiev. As Timothy Snyder (2014) claims: “This is a tradition to which Russian propagandists have returned in today’s Ukrainian crisis: total indifference to the Holocaust except as a political resource useful in manipulating people in the West”.

Conclusions

The mythology, narratives and symbols of the Great Patriotic War were chosen by Russian propaganda as a framework through which to explain the war in Donbas on a mythical level, as it contains powerful symbols which are still deeply rooted in Russian, as well as Ukrainian, minds. “Obviously, modern Russian propaganda uses Soviet historical myths and stereotypes, because deconstruction has not taken place neither in the minds of Ukrainians nor, especially, of Russians after the collapse of the Soviet Union.”¹⁹.

The return of the myths and the Soviet historical narrative has not been accidental. What is happening in Russia is primarily the manifestation of a national identity crisis. During the Soviet period, for the majority of Russians, the dominant identity was that of a “Soviet people”. In the Soviet Union, the main foundational mythological event was the “Great October Revolution”. Victory in the Great Patriotic War has today become the same kind of foundational myth for contemporary Russia. Searching in the past for a mythological basis to unify the nation, especially in light of the trauma and disappointment associated with the collapse of the Soviet Union, was absolutely logical. Idealisation of the Soviet past, which identifies with the figures of Stalin and Brezhnev, became the answer to the mass frustration of the 1990s, and victory in the Great Patriotic War – for the majority of Russians – became the single, almost only historical event, which they could be proud of²⁰.

¹⁸ Osipian, Alexandr. (2015) “Historical Myths, Enemy Images, and Regional Identity in the Donbas Insurgency”, *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society*, Vol. 1, 117

¹⁹ Viatrovych, Volodymyr. (2015) “Soviet Myths about World War II and their Role in Contemporary Russian Propaganda”, *Euromaidan Press*, August 28; <http://euromaidanpress.com/2015/08/28/soviet-myths-about-world-war-ii-and-their-role-in-contemporary-russian-propaganda/>

²⁰ Polegkyi, Oleksii. (2015) Polityka historyczna jako narzędzie polityki zagranicznej Rosji na obszarze byłego ZSRR. Przypadek Ukrainy. W: Ociepka B. (red.) *Historia w dyplomacji publicznej*. Scholar: Warsaw, 177-193.

Memories of the war are primarily needed to legitimise the centralised and repressive social order in Russia. The necessity to legitimise and find an ideological base for the current regime is the main reason to put strong emphasis on the memory of World War II. Such myths enable the ruling political elites to legitimise their power and also weaken resistance to their authority. In addition, in order to be able to apply aggressive and confrontational foreign policy, the state must have moral legitimacy in the eyes of its own citizens. For this reason, the Russian authorities constantly returns to the traumatic events of the past that reproduce key moments of national mobilization.

References:

- Elerte, Sarmite. (2015) "Memory of the Great Patriotic War in Russia's Expansionist Policy", *Euromaidan Press*, April 22; <http://euromaidanpress.com/2015/04/22/memory-of-the-great-patriotic-war-in-russias-expansionist-policy-latvias-experience/>
- Fursov, Andrej. (2015) "Советская победа, всемирная история и будущее человечества" [Soviet victory, world history and the future of humanity]. *Strategicheskie priority*, No. 2 (6), 49-70. Retrieved 13.05.2016 from <http://sec.chgik.ru/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/SP-15-6.pdf>
- Gudkov, Lev. (2005) "The Fetters of Victory. How the War Provides Russia with its Identity." *Eurozine*, Accessed on 25 October 2012 from <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2005-05-03-gudkov-en.html>
- Hall, Stuart (1990) *Cultural Identity and Diaspora* in Rutherford, J. (ed.) *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. Lawrence & Wishart, London.
- Koposov, Nikolaj. (2014) "Pamiat v Zakone". *Russkij Zhurnal*, April 8; <http://www.russ.ru/Mirovaya-povestka/Pamyat-v-zakone>
- Ospian, Alexandr. (2015) "Historical Myths, Enemy Images, and Regional Identity in the Donbass Insurgency", *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society*, Vol. 1, 109-141.
- Polegkyi, Oleksii. (2015) Polityka historyczna jako narzędzie polityki zagranicznej Rosji na obszarze byłego ZSRR. Przypadek Ukrainy. W: Ociepka B. (red.) *Historia w dyplomacji publicznej*. Scholar: Warsaw, 177-193.
- Polegkyi, Oleksii. (2011) *Changes in Russian foreign policy discourse and concept of "Russian World"*, PECOB's papers series, University of Bologna, Italy, September/October.
- Popescu, N., Wilson, A. (2009) *The Limits of Enlargement-lite: European and Russian Power in the Troubled Neighbourhood*. European Council on Foreign Relations. London, June.
- Renwick, Neil, Cao, Qing. (2003) "Modern Political Communication in China" In Rawnsley Gary D., Rawnsley, Ming-Yeh T. (eds.) *Political Communications in Greater China: The Construction and Reflection of Identity*, London: Routledge, 62-83.
- Russian Public Opinion – 2012-2013*. (2013) M.: Levada-Center.

- Russian Public Opinion – 2014*. (2015) M.: Levada-Center.
- Snyder, Timothy. (2014a) The Battle in Ukraine Means Everything. *New Republic*, May 12; <https://newrepublic.com/article/117692/fascism-returns-ukraine>
- Snyder, Timothy. (2014b) “Putin’s New Nostalgia”. Retrieved 12 May 2015 from <http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2014/11/10/putin-nostalgia-stalin-hitler/>
- Socor, Victor. (2005) “The Kremlin Redefining Policy in ‘Post-Soviet Space’”, *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Volume: 2, Issue: 27, February 7.
- Viatrovych, Volodymyr. (2015) “Soviet Myths about World War II and their Role in Contemporary Russian Propaganda”, *Euromaidan Press*, August 28; <http://euromaidanpress.com/2015/08/28/soviet-myths-about-world-war-ii-and-their-role-in-contemporary-russian-propaganda/>
- Zhurzhenko, Tatiana. (2014) “From Borderlands to Bloodlands”, *Eurozine*, September 19. Accessed on 20 May 2015 from <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2014-09-19-zhurzhenko-en.html>



Abstract

The Soviet Union’s victory in World War II has become a cornerstone of Russian national identity building process, especially under the rule of Putin, which has actively exploited it to mobilize support for the current political regime in the Kremlin. The heritage of victory in 1945, is the basis used to represent Russia as a great power and claim a special position for it in Europe.

History and the past are symbolic resources, which have become instruments for achieving political goals and strongly influence politics in Russia. Russian propaganda has actively utilized Soviet mythology and the narrative of the Cold War to frame current events in Ukraine. Any challenge to the myth of victory in World War II amounts to a threat to Russian hegemony in the post-Soviet space and, even more directly, as a danger to the existence of Russia as a state.

Keywords: Russian propaganda, Ukraine, World War II, Great Patriotic War

II

RUSSIA – A DIFFICULT NEIGHBOUR

Implementing Eastern Partnership Initiative: Challenges and Obstacles

TETIANA POLIAK-GRUJIĆ
University of Belgrade

Introduction

The Eastern Partnership Initiative (EaP) is a very ambitious project,¹ which has undertaken the challenge to make the European Union's (EU's) policies more attractive for the eastern region through diversification of its measures, activities and resources.² It is based on EU-promoted values such as freedom, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights,³ and was designed to adhere to the guiding principle of offering the maximum possible support, thus bringing visible benefits for the citizens of each partner state.⁴

However, despite its ambition to become an agent of change in its eastern neighbourhood, the EU has hardly managed to do so. Though numerous frameworks and mechanisms aimed at the integration of EaP countries with the EU were created since the launch of the Eastern Partnership Initiative, it has not gained any major political significance that would correspond to the European Union's ambitions and challenges on its eastern flank. The progress of reforms in the partner states has proved to be below expectations and exposed major shortcomings in the EU's foreign policy, and the instruments it has used to stimulate change.⁵

This article will attempt to look closer at the factors limiting the impact of the EaP, and to provide an overview of the challenges and obstacles the EU faces in the process of implementing the Eastern Partnership Initiative. Namely, it will inquire into the EaP's architecture and partner states' levels of commitment; the EaP's influence on actors and

¹ Marcin Dzierżanowski, ed., *Eastern Partnership* (Warsaw: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, 2012), 5.

² Elena Korosteleva, *The European Union and Its Eastern Neighbours: Towards a More Ambitious Partnership?*, (London: Routledge, 2012), 8.

³ Dzierżanowski, *Eastern Partnership*, 5.

⁴ Commission of the European Communities, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, "Eastern Partnership," 3 December 2008, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52008DC0823&from=EN>.

⁵ Rafał Sadowski, "Partnership in Times of Crisis. Challenges for the Eastern European Countries' Integration with Europe," *Point of View* 36 (2013): 47-48.

relations between them; security-related challenges and the EU's relations with Russia within the context of the EaP. In the conclusion, possible solutions to the issues mentioned will be suggested.

The Eastern Partnership Initiative's Architecture: Partnership vs. Governance

A number of challenges that the Eastern Partnership Initiative faces originate from its architecture. The EaP's conceptual deficiencies have negative implications for the effectiveness of the EaP, the legitimacy of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) as a whole, and for EU prospects to become a "credible force for good". Intended to become a "more ambitious partnership" in comparison to the ENP, the EaP remained strikingly similar to it and, thus, mainly failed to live up to this expectation. The "partnership" concept, which is essential for "the privileged relationship" to function, remained underdeveloped and ambiguous. The ENP's indistinct notion of "shared values" was replaced with the term "mutual commitments", instead of identifying a path for EaP partners advancement to evoke a sense of responsibility. Besides, no further definition was developed for the notion of "joint ownership", which preserved confusion in partner states, understanding of the term. Also, policy-makers in Brussels additionally contributed to the conceptual tangle by providing contradictory definitions of EU-neighbourhood partnership fundamentals. There appear considerable disagreements between the European Commissioners, members of the European Parliament and Member State representatives, regarding the EaP's substance and its role in the region.⁶

Though the EaP's notion of partnership was conceived to compensate for the shortcomings of the ENP's governance approach, the EU has somehow missed the point of its existence in the process of closer association with its neighbours.⁷ Originally envisaged as a relationship based on forum and interworking, the partnership now seems to resemble EU external governance, an approach successfully used for enlargement, but questionable for neighbours whose prospect of EU membership is vague. Being essentially inside-out, one-sided and Eurocentric, the external governance approach is unfit to contribute to authentic partnership in practice and, thus, to ensure policy legitimation and effectiveness. Within its execution, external governance focuses only on the EU's boundaries and involves a "one-size-fits-all" method for initiating reforms in the neighbourhood. In the EaP's framework, the EU has proposed a model of relations which requires partner states to adapt without being able to influence the shape of the Eastern Partnership.⁸ This EaP-type of partnership is guided by mutual goals and benefits, but

⁶ Korosteleva, *Ambitious Partnership*, 8-39.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Sadowski, "Partnership," 28.

also demands that partner states commit to EU rules and norms. As a result, the EaP partner states have become objects of governance, conformable and dependent, rather than subjects of partnership. The reaction of the partner states is, thus, logical: faced with a choice between dedication to the EU or exclusion from its neighbourhood processes, the countries find such “partnership” imposing and awkward. They are often reluctant to support and commit to the EaP and its elements, as they inadequately embrace their interests. As a consequence, the EU has encountered a serious challenge to convince the partner states of the legitimacy and potential usefulness of the Eastern Partnership. The EaP’s legitimacy and efficiency are additionally confined by EU strategic security concerns, which, as a matter of fact, drive the EaP and are disguised under the EU human rights framework, with EU interests always prevailing. Finally, it seems to be rather problematic for the EU – being a collective creation – to identify an integrated format for cooperation with its neighbours within the partnership-governance axis; the aims and the means of engagement within its various representations are often misarticulated.⁹

Serving as a substitute to enlargement, the EaP does not stipulate membership of partner states. This fact essentially means that it fails to address one of the main shortcomings of the ENP scheme. All evidence shows that, in the final accounting, any alternatives to enlargement policy have failed for the reason that they did not contain relevant mechanisms to induce reforms. The EaP does offer more opportunities for neighbours to benefit from closer association with the EU, however, the partner states generally remain unmotivated to perform the transformations expected by the EU, mainly due to the lack of membership perspectives.¹⁰ A fully implemented Association Agreement and a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area would mean the preparedness of a partner state for membership. However, without a stated membership option in the EaP, the question “what is next?” hangs in the air. At the same time, the governments of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus have firmly expressed that they would not be interested in full EU membership even if it were offered, while the current administrations of Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine have expressed the intention to join the club, one day. Such a state of affairs makes it even harder for the EaP to move forward, as it was framed as if all the partner states possessed the same interests and would be heading in the same direction, just at different paces.¹¹ Obviously, retaining such an approach eliminates much of the sense of further promoting the EaP.

⁹ Korosteleva, *Ambitious Partnership*, 14.

¹⁰ Kerry Longhurst, “Introducing the Eastern Partnership – Implications for the European Neighbourhood Policy,” in *Forging a new European Ostpolitik – An Assessment of the Eastern Partnership*, ed. Kerry Longhurst (Warsaw: Collegium Civitas Press, 2009), 23.

¹¹ Adam Hug, “Challenges for the EU’s Eastern Partnership,” in *Trouble in the Neighbourhood? The Future of the EU’s Eastern Partnership*, ed. Adam Hug (London: Foreign Policy Center, 2015), accessed 11 February 2015, <http://fpc.org.uk/publications/trouble-in-the-neighbourhood>, 9-19.

Eastern Partnership: Administering the Implementation

The rather complicated structure of cooperation between EU institutions participating in the EaP implementation, namely, the European External Action Service (EEAS), the European Commission and its Directorates General (DG), cannot but impede promotion of the EaP. Additionally, despite the need for close cooperation, EEAS relations with the relevant DGs have been intermittently tense. Disagreements regarding which body should take the lead on particular policy issues, the discrepancy between EEAS and DG goals, as well as ambiguity in the scope of responsibilities, complicate the relationship. At the same time, while the EEAS and the Commission make proposals and participate in the implementation of EU eastern policy, the Member States hold decision-making powers.¹² To a larger extent, the level of the EU's engagement in its neighbourhood policy depends on the will or relevant interest of each of its twenty-eight Member States.¹³ That is why, in the situation where decisions on the eastern neighbourhood policies are generally based on consensus, (i.e., when even one Member State can block the policy, and where Member State interests diverge), finding a consensus becomes a very time and effort consuming mission.¹⁴ As a result, Eastern Partnership lacks clear rules for reciprocal engagement, is full of practical inconsistencies and often fails to keep pace with actual circumstances.¹⁵ Moreover, achieving substantial results outside the EU becomes secondary. Also, delaying progress is a lack of political will for deeper rapprochement with neighbours, a lack of unanimity over integration's long-term objectives, as well as strategic decisions and delivery on specific commitments.¹⁶ Additionally, the EU as a whole has to deal with the specific interests of Romania (a Member State) towards Moldova. Romania's passport policies have weakened the EU's position in its dissent with Russia regarding the latter's similar strategy towards Transnistria, Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Additionally, defining the correlation between EaP and EU relations with Russia – especially with the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian conflict – constitutes another challenge.¹⁷

The effects of cooperation between the EU and EaP partner states vary. The variations arise, *inter alia*, due to the disproportions between the foundations of the EaP and real capacity to implement them. Such inadequacy, in its turn, emerges from the fact that the instruments the EU employs in its relations with the EaP addressees are

¹² Hrant Kostanyan, "Turf Wars and Control Issues in EU Eastern Policies: Opening the 'Black Box' of the EU Institutions and the Member States," in Hug, *Trouble in the Neighbourhood?*, accessed 11 February, 2015, <http://fpc.org.uk/publications/trouble-in-the-neighbourhood>, 23-24.

¹³ Paula Marcinkowska, *Europejska polityka sąsiedztwa* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2011), 95.

¹⁴ Kostanyan, "Turf Wars," 23-24.

¹⁵ Korosteleva, *Ambitious Partnership*, 35-39.

¹⁶ Sadowski, "Partnership," 47.

¹⁷ "Eastern Partnership: Towards Civil Society Forum" (policy recommendations for Eastern Partnership Summit, international conference, Prague, Czech Republic, May 5-6, 2009), accessed 27 October 2014, http://www.pism.pl/zalaczniki/policy_recommendations.pdf.

not adjusted according to their needs.¹⁸ The structures and procedures developed within the EaP, as well as the highly red-tape nature of the Union, make the EU non-flexible and unable to promptly respond to the dynamic political processes in Eastern Europe and the EU itself. Thus, the neighbours' integration with the EU is losing its political significance and the process itself has become excessively bureaucratic.¹⁹

Relations with Russia

Overlap with the interests of Russia, a major power in the EaP region, creates a particular challenge for the implementation of the EaP.²⁰ What is more, the EU is stuck with adopting a unified approach to Russia.²¹ The EU Commission's statement that the EaP was not directed against Russia but, more importantly, assumed Russia's occasional involvement in certain EaP platforms as a third country,²² could hardly overshadow the EaP's message that the European Union encourages democratisation in the region and basically excludes Russia's intermediation in the process.²³ As a result, Moscow interprets the EaP as a violation of its sphere of influence.²⁴ Russia's perception of its neighbouring countries as the "near abroad" – based on geopolitical factors, culture and language – makes the EU appear as a competitor, rather than a stabilising factor in the EaP region, and challenges the values it promotes. Despite statements concerning strategic cooperation with the EU, Russia has been implementing a policy with obvious imperialistic elements towards the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), using political, economic, social and military means. On the other hand, joining any projects within the Eastern Partnership Initiative is not an option for Russia, as it would need to apply the standards included in the formal contracts of the EaP, thus adopting normative contribution to the Europeanisation of Russia's policies.²⁵

The Partner States' Internal States of Affairs: Committed or Not?

The lack of democratic reformers committed to EU integration in the EaP countries, or their weak standing, also creates a serious obstacle for EaP progress. Along with that,

¹⁸ Paula Marcinkowska, "Przegląd Europejskiej Polityki Sąsiedztwa w dobie zmian politycznych w sąsiedztwie Unii Europejskiej po 2010 r.," *Studia Europejskie* 65, No. 1 (2013): 24, accessed 12 October 2015, http://www.ce.uw.edu.pl/pliki/pw/paula_marcinkowska.pdf.

¹⁹ Sadowski, "Partnership," 47.

²⁰ Małgorzata Klatt and Tomasz Stępniewski, *Normative Influence. The European Union, Eastern Europe and Russia* (Lublin: Catholic University of Lublin Publishing House), 19.

²¹ Korosteleva, *Ambitious Partnership*, 131.

²² Klatt and Stępniewski, *Normative Influence*, 54.

²³ Marcinkowska, *Europejska Polityka Sąsiedztwa*, 95.

²⁴ Małgorzata Nocuń and Andrzej Brzeziecki, "Partnerstwo Wschodnie to dobra lekcja" (includes an interview with Olaf Osica), in *Nowa Europa Wschodnia* 6 (2013): 15.

²⁵ Klatt and Stępniewski, *Normative Influence*, 19-115.

the question arises whether EaP states are at all capable of enforcing democratic reforms and whether they are serious about adhering to EU principles. Though the “colour revolutions” in Georgia and Ukraine were seen as an impulse for real democratic changes in those countries, what followed was mere frustration. The new leaders demonstrated a mixture of authoritarian tendencies, incompetence and inability to avoid political distractions. As Freedom House described in one of its reports, “these countries have accumulated a democracy deficit on a scale rivalling that of the Arab Middle East”.²⁶ Such a formula could be applied – in varying degrees – to other EaP states, as well.

It is also important to understand that the approaches of partner states to the EaP and, therefore, their aspiration to participate in the Eastern Partnership Initiative, are shaped by numerous factors. A rough cost-benefit analysis is based on levels of economic dependence or interdependence with the EU, the prominence of energy supply or transit in relations with the EU, as well as whether the EU is (or potentially could be) an influential security guarantor in the unstable regions. All of this, influences EaP member attitudes toward Eastern Partnership. As to Belarus, its intermittent openness towards the EaP is dictated by an assessment whether it would undermine or consolidate the ruling regime’s grip on power.²⁷ It is also difficult to ignore the foreign policy realities of the EaP countries, as well as differences in their “strategic loyalties”. They remain subject to various geopolitical conceptions due to their position between the enlarged EU and Russia, each of them possessing contrasting visions of global politics.²⁸

It is clear that the EaP’s objectives are hard to implement without economic, political and institutional transformation of the countries involved, and this reveals a further challenge to the EaP. The Eastern Partnership Initiative implies political and economic approximation to the EU, through the adoption of the *acquis* in a wide range of policy fields. However, increased market access, increased mobility, and political and economic integration have been considered very long-term prospects, which require complex reforms *a priori*. Besides, none of them are well-defined and their “attractiveness” is rather hard to determine. Also, partner state willingness to undertake reforms cannot only depend on what the EU has to offer; it should derive from the conviction of the EaP partner states themselves, that such merits and reforms are necessary.²⁹ Such willingness is clearly disputable in three out of the six EaP countries, namely: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus.

²⁶ Kerry Longhurst and Beata Wojna, *Asserting the EU’s Mission in the Neighbourhood: Ten Recommendations for an Effective Eastern Partnership* (Warsaw: Polish Institute of International Affairs), 10-12.

²⁷ Anna Zielińska and Kerry Longhurst, “The Eastern Partnership – Context and Reactions from a Troubled Neighbourhood,” in Longhurst, *European Ostpolitik*, 49-50.

²⁸ Longhurst and Wojna, *Ten Recommendations*, 13.

²⁹ Keti Peters, Jan Rood and Grzegorz Gromadzki, “The Eastern Partnership: Towards a New Era of Cooperation between the EU and its Eastern Neighbours?” (revised overview paper, Clingendael European Studies Programme, EU Policies Seminar Series, The Hague, December 2009), accessed 19 September 2014, http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20091200_cesp_paper_rood.pdf.

A substantial part of the EaP's problem lies in the fact that the EU has mainly placed stakes on, as well as worked with central governments and current political elites, considering them to be the main forces of change. However, the reality shows some discrepancy: instead, they often block political, legislative and economic changes contemplated by the EaP to protect their – primarily financial – interests.³⁰ What is more, the political elites of most neighbourhood states prefer stability over internal transformation. Such a preference, in particular, arises from the high standing of oligarchs and widespread corruption. As a result, certain Eastern European neighbours find themselves caught between dictatorship and democracy, while their ruling powers often undermine the EU's promotion of its interests and values in the region.³¹ The partner states also take advantage of the EU's lack of responsiveness in order to avoid paying the high political and economic costs of genuine reforms, and to continue their balancing acts between the EU and Russia.³²

Multilateral cooperation within the EaP is equally a rather challenging enterprise. The necessity to reach a consensus between the participating countries turns out to be a dominant limiting factor, due to significant differences in partner state objectives and states of affairs, especially taking into consideration serious disagreements between some of them.³³ Namely, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has put relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan in a deadlock, thus significantly diminishing the prospect of their useful cooperation within the multilateral dimension of the EaP. The recent resumption of military operations between the two states proves, in particular, the growing imbalance between them.³⁴

Security in the Region: Related Challenges

The negative effects of conflicts – both “frozen” and active – within the EaP area are implicitly obvious on the promotion of the EaP. Unfortunately, fulfilment of the Eastern Partnership's objectives is seriously impeded, because the EaP simply lacks any kind of mechanism specifically designed to resolve (or contribute to the resolution) of such conflicts.³⁵

A number of scholars insist that EaP implementation goes hand in hand with conflict resolution. Nevertheless, the EU's role in facilitating the establishment of good relations

³⁰ Longhurst and Wojna, *Ten Recommendations*, 14.

³¹ Marcinkowska, “Przegląd,” 25.

³² Sadowski, “Partnership,” 47.

³³ Beata Wojna, “Eastern Partnership: The New EU's Response to Security Challenges in the Eastern Neighbourhood,” in *Panorama of global security environment 2009*, ed. Marian Majer et al. (Bratislava: Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs, 2009), 95, accessed 19 September 2014, http://www.pism.pl/files?id_plik=3075.

³⁴ “Eastern Partnership: Towards Civil Society Forum” (policy recommendations for Eastern Partnership Summit, international conference, Prague, Czech Republic, 5-6 May 2009), accessed 27 October 2014, http://www.pism.pl/zalaczniki/policy_recommendations.pdf.

³⁵ Ibid.

between conflicting parties has been rather unsubstantial, despite Europe's power to attract most conflict parties, excluding Russia; direct or indirect party to all the conflicts. For the past two decades, the EU has proved that it prefers to hold itself rather aloof with regard to unresolved conflicts, reasoning that they are too complex and risky to merit involvement. At the same time, the progress which partner states eventually make in other spheres covered by the EaP (e.g., economic development or energy security) is hardly sustainable without resolving the conflicts.³⁶ Nonetheless, from the very beginning, the Eastern Partnership Initiative was intended to focus on the EU demonstrating its "soft power" influence, despite the fact that the South Caucasus countries, in particular, expected the EU to involve itself in regional conflict resolution more actively. Several EU Member States expressed their official position, stating that the omission of the "hard" security agenda should have more efficiently contributed to both the growth of confidence and improvement of international security in the region.³⁷ However, the "soft power" position actually indicated that the EU was not willing to intensively involve itself in the resolution of conflicts smouldering in the EaP area, as well as to respond to security challenges in the eastern neighbourhood.³⁸ This, obviously, due to the EU's weak political position in the region and lack of real instruments to influence the parties involved.³⁹ Behind such an approach lies the idea that these conflicts cannot be solved diplomatically, but that they may "de-escalate" in the context of positive social and economic changes, as a result of the EaP. Yet, this approach has proven to be wrong: Armenia, which was approaching the EU, was forced to choose integration within a Russian project (Eurasian Economic Union), because the issue of Nagorny Karabakh appeared to be more important than in the suggested programmes of the EU.⁴⁰ Before that, the Russian invasion of Georgia in August 2008, proved that ignoring the unresolved conflicts of the region did not make them disappear, and that existing resolution mechanisms were completely dysfunctional and ineffective.⁴¹ At the end of the day, the EaP – being a continuation of the ENP – rather plays a supporting role, by both providing instruments for partner states to approach the EU and serving as a forum for dialogue.⁴²

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Beata Wojna and Mateusz Gniazdowski, eds., *Eastern Partnership: the Opening Report* (Warsaw: Polish Institute of International Affairs, 2009), 10.

³⁸ Wojna, "Security Challenges," 98.

³⁹ Sadowski, "Partnership," 21.

⁴⁰ Nocuń and Brzeziecki, "Dobra Lekcja," 14.

⁴¹ "Eastern Partnership: Towards Civil Society Forum" (policy recommendations for Eastern Partnership Summit, international conference, Prague, Czech Republic, 5-6 May 2009), accessed 27 October 2014, http://www.pism.pl/zalaczniki/policy_recommendations.pdf.

⁴² Wojna, "Security Challenges," 94.

Other Obstacles

A lack of consistency in the EU's foreign policy in the eastern region makes it difficult for the EaP to be effective in the region.⁴³ One of the major examples of such incoherence is the simultaneous launch of negotiations over Association Agreements with the South Caucasian partner states in July 2010, despite the fact that they all had different expectations towards the EU, and that no adequate democratic development had been accomplished in Armenia or Azerbaijan. This act has led to questions regarding the commitment of the EU to its own principles.⁴⁴ Namely, it was not congruent with the 2008 Commission's communication on the EaP, which established that a precondition for starting negotiations and deepening relations within the EaP would be a sufficient level of progress in terms of democracy, rule of law and human rights.⁴⁵ Such a move diminished the significance of the Association Agreement itself, and reduced the motivation of more committed countries like Ukraine and Moldova. Offering the same benefits to countries which are, obviously, less willing to undertake reforms, and to countries with European aspirations, made the latter less willing to commit to costly reforms and incentives with doubtful appeal.⁴⁶ Another example of the EU's inconsistency in this context was its readiness to sign an Association Agreement with Ukraine in 2013, at a time when the country had obviously slid into authoritarian rule.

The financial component of the EaP is undoubtedly important for its success in the region. Nevertheless, the accomplishment of the "more for more" principle is limited due to rigid EU budget limits.⁴⁷ Besides, EaP implementation requires special coordination between the EU Member States' and the European Commission's development aid for the eastern neighbourhood, in order to safeguard the allocated financial resources in the most efficient manner.⁴⁸ This task creates additional challenges for the EaP to move forward.

Conclusions

After six years of existence, the Eastern Partnership Initiative has not produced its intended effects in the EU's eastern neighbourhood. This has happened for a number of reasons, the major one being its architectural deficiencies. Though intended to mitigate

⁴³ Korosteleva, *Ambitious Partnership*, 131.

⁴⁴ Zsuzsanna Végh, "The Evolution of the Eastern Neighbourhood Policy of the European Union," in: *The Eastern Partnership: New Perspectives for a New Europe*, eds. Orkhan Ali, Lyubov Artemenko, and Johannes Langer (Cracow: Youth Eastern Partnership, 2010), 26.

⁴⁵ Joan Manuel Lafranco Pari, "Is the Eastern Partnership a Step Forward in EU-Azerbaijan Relations?," in: Ali, Artemenko and Langer, *New Perspectives*, 93.

⁴⁶ Végh, "Evolution," 26.

⁴⁷ Marcinkowska, "Przegląd," 25.

⁴⁸ Wojna, "Security Challenges," 98.

the shortcomings of the ENP, the EaP has remained remarkably similar to it. Lack of elaboration on core notions like “partnership”, “mutual commitments”, “joint ownership”, as well as *de facto* substitution of partnership types of cooperation with external governance, have significantly contributed to the unresponsiveness of partner states to the EaP. Besides, the epilogue of the AA and DCFTA’s eventual implementation by the partner states is fairly unclear, as the EaP does not provide for their membership at the end of their journey, thus, demotivating them. In addition, while implementing the EaP, the European Union seems to ignore the fact that partner states have different interests and expectations with regard to the EaP. Providing a window for partner states to influence the shape of the EaP, clarifying the basis of cooperation, its key principles and ending point, as well as working out more differentiated approaches for each of the partner states (in other words, taking into account their objectives and circumstances), could raise the level of partner state commitment to the EaP, and, therefore, facilitate its implementation, as well as condense the obstacles arising out of the current policy texture.

The highly bureaucratic nature of the EU and, in particular, its structures responsible for EaP implementation, immensely slows down the policy’s execution. The correlation between the European External Action Service, the European Commission and its Directorates General is extremely confusing and at times problematic. Needless to say, until smoother cooperation between these actors is worked out, the EaP will not be able to move forward properly. The issue of whom the policy belongs to is additionally aggravated by the fact that neither the EEAS, nor the European Commission and its DGs, make decisions on the EaP, but, on the basis of consensus, the twenty-eight Member States do, while reaching such consensus constitutes another challenge. It is rather difficult to suggest a solution for the sluggishness of the EaP administration arrangement, as it is a part of a larger multidimensional system, rather complex in and of itself. However, a first step could be made in the direction of delimitating the EEAS and European Commission’s spheres of responsibility.

To maintain a relationship with Russia is an equally, if not more, troublesome task. The EU has had to balance between its economic interests (read: energy security) and coherence with its values and principles. Implausibly enough, the conflict in Ukraine has, in a way, eased the job of the EU. It has pushed the European Union to find and establish its position towards Russia, despite a number of opposing voices in the EU’s own backyard. The energy resources’ supply diversification process is claimed to be underway, as well as sanctions against the Moscow regime. The EU should not only continue along this path, but also widen their focus, as the EU’s sanctions remain concentrated on Russia’s conduct in Ukraine, not elsewhere in the EaP area.⁴⁹

As mentioned above, within the EaP, the EU has mainly been cooperating with the ruling elites, who often happen to impede policy implementation. Instead, the EU

⁴⁹ “The EU-Russian Conflict Enters the Caucasus,” accessed 22 April 2016, <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=57401#.VIQjsXuJTSw.facebook>.

should involve itself and more closely cooperate with the civil sector in each of the partner states, as civil society has repeatedly proven itself to be more supportive of the EU and the values it tries to promote. Besides, EU support of the civil sector could potentially serve as a level of protection for the civil sector in countries where non-governmental organisations find themselves under pressure from the state.

A strong commitment to conflict resolution is required from the EU, in order to guarantee stability in the eastern neighbourhood, and hence, to fulfil the objectives of the Eastern Partnership Initiative. As the EaP aspires to the promotion of European values, security and prosperity in the area, it cannot discount the fact that conflicts, both “frozen” and active, are probably the most critical problem in the countries of the Eastern Partnership – directly affecting all, except Belarus.⁵⁰

Finally, in order to improve its effectiveness on its eastern flank, the EU needs to create a unified vision and a series of aligned strategies toward the eastern neighbourhood. Consistency, clarity and coherence are crucial in the EU’s relations with its eastern neighbours.⁵¹ As to the financial side of the EaP, restructuring of financial aid may be necessary, making it more project-specific.

References:

- Orkhan Ali, Lyubov Artemenko and Johannes Langer, eds. *The Eastern Partnership: New Perspectives for a New Europe*. Cracow: Youth Eastern Partnership, 2010.
- Carnegie Europe. “The EU-Russian Conflict Enters the Caucasus.” Accessed April, 22 2016. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=57401#.VIQjsXuJTSw.facebook>.
- Commission of the European Communities, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, “Eastern Partnership,” 3 December 2008, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52008DC0823&from=EN>.
- Dzierżanowski, Marcin, ed. *Eastern Partnership*. Warsaw: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, 2012.
- “Eastern Partnership: Towards Civil Society Forum.” Policy recommendations for Eastern Partnership Summit presented at the international conference, Prague, Czech Republic, 5-6 May 2009. Accessed 27 October 2014, http://www.pism.pl/zalaczniki/policy_recommendations.pdf.
- Hug, Adam. “Challenges for the EU’s Eastern Partnership.” In: Hug, *Trouble in the Neighbourhood?*, 8-20 Accessed 11 February 2015. <http://fpc.org.uk/publications/trouble-in-the-neighbourhood>.

⁵⁰ “Eastern Partnership: Towards Civil Society Forum” (policy recommendations for Eastern Partnership Summit, international conference, Prague, Czech Republic, 5-6 May 2009), accessed 27 October 2014, http://www.pism.pl/zalaczniki/policy_recommendations.pdf.

⁵¹ Korosteleva, *Ambitious Partnership*, 131.

- Hug, Adam, ed. *Trouble in the Neighbourhood? The Future of the EU's Eastern Partnership*. London: Foreign Policy Center, 2015. Accessed February 11, 2015. <http://fpc.org.uk/publications/trouble-in-the-neighbourhood>.
- Małgorzata Klatt and Tomasz Stępniewski. *Normative Influence. The European Union, Eastern Europe and Russia*. Lublin: Catholic University of Lublin Publishing House, 2012.
- Korosteleva, Elena. *The European Union and Its Eastern Neighbours: Towards a More Ambitious Partnership?* London: Routledge, 2012.
- Kostanyan, Hrant. "Turf Wars and Control Issues in EU Eastern Policies: Opening the 'Black Box' of the EU Institutions and the Member States." In: Hug, *Trouble in the Neighbourhood?*, 21-24 Accessed 11 February 2015, <http://fpc.org.uk/publications/trouble-in-the-neighbourhood>.
- Lafranco Pari, Joan Manuel. "Is the Eastern Partnership a Step Forward in EU-Azerbaijan Relations?" In Ali, Artemenko, and Langer, *New Perspectives*, 85-103.
- Longhurst, Kerry, ed. *Forging a New European Ostpolitik – An Assessment of the Eastern Partnership*. Warsaw: Collegium Civitas Press, 2009.
- Longhurst, Kerry. "Introducing the Eastern Partnership – Implications for the European Neighbourhood Policy." In Longhurst, *European Ostpolitik*, 9-27.
- Longhurst, Kerry and Beata Wojna. *Asserting the EU's Mission in the Neighbourhood: Ten Recommendations for an Effective Eastern Partnership*. Warsaw: Polish Institute of International Affairs, 2011.
- Marian Majer, Róbert Ondrejcsák, Vladimír Tarasovič and Tomáš Valášek, eds. *Panorama of Global Security Environment 2009*. Bratislava: Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs, 2009.
- Marcinkowska, Paula. *Europejska Polityka Sąsiedztwa*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2011.
- Marcinkowska, Paula. "Przegląd Europejskiej Polityki Sąsiedztwa w dobie zmian politycznych w sąsiedztwie Unii Europejskiej po 2010 r." *Studia Europejskie* 65, No. 1 (2013): 9-28. Accessed 12 October 2015. http://www.ce.uw.edu.pl/pliki/pw/paula_marcinkowska.pdf.
- Nocuń, Małgorzata, and Andrzej Brzezicki. "Partnerstwo Wschodnie to dobra lekcja." (Includes interview with Olaf Osica.) *Nowa Europa Wschodnia* 6 (2013): 12-18.
- Ketie Peters, Jan Rood and Grzegorz Gromadzki. "The Eastern Partnership: Towards a New Era of Cooperation between the EU and its Eastern Neighbours?" Revised overview paper, Clingendael European Studies Programme, EU Policies Seminar Series, The Hague, December 2009. Accessed 19 September 2014. http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20091200_cesp_paper_rood.pdf.
- Sadowski, Rafał. "Partnership in Times of Crisis. Challenges for the Eastern European Countries' Integration with Europe." *Point of View* 36 (2013): 8-53.
- Végh, Zsuzsanna. "The Evolution of the Eastern Neighbourhood Policy of the European Union." In Ali, Artemenko, and Langer, *New Perspectives*, 15-31.

- Wojna, Beata. "Eastern Partnership: The New EU's Response to Security Challenges in the Eastern Neighbourhood." In *Panorama of Global Security Environment 2009*, edited by Marian Majer, Róbert Ondrejcsák, Vladimír Tarasovič and Tomáš Valášek, 89-100. Bratislava: Centre for European and North Atlantic Affairs, 2009. Accessed 19 September 2014. http://www.pism.pl/files/?id_plik=3075.
- Wojna, Beata, and Mateusz Gniazdowski, eds. *Eastern Partnership: the Opening Report*. Warsaw: Polish Institute of International Affairs, 2009.
- Zielińska, Anna, Longhurst, Kerry. "The Eastern Partnership – Context and Reactions from a Troubled Neighbourhood." In Longhurst, *European Ostpolitik*, 29-50.



Abstract

The Eastern Partnership Initiative is a very ambitious project, which has undertaken the challenge to make European Union policies more attractive for the eastern region by diversifying its measures, activities and resources. Nevertheless, despite its ambition to become an agent of change in its eastern neighbourhood, the EU has hardly managed to do so due to a number of challenges and obstacles. Based on a theoretical analysis approach, this article will attempt to provide an overview of the challenges and obstacles the EU faces in the implementation process of the Eastern Partnership Initiative. Namely, it will inquire into the EaP's architecture and partner states' level of commitment; the EaP's administering of the actors within the complex EU institutional structure and relations between them, as well as security-related challenges and EU relations with Russia in the context of the EaP. In the conclusion of the article, the author will make an effort to suggest possible solutions to the mentioned issues.

Keywords: Eastern Partnership Initiative, European Union, eastern neighbourhood, challenges and obstacles.

Russia's Peacekeeping Operations in the Post-Soviet Space: "Mirotvorchestvo" Applied

AGNIESZKA LEGUCKA

National Defence Academy, Warsaw, Poland

Peacekeeping in Theory: Russia's Approach

According to a general definition, a conflict is a process in which one party perceives that its interests are being opposed or negatively affected by another party¹. Conflict is manifested through adversarial social action involving two or more actors and the expression of differences is often accompanied by intense hostilities. Most significantly, protracted conflict arises from failure to manage an antagonistic relationship². A special kind of conflict involves force being used by both parties to the conflict.

Armed conflicts in the neighbourhood of Russia emerged during the disintegration of the USSR, when parts of former Soviet republics began to claim independence. This is when Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Transnistria decided to form independent states, thus infringing on the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova – all states with international recognition. The parties on both sides of these ethnic and political conflicts had been attempting to resolve these situations by themselves, but the management process was then joined by "third parties": Russia, Iran, Turkey, CIS and other international organizations such as the UN and the OSCE, and, recently, also the EU.

The discussed subject shall require analysis of the peacekeeping approaches adopted by Russia and its strategies implemented in the countries which have directly experienced armed conflicts – Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. Among many approaches towards conflict management, there are also actions undertaken by third parties: in this case, by Russia³. Such actions basically mean the involvement of an external

¹ James A. Wall Jr. and Ronda R. Callister, "Conflict and Its Management," *Journal of Management* 21/3, (1995): 517; Ho-Won Jeong, *Conflict Management and Resolution. Introduction* (New York: Routledge 2010): 243; Louis Kriesberg and Bruce W. Dayton, *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution*, (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011): 428; Joseph S. Nye, *Konflikty międzynarodowe. Wprowadzenie do teorii i historii*, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne, 2009): 6-30.

² Jeong, *Conflict Management...*, 3.

³ Kristine Barseghyan and Zainiddin Karaev, "Playing Cat-and-Mouse: Conflict and Third-Party Mediation in Post-Soviet Space," *The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* (6.1), (2004): 192-209; Lena Jonson,

actor at every possible stage of an armed conflict, who works for early warning, preventive diplomacy, and limiting of military actions until armed conflict ends, as well as preventing a renewed outbreak of armed conflict, referred to as post-conflict peace building.

During the Soviet era, the Russians did not gain the necessary experience in the conduct of peace operations, unlike the UN⁴. After the collapse of the USSR, a new area of armed conflict management in the form of peacekeeping missions was initiated, which has been called “mirovtvorchestvo”, literally, the creation of peace. It covers a wide range of activities from political mediation, to military operations undertaken to achieve peace by force. The two most characteristic features of Russian peace missions are the ability to enter into the conflict zone before the cessation of hostilities and the inclusion of peacekeeping troops of both conflicting parties or the CIS countries, ensuring Russia obtains greater legitimacy as a promoter of peace and avoids allegations of interfering in the internal affairs of post-Soviet states⁵.

Russian peacekeeping activities developed outside the UN framework. What distinguished the Russian conflict management concept of peace missions was a lack of neutrality towards the conflicting parties. The Russians often supported the weaker side (i.e. the separatists) against stronger countries in the region, such as Azerbaijan, Georgia or Moldova. Thanks to such “frozen conflicts”, Russia is able to influence the post-Soviet geopolitics of the region. Because of their limited efficiency in promoting peace, the goal of Russian operations has become maintaining the *status quo*, rather than finding a solution to the given armed conflict. Russia uses both official and unofficial channels to influence the development of these types of situations, making its actions less transparent. It should also be noted that in Russia, decisions relating to peacekeeping operations can be made at various political, administrative and military levels, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine Russia’s position clearly⁶. As a result, the Russian Federation has become the most important stabilizing factor inhibiting the outbreak of hostilities in post-Soviet countries, at the same time having its own political, military and economic interests in the region and thus, becoming a “party to the conflict”. On the other hand, Russian operations tended to ignore traditional UN peacekeeping principles such as consent, impartiality, and minimal use of force. Consequently, “Russia’s operations in the FSS [have] failed to obtain UN legal endorsement and international financial support”⁷.

“Keeping the Peace in the CIS. The evolution of Russian Policy,” *Discussion Paper RIIA* 81, (1999): 13; Domililla Sagramoso, *Russian peacekeeping policies*, in *Regional peacekeepers: the paradox of Russian peacekeeping*, ed. John Mackinlay and Peter Cross, (Tokyo – New York – Paris: United Nations University Press, 2003): 117-130.

⁴ Alexander Sokolov, “Russian Peace-keeping Forces in the Post-Soviet Area”, ed. Mary Kaldor, Basker Vashee *Reconstructing the Global Military Sector*, (London-Washington: PINTER 1997): Chap. 8.

⁵ Kazimierz Malak, “Czynnik wojskowy w polityce zagranicznej Federacji Rosyjskiej (1991-2000). Rozprawa habilitacyjna,” *Zeszyty Naukowe AON* 2001, 99.

⁶ Jonson, “Keeping the Peace...”, 3.; Legucka Agnieszka, *Geopolityczne uwarunkowania i konsekwencje konfliktów zbrojnych na obszarze poradzieckim*, (Warszawa: Difin, 2013): 311-322.

⁷ Sagramoso, *Russian Peacekeeping Policies*, 14.

Russia Peacekeeping – Phases

There have been several armed conflicts in Russia's neighbourhood. At the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, conflicts arose in Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and Transnistria. They all underwent similar phases: eruption, a "freezing" in the form of a truce and then the creation of *quasi-states* that were not recognized by the international community. Later, two of these conflicts were "unfrozen" (in South Ossetia and Abkhazia) which were transformed into the Georgian-Russian War of August 2008. According to some, there is a considerable possibility that the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh may also escalate into an international conflict. A renewed outbreak of hostilities is indeed highly probable, especially bearing in mind the "arms race" in the South Caucasus⁸.

Russia has had an impact on the course of each of these conflicts in the CIS area. In the first phase of the conflict, when military action took place, the Russians supplied weapons and soldiers (sometimes mercenaries), and offered military advice and support – military and diplomatic activities were conducted simultaneously. It must be stressed that, during the intensive armed operations of the early 1990s, the decision-making process in Russia was highly distributed. Government agencies, the president, the parliament, the ministries of foreign affairs and defence, the army (including officers and soldiers in units distributed throughout the territories of the former USSR) all had a say in the process. Mainly owing to the support of the latter, the separatists obtained the necessary military supplies for conducting military operations. In Transnistria, the separatists' success was determined by the Soviet 14th Army; in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, weapons were obtained from local military units; and in Nagorno-Karabakh, the separatists were supported by Armenia, itself probably being armed by Russia. At the same time, Russia sought international partners to have them recognize the CIS as an organization ensuring regional security, as well as building peace and stability. Lena Jonson claims that in the first phase, Russia attempted to present itself as a co-organizer of regional security. The country was not only ready to participate in peace operations all over the world, but also to transfer responsibility for the security of the southern frontier of the former USSR to the UN and the CSCE⁹. An important motive was to secure the financial support necessary for conducting peace operations in the "near abroad". But the UN and the CSCE (later OSCE) limited themselves to supporting Russian operations, not wanting to send peacekeeping missions into regions of conflict, contenting themselves with merely monitoring Russian operations. In Abkhazia, an observer mission was undertaken by the UN (UNOMIG), in South Ossetia and Transnistria by the CSCE/OSCE, and in Nagorno-Karabakh, the peace process was undertaken by the

⁸ Agnieszka Legucka, „Wyścig zbrojeń na Kaukazie Południowym”, in ed. Agnieszka Bryc, Agnieszka Legucka and Agata Włodkowska-Bagan, *Bezpieczeństwo obszaru poradzieckiego. Książka poświęcona pamięci prof. Kazimierza Malaka*, (Warszawa: Difin, 2011): 233-249.

⁹ Jonson, "Keeping the Peace...", 9.

CSCE/OSCE Minsk Group¹⁰. Although the goals laid down in the mandates of these negotiating missions aimed at solving the conflicts – with the parties’ interests decidedly at odds – they have not yet been achieved.

In the second phase, after the cessation of military operations, Russia took the role of main mediator and guarantor of the truce agreements, successfully forcing both parties to the negotiating table. In June 1992, an agreement was signed in Dagomys to end the South Ossetia conflict. The agreement set forth the formation of a peacekeeping force that included South Ossetian, North Ossetian, Russian and Georgian battalions. According to the document, both parties were to observe a complete cease-fire and withdraw their forces to create a corridor separating the two sides in the conflict area. The Russian forces at Tskhinvali were to act as neutrals, while the Joint Control Commission (JCC) had to guarantee the cease-fire, withdraw armed forces, disband self-defence units, and ensure security measures in the conflict zone. In effect, the JCC became the political mechanism to regulate the conflict and supervise the peacekeeping forces. It succeeded in creating a cease-fire and separating the conflicting parties, withdrawing Russian units from the conflict zone, securing the area of conflict and building confidence among the parties. However, it failed to define the political status of South Ossetia, return refugees and displaced persons, or disarm the local population on both sides¹¹. Russia had a special position in the JCC, which influenced the decision-making process, as well as the peacekeeping force.

In July 1992, the conflict in Transnistria was brought to an end. As a result, a security zone was established and a Joint Control Commission (JCC) composed of three parties: Moldova, Russia, and Transnistria. Russia was named the “trust guarantor”¹². The Agreement between Yeltsin and Snegur provided for a cease-fire, the creation of a security zone on both sides of the Dniestr River, and the development of a combined Russian/Moldovan/DMR peacekeeping force under the daily supervision of a trilateral JCC. It also provided for the strict neutrality of Russia’s 14th Army, the removal of the economic blockade, and the return of refugees. Originally the peacekeeping forces were comprised of six Russian battalions (3800 troops), three Moldovan battalions (1200 troops), and three DMR battalions (1200 troops)¹³.

In 1994, Russia proposed an initiative to send CIS peacekeeping forces to Abkhazia (in reality these were predominantly Russian forces) to secure the truce agreed in December of the previous year. It was the first CIS peacekeeping operation of any kind. The agreement contained the following conditions: a durable cease-fire between Georgian

¹⁰ Владимир Николаевич Казимиров, *Мир Карабаху. Посредничество России в урегулировании нагорно-карабахского конфликта*, (Москва: Международные отношения, 2009): 30-31.

¹¹ John Mackinlay and Evgenij Sharov, “Russian Peacekeeping operations in Georgia,” in ed. Mackinlay and Cross, 77-78.

¹² Jonson, “Keeping the Peace...”, 10.

¹³ Trevor Waters, “Russian peacekeeping in Moldova: Source of Stability or neo-imperialist threat?” in ed. Mackinlay and Cross, 149-150.

and Abkhazian forces, a security zone in which no armed forces or heavy military equipment from either Georgia or Abkhazia would be allowed, a restricted weapons zone, and heavy weapons storage sites (primarily at Ochamchira and Senaki). The final and most important conditions were the development of a CIS peacekeeping force on both sides of the Inguri River, and the implementation of a cease-fire line to promote safe conditions for the return of displaced persons, implement the conditions of the cease-fire agreement, pursue comprehensive political settlement, and supervise the transport of heavy weapons to designated storage sites¹⁴.

Also, in May 1994, a truce was signed between Armenia and Azerbaijan in Nagorno-Karabakh. But, owing to the lack of a proper agreement between the two parties, no peace forces were sent into the conflict region. The peace negotiations held by OSCE Minsk Group were fragile and the opening of a new forum for discussion of the conflict could have undermined this process. Unfortunately, the *status quo* was preferred to settlement and resolution by most of the actors involved¹⁵. After the cessation of hostilities in the border regions of the former Soviet Union, Russia's position as a regional leader was much in demand and could have shaped a required regional order promoting Russian soft power. But it became clear that Russia could gain more by using hard power, or a position of strength, by maintaining quasi-states and not ending any conflict with a peace treaty. Between the end of 1992 and 1996 Russia transformed into an intervening military power that maintained no guidelines or standards set forth in the UN's system of peace operations. Russian peace-building activity developed outside of the UN's system and its norms. Russia was deeply involved in solving conflicts, although an international audience highly doubted that its intentions were singularly peaceful and questioned the impartiality of its actions¹⁶. At the same time, the status of the military also changed. While in 1996 peacekeeping and peace-making was under the purview of the armed forces, by 1999 they were withdrawn from its structure.

In the third phase, when the "conflict freezing" occurred, Russia was still utilizing diplomatic means and its military presence to guarantee the *status quo* of relative stability. Simultaneously, constant monitoring of the situation by the Russian Federation prevented a final solution to any given conflict. As a result, separatists in the CIS countries, counting on Russia's help, hardened their negotiating positions. For many years, Russia, anxious about its internal separatist tendencies gaining strength (i.e. Chechnya), had not recognized any of these quasi-states. The "frozen conflicts" provided a natural guarantee of Russia's influence over the situations in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova. At the OSCE summit in Istanbul in 1999, Russia committed to withdraw its forces and military equipment from Georgian and Moldovan territories. From 2005 to

¹⁴ Mackinlay and Sharow, *Russian Peacekeeping...*, 89-90.

¹⁵ Emma J. Stewart, "EU Conflict Management in the South Caucasus: A Preliminary Analysis," University of Nottingham, 22-23 November (2007), [http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/shared/shared_icmcr/ Docs/stewart.pdf](http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/shared/shared_icmcr/Docs/stewart.pdf).

¹⁶ Sagramoso, *Russian Peacekeeping Policies*, 13.

the end of 2007, it withdrew its forces from military bases in Georgia, but most of them were simply transferred to Armenia. However, their commitments concerning separatist Transnistria were not kept.

The fourth phase was to “unfreeze” the armed conflicts in the South Caucasus, which was influenced by the Georgian “Rose Revolution” of 2003, the bold demands of the president of Georgia, Mikheil Saakashvili, on the recovery of territorial integrity (in what was supposed to help support the modernization of the Georgian army by the Americans), and the growing military budgets of countries in the region (mainly Azerbaijan, which proclaimed the desire to reclaim Nagorno-Karabakh). Support by the West, in the form of including the South Caucasus countries in the EU’s European Neighbourhood Policy in 2004 and the announcement to invite Georgia to NATO in April 2008, was treated as a threat towards the regional position, as well as the political, military and economic interests of Russia. After a series of incidents and provocations, Russia: (1) conducted direct attacks on military targets in Georgia – a helicopter attack on Georgian facilities in Kodoria and a missile strike on a radar station in 2007, involving numerous provocations of Russian peacekeeping forces in the conflict area; (2) established a communications and economic blockade of Georgia from 2006; (3) attempted to play off the internal conflicts in Georgia in 2007-2008, where a new armed conflict broke out¹⁷. After Georgian forces attacked the capital of South Ossetia, Tskhinvali, on 7 and 8 August 2008, Russia stepped in to “protect Russian citizens” in South Ossetia and, then, in Abkhazia. The Russian army marched into Georgia, occupying strategic points and dividing this rebellious republic from the main country. On 26 August 2008, Russia officially recognized the independence of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, thus confirming its ability to “unfreeze” a situation of armed conflict in the Commonwealth of Independent States region, when the “freeze” was not in its favour. No CIS member has recognized the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, which is contrasted with the recognition given by the West to Kosovo’s independence in February 2008.

Wars in Georgia and Ukraine – Changing Russia’s Peacekeeping Approach

Russia maintained a special position as the region’s peace guarantor before the Russo-Georgian War. This changed after the first military operation in Georgia in 2008. For the first time Russia decided to use a military solution, not as a peacekeeping operation, but an operation directly “enforcing peace”. Representing the presidency of the EU at the time, President Nicolas Sarkozy travelled to Moscow on 12 August 2008. He was able to negotiate a peace plan with the Russian president, Dmitry Medvedev, under which the parties: (1) committed to the non-use of force, (2) would permanently

¹⁷ Krzysztof Strachota, “Gruzja na wojnie z Rosją,” *Tydzień na Wschodzie OSW*, 19.08.2009.

end all military actions, (3) would ensure free access to humanitarian aid, (4) would allow Georgian forces to return to their permanent points of deployment, (5) Russian forces would withdraw to lines prior to the start of military operations, but they would be entitled to introduce “additional security measures”, (6) international talks would commence concerning the security in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. The agreement negotiated by Nicolas Sarkozy was brought to Tbilisi by the American Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, and was accepted by Mikheil Saakashvili on 15 August, and on the following day by Dmitry Medvedev¹⁸.

The obligations resulting from the agreement were only partially fulfilled by the Russians; the fighting was stopped, but the Russian forces were not withdrawn from Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and the following days saw more military action on the territory of Georgia proper. There were rumours of “cleaning” Ossetia of Georgian families. By this, Russia infringed on the first, second (until 2009) and fifth point of the Sarkozy-Medvedev agreement. Also, access to international humanitarian aid was hampered. South Ossetia only received aid from Russia and Georgian refugees were only able to receive aid in Georgia (Germany increased its aid to EUR 2 million)¹⁹. The fourth point, concerning Georgia, was successfully implemented. However, the last sub-point has never been completed, as it assumed the start of international negotiations on South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Although international talks did begin later in Geneva, on 26 August 2008, Russia officially recognized the independence of the two small states, announcing their support and military backing.

On 3 September 2008, the European Parliament issued a resolution stating that “the European Neighbourhood Policy should be developed further and better adapted to the needs of the EU’s eastern partners”²⁰. The EU then decided to independently send around 300 observers who were to control the security zones proposed in the Medvedev-Sarkozy agreement. On 1 October 2008, the European Union Monitoring Mission began operations, its goal being to monitor the borders of the security zone in Abkhazia and South Ossetia regions. Unarmed observers, labelled EUMM, were to patrol the identified areas in light armoured vehicles. The EU observers were deployed in four locations: the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi, Gori near South Ossetia, Zugdidi near the Abkhazian border and the Black Sea port of Poti. The financial reference amount intended to cover the expenditure related to the mission was EUR 31 million (2008/736/CFSP)²¹. The mission’s task was severely impinged when the EU observers were barred

¹⁸ Ronald D. Asmus, *Mała wojna, która wstrząsnęła światem. Gruzja, Rosja i przeszłość Zachodu*, (Warszawa: Res Publica, 2010): 340-365.

¹⁹ Stanisław Żerko, „Niemcy wobec konfliktu w Gruzji (sierpień 2008),” *Biuletyn Instytutu Zachodniego* 1 (2008): 8.

²⁰ Leila Alieva, “EU and South Caucasus,” *CAP Discussion Paper* December (2006): 10-11.

²¹ COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2008/736/CFSP of 15 September 2008 on the European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia, EUMM Georgia, “Official Journal of the European Union”, L 248/26, 17.9.2008, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:248:0026:0031:EN:PDF>.

from entering Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Also, in June 2009, Russia blocked the extension of the UN mission's mandate in Abkhazia, and the OSCE's in South Ossetia. In this way, the European Union became the only international organization supervising the situation in Georgia and an important financial aid donor for the country's redevelopment. For this, another EUR 500 million was allocated to Georgia, which nearly equalled the sum received by Georgia under various EU programmes from 1992 to 2005 (EUR 505 million)²². According to the World Bank, Georgia received significantly more assistance in the years 2004-2009 – around USD 3.137 billion under the Official Development Assistance. These data do not cover all categories of aid, as well as a large part of the post-war aid package amounting to USD 4.5 billion²³.

The case of Georgia leads one to ponder Russia's motives in asking the EU to join in the peace process. For many years, Georgia has been drawing nearer and nearer to Russia's greatest rival, the USA. The growing position of the USA worries Moscow, especially in the context of the proposed expansion of NATO to include Ukraine and Georgia²⁴. By including the European Union in the peace talks and allowing its observers to enter into Georgia proper, Russia managed to remove the USA from the Georgian issue. Although the USA supported Georgia's territorial integrity and sharply opposed Russia, it is the European Union who took over responsibility for Georgia's redevelopment and stabilization. However, the policy of *fait accompli* – epitomized by Russia's recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia's independence and the failure to keep all points of the Sarkozy-Medvedev agreement – showed the lack of necessary instruments in Europe to force Russian compliance.

The conflict in Georgia has solved the main goal of Russia foreign policy. It has helped to withdraw NATO and the Americans from this country, putting Western obligations for the stabilization of Georgia on the EU. It has accelerated work on the Polish-Swedish proposal to strengthen the EU's relations with the countries of the region²⁵. The proposal of "eastern specialization", within the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy, was eventually adopted as the Eastern Partnership Project (EaP), officially established in May 2009.

The next step in Russia's militarization of its foreign policy toward post-Soviet countries took place in Ukraine, when people demonstrated their willingness to join the EU. Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014, and its military intervention in Donbas (East

²² Katarzyna Pełczyńska-Nałęcz, „Integracja czy imitacja? UE wobec wschodnich sąsiadów,” *Prace OSW* (2011): 47; Georgia Strategy Paper, 2007-2013, European Commission, European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument, http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/pdf/pdf/country/enpi_csp_georgia_en.pdf: 16

²³ Marek Matusiak, „Gruzińskie wybory. Między silnym państwem a demokracją,” *Punkt Widzenia OSW* (2012): 12.

²⁴ This is reflected in a statement by V. Putin during the conference in Munich, on 11 February 2007.

²⁵ Joanna Cieślińska, „Partnerstwo Wschodnie – miejsce wymiaru wschodniego w Europejskiej Polityce Sąsiedztwa,” *Rocznik Integracji Europejskiej* 3 (2009): 129-130; Tomasz Kapuśniak, „Wymiar Wschodni Europejskiej Polityki Sąsiedztwa Unii Europejskiej. Inkluzja bez członkostwa,” *Zeszyty Natolin* (2010).

Ukraine), together with its insistence on the right to take action on behalf of Russian-speaking populations outside its own borders (mentioned in Russia military doctrine in 2010), dramatically changed the political and security environment in Europe. The Ukrainian scenario was quite similar to previous post-Soviet conflicts. On the one hand, Russia helped separatists in Donbas, while on the other, Moscow tried to show its willingness to create peace by sending humanitarian aid, or by the negotiations in Minsk, where representatives of Ukraine, the Russian Federation, the Donetsk People's Republic and the Lugansk People's Republic signed the Minsk Protocol on 15 September 2014 – an agreement to stop war in the Donbas region. Despite its signature, there were frequent violations of the cease-fire and a follow-up to the Minsk Protocol was agreed to on 19 September. The memorandum clarified the implementation of the Protocol. During the meeting, peace-making measures were agreed to as follows:

- The pulling back of heavy weaponry 15 kilometres on each side of the front line, creating a 30-kilometre buffer zone;
- The banning of offensive operations;
- The banning of fighting by combat aircraft over the security zone;
- The withdrawal of all foreign mercenaries from the conflict zone;
- The setting up of an OSCE mission to monitor implementation of the Minsk Protocol.

After two years of military conflict we can see that the Minsk Protocol cease-fire has completely collapsed, and Russia has not achieved its foreign policy goals, which are focused on control over Ukraine.

Conclusions

Armed conflicts determine security policies of countries in the region that seek “more powerful” external allies in order to balance the threats posed by their neighbours. This is why Armenia expects Russia's support, whereas Georgia relies on the USA (NATO) and the European Union. For several years, Moldova has been counting on European integration to balance the Russian position and solve the conflict in Transnistria. In the EU, there has been an increase in awareness of the challenges and threats existing in East Europe and the South Caucasus, resulting in demands to prove the EU's capability to prevent and manage armed conflicts.

Since, over the past decade, the Russian government has demonstrated its increased willingness to use military force to shape events in the post-Soviet space, scholars must address the larger Russian foreign policy dimensions of frozen conflicts, as they are now an integral part of Moscow's foreign policy toolbox under Vladimir Putin's government. I would argue that Putin is motivated by four broad strategic objectives: (1) to increase the security of the Russian state and regime by controlling the so-called “near-abroad,” to the exclusion of other powers, especially since Russia remains determined to stop any

further enlargement of NATO; (2) to increase Russia's international position and prestige; (3) to buttress its strength both at home and abroad through a sphere of influence, which Moscow calls its "near-abroad" or, to quote the 2015 Russian National Security Strategy, its "sphere of vital interests"; and (4) to set precedents that will allow for the emergence of new rules in the international community which favour Russia's priorities.

The emergence of GUAM – the Organization for Democracy and Economic Development (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova) – as an early regional grouping of post-Soviet states, sent a powerful signal to Moscow that it risked being locked out of at least parts of the post-Soviet space. GUAM's objectives of promoting democratic values, ensuring stable development, enhancing international and regional security, and stepping up European integration, were seen in Moscow as a challenge to Russia's goal of restoring its influence in the region. Russia responded with a range of tools: political, economic, cultural, and, in the end, also military. Frozen conflicts became the embodiment of Moscow's foreign policy in the post-Soviet space. However, these conflicts have never been quite as "frozen" as their name implies. In fact, Russia has exploited what – according to Rupert Smith – are actually "wars among the people" eschewing the dichotomy of war and peace, while retaining the ability to "manage" levels of violence as it deems necessary²⁶. This mutation of war into "frozen conflict" means that Russia can exploit "wars among the people" by putting military pressure in the political, social, cultural, and economic realms of the targeted state, while also using such conflicts for propaganda purposes at home and abroad.

The security of the "shared neighbourhood" of the EU and Russia is determined by many factors, including the influence of these two "strategic partners", with the former adopting the role of stabilizer, and the latter striving to maintain a state of controlled destabilization in order to have greater influence on the six countries in the region. For the European Union, values such as democracy, the rule of law and the development of civic society are important. In the long run, this is intended to ensure the economic and social development of these countries, which in the future will eliminate negative phenomena such as illegal migration, organized crime, terrorism, as well as arms smuggling and human trafficking. For Russia, the priority is to maintain these countries in its sphere of influence, and "frozen conflicts" remain an important tool in achieving this goal. In order to achieve this, Russia maintains a military presence in six of the region's countries, determines the "unfreezing" of armed conflicts, and has an impact on the security policy of each of its neighbours. In terms of economic means, Russia uses differentiating energy resource prices, embargoes on oil and natural gas, and trade sanctions (bans on wine, vegetables and meat imports). This is accompanied by political pressure which has increased in strength, given the availability of Russian TV channels and newspapers in neighbouring countries.

²⁶ Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World*, (New York: Random House, 2008).

References:

- A Secure Europe in a Better World, European Security Strategy*, Brussels, 12 December 2003, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>, [12.02.2010].
- Asmus Ronald D., *Mała Wojna, Która Wstrząsnęła Światem. Gruzja, Rosja i Przeszłość Zachodu*, Res Publica Nova, Warszawa 2010.
- Alieva Leila, *EU and South Caucasus*, "CAP Discussion Paper" December 2006.
- Barseghyan Kristine, Karaev Zainiddin, *Playing Cat-and-Mouse: Conflict and Third-Party Mediation in Post-Soviet Space*, "The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution" 2004, No (6.1).
- Borkowski Paweł J., *Polityka Sąsiedztwa Unii Europejskiej*, Difin, Warszawa 2009.
- Cieślińska Joanna, *Partnerstwo Wschodnie – Miejsce Wymiaru Wschodniego w Europejskiej Polityce Sąsiedztwa*, "Rocznik Integracji Europejskiej" 2009, No. 3, Wydział Nauk Politycznych i Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, Poznań 2009.
- Ciupiński Andrzej, *Realizacja Wspólnej Polityki Bezpieczeństwa i Obrony UE na Obszarze Poradzieckim*, [in:] *Bezpieczeństwo Obszaru Poradzieckiego. Książka poświęcona pamięci prof. Kazimierza Malaka*, Bryc A., Legucka A., Włodkowska-Bagan A. (ed.), Difin, Warszawa 2011.
- Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on strengthening the European Neighbourhood Policy (2006), Brussels, 4 December 2006, COM(2006)726 final, http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com06_726_en.pdf, [12.12.2012].
- COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2006/121/CFSP, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/l_04920060221en00140016.pdf
- COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2008/736/CFSP of 15 September 2008 on the European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia, EUMM Georgia, "Official Journal of the European Union", L 248/26, 17.9.2008, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:248:0026:0031:EN:PDF>, [12.01.2012].
- European Neighbourhood Policy STRATEGY PAPER*, COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION, Brussels, 12.5.2004, COM (2004) 373 final, (source, URL < http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/strategy/strategy_paper_en.pdf>, September 2007).
- European Union's Border Mission to Moldova and Ukraine – Declaration by the Presidency of the European Union – Odessa, Ukraine*, 30 November 2005, Brussels, 30 November 2005 15178/05 (Presse 334), http://www.eubam.org/files/0-99/79/Presidency_Declaration.pdf, [27.02.2008]; <http://www.eubam.org/en/>, [12.01.2011].
- Falkowski Maciej, *Problemy Bezpieczeństwa na Kaukazie Południowym*, [in:] Legucka Agnieszka, Malak Kazimierz (red.), *Polityka Zagraniczna i Bezpieczeństwa na Obszarze WNP*, Rytm, Warszawa 2008, s. 162.
- Helly Damien, EUJUST Themis in Georgia: An ambitious bet on rule of law, in: Nowak Agnieszka (ed.), *Civilian Crisis Management – The EU Way*, "Challiot Paper" June 2006, No 90, EUISS, Paris, p. 87-102.

- Jeong Ho-Won, *Conflict Management and Resolution. Introduction*, Routledge, New York 2010.
- Jonson Lena, *Keeping the Peace in the CIS. The Evolution of Russian Policy*, "Discussion Paper" 1999, No 81, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.
- Kapuśniak Tomasz, *Wymiar Wschodni Europejskiej Polityki Sąsiedztwa Unii Europejskiej. Inkuzja bez Członkostwa*, "Zeszyty Natolin" 2010, Centrum Natolińskie, Warszawa.
- Казимиров В. Н. *Мир Кавказа. Посредничество России в урегулировании нагорно-карабахского конфликта*, Международные отношения, Москва 2009.
- Konończuk Wojciech, Rodkiewicz Witold, *Czy Naddniestrze Zablokuje Integrację Europejską Mołdawii*, "Komentarze OSW", 23.10.2012.
- Kriesberg Louis, Dayton Bruce W., *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution*, Rowman & Littlefield, Plymouth 2011.
- Legucka Agnieszka, *Geopolityczne Uwarunkowania i Konsekwencje Konfliktów Zbrojnych na Obszarze Poradzieckim*, Difin, Warszawa 2013.
- Legucka Agnieszka, *Polityka Wschodnia Unii Europejskiej*, AON, Warszawa 2008.
- Legucka Agnieszka, *Wysięg Zbrojeń na Kaukazie Południowym*, [in:] Bryc A., Legucka A., Włodkowska-Bagan A. (ed.), *Bezpieczeństwo Obszaru Poradzieckiego. Książka poświęcona pamięci prof. Kazimierza Malaka*, Difin, Warszawa 2011.
- Lynch Dov, *Russia faces Europe*, "Challiot Paper" May 2003, No. 60.
- Malak Kazimierz, *Czynnik Wojskowy w Polityce Zagranicznej Federacji Rosyjskiej (1991-2000). Rozprawa Habilitacyjna, Zeszyty Naukowe AON*" 2001, Dodatek Specjalny, p. 253.
- Matusiak Marek, *Gruzińskie Wybory. Między Silnym Państwem a Demokracją*, "Punkt Widzenia OSW" 2012.
- Popescu Nicu, Wilson Andrew, *Polityka Unii Europejskiej i Rosji Wobec Wspólnych Sąsiadów*, Fundacja Batorego, Warszawa 2010.
- Raport. Polska Pomoc Rozwojowa (2011), Grupa Zagranica, Warszawa, http://zagranica.org.pl/images/stories/PublikacjeGZ/monitoring/Raport_Polska_wspolpraca_rozwojowa_2011_Grupa_Zagranica.pdf, [10.10.2012].
- Sagramoso D., *Russian Peacekeeping Policies*, [in:] J. Mackinlay, P. Cross (red.), *Russian Peacekeepers: The Paradox of Russian Peacekeeping*, United Nations University Press, Tokyo-New York-Paris 2003.
- Słownik Terminów z Zakresu Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego*, Balcerowicz, Bolesław et al Akademia Obrony Narodowej, Warszawa 2002.
- Sokolov Alexander, *Russian Peacekeeping Forces in the Post-Soviet Space*, [in:] Kaldor Mary, Vashee Basker (ed.), *Reconstructing the Global Military Sector*, PINTER, London-Washington 1997.
- Steward J. Emma, *EU Conflict Management in the South Caucasus: A Preliminary Analysis*, University of Nottingham, 22-23 November 2007, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/shared/shared_icmcr/ Docs/stewart.pdf, [23.02.2010].
- Strachota Krzysztof, *Gruzja na wojnie z Rosją*, "Tydzień na Wschodzie OSW", 19.08.2009.

- Trenin Dmitrij, *Russia – EU Partnership: Grand Vision and Practical Steps*, “*Russia on Russia*”, Issue 1, Moscow School of Political Studies and Social Market Foundation, Moscow 2000.
- Wall J. A., Callister Jr. R. R., *Conflict and Its Management*, “*Journal of Management*” 1995, Vol. 21, No. 3.
- Włodkowska Agata, *Polityka Federacji Rosyjskiej Wobec Obszaru Wspólnoty Niepodległych Państw*, Adam Marszałek, Toruń 2007.
- World Fact Book*, (source URL: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/> March 2011).
- Żerko Stanisław, *Niemcy Wobec Konfliktu w Gruzji (August 2008)*, “*Biuletyn Instytutu Zachodniego*” 2008, No. 1.
- Zięba Ryszard, *Wspólna Polityka Zagraniczna i Bezpieczeństwa Unii Europejskiej*, Wydawnictwa Akademickie i Profesjonalne, Warszawa 2007.



Abstract

The goal of this study is to analyse the involvement of Russia in peacekeeping operations in the post-Soviet space. I propose to research the so-called “frozen conflicts” in the post-Soviet space and their importance as a tool of Russian foreign policy. I will focus on five frozen conflicts: Nagorno-Karabakh (Azerbaijan), Abkhazia and South Ossetia, including August 2008 (Georgia), Transnistria (Moldova), the frozen conflict emerging in Donbas following the Russian seizure of Crimea and the separatist conflict in Eastern Ukraine. I will examine the extent and form of Russia’s involvement in the conflict resolution phase to ascertain how Russian policy evolves, depending on whether the post-conflict outcome advances or hampers Russia’s policy objectives. Five East European and South Caucasus countries (Moldova, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia) had problems with separatism on its territories, a fact that superseded Russian involvement. These countries are characterised by low stability and they generate problems and threats, which underlie the calls for Russian involvement in the neighbourhood to eliminate or resolve them – among others the dangers related to “frozen conflicts” in the post-Soviet space. We can state a hypothesis that the Russian Federation leans more heavily towards hard power in the post-Soviet space, where it manages international relations by threats and payments to govern relations between states using, amongst others, “frozen conflicts” in the region. This raises questions concerning the effectiveness of the foreign and security policies of Russia and its operating strategies in post-Soviet countries in their attempts at creating peace.

Keywords: conflict management, peacekeeping, armed conflict

The Kaliningrad Region – Key to Security in East-Central Europe.

KRZYSZTOF ŻĘGOTA

University of Warmia and Mazury, Olsztyn, Poland

Political transformations in East-Central Europe after 1989, and the advancing processes of integration, have resulted in a significant increase in the importance of the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation for the stabilisation of this part of Europe in two dimensions: the Kaliningrad region provides a unique example and a specific “testing ground” for cooperation between the European Union (EU) and Russia, and also plays a crucial geopolitical role for the southern part of the Baltic Sea region. For the Russian Federation, this region has become especially important in view of the integration processes occurring in East-Central Europe over the last twenty-five years. The European integration process has been ongoing, with significant milestones marked by two stages of the EU expansion in 2004 and 2007, when a series of East-Central European states gained membership. An increase in the cohesion of this part of Europe was also affected by progressive Euro-Atlantic integration, a subsequent step of which was the eastward expansion of NATO in 1999 and in 2004. Thus, the area of European and Euro-Atlantic integration significantly neared the borders of the Russian Federation. It is important that the Kaliningrad region has entered into intensive interactions with various entities from the EU member states, becoming involved – to some extent – in the network of relations with the EU: through the integration of local governments, universities, non-governmental organizations, and by utilizing various cross-border cooperation programmes.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the Kaliningrad region, as part of the Russian Federation, is participating in a great integration process being carried out in the post-Soviet space under the auspices of Moscow. The genesis of this process can be traced back to the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States in 1991, although processes of the post-Soviet space’s reintegration gained momentum after Vladimir Putin took office as president of the Russian Federation in 2000. This process was marked by former Soviet republics entering into agreements of a political, military and economic nature – the crowning achievement of which seems to be the initiation of the Eurasian Economic Union in 2015¹. The policy of the Russian government towards

¹ Nicu Popescu, *Eurasian Union: The Real, the Imaginary and the Likely* (Paris: CHAILLOT PAPERS, EU

the so-called “near abroad”, particularly the European part of the post-Soviet territories, should also be analysed in the light of these processes. The growing conflict in Ukraine and the risk of unfriendly Russian moves towards the Baltic states, Moldova and Georgia, have all led to an increase in the significance of territories controlled by Russia and situated somehow “behind the backs” of the states participating (or aspiring for participation) in European and Euro-Atlantic Integration processes (such as the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation, the Transnistria region, Crimea and Armenia).

The aim of this article is to present the key conditions for the security of Central and Eastern Europe in relation to the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation, as well as to analyse the importance of this Russian region within the context of two integration processes observed in Europe: European (and Euro-Atlantic) integration and the integration of the post-Soviet space carried out under the auspices of the Russian Federation. In view of the above presented circumstances, the thesis of the article should be to determine how the importance of the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation, in terms of the safety of East-Central Europe, will increase in the nearest years. This may be substantiated as follows: the Kaliningrad region is an area where the routes of two great integration processes being carried out in Europe intersect; the Russian Federation will strive towards maintaining its influence in the Baltic Sea basin and the Kaliningrad region will play the role of one of a number of geopolitical wedges in Europe, situated “behind the backs” of the states participating in the processes of European and Euro-Atlantic integration, or demonstrating such aspirations.

The Kaliningrad Region as an Element of Geopolitical Conceptions in East-Central Europe

The geopolitical significance of the Kaliningrad region in the Soviet Union, as well as in the Russian Federation, has evolved in accordance with geopolitical changes occurring in East-Central Europe. Three crucial phases may be distinguished here – the first is connected with the functioning of the region within the Soviet Union; the second is connected to the period directly after the collapse of the USSR; and the third, after 2000, is connected with Russia’s internal consolidation and its return to the concept of reintegrating the post-Soviet space. During the time of the Soviet Union, the region was attributed with a particular geopolitical and military significance, something akin to the USSR’s gate to the southern part of the Baltic Sea. This was demonstrated by the fact that the region had not been included as part of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, but directly made part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. In the Cold War era, the region was included as a strategic part of the Soviet Union from

Institute for Security Studies, 2014); Aleksandra Jarosiewicz, Ewa Fischer, “Eurazjatycka Unia Gospodarcza – więcej polityki, mniej gospodarki.” *Komentarze OSW* 157 (2015).

the point of view of Soviet military doctrine. That was supported by the fact that the Soviet Baltic fleet and significant land forces were stationed there. Upon the collapse of the Soviet Union, the geopolitical significance of the Kaliningrad region seriously decreased. After 1991, it was mostly used as a collection point for Russian troops being transferred from East Germany and the Baltic republics to Russia. The Russian strategic concepts of that time did not foresee any particular role for the region in terms of the Russian Federation's geopolitics or its defence. However, most of the Russian Baltic fleet was stationed in the region at the same time, which increased its military significance even more. The third phase is connected with a number of intensified attempts by the Russian authorities to reintegrate the post-Soviet space and reinforce Russian influence in the Baltic Sea² after 2000.

Here, it is worth analysing the Kaliningrad region more accurately as a crucial element of Russian policy in the post-Soviet space, mostly implemented and observed after 2009. That period is characterized by intensified Russian actions aimed at increasing its influence in particular former Soviet republics, intended to persuade them to participate in a number of integration initiatives in the post-Soviet space: the Eurasian Economic Union, the Customs Union, or other initiatives of a political and/or defensive character. It is important now to distinguish three crucial groups of states – former Soviet republics – that present different levels of acceptance towards the idea of post-Soviet reintegration. The core of the integration processes should include Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, countries that even today manifest their willingness to participate in the integration processes. The second group includes the former Soviet republics that show relatively ambivalent attitudes toward post-Soviet space reintegration projects. Their attitudes toward those processes is dependent, to a large extent, on the current political conditions in those states. The third group – including Ukraine, Moldova, the South Caucasus states, and to lesser degree the Baltic states – forms a key challenge for Russian objectives connected with the reintegration of the post-Soviet space. In the nearest future, the main attempts of the Russian authorities connected with the project of post-Soviet space reintegration are to be directed towards building mechanisms of destabilization and forming regions/states which will be the sources of threats to key areas of that reintegration. These regions – which are, in fact, sources of military and non-military threats – form something akin to geopolitical wedges that threaten those areas of the former Soviet Union that are presently part of the Euro-Atlantic integration process (the Baltic states) or demonstrate such aspirations (Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan).

² Jarosław Affek, "Potencjał militarny Rosji w obwodzie kaliningradzkim a możliwości wpływania tego państwa na sytuację geopolityczną w regionie." *Przegląd Geopolityczny* 8 (2014): 192-194.

The Specific Character of the Kaliningrad Region of the Russian Federation

The Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation is an area where various tendencies, as well as social and political phenomena, have emerged. On the one hand, they reflect the diversity of Russia itself, while on the other, they demonstrate the specific features of this area of the Russian Federation. One of its characteristics is its geographical location: the region is an enclave “squeezed-in” between Poland and Lithuania, and territorially disconnected from the remaining part of the Russian Federation. The peripheral nature of this region in relation to other Russian territories is accompanied by its geographical proximity to East-Central European states, which has an influence on opportunities for establishing economic and social contacts on various levels³.

The Kaliningrad region is an area with less than seventy years of historical tradition. No social or political structure of a similar territorial shape or national identity existed here before. The specific character of the area under discussion is related to the fact that it was created as a result of decisions made by the Allied superpowers at the end of World War II, conditioned mainly by geopolitical and geostrategic reasons, not by historical or demographic reasons⁴. As a consequence, the demographic and material image of the region which was created after the war was not rooted in any previous history or tradition of those lands. Legal sanctioning of the existence of the Kaliningrad region and the establishment of its borders took place over the period of 1945-1957. It is considered that 1946 marked the formal beginning of the existence of this area as part of the USSR and, currently, the Russian Federation.

What is worth emphasizing is the specific nature of the community of the Kaliningrad region, which was meant to illustrate – according to the intentions of its creators – a model Soviet community. A series of consequences resulting from the plans of the constructors of the social and economic reality of the region includes the particularly important fact that the national diversity of the Kaliningrad region reflects, to some extent, the multi-national character of the Soviet Union and, later, the Russian Federation – Russians make up the majority of the population (86%), although the region is also inhabited by Belarusians and Ukrainians (3% each), Lithuanians and Armenians (1% each) and peoples from the Caucasus and Central Asia. A significant element determining the character of the region’s community is also the clash of two opposing tendencies related, on one side, to the drive for closer integration of the region with “big” Russia and, on the other, with the desire to gain special autonomous status within the Russian Federation⁵.

³ Christian Wellman, “Historische Miszelle. Die Russische Exklave Kaliningrad als Konfliktsyndrom.” *Die Friedens-Warte Journal of International Peace and Organization* 3-4 (2000): 404.

⁴ Genadiy Kretinin, Vladimir Briushinkin, Valeriy Galtsov, *Ocherki istorii Vostochnoy Prussii* (Kaliningrad: Yantarniy Skaz, 2002), 452.

⁵ David T. Kronenfeld, “Kaliningrad in the Twenty-First Century—Independence, Semi-Autonomy, or Continued Second-Class Citizenship?” *Washington University Global Studies Law Review* 9, issue 1 (2010): 159-161.

It is worth mentioning that in recent years federal authorities have undertaken a series of initiatives aimed at tightening cooperation between Russia and the region, the most important of which included a procedure introduced in 2004 concerning the appointment of governors of individual federal regions (revoked in 2012) and the implementation in 2006 of a relocation programme to move Russian populations of former Soviet republics to the region⁶.

The Kaliningrad Region as a Subject of Russian Security Policy

The attitude of the Russian authorities toward the Kaliningrad region is based on the claim that it makes up an integral and significant part of the Russian Federation, particularly from the point of view of national defence and security. All discussions held over the last dozen years or so concerning the special status of the region or the need to introduce economic privileges take into account the inseparability of relations between the region and “big” Russia.

It should be underlined that the far-reaching dependence of the region on federal authorities has, first of all, political and systemic dimensions. Currently, the decision-making ability of the region’s government is highly limited. Most decisions concerning the social and economic development of the region are taken at the federal level. Both the structure of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and a series of other legal regulations at the federal and regional level make the region merely a tool of Russian policy, depriving it of any major importance as an autonomic political and spatial entity.

The dependence of the Kaliningrad region on federal authorities is also sanctioned by the formal and legal status of the region within the structural and political system of the Russian Federation. The Kaliningrad region is one of eighty-three subjects of the Russian Federation, and its political system is to a large extent determined by the structural system of Russia and its political scene. Under the Constitution of the Russian Federation of 1993, the Kaliningrad region gained official recognition and status as an administrative-territorial unit. Strong relations between the region and “big” Russia are also reflected in the provisions of the federal agreement of 31 March 1992, providing a legal basis for the functioning of the region within the Russian Federation⁷.

Another instrument for deepening relations between the Kaliningrad region and Moscow are mechanisms for integrating the political system of the region with the federal authority system and a gradual reduction of the powers of regional authorities. One of the most meaningful examples was the abolition of direct elections of the region’s governors in 2004, replacing them with appointments by presidents of the Federation,

⁶ Jadwiga Rogoża, Agata Wierzbowska-Miazga, Iwona Wiśniewska, “Wyspa na uwięzi. Kaliningrad między Moskwą a UE.” *Prace OSW* 41 (2012): 10-11.

⁷ See: Federalniy Dogovor, (Moscow, 31 March 1992), accessed 20 April 2013, <http://constitution.garant.ru/act/federative/170280/#220>.

with the consent of regional legislatures. Although this regulation was revoked in 2012, the political dependence of governors on the federal authorities deserves attention.

A factor which clearly places the Kaliningrad region among the crucial regions of Russia from a geopolitical point of view is its military character. The Kaliningrad region makes up a part of the North-West Federal District and the Western Military District of Russia. The region is also an important component of the Baltic Naval Zone, intended to protect the Russian military presence in the Baltic Sea basin. The region is characterized by developed military infrastructure, based on a system of land, air and naval military bases. A significant element of this infrastructure is the Russian Baltic Fleet, with naval bases in Baltiysk, Primorsk and Kaliningrad⁸. Ground forces in the area of the Kaliningrad region include infantry, missile, artillery and motor brigades stationed in Baltiysk, Kaliningrad, Gusev and Chernyakhovsk. Major air force combat units are located at bases in Chkalovsk and Chernyakhovsk, and a helicopter regiment is stationed at Donskoye and Ljubino. To complete the picture, it should be added that the Kaliningrad region is also an area where several reconnaissance and anti-aircraft units are located. The main centres are: Pereslavskoye (radio-technical regiment), Gvardeysk and Znamensk (missile defence regiments)⁹.

Although after the collapse of the Soviet Union the number of troops in the region was reduced, it still remains one of the largest agglomerations of military units in Russia, determining Russian military potential in the Baltic Sea basin to a significant extent. After 1991, the number of troops garrisoned in the region was estimated at 40,000-100,000 soldiers and sailors¹⁰. Although these numbers were gradually reduced throughout the 1990s, the region still plays a significant role in Russian military strategy¹¹. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the Russian government supported the need to maintain the military nature of the region in view of its strategic importance. According to this concept, it was of vital interest to the Russian Federation to keep significant ground and naval forces in the region. Despite a clear reduction in the military potential of the region, it should be expected that the Russian side will not refrain from taking advantage – at least in terms of political rhetoric – of this potential, as shown by its repeated announcements of the deployment of short and medium-range missiles¹².

⁸ Andrzej Sakson, "Obwód kaliningradzki a bezpieczeństwo Polski." *Przegląd Strategiczny* 7 (2014): 114.

⁹ Robert Ciechanowski, "Rosyjskie siły zbrojne w Kaliningradzie." 2014, accessed 18 June 2015, <http://dziennikzbrojny.pl/artykuly/art,2,6,6819,armie-swiata,potencjal,rosyjskie-sily-zbrojne-w-kaliningradzie>.

¹⁰ Vladimir N. Abramov, *Kaliningradskaya oblast': sotsialno-politicheskiye i geopoliticheskiye aspekty obshchestvennoy transformatsiy 90-keh gg.* (Sankt Petersburg: Nestor, 1998), 27; Valeriy Galtsov, "Obwód Kaliningradzki w latach 1945 – 1991. Społeczeństwo, gospodarka, kultura." *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 2 (1996): 210.

¹¹ Andrzej Sakson, "Okręg Kaliningradzki – rosyjskim oknem na Europę." *Przegląd Zachodni* 1 (1997): 247; Marek Szymański, "Potencjał militarny w Obwodzie Kaliningradzkim a bezpieczeństwo Polski." *Przegląd Zachodni* 1 (1999): 143-149.

¹² Daniel Szeligowski, "Rosjanie rozmieszczą rakiety przy granicy z Polską." 2013, accessed April 19, 2013, <http://uniaeuropa.org/rosjanie-rozmieszcz-rakiety-przy-granicy-z-polski/>; Ingmar Oldberg, "Kaliningrad's difficult plight between Moscow and Europe." *Ulpaper* 2 (Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 2015): 8-9.

Three major factors indicate an increase in the significance of the Kaliningrad region in Russian military doctrine. Firstly, Russian strategic documents on national security stress the importance of increasing the influence of the Russian Federation in the post-Soviet space, at the same time identifying threats connected with NATO's military infrastructure near the borders of Russia. In the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation until 2020, accepted in 2009, as well as in its amendment from December 2015, it has been stressed that disturbances to the balance of military power in the neighbourhood of Russia or its allies' borders constitute threats to state security¹³. Thus, threats resulting from any possible infrastructure deployment in the NATO states neighbouring Russia (Poland, the Baltic States) have been indicated. In this context, the Kaliningrad region is a key area from the point of view of Russian security strategy.

Secondly, in accordance with the content of the latest Security Strategy, ensuring strategic stability in Russia's direct neighbourhood should be achieved by reinforcing integration actions (political and military) in the post-Soviet space, as well as by harmonizing the integration processes on the European continent¹⁴. The content of the document is to be understood as a proposition to find a specific *modus vivendi* with the European Union and, at the same time, to obtain larger freedom to implement the concept of post-Soviet space reintegration. The Kaliningrad region makes up a crucial element of that concept, serving as a wedge that closes the post-Soviet space from the West.

Thirdly, a practical dimension of the role played by the Kaliningrad region in Russian security strategy and war doctrine is also worth mentioning. The majority of military manoeuvres conducted in recent years in the Russian Western Military District involved Kaliningrad episodes¹⁵. Apart from the military potential of the region demonstrated before, it should be also pointed out that it is located in one of the key areas of Russia from a geostrategic point of view. In the case of a hypothetical military conflict with the West, the Kaliningrad region is to form a Russian gate to the southern part of the Baltic Sea region, making it possible to territorially cut off the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia) from the rest of the NATO member states¹⁶.

¹³ Chapter II, pt. 12 of National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation to 2020, no. 537, 12.05.2009, accessed February 24, 2009, <http://www.scrf.gov.ru/documents/99.html>; pt. 15 of National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation to 2020, no. 683, 31.12.2015, accessed February 24, 2016, <http://kremlin.ru/acts/bank/40391>.

¹⁴ Chapter IV of National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation to 2020, no. 683, 31.12.2015, accessed February 24, 2016, <http://kremlin.ru/acts/bank/40391>.

¹⁵ The following Russian military exercises had their Kaliningrad episodes: Zapad 2009, military exercise of Russian Western Military District in 2012, Zapad 2013, exercises of rocket forces in 2014, as well as Union Shield 2015. See: Johan Norberg, *Training to Fight – Russia's Major Military Exercises 2011–2014* (Report no. FOI-R--4128—SE: Swedish Ministry of Defence, 2015), 65-74; *Russia's Zapad 2013. Military Exercise. Lessons for Baltic Regional Security*, eds. Liudas Zdanavičius and Matthew Czekaj (Washington: The Jamestown Foundation, 2015); "Rosyjsko-białoruskie ćwiczenia »Tarcza Związku«." 2015, accessed February 24, 2016, <http://przegladmilitarny.blogspot.com/2015/09/rosyjsko-biaoruskie-cwiczenia-tarcza.html>.

¹⁶ An area of high risk is the so-called "Suwałki Gap" – part of the Polish territory that separates the Kaliningrad region and Belarus. This area was defined by General Ben Hodges, commander of US Army

The Kaliningrad Region in Relations between Russia and the West

The Kaliningrad region, as the westernmost area of the Russian Federation, is a natural area of economic, social and cultural cooperation with states participating in the process of European and Euro-Atlantic integration. As a result of the political transformations after 1989, the region has become an enclave surrounded by Polish and Lithuanian territories, and, at the same time, one of the border regions of the Russian Federation¹⁷. After the expansion of the European Union and NATO in 1999-2004, the Kaliningrad region became an area bordering on territories of member states of both organizations. In this context, the region is one of the key areas of EU–Russian and NATO–Russian relations, to a certain extent defining common operations at the level of central institutions and, in bilateral relations between Russia and Poland, Lithuania, Germany and the Scandinavian states, as well as serving as a benchmark with regard to the temperature and quality of those relations.

Issues related directly and indirectly to the Kaliningrad region were addressed in numerous policy papers on EU-Russian relations, which were elaborated and adopted at EU-Russia fora. The first paper was the Common Strategy of the European Union on Russia, approved at the summit of the European Council in Cologne on 4 June 1999. One of the key intentions contained in the paper and related to the Kaliningrad region was to enhance Europe's cohesion through regional and cross-border cooperation¹⁸. Another important document for the EU-Russian relations and cooperation on the Kaliningrad region was the Medium-Term Strategy for the Development of Relations between the Russian Federation and the EU (2000-2010) published in October 1999¹⁹. The Kaliningrad issue was also addressed in other documents and discussed at numerous events related to EU-Russian relations. The European Commission report "The EU and Kaliningrad", published in January 2001, identified a number of risks and benefits for the Kaliningrad region resulting from the European Union expansion eastwards²⁰. In turn, the Communication from the Commission to the Council and the

Europe, as another NATO 'gap' to worry about. See: Paul McLeary, "Meet the New Fulda Gap. Foreign Policy." 29.08.2015, accessed February 24, 2016, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/29/fulda-gap-nato-russia-putin-us-army/>; Richard Sisk, "Poland's Suwalki Gap Replaces Germany's Fulda Gap as Top NATO Concern." 10.12.2015, accessed February 24, 2016, <http://www.military.com/daily-news/2015/12/10/polands-suwalki-gap-replaces-germanys-fulda-gap-top-nato-concern.html>.

¹⁷ Valeriy Bilczak, *Prigranichnaya ekonomika* (Kaliningrad: KGU, 2001), 122; Marcin Chełminiak, *Obwód Kaliningradzki FR w Europie. Rosyjska enklawa w nowym międzynarodowym ładzie politycznym* (Toruń: Dom Wydawniczy Duet, 2009), 88.

¹⁸ Robert Dziewulski, Rafał Hykawy, "Wspólna Strategia UE wobec Rosji." *Biuletyn Analiz UKIE* 1 (1999): 1-7.

¹⁹ Marek Menkiszak, "Rosja wobec Unii Europejskiej: kryzys »strategicznego partnerstwa«." *Prace OSW* 22 (2006): 30-32.

²⁰ Łukasz Gemziak, "Obwód Kaliningradzki – rosyjska enklawa wewnątrz Unii Europejskiej." *Dialogi Polityczne* 10 (2008): 347.

European Parliament on Relations with Russia (February 2004) emphasised the need to establish friendly relations with the Russian Federation, in particular through the creation and development of cross-border cooperation. The document also provided for a liberalisation of the visa policy towards Russia and its border areas, depending on progress made in the modernisation of the economic and political systems²¹.

In observing EU-Russian relations, particularly those carried out in the political sphere, it should be noted that issues related to the Kaliningrad region were key problems hindering the development of those relations²². Undoubtedly, the existence of the Kaliningrad region as an enclave surrounded by EU Member State territories, with all its negative consequences, determines relations between the European Union and Russia to a significant extent, and this is how this issue should be analysed. At this point, it is worth underlining that the Kaliningrad issue was present in discussions concerning the relations between the European Union and the Russian Federation as far back as the early 1990s²³.

Eastern expansion of the European Union and NATO, and involvement of the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation in European cooperation, became the basis of concerns expressed in some Russian circles pertaining to the growth (as a result of cooperation with EU entities) of the region's independence in relations with the Russian Federation. According to those opinions, various initiatives carried out by Western states, related to deepening cooperation with the Kaliningrad region, are a tool for arousing the region's awareness of its distinct character as "the westernmost" outpost of Russia. The Russian Federation attaches great significance to separatist tendencies emerging in the region, although in fact they are actually marginal. The Russian side also perceives the proposals of Western states concerning their support for social, economic and political contacts with the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation in this same context²⁴.

At the same time, it should be emphasised that the Kaliningrad region will continue to be one of the key areas of EU-Russian and NATO-Russian relations. It should be stressed that the Kaliningrad region as part of the Russian Federation is a major element of the great project of post-Soviet space reintegration carried out since the beginning of the 21st century under the auspices of Russia. Therefore, the region is meant to form a

²¹ Menkiszak, "Rosja wobec Unii Europejskiej," 28-29.

²² The importance of the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation in EU-Russian relations was noticed especially in the period immediately preceding the enlargement of the EU in 2004. See: Menkiszak, "Rosja wobec Unii Europejskiej," 10; Gemziak, "Obwód Kaliningradzki," 10.

²³ Issues referring to a practical dimension of the EU-Russian Federation relations and neighbourhood are a subject of the regulations included in the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, 1994, accessed February 24, 2016, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:31997D0800&from=PL>.

²⁴ One of the manifestations of these concerns was ambiguous attitude of the Russian authorities toward the liberalization of the visa regime on Polish-Russian border in 2012. See: "Władimir Putin przeciwny wizowym ułatwieniom dla obwodu kaliningradzkiego." *Tydzień na Wschodzie*, The Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW). 08.06.2011, accessed February 24, 2016, <http://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2011-06-08/wladimir-putin-przeciwny-wizowym-ulatwieniom-dla-obwodu>.

natural zone of Russian interests in the area of the southern part of the Baltic Sea region forming a threat to the Baltic states and Poland. The region is a key area from the point of view of the Russian Federation's geo-strategy in East-Central Europe as it facilitates cutting the Baltic states off from their NATO allies in the case of any potential military conflict. For that reason, the Kaliningrad region has been a crucial element of Russian military training manoeuvres in recent years²⁵. At the same time, attempts to install permanent elements of military infrastructure by NATO or the United States on the territories of Poland and the Baltic states pose a crucial threat to the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation, which justifies Russian objections to actions by NATO aimed in that direction²⁶. The future role of the region in the development of those relations can also be analysed on several planes, including: at the level of political relations between the EU and Russia; at the level of political and military relations between NATO and Russia; at the level of international relations with EU Member States (Polish-Russian, Lithuanian-Russian relations); at the regional level (economic cooperation and social-cultural relations in the borderlands). The most advanced cooperation is observed in the last point. There has been significant achievement in the form of introducing local border traffic as a tool for engaging the region in the network of European cooperation and playing a special role as a laboratory for changes in cooperation between Russia and the West. In view of this, the Kaliningrad region, as an entity of the Russian Federation, can be both a significant link in relations between Russia and the West, and might also serve to reduce the often confrontational operations of Russia in East-Central Europe.

Alternatives for the Kaliningrad Region

Although the role of the Kaliningrad region in the political stability and security of East-Central Europe has already become important, it seems that the geopolitical importance of the region will grow even more in the future. This will not only be the result of the specific geographical location of the region but, above all, the effect of the above-mentioned intersection of two great integration processes in the area of the Kaliningrad region: Euro-Atlantic integration, and Euro-Asian integration carried out under the auspices of Russia. On the one hand, the Kaliningrad region as a part of the Russian Federation, will be an element of a broader political plan carried out by Russian authorities, aimed at political, military and economic domination in the post-Soviet space. On the other hand, the Kaliningrad region is, and will remain in the future, a participant in intensive cooperation with member states of the European Union and NATO. In this context, it is worth making an attempt to create alternatives for the region in view of the changing international conditions that can be observed in Europe. It should be

²⁵ Norberg, *Training to Fight*, 65-74; *Russia's Zapad 2013*; "Rosyjsko-białoruskie ćwiczenia »Tarcza Związku«.".

²⁶ Oldberg, "Kaliningrad's Difficult," 9.

emphasized that although the role of the region in the security of East-Central Europe is obviously the outcome of various factors and phenomena affecting international relations and security in Europe, those alternatives can be presented as four scenarios:

1. Status quo – the Kaliningrad region as an important region of Russia from the geopolitical perspective, with some elements of independence, especially in contacts with partners from East-Central European states;
2. The Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation as a laboratory and a specific testing ground in relations between Russia and the West. In this scenario, the region would play the role of a stabilizing factor for the situation in East-Central Europe and the mechanism of political cooperation between Russia and the West;
3. “Deep” independence of the Kaliningrad region as the fourth Baltic republic – which seems an unrealistic scenario under current conditions of political and military consolidation of the Russian Federation. If separatist tendencies emerge, the region would become a source of conflict in East-Central Europe;
4. The Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation as a tool in the hands of the federal authorities, used to “hold in check” member states of the EU and NATO in the South Baltic region.

Although we can now observe a mixture of the above-mentioned scenarios in the present geopolitical situation, particularly in the context of the conflict in Ukraine and the implemented project of integrating post-Soviet space by the Russian Federation, it should be expected that the fourth scenario is more likely, since it is related to the use of the geographical location of the Kaliningrad region as an element of the geopolitical game carried out in East-Central Europe. However, it should be expected that, at the social and economic level, the federal authorities will still allow the region to keep, to some extent, independent contacts with their European partners.

At this point, it should be mentioned that the southern part of the Baltic Sea region is one of the key geostrategic areas in Europe. According to many experts, the enlargement of NATO to the East from 1999-2004, has redefined the previous directions of Moscow’s geostrategic interests, which, apart from the western direction (Poland, Lithuania, the Czech Republic), now include, among others, the southern (Crimea, Donbas, Caucasus), south-western (Carpathians, Balkans) and north-western directions (Baltic states, Scandinavia)²⁷. The internal political and military consolidation of Russia since 2000, the strengthening of integration tendencies in the post-Soviet space and, as a consequence, the conflict in Ukraine, have only reinforced the importance of the above-mentioned geostrategic directions of interests of the Russian Federation. The geopolitical transformations in East-Central Europe presented above have resulted in the

²⁷ Andrzej Sakson, “Obwód kaliningradzki w otoczeniu NATO i Unii Europejskiej.” *Rocznik Bezpieczeństwa Międzynarodowego* 9 (2015), no. 1: 45; Kronenfeld, “Kaliningrad in the Twenty-First Century,” 166-167; Leonid Ivanov, *Rossija ili Moskoviya. Geopoliticheskiye izmiereniye nacyonal’noj bezopasnosti Rossii* (Moscow: Eksmo, 2002), 10-11.

Russian authorities identifying areas of particular importance through which Moscow could protect its interests in this part of Europe by controlling the areas situated somewhere “behind the backs” of states/members of European and Euro Atlantic integration. In this context, the key areas of Russia’s geopolitical interest can be treated as specific geopolitical wedges in relation to these states²⁸.

This is the way in which the incorporation of Crimea into the Russian Federation, as well as – more or less – official support for separatists in Eastern Ukraine, should be interpreted – it should be treated as a potential warning to Ukraine with regard to demonstrating European aspirations. A similar role is currently played by Transnistria, both in relation to Ukraine and Moldova, as well as by Armenia (with which the Kremlin maintains exceptionally warm relations) in relation to Georgia and Azerbaijan. It might be expected that a similar role – at least as intended by the Russian authorities – can be played by the Kaliningrad region towards Poland and the Baltic states, as a source of permanent (more or less real) threat, helping Russia to preserve its influence in the southern part of the Baltic Sea region.

Thus, the factors that may define the role of the Kaliningrad region as the Russian Federation’s geopolitical wedge in East-Central Europe, according to the thesis presented in the introduction to this article, should be singled out. Firstly, the geographical location of the region predestines it in a particular way to play the role of a specific guardian of Russian interests in the region of the southern part of the Baltic Sea basin. Although the size of its area, population, or economic structure do not indicate its crucial role in the federal structures of Russia, the significance of the region attributed in Russian strategic documents, or including the region in Russian plans connected with military manoeuvres, prove the crucial geopolitical potential of the region. Secondly, its role in Russian military doctrine is an indicator of the significance of the Kaliningrad region for security in East-Central Europe. Even today, the region is an area of concentrated troop deployment and military infrastructure, while the military manoeuvres carried out in recent years on the territory of the Kaliningrad region (or those that used military units stationed in Kaliningrad) have been of an expansive, not defensive character. Thirdly, the character of the actions by the Russian authorities on the international arena, including the expected aims of Russian foreign policy connected with post-Soviet space reintegration, indicate that using territories belonging to the Russian Federation or tightly connected to it economically, militarily, and politically, is to be one of the tools for implementing Russian interest in that area.

²⁸ Anna M. Dwyer, “Back to the Difficult Past: Central and Eastern Europe’s Relationship with Russia.” *PISM Policy Paper* 16 (2015): p. 3-4.

Summary

The Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation is a unique area in East-Central Europe from the point of view of development of cooperation between the European Union and the Russian Federation, as well as geopolitical conditions of security in the Baltic Sea region. Due to this reason, the Kaliningrad region is a crucial area for security of the Baltic Sea region. In this region, subject to the Russian Federation, two key processes for European security are intersecting. On the one hand, this is the process of European integration, which is continuing in the eastern part of Europe, while the Kaliningrad region – due to its geographical location – is taking part in several nets of European cooperation. On the other hand, the Kaliningrad region is a subject of the Russian Federation, which is carrying out a great project of reintegration of the post-Soviet space and the region is one of the key elements necessary for the success of this project. The Kaliningrad region might become a tool in the hands of the Russian authorities to threaten states of the Baltic Sea region, as they do in relation to other exclaves and separatist regions in the post-Soviet space. The thesis of the lecture is the assertion that the significance of the Kaliningrad region to the security of the Baltic Sea region, as well as the whole of East-Central Europe, will increase on par with the rise of processes of integration in the post-Soviet space. An indicator of this is the significance of the Kaliningrad region in the national security system of the Russian Federation, as well as its geographical location, especially in the context of relations with the Baltic states. Also of significance in this process are the goals of Russian foreign policy with regard to the Baltic states, as well as the Nordic states.

References:

- Abramov, Vladimir N. *Kaliningradskaya oblast': sotsyalno-politicheskiye i geopoliticheskiye aspekty obshchestvennoy transformatsiy 90-kh gg.* Sankt Petersburg: Nestor, 1998.
- Affek, Jarosław. “Potencjał militarny Rosji w obwodzie kaliningradzkim a możliwości wpływania tego państwa na sytuację geopolityczną w regionie.” *Przegląd Geopolityczny* 8 (2014).
- Bilczak, Valeriy. *Prigranichnaya ekonomika.* Kaliningrad: KGU, 2001.
- Chełminiak, Marcin. *Obwód Kaliningradzki FR w Europie. Rosyjska enklawa w nowym międzynarodowym ładzie politycznym.* Toruń: Dom Wydawniczy Duet, 2009.
- Ciechanowski, Robert. “Rosyjskie siły zbrojne w Kaliningradzie.” 2014. Accessed June 18, 2015, <http://dziennikzbroyny.pl/artykuly/art,2,6,6819,armie-swiata,potencjal,rosyjskie-sily-zbrojne-w-kaliningradzie>.
- Dyner, Anna M. “Back to the Difficult Past: Central and Eastern Europe’s Relationship with Russia.” *PISM Policy Paper* 16 (2015).

- Dziewulski, Robert, Hykawy, Rafał. "Wspólna Strategia UE wobec Rosji." *Biuletyn Analiz UKIE* 1 (1999).
- Federalniy Dogovor, (Moscow, 31 March 1992). Accessed April 20, 2013. <http://constitution.garant.ru/act/federative/170280/#220>.
- Galtsov, Valeriy. "Obwód Kaliningradzki w latach 1945 – 1991. Społeczeństwo, gospodarka, kultura." *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 2 (1996).
- Gemziak, Łukasz. "Obwód Kaliningradzki – rosyjska enklawa wewnątrz Unii Europejskiej." *Dialogi Polityczne* 10 (2008).
- Ivanov, Leonid. *Rossiya ili Moskoviya. Geopoliticheskiye izmereniye nacyonal'noy bezopasnosti Rossii*. Moscow: Eksmo, 2002.
- Jarosiewicz, Aleksandra, Fischer, Ewa. "Eurazjatycka Unia Gospodarcza – więcej polityki, mniej gospodarki." *Komentarze OSW* 157 (2015).
- Kretinin, Genadiy, Briushinkin, Vladimir, Galtsov, Valeriy. *Ocherki istorii Vostochnoy Prussii*. Kaliningrad: Yantarniy Skaz, 2002.
- Kronenfeld, David T. "Kaliningrad in the Twenty-First Century—Independence, Semi-Autonomy, or Continued Second-Class Citizenship?" *Washington University Global Studies Law Review* 9, issue 1 (2010).
- McLeary, Paul. "Meet the New Fulda Gap. Foreign Policy." 29.08.2015. Accessed February 24, 2016. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/29/fulda-gap-nato-russia-putin-us-army/>.
- Menkiszak, Marek. "Rosja wobec Unii Europejskiej: kryzys »strategicznego partnerstwa«." *Prace OSW* 22 (2006).
- National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation to 2020. No. 537. 12.05.2009. Accessed February 24, 2009. <http://www.scrf.gov.ru/documents/99.html>.
- National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation to 2020. No. 683. 31.12.2015. Accessed February 24, 2016. <http://kremlin.ru/acts/bank/40391>.
- Norberg, Johan. *Training to Fight – Russia's Major Military Exercises 2011–2014*. Report no. FOI-R--4128—SE: Swedish Ministry of Defence (2015).
- Oldberg, Ingmar. "Kaliningrad's difficult plight between Moscow and Europe." *Ulpaper* 2. Swedish Institute of International Affairs (2015).
- Partnership and Cooperation Agreement. 1994. Accessed February 24, 2016. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:31997D0800&from=PL>.
- Popescu, Nicu. *Eurasian Union: the real, the imaginary and the likely*. Paris: CHAILLOT PAPERS, EU Institute for Security Studies, 2014.
- Rogoża, Jadwiga, Wierzbowska-Miazga, Agata, Wiśniewska, Iwona, "Wyspa na uwięzi. Kaliningrad między Moskwą a UE." *Prace OSW* 41 (2012).
- "Rosyjsko-białoruskie ćwiczenia »Tarcza Związku«." 2015. Accessed February 24, 2016. <http://przegladmilitarny.blogspot.com/2015/09/rosyjsko-biaoruskie-cwiczenia-tarcza.html>.
- Russia's Zapad 2013. Military Exercise. Lessons for Baltic Regional Security*. Eds. Liudas Zdanavičius and Matthew Czekaj. Washington: The Jamestown Foundation, 2015.

- Sakson, Andrzej. “Okręg Kaliningradzki – rosyjskim oknem na Europę.” *Przegląd Zachodni* 1 (1997).
- Sakson, Andrzej. “Obwód kaliningradzki a bezpieczeństwo Polski.” *Przegląd Strategiczny* 7 (2014).
- Sakson, Andrzej. “Obwód kaliningradzki w otoczeniu NATO i Unii Europejskiej.” *Rocznik Bezpieczeństwa Międzynarodowego* 9. No. 1 (2015).
- Sisk, Richard. “Poland’s Suwalki Gap Replaces Germany’s Fulda Gap as Top NATO Concern.” 10.12.2015. Accessed February 24, 2016. <http://www.military.com/daily-news/2015/12/10/polands-suwalki-gap-replaces-germanys-fulda-gap-top-nato-concern.html>.
- Szeligowski, Daniel. “Rosjanie rozmieszczą rakiety przy granicy z Polską.” 2013. Accessed April 19, 2013. <http://uniaeuropejska.org/rosjanie-rozmieszcz-rakiety-przy-granicy-z-polsk/>.
- Szymański, Marek. “Potencjał militarny w Obwodzie Kaliningradzkim a bezpieczeństwo Polski.” *Przegląd Zachodni* 1 (1999).
- Wellman, Christian. “Historische Miszelle. Die Russische Exklave Kaliningrad als Konfliktsyndrom.” *Die Friedens-Warte Journal of International Peace and Organization* 3-4 (2000).
- “Władimir Putin przeciwny wizowym ułatwieniom dla obwodu kaliningradzkiego.” *Tydzień na Wschodzie*, The Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW). 08.06.2011. Accessed February 24, 2016. <http://www.osw.waw.pl/pl/publikacje/analizy/2011-06-08/wladimir-putin-przeciwny-wizowym-ulatwieniom-dla-obwodu>.



Abstract

The Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation is a unique area in East-Central Europe from the point of view of development of cooperation between the European Union and the Russian Federation, as well as geopolitical conditions of security in the Baltic Sea region. Due to this reason, the Kaliningrad region is a crucial area for security of the Baltic Sea region. In this region, subject to the Russian Federation, two key processes for European security are intersecting. On the one hand, this is the process of European integration, which is continuing in the eastern part of Europe, while the Kaliningrad region – due to its geographical location – is taking part in several nets of European cooperation. On the other hand, the Kaliningrad region is a subject of the Russian Federation, which is carrying out a great project of reintegration of the post-Soviet space and the region is one of the key elements necessary for the success of this project. The Kaliningrad region might become a tool in the hands of the Russian authorities to threaten states of the Baltic Sea region, as they do in relation to other exclaves

and separatist regions in the post-Soviet space. The thesis of the lecture is the assertion that the significance of the Kaliningrad region to the security of the Baltic Sea region, as well as the whole of East-Central Europe, will increase on par with the rise of processes of integration in the post-Soviet space. An indicator of this is the significance of the Kaliningrad region in the national security system of the Russian Federation, as well as its geographical location, especially in the context of relations with the Baltic states. Also of significance in this process are the goals of Russian foreign policy with regard to the Baltic states, as well as the Nordic states.

Keywords: the Kaliningrad region, East-Central Europe, Russian Federation, international security

III

RUSSIA. PRICE OF AGGRESSION

The Russian-Ukrainian Conflict as a Threat to European Security

NATALIA L. IAKOVENKO, GALYNA A. PISKORSKA
Taras Shevchenko National University, Kyiv, Ukraine

Russian aggression against Ukraine has become a very serious test for European and global security systems, ensuring security has become much more significant than ever before. Russia's actions against Ukraine are undermining stability in many states of the Baltic, Black Sea and Caspian Sea regions, having challenged NATO as the main element of European security, and have cast doubt on the further destiny of the whole European project and the idea of a united Europe. The Ukrainian crisis of 2014, and its political results, have shown a substantially new arrangement of power in international relations, and revealed the vulnerability and insufficiency of strategic approaches of modern nominal leaders, including the US, EU and NATO.

Russian disregard for the inviolability of European state borders and the lack of respect for formal elements of state sovereignty have resulted in the emergence of new seats of international tension and the local conflict in Donbas. In contrast to previous situations, the political crisis in Ukraine in late 2013 and early 2014, was rather special, as it aggravated the relationship between two leading military powers – Russia and the US – and led to the renewal of a large-scale conflict threat in Europe.

In the modern context, it is not principally important what the particular actors' initial interests were, and how grounded Russian, American and NATO arguments were in long-term discussions concerning European security throughout the period of 1991-2012. According to Zbigniew Brzezinski, the essence of the contemporary period is the fact that some principal participants of the system have dared to significantly broaden measures for the use of force, or at least to avoid the tactics of transferring clashes of interests into the region of latent confrontation¹.

In March 2014, while declaring its non-recognition of the political changes in Ukraine, the Russian authorities openly applied a variety of methods from their own doctrinal documents including: the Concept of Foreign Policy, National Security Strategy and Military Doctrine. The coming to power of Ukrainian oppositional leaders in February 2014, was interpreted in Moscow as a coup, enabling Ukraine to come under the protection of the

¹ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Confronting Russian Chauvinism*, <http://www.the-american-interest.com/articles/2014/06/27/confronting-russianchauvinism/>

US and NATO. At the same time, joining Crimea and Sevastopol to the Russian Federation was presented as an action aimed at the protection of its own people.

For the NATO countries of CEE and the Baltic, the Crimean situation serves as a good example of what can happen to them². Experts do not deny a possible course of events according to the following scenario:

The first phase of an operation is decisive – military action is very rapid, intensive and localized, creating an “accomplished act”, which could hardly be changed later. Then, as an instrument of pressure, aggressive Russian diplomacy is brought into play, aimed at further using the created situation to subordinate the state (the object of aggression) to the political and economic agenda imposed by Russia (for Ukraine this includes demands of federalization, the designation of Russian as the state’s official second language, the abandonment of cooperation with NATO, etc.). Methods of intimidation and threats, creating an atmosphere of uncertainty, are of special importance. In Ukraine’s case this means concentrating military forces at the Ukrainian border, Putin declaring Russia’s historical ownership of the southern and eastern parts of Ukraine (as well as Crimea), and permission from the Federation Council to bring Russian troops onto Ukrainian territory “in case of necessity”.

From 1992, Ukraine was *de facto* a non-bloc state. However, it did direct its attention toward NATO standards in the sphere of security and concluded declarative political treaties with the Alliance and its Member States. According to the Association Agreement with the EU, which became the so-called “detonator” of the internal protest movement against Yanukovich, the state was to remain in the Eastern Partnership zone with no projects in place for future EU membership. By adapting to European political and legal norms, the country was to remain in the Euro-Atlantic community, consisting of the US, EU, NATO (the imaginary transatlantic partnership) and the OECD, as well as several other institutions and structures of multilateral cooperation. Demonstrating opposition to the dominant status of America in the international system, and by resorting to active offensive tactics, Putin’s goal was to force the West to recognize the falsity of the idea of expanding NATO, which would split Western solidarity and halt US and EU attempts to spread their influence in Eastern Europe.

A direct result of the Russian leadership’s planned “hybrid aggression” against Ukraine was that it significantly accelerated the transformation of the international system. Signs and tendencies of maturation – which otherwise would have taken years – manifested themselves unexpectedly quickly in the practice of international relations. The Russian leadership understands multipolarity as a direct threat to inertial international order, which was built on the system of Western alliances after the Second World War, and was distributed globally after the collapse of the USSR. Despite the focus of the international community on the events in Crimea and Donbas, the actual results of

² Б.О. Парахонський, Г.М. Яворська, *Актуальні виклики та загрози регіональній безпеці: висновки для України: аналіт. доп.*, http://www.niss.gov.ua/public/File/2014_table/0625_dop.pdf

the aggression against Ukraine have had a reduced political and system-forming impact on the USA and EU.

For a long time the Russian leadership's logic of international political positioning was based on the realization that Russia was progressing into a state of military-technical backwardness compared to the United States, whose military strategic projects scheduled before the end of the 2010s had to provide Washington with substantial global benefits. Another factor of this confrontational nature was the Russian Federation's opposition to NATO's doctrine of enlargement, which was formally – though without much enthusiasm – confirmed by Barack Obama. In response to the new Ukrainian leadership's proclamation of its pro-Western orientation, Russian official propaganda argued the annexation of Crimea, saying that transition of this territory, under the control of Ukrainian radical nationalists and Western military and political alliances, was inadmissible. Further Russian military activity in Donbas looked like preparation for a large-scale invasion that would put the very existence of Ukraine as a political project in jeopardy.

According to experts, the reasons for Crimea's annexation and the inspiration of the artificial conflict in eastern Ukraine (the announcement of “war against all”) is Russia's economic weakness and its inability to overcome internal contradictions: the demographic crisis, corruption, degeneration of the state apparatus³. The aggressive actions of the Russian authorities were also caused by so-called “national interests” arising from the inability to compete in the contemporary world, including: 1) the risk of losing the dominant role in the post-Soviet space; 2) the risk of centrifugal tendencies in the Russian Federation; 3) the risk of traditional, yet imaginary, military blackmail by NATO and the US; 4) the risk of internal instability, as well as the inability to overcome internal social and economic challenges⁴. Nevertheless, such actions appeared irrational.

The violation of the territorial integrity of Ukraine made it possible to achieve at least some of the Kremlin's goals. According to Ukrainian political analyst S. Tolstov, even with a restoration of political stability and a rising vector of economic development in “mainland Ukraine”, the country's prospects of joining the Western alliance look rather questionable within the foreseeable future⁵. It is obvious that neither the EU nor the NATO Member States will dare to approve the decision to accept a state engulfed in unresolved territorial issues with its neighbours. The reasons for this approach also coincide with the reluctance of the US and NATO to give Ukraine direct military assistance.

To force Russia to stop arming separatists in eastern Ukraine, the West applied

³ Російсько-український конфлікт: стан,наслідки, перспективи розвитку подій: аналіт. доповідь Центру Разумкова. “Національна безпека і оборона” 5-6 (2014): 2–39.

⁴ Андрій Єрмолаєв, Святослав Денисенко, Оксана Маркєєва, Леонід Поляков, *Український конфлікт і майбутнє світової та європейської безпеки*,

http://newukraineinstitute.org/media/news/501/file/crisis_security%20UKR.pdf

⁵ Сергій Толстов, *Координація політики США та ЄС у реагуванні на українську кризу*,

<http://uaforeignaffairs.com/ua/ekspertnadumka/view/article/koordinacija-politiki-ssha-ta-jes-u-reaguvanni-na-ukrajins/>

economic sanctions. Initially, these sanctions mainly affected the interests of officials associated with the Russian government, Russian banks with a share of state ownership of at least 50%, energy companies and defence companies. A series of broader sectoral sanctions were introduced only in the autumn of 2014. According to John Mirshaymera, ways of resolving the crisis can still be found if the West fundamentally changes its approach and tries to make Ukraine a “neutral buffer state between NATO and Russia, as Austria was in the era of the Cold War.” As a means of implementing this concept, an offer has been made to publicly deny plans of expanding NATO by the nations of Ukraine and Georgia, and to provide assistance to Ukraine in the form of a massive economic rescue plan funded by the EU, IMF, Russia and the US⁶.

It should be mentioned that neither Russia nor the West expressed much enthusiasm concerning Ukraine’s proclaimed neutral status in 2010. Taking into account the then decision of Kyiv to abandon goals of Euro-Atlantic integration, NATO headquarters formally remarked on the right of every country to choose their own path to defence alliances in 2010. Meanwhile, in Moscow, this decision was not seriously taken into consideration, because Kyiv did not abandon traditional interaction with NATO, continuing to participate in NATO missions and international training. Similarly, the practice of planning and approving annual, individual programs of cooperation with NATO, was preserved.

It seems that the decision of the *Verkhovna Rada* of 23 December 2014, concerning the abolition of Ukraine’s neutral status, did not open prospects for its accession to NATO either. Commenting on President Poroshenko’s declaration regarding the intention to abandon Ukraine’s non-aligned status (18 December 2014), Polish Foreign Minister Grzegorz Schetyna succinctly mentioned that the abolition of non-aligned status should not be considered a crucial historical moment. According to Schetyna, it was “a purely symbolic gesture that [did] not solve anything”. Instead, Ukraine should “defer NATO aside” and focus on securing its “European integration aspirations”. However, in terms of European integration, the annexation of Crimea and the conflict in Donbas will continue to be considered significant obstacles. Especially if the European perspective is regarded a potential possibility of accession to the EU, not limited by the implementation of adaptation measures in the context of the European Neighbourhood Policy, referred to in the Association Agreement between the EU and Ukraine⁷.

Unlike the active position of the US and EU during the internal crisis in Ukraine from November 2013 to February 2014, after the loss of Crimea, the Euro-Atlantic community leaders were not ready to face a Ukrainian-Russian conflict and the prospect of Russian expansion. The main reasons for the strategic and mental unwillingness of

⁶ J.J. Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West’s Fault. The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin”, *Foreign Affairs* 93 No. 5 (2014):77-89.

⁷ Линкявичюс: смягчение санкций для России было бы большой ошибкой, *RU.DELFI*. 6 Nov. 2014, ru.delfi.lt/news/politics/linkyavichyus-smiyagchenie-sankcij-dlya-rossii-bylo-by-bolshoj-oshibkoj.d

the West with regard to the rapid changes in the political situation and security environment lay – according to S. Tolstov – in their disbelief that Moscow would dare to use direct force against any neighbouring states⁸.

Russia's strategic nuclear capabilities and recent military reforms were not considered sufficient arguments to transform Russia into a threat to European collective security. Nonetheless, an extremely dangerous concentration of Russian military units can be observed near the Ukrainian-Russian border and on the occupied territories. At the same time, the process of Crimean militarization, including the deployment of modern military equipment and personnel to the peninsula, is ongoing. In the occupied areas of Donbas, the Russian side has its own rotation of military personnel and units. It also continues large-scale logistic operations and the financial support of militants, including the regular supply of goods by so-called “humanitarian convoys” (as of November 2015, forty-five such “humanitarian convoys” have arrived in the occupied territories of Donbas, without the consent and control of the Ukrainian side). As of December 2015, according to President Petro Poroshenko, “about 7,000-9,000 Russian troops are still located in the East of Ukraine”⁹.

The Russian Federation's system of key decision-making is extremely personified. In fact, Putin has absolute freedom of action, including those regarding foreign policy, as the consent of the Federation Council in the contemporary Russian context is an “automatic formality” (as in the situation concerning the annexation of Crimea). Vivid confirmation of this is served by Russia's military intervention in the Syrian conflict. Today, President Putin has permission to use the armed forces outside Russia's borders. We can assume that such decision can be taken personally, or within his closest circle. It should be noted that the short-term expert forecast of the situation in Ukrainian-Russian relations does not envision any change for the better and is generally reduced to negative scenarios¹⁰.

Basing on current realities, experts believe that the most likely scenario is the conservation of the situation in the east of Ukraine – creating a long-term “frozen” conflict with unpredictable consequences. However, experts do not rule out further large-scale escalation of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. Freezing of the conflict may be caused by a number of internal and external factors which are as follows: (a) the limited economic, military potential of Ukraine; (b) the palliative policy of compromises to resolve the situation in Donbas; (c) the limited willingness of the West to support Kyiv, along with

⁸ Сергій Толстов, *Координація політики США та ЄС у реагуванні на українську кризу*, <http://uaforeignaffairs.com/ua/ekspertnadumka/view/article/koordinacija-politiki-ssha-ta-jes-u-reaguvanni-na-ukrajins/>

⁹ Петр Порошенко, *На востоке Украины дислоцируются от 7 до 9 тысяч российских военных*, УНИАН, 4 декабря 2015, <http://www.unian.net>

¹⁰ Російсько-український конфлікт: стан, наслідки, перспективи розвитку подій: аналіт. доповідь Центру Разумкова. “*Національна безпека і оборона*” 5-6 (2014): 5.

growing pressure in Western political and diplomatic discourse from those supporting the easing of sanctions and restoring dialogue with Putin's Russia; (d) the gradual increase of political and financial "exhaustion" caused by the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, taking into consideration other crisis events on the European continent (in particular, the large-scale "immigration crisis" on the territory of the EU, Russia's aggressive military intervention in Syria, terrorist actions in Paris, the acute Russian-Turkish conflict). Given these circumstances, the situation in the east of Ukraine is turning into a "background event" for the West, and the Minsk negotiations are seen as the only possible means to at least avoid the further escalation of the conflict and conserve a more or less safe situational phase.

Throughout 2014, the US and EU response to the Ukrainian crisis was mainly tactical in nature. The general approach lay in the necessity to use incremental economic sanctions against Russia to deter its leadership from conflict escalation and, possibly, to convince Moscow to adhere to International Law. That is, in a strategic context neither the US administration, nor any of the European governments, saw any critical threat to the stability of NATO and Western alliances in Russia's aggression against Ukraine, thus providing the opportunity to return to a previous state of affairs.

From March 2014, the position of the West was outlined in several documents. In particular, the Hague Declaration of the G7 Emergency Meeting (24 March 2014) mentioned illegitimate actions related to the "acquisition, through coercion or force, of the entire territory of a state or the part of it by another state." The G7 condemned "the Russian Federation's violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine."¹¹ The Declaration stressed the incompatibility of Russian behaviour and convictions of the "Group of Seven", so that the participants declared Russia's removal from the G8 group, along with their intention to conduct further meetings in a seven-nation format. Meanwhile, the G7 approved Russian support of creating a special OSCE observer mission in Ukraine the deployment of which was to "facilitate dialogue, reduce pressure and normalize the situation."

The Declaration of the G7 Summit in Brussels (4-5 June 2014) nostalgically brought up an almost forty year period when the G7 – as a "catalyst for progress" – demonstrated the embodiment of collective will, protected the values of freedom and democracy, and acted as a universal guarantor of peace and security. Regarding the Russian Federation's interference in the internal affairs of Ukraine, the G7 assured the Ukrainian government and people of its support and called for the disarmament of illegal armed formations. Condemnation of the Russian aggression against Ukraine is reflected in the documents of the NATO Summit in Newport (4-5 September 2014). The Joint Statement of the Ukraine-NATO Commission on 4 September 2014, ascertained "direct military operations of Russian troops" in Ukraine. The violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine was recognized as a serious offence against International Law, and as the greatest challenge to Euro-Atlantic security.

¹¹ Statement by G7 Nations: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Group_of_Seven_\(G7\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Group_of_Seven_(G7))

The final declaration of the NATO Summit in Wales supported sanctions, imposed by the EU, G7, and other countries, as an important part of international efforts to overcome the “destabilizing behaviour of Russia”. The desired result, stated in the declaration, was Russia’s observance of “norms of International Law and its international obligations; cessation of the illegal occupation of Crimea; refraining from aggressive actions against Ukraine; withdrawal of its troops; ceasing the flow of weapons, equipment, people and money across the border for support of separatists; discontinuance of inciting tensions along and across the border with Ukraine.” NATO leaders demanded that Russia use its “influence on separatists for conflict de-escalation and to take certain steps for peaceful diplomatic settlement of the problem respecting Ukraine’s sovereignty, territorial integrity and in compliance with internationally recognized borders.” As NATO leaders stated, they are anxious about the model of Russia’s behaviour as it ignores International Law (including the UN Charter), pays no heed to the fundamental understanding and commitments to European security and threatens stability in the Black Sea region, harming the interests of Georgia and Moldova.

According to analysis of EU decisions on the crisis in Ukrainian-Russian relations, the position of European leaders was initially determined by their expectations of the possible return of the international system to its pre-crisis state. When it became clear that the situation in Crimea is under Russian military control, the EU Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs (4 March 2014) called on Russia to immediately withdraw its forces to their places of permanent deployment (under the 1997 Treaty on the status and conditions of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Ukraine) and accept the proposal of Ukraine to hold consultations, as it is provided for in the bilateral 1997 Russian-Ukrainian Treaty on friendship, cooperation and partnership, and also participate in consultations among all signatories and followers of the 1994 Budapest Memorandum.

In its following statement of 17 March 2014, the EU Council of Ministers again called on Russia to take steps to de-escalate the crisis, immediately reduce its forces to pre-crisis numbers, return their troops to their garrisons and begin direct discussions with the Government of Ukraine, as well as use relevant international instruments to search for a peaceful and agreed solution to settle the conflict. In the political conclusions of the European Council there was a remark concerning the possibility to “return events back” to avoid any further negative scenario, including the annexation of Crimea. For its part, the EU Council affirmed its readiness to hold a “constructive dialogue” with all parties and voiced intentions “to develop relations with Russia, based on mutual interest and respect for International Law.” It also expressed “regret that Russia’s actions contradict these goals.” The EU offered Russia “to return to the development of strategic partnership rather than to diplomatically and economically isolate itself.” In this respect, the EU Council warned that further steps of destabilization of the situation in Ukraine would lead to additional and far-reaching implications in a wide range of economic relations between the EU and Russia.

A tougher EU stance was formulated by the European Council meeting on 20 March 2014, in response to the annexation of Crimea and due to the lack of any progress towards de-escalation of the situation. The European Council expressed its objection against the renewed practice of using force and coercion to change borders in Europe, which has been called a violation of the Helsinki process that “for forty years, contributed to avoiding distribution in Europe and served creation of a peaceful and united continent.” The Statement of the European Council also dealt with the expansion of the list of persons subjected to an EU visa ban and freezing of finances. It also mentioned cancelling the next EU-Russia summit and Russia’s regular bilateral summits with EU member states, as well as the suspension of negotiations on Russia’s accession to the OECD and the International Energy Agency.

In its Statement of 12 May 2014, the EU Council of Ministers called on all parties who participated in the Geneva meeting (17 April 2014), to fully implement the provisions of the Geneva Declaration on initial steps to de-escalate tensions in Ukraine and restore security for all citizens. The Russian leadership was requested to withdraw troops from the Ukrainian border and immediately withdraw the mandate given by the Federation Council, which granted the right to use force in Ukraine. It was alleged that EU officials and EU Member States would continue maintaining necessary contacts with all sides to find a political path to solving the crisis in Ukraine, and would coordinate their actions with the OSCE and other international players.

Against the backdrop of conflict in Donbas, the EU Council reported on the ongoing European Commission assessment of the legal consequences of the annexation of Crimea, which involve the use of a number of economic, trade and financial restrictions in relations with Russia. The Council called upon UN members to consider the introduction of similar measures in accordance with General Assembly Resolution No. 68/262. Noting the absence of any progress towards the de-escalation of the situation in Ukrainian-Russian relations, the EU Council announced the expansion of the criteria by which certain persons or structures might be subjected to the visa ban and asset freeze. That meant, in particular, the possible inclusion on the sanctions list of “individuals responsible for active support and implementation of actions or policies that weaken territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Ukraine or stability or security in Ukraine, or persons committing obstacles to the work of international organizations in Ukraine, as well as natural and legal persons, bodies or organs close to them, or legal persons, institutions or bodies in Crimea or Sevastopol, the ownership of which was transferred contrary to the Law of Ukraine, or entities, agencies or bodies which have benefited from such transfer of ownership.”

The decision of the EU Council of 23 June 2014, stressed the further strengthening of sanctions by the European Union. The new restrictions concerned the prohibition of EU imports of goods originating in Crimea or Sevastopol (except for products having a certificate of origin from the Government of Ukraine), the prohibition of direct or indirect financing or financial assistance, and the insurance or reinsurance related to

imports of such goods. The EU Council confirmed the intention of the European Commission to participate in tripartite political consultations with the Russian Federation and Ukraine on certain aspects of implementing the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, which had to “dispel concerns about its possible consequences”.

After presidential elections in Ukraine, EU leaders welcomed the “peace plan” of President Poroshenko and urged all parties to agree to a ceasefire in order to stabilize the security situation, as well as to achieve genuine de-escalation and create conditions for a political settlement of the conflict. The European Council conclusions of 27 June 2014, insisted on urgent implementation of certain targeted measures, including: a ceasefire mechanism under OSCE observation, the restoration of effective control over the Ukrainian-Russian state border, returning some border checkpoints (Izvaryne, Dolzhanskiy and Krasnopartyzans) to Ukrainian government control, the release of hostages (including OSCE observers) and the start of negotiations on implementing the Poroshenko’s peace plan.

Despite numerous warnings and a number of preparatory steps, until the tragedy of Malaysian flight MH17, shot down near Donetsk (17 July 2014), European institutions had abstained from introducing sanctions against certain sectors of the Russian economy. Only after this incident, did the EU Council of Ministers announced the drafting of sanctions, agreed at a special meeting of the European Council on 16 July, to establish a list of individuals and organizations, including representatives of the Russian Federation. Restrictions were applied to individuals and organizations that actively provided material or financial support, or benefitted from Russian decision-making responsible for the annexation of Crimea and destabilization in eastern Ukraine. The European Commission and the European External Action Service were requested to urgently finalize the restrictions on access to capital markets, defence, dual-use goods and “sensitive” technologies, particularly in the energy sector. Criteria for application of these sanctions were to take effect on 31 July 2014, according to Council Decision 2014/512/CFSP. Among the measures introduced were the essential prohibition of loans and payments connected with Russian financial institutions (with the exception of registered structures of international status created by international agreements involving the Russian government as a shareholder). Sanctions were to remain valid until 31 July 2015¹².

At its meeting on 30 August 2014, the European Council condemned the “increasing penetration of fighters and weapons from the territory of the Russian Federation to eastern Ukraine and aggression of the Russian armed forces on Ukrainian territory.” The Russian leadership was requested to immediately withdraw all its military assets and forces from Ukraine and contribute to finding a sustainable political solution on the basis of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and independence of Ukraine.

¹² Council Decision 2014/512/CFSP of 31 July 2014, concerning restrictive measures in view of Russia’s actions destabilising the situation in Ukraine, “*Official Journal of the European Union*” L 229/13(31 July 2014): 13-17, eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/

Considering the aggravation of the situation in Donbas, on 3 September 2014, the European Commission approved additional restrictions on the access of Russian institutions and businesses to capital markets, defence, dual-use goods and sensitive technologies that were soon submitted for approval by the Committee of Permanent Representatives to the European Committee (COREPER). Explaining the use of the new limitations, H. Van Rompuy and J. M. Barroso referred to the principle that “the EU sanctions are to promote changes of Russia’s actions in Ukraine.”

The EU supported the Minsk Truce Agreement of 5 September 2014 signed at a tripartite meeting of the contact group with the participation of the OSCE. As the EU spokesman stated, this agreement, which could be the first step towards a sustainable political solution should be implemented and respected fully by all sides. “Constant monitoring of the Russian-Ukrainian border and the withdrawal of illegal armed groups and forces that act illegally on the territory of Ukraine shall be an integral part of this decision.” Subsequently, the Council confirmed expectations for “full involvement of the parties and rapid implementation of all other obligations under the Minsk documents.” The Russian leadership was again reminded of the need for the “withdrawal of illegal armed groups, military equipment and technology, hired gunmen and soldiers”, and the need to guarantee security in the Ukrainian-Russian border by means of continuous OSCE monitoring.

Meanwhile, text analysis of a great number of applications, decisions and conclusions of the EU institutions on Ukraine reveals their rather moderate political assessments. Excepting obligations not to recognize the annexation of Crimea and Sevastopol, the final theses and recommendations of these documents are mostly linked with monitoring results of the current situation and situational requirements, including de-escalation and a political settlement of the conflict in terms of the territorial integrity of Ukraine. Basic requirements addressed to the Russian authorities concerned a ceasefire, the withdrawal of illegal military formations, weapons bans, restoring control at the Ukrainian-Russian interstate border, as well as giving more opportunities to the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission in Ukraine and the OSCE mission at separate border checkpoints.

Thus, it is possible to conclude that the European Union is focusing on the means of its “soft power” and is not ready to act in any situation when Russia resorts to means of “hard power”. It is evident, however, that the EU has not yet found enough adequate methods to oppose aggressive Russian diplomacy aimed at legitimising the fact of Crimean occupation and subsequent attacks on the sovereignty of Ukraine. It goes without saying that, being outside the EU and/or NATO membership, Ukraine cannot fully participate in shaping mechanisms of European security without its own strong and effective security and defence system – in point of fact, it appeared in the area of a “security vacuum”.

Most Ukrainian and Western politicians and experts do not exclude the possibility that Russia might expand its military aggression from Ukraine to other countries. It is evident that Russia mainly pursues geopolitical objectives, possessing great geopolitical

ambitions. The issue of today's relations between Kyiv and Moscow is extremely important not only for Ukraine, but for other European countries, and the world in general. Moreover, the annexation of Crimea and the military aggression in the east of Ukraine are not local conflicts. Russia's aggression has both regional and global dimensions. As time goes on, this aggression and its accompanying events are becoming more and more threatening to the rest of the world. Russia's invasion of part of Ukraine has already led to an extremely dangerous escalation of a conflict where four nuclear powers support opposite sides (Russia on the one hand, and, on the other, the USA, as well as NATO Member States – the UK and France). Under the conditions of conflict and uncoupling between major world powers, the regional leaders, blocks of states, weakness and disconnection of international and regional security institutions are all a threat in themselves. A lack of reliable preventive and extinguishing measures only increases the risk of new large-scale armed confrontations.



Abstract

Today, Ukraine and the Russian Federation are *de facto* in a state of war, with deformed intergovernmental political and diplomatic relations, broken economic ties and growing negative attitudes of Russians and Ukrainians towards each other. Russian aggression is causing tremendous human, territorial and economic losses in Ukraine. The situation in the East of Ukraine remains highly difficult and unpredictable: there is a probability of another 'frozen' conflict being the source of instability and threat to Europe, and the base of further Russian expansion.

The issue of today's relations between Kyiv and Moscow is extremely important not only for Ukraine, but for other European countries and the world in general. Moreover, the annexation of Crimea and the military aggression in the East of Ukraine are not a local conflict. Russia's aggression has both regional and global dimensions. As time goes on, this aggression and accompanying events are becoming increasingly threatening for the world. Russia's invasion of a part of Ukraine has already led to an extremely dangerous escalation of conflict, where four nuclear powers support opposite sides (with Russia on the one side, and NATO members: USA, UK and France, on the other).

Most Ukrainian and Western politicians and experts do not exclude the possibility that Russia might expand its military aggression from Ukraine to other countries. It is evident that Russia mainly pursues geopolitical objectives, having major geopolitical ambitions.

Keywords: Russian aggression, European security, Russia-Ukraine conflict, inviolability of state borders, National Security Strategy, Military Doctrine, occupation.

Price of Aggression: The Impact of Sanctions on the Russian Economy

KAZIMIERZ DADAK

Hollins University, Roanoke, United States

Introduction

In late February of 2014, president of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovych, a staunch ally of Russia, lost power. This event sent into motion a sequence of events that pitched Russia against its neighbour and the West. Faced with the loss of influence, if not control, over Ukraine, Vladimir Putin immediately took steps that, in his mind, were to secure the interests of his country. First, in March 2014, Russia seized and annexed Crimea; soon afterwards a Russian-inspired rebellion engulfed eastern Ukraine.

These measures drastically increased Putin's popularity at home, but made him a pariah abroad. Initially, the West, including the European Union, imposed diplomatic sanctions¹. They had no effect on Russian behaviour and, in July, the West expanded punitive measures to the economy². President Putin did not budge, and in September, the United States and the European Union increased the pressure by imposing additional sanctions on the financial sector³. As a result, Russian companies, including large banks, were effectively cut off from western financial markets. Past experience, such as the U.S. led sanctions on Iran, shows that this type of punishment is very effective and this paper illustrates that they exacted a price on the Russian economy as well.

In the late autumn of 2015, the price of oil began to dramatically decline. The collapse of the price of Russia's most important export commodity compounded the economic dislocation caused by sanctions. Together, these two factors resulted in Russia's economy descending into a deep and prolonged recession.

¹ U.S. Department of State, *Ukraine and Russia Sanctions*, <http://www.state.gov/e/eb/tfs/spi/ukrainerussia/>

² US Department of the Treasury, *Directives 1 and 2 Pursuant to EO 13662*, 16 VII 2014, <http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Programs/Pages/ukraine.aspx>, European Union, *Highlights, EU sanctions against Russia over Ukraine crisis*, http://europa.eu/newsroom/highlights/special-coverage/eu_sanctions/index_en.htm.

³ US Department of the Treasury, *Announcement of Expanded Treasury Sanctions within the Russian Financial Services, Energy and Defense or Related Materiel Sectors*, 12 September 2014, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/jl2629.aspx>, European Union, *Highlights*, op. cit.

There is no question that the sanctions harmed Russia's economic performance – both President Putin and Prime Minister Medvedev admitted this⁴. This paper discusses recent developments in this area in greater detail.

Macroeconomic Developments

The deleterious effects of the sanctions are well reflected in macroeconomic data. Figure 1 illustrates the drastic depreciation of the Russian currency and the drop in value of the nation's official reserves.

The disturbances in Ukraine increased risk of doing business in Russia and investors immediately started to take money out of the country – between September 2013 and March 2014, the value of official reserves declined by about 10% – but as the initial sanctions affected only the political sphere, the situation stabilized. However, the imposition of economic sanctions resulted in another bout of capital outflows and between July and October 2014, the central bank recorded another 10% loss in official reserves. As the price of oil started to decline, capital outflows continued, and between October and April of the next year, the value of reserves declined by another 15%. Overall, the value of reserves dropped from 524 to 357 billion US dollars, or by almost a third⁵.

Initially, foreign exchange traders took the crisis in stride and between November of 2013 and June of 2014, the value of the rouble did not change substantially. However, right after the West imposed economic sanctions, the value of the Russian currency started to plunge (Figure 1). Between the end of June and the end of October 2014, the value of the U.S. currency rose to 43.4 roubles, from 33.6 roubles, in other words the Russian rouble lost 22.5% against the dollar. As the price of oil began to decline, the drop accelerated and by the end of January of 2015, the exchange rate rose to 68.9 roubles to the dollar (i.e. the rouble lost an additional 37% against its American counterpart). Overall, over the period from June 2014 to January 2015, the Russian currency lost over 51% of its value⁶.

It is worth noting that the staggering loss of reserves and precipitous decline in the rouble's value took place while Russia was recording a very large international trade surplus (Figure 2). In the first half of 2014, Russia exported more goods and services than it imported, to the tune of over 102 billion U.S. dollars. In the third quarter, the country logged another surplus of USD 45 billion⁷. Overall, during the first three quarters of 2014 (i.e. before the collapse of the price of oil), trade surplus substantially

⁴ V. Putin, *Meeting on socioeconomic development in Crimea and Sevastopol*, 18 March 2015, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/47877>, D. Medvedev, *Government report on its performance in 2014*, 21 April 2015, <http://government.ru/en/news/17768/>.

⁵ Bank of Russia, *Databases*, http://www.cbr.ru/Eng/hd_base/.

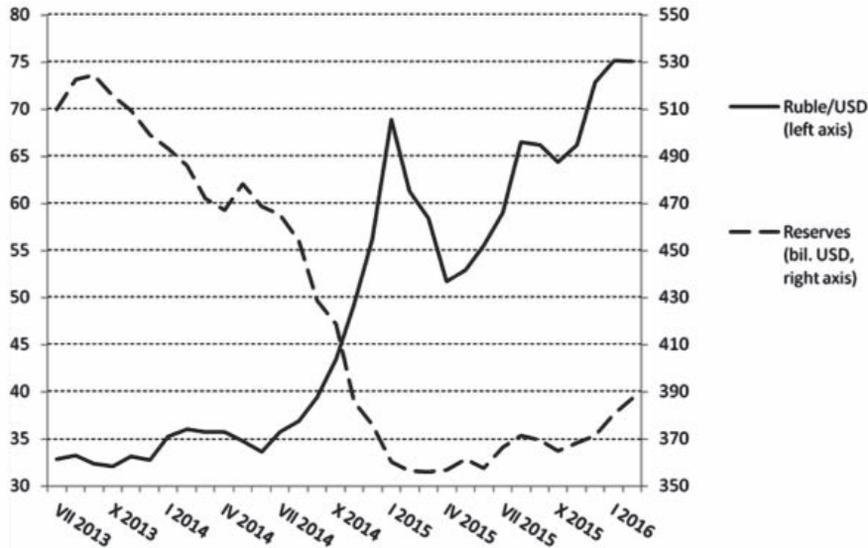
⁶ Bank of Russia, *Databases*, http://www.cbr.ru/Eng/hd_base/.

⁷ Bank of Russia, *Databases*, http://www.cbr.ru/Eng/hd_base/.

exceeded that recorded over the same period the year before. Under normal circumstances, the nation's official reserves and the value of the currency should have increased rather, than taken a plunge.

Figure 1

Rouble/dollar exchange rate and Russia's international reserves



Source: Bank of Russia

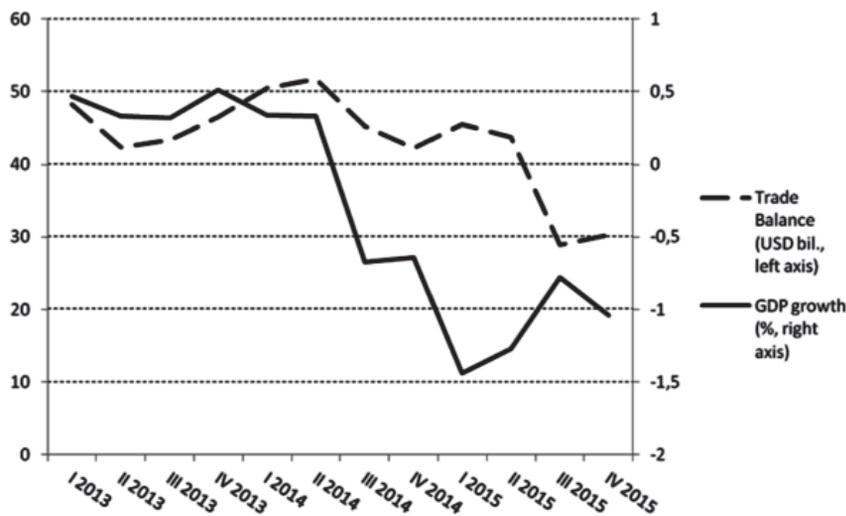
Russia maintained huge trade surplus during the whole of 2015, as well. The total for that year reached almost 150 billion U.S. dollars. Yet, in the second half of the year, the value of the rouble resumed its decline, and in January of 2015, the dollar was worth over 75 roubles. Overall, between June of 2015 and January of 2016, the Russian currency depreciated by over 26% against the U.S. dollar. A major factor behind this event was the fact that, on one hand, private Russian firms had to repay almost 96 billion U.S. dollars in debt to foreign banks and, on the other, the financial sanctions. Under normal circumstances, Russian firms would roll over their debts, in other words they would issue new debt to repay the old one, but as a result of the sanctions they were cut off from Western financial markets. 2016 will also be challenging, as the private sector has to pay back almost 68 billion U.S. dollars⁸.

Data on Russia's GDP fully confirm the fact that the economic sanctions took a large toll on the economy (Figure 2). In the third quarter, that is, before the drop in the price of oil and gas could have influenced the level of economic activity, the GDP declined by 0.67%

⁸ Bank of Russia, *Databases*, http://www.cbr.ru/Eng/hd_base/.

compared to the previous quarter⁹. Russia was growing at a relatively slow pace prior to that and the sanctions tipped the nation into recession. The decline continued as the West extended the sanctions to financial matters – in the fourth quarter, GDP dropped by another 0.64%. The collapse of the price of oil compounded economic problems for Russia and for the whole of 2015 its GDP declined by slightly over 4%¹⁰. The OECD forecasts another decline in the level of economic activity this year (0.4%) and a mild recovery in 2017, an increase of 1.7%¹¹. This latest OECD forecast is more pessimistic than that published a year ago. Economic Outlook No. 97 predicted a milder GDP decline in 2015 (3.1%, as opposed to the actual drop of 4.0%) and positive growth already in 2016 (0.8%)¹².

Figure 2
GDP growth and international trade balance (quarterly data)



Source: OECD and Bank of Russia

The tremendous decline in the value of the rouble and huge capital outflows, on one hand, forced the Bank of Russia to drastically increase the rate of interest and, on the other, caused a significant increase in the general price level (Figure 3). In March 2014, the central bank embarked on a series of interest rate hikes. Initially, the rates went up to

⁹ OECD, *Data, Quarterly real GDP growth*, V 2016. <https://data.oecd.org/gdp/quarterly-gdp.htm#indicator-chart>.

¹⁰ OECD, *Data, Real GDP growth: Total, Annual growth rate (%), 2009–2017*, V 2016. <https://data.oecd.org/gdp/real-gdp-forecast.htm>.

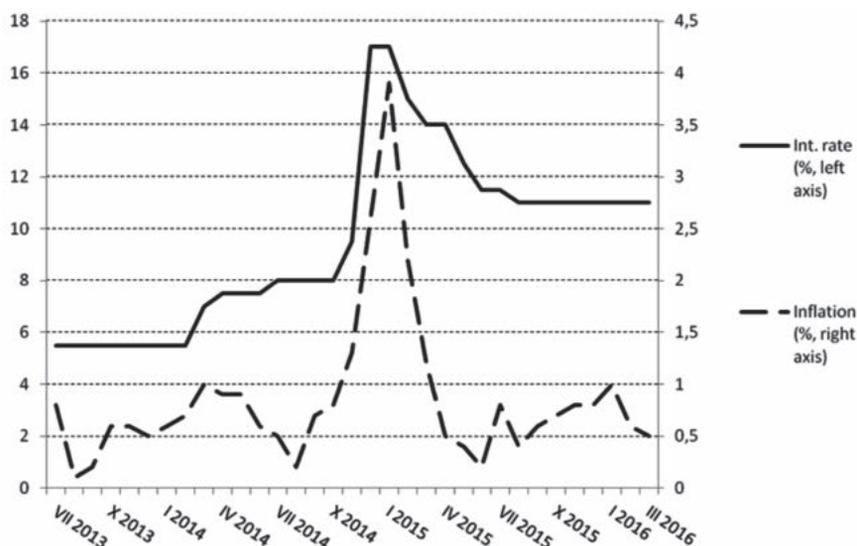
¹¹ OECD, *Data, Real GDP growth: Total, Annual growth rate (%), 2009–2017*, V 2016. <https://data.oecd.org/gdp/real-gdp-forecast.htm>.

¹² OECD, *Economic Outlook No. 97*, VI 2015, <http://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?DataSetCode=EO>.

7.0%, from 5.5%, but in response to the imposition of economic and financial sanctions, and the resulting loss of official reserves as well as the rapidly declining rouble, the Bank of Russia was forced to undertake additional measures. A succession of interest rate hikes led to the seven-day Repo rate reaching 17% in December of that year. As the pressure on the exchange rate subsided in early 2015, the Bank of Russia managed to bring interest rates down to 11% by August of 2015, and they have stayed at this level since¹³.

Figure 3

Inflation (change from the previous month) and interest rates (seven-day Repo rate)



Source: Bank of Russia

The steep decline in the value of the rouble caused prices of imported goods to appreciate dramatically. In late 2014, inflation took off and by January of the next year, the monthly increase in the overall price level reached 3.9%. As the value of the rouble stabilized at a depressed level, inflationary pressures receded, but the problem did not go away. For instance, with another spell of rouble weakness in late 2015, the monthly change in prices shot back to 1% in December (Figure 3)¹⁴. In all of 2015, the overall price level rose by 15.6% – double the inflation rate of the year before (7.8%) and three times higher than in 2012 (5.1%)¹⁵.

¹³ Bank of Russia, *Databases*, http://www.cbr.ru/Eng/hd_base/.

¹⁴ Russian Federation, Federal State Statistics Service, *Russia in figures*, http://www.gks.ru/wps/wcm/connect/rosstat_main/rosstat/en/figures/prices/.

¹⁵ OECD, *Economic Outlook No. 98*, XI 2015, updated May 2016, <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=EO#>.

The OECD predicts that the overall price increase in 2016 will moderate to 9.4% and, so far, monthly data support this prediction. Therefore, with the Bank of Russia keeping short-term interest rates at 11%, real interest rates are relatively very high. High real interest rates are needed to forestall massive capital outflows and the collapse of the rouble, but this policy creates a drag on economic growth. In 2015, private consumption and fixed investment dropped by 9.8 and 7.2%, respectively, from the year before. OECD estimates that these two macroeconomic factors will decline further this year, by 0.9 and 0.1%, respectively, hence the organization predicts a decline in GDP growth. An important factor contributing to the economic malaise is high real interest rates.

Thus, Russian economic decision makers face a stark dilemma, either to stimulate economic growth with lower interest rates and let the value of the currency and official reserves diminish further, or suffer economic stagnation and prevent further deterioration on the reserve and foreign exchange fronts. Evgeny Gontmacher, chief economist at the Institute of Contemporary Development in Moscow, predicted that without quick recovery in the price of oil, the Russian economy will suffer stagnation until the end of this decade¹⁶.

Other steps taken by the government do not point to a quick resolution of economic problems. For instance, in response to sanctions imposed by the West, Russia took retaliatory measures and banned importation of many goods from the sanctioning countries, causing more harm than good¹⁷. This step also contributed to overall price increases, because the nation substituted more expensive domestic goods for imports.

International Competitiveness of the Economy

Russia's economy resembles that of a less developed nation. Income from crude oil, natural gas, and oil products constitute a majority of its exports (Figure 4). The absolute value of these exports peaked in 2013, at over 350 billion U.S. dollars, and the drop in energy prices resulted in a decline to less than 199 billion in 2015, or by almost 39%. Until 2015, these three items constituted about two thirds of Russia's export revenue, but with the collapse of energy prices their relative share declined to slightly over 58%. Once the price of these sources of energy collapsed, so did the overall value of the nation's exports. In 2014, total exports of goods amounted to 498.8 billion U.S. dollars, while the following year, they were equal to 341.5 billion U.S. dollars – a drop of 156.3 billion or over 31%.

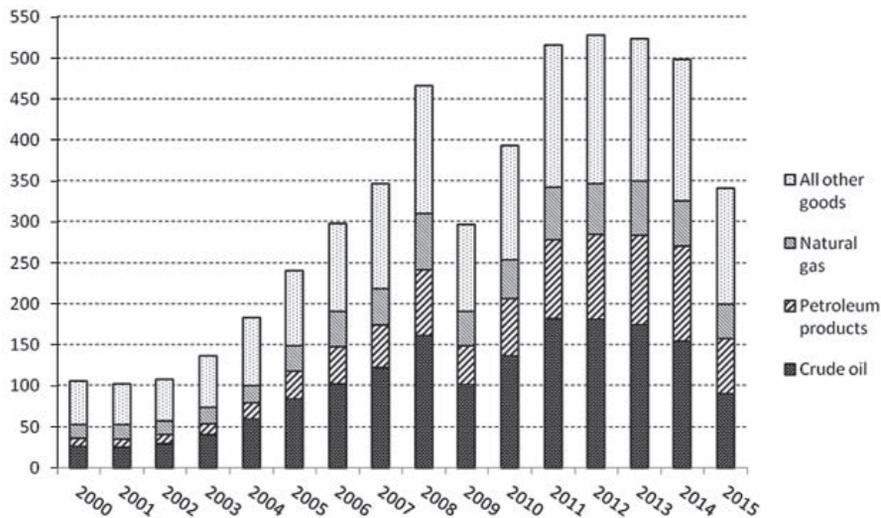
¹⁶ I. Arkhipov and H. Meyer, *Putin Takes Credit for Dodging 'Deep Crisis' as Slump Deepens*, "BloombergBusiness", 19 VI 2015, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-06-19/putin-says-russia-s-economy-is-weathering-crisis-after-oil-slump>.

¹⁷ I. Jurgens, *Target sanctions with unclear target*, in *Costs of a new Cold War: The US Russia confrontation over Ukraine*, P. J. Saunders (ed.), Washington, D.C., pp. 39-49.

The fortunes of the Russian economy have been tied to the price of oil for many decades. The oil price collapse in 1986, played an important role in the process of the Soviet empire’s disintegration¹⁸. More recently, the rapid growth recorded by the nation in the early 2000s was also a result of a huge oil price increase (Figure 5). Similarly, the drastic decline in the price of energy in 2008, caused an almost 8% decline in Russia’s GDP. As the price of oil recovered in 2009, so did the economy, but the positive effects of energy price increases were exhausted by 2013. Even before the start of the Ukrainian conflict, economic growth in Russia came to a standstill – in 2013 and 2014, GDP grew at 1.3 and 0.6%, respectively (Figure 5).

It is worth noting that in 2015, exports of all other goods declined, as well. They peaked in 2012, at 180.6 billion and by 2015, dropped to 142.6 billion U.S. dollars, or by over 21%. Given the drastic decline in the value of rouble, exports should have increased, but apparently Russia has no other goods for sale in international markets.

Figure 4
Magnitude and composition of Russian exports (bil. U.S. dollars)



Source: Bank of Russia

This development should have come as no surprise, as Russia is a backward country plagued by corruption. Transparency International ranks the nation at #119 of the 168 rated countries¹⁹. In 2013, Russia spent only 1.12% of its GDP on research and development (R&D), well below the average for OECD nations (2.26%). Moreover,

¹⁸ K. Dadak, XXX, Arcana,

¹⁹ Transparency International, *Perception Corruption Index 2015*, <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2015>.

between 2000 and 2013, the number of persons employed in R&D dropped to 6.17, from 7.78 per 1000 employed, while over the same period, in OECD countries, the average increased to 7.77, from 6.08. In 2013, Russia recorded just 119 triadic patents, whereas the total for all OECD members was 50,603. For instance, Austria, a tiny country in comparison to Russia, produced 500 such discoveries in the same year²⁰.

Price of Oil and the Economy

Figure 5 illustrates the relationship between the price of oil and economic growth. A similar relationship exists between oil price and government budget surpluses and deficits. During rapidly rising energy prices, the government recorded enormous surpluses. For instance in 2008, the government had a surplus equal to 7.25% of GDP. The next year, as prices of commodities took a dive, the surpluses changed into a deficit of 4.0% of GDP. The situation repeated itself after the oil price recovery and in 2011, the government had a budget surplus equal to 3.8% of GDP. But as the price of energy stabilized and the rate of economic growth slowed (Figure 5), surpluses greatly diminished and in 2013, amounted to only 0.3% of GDP. Just two years later, with the collapse of the price of oil and sanctions in place, the government suffered a deficit of 4.0% of GDP. The OECD predicts budget deficits of 3.2 and 1.8% of GDP for 2016 and 2017, respectively²¹.

To sum all this up, the economic performance of the nation is closely related to prices of energy and, in the absence of other readily marketable goods, Russia faces bleak prospects as long as oil prices remain low.

Predicting the future is a risky endeavour; nevertheless the past offers useful insights in this regard. The existence of long-term business cycles in many industries²², and in particular in commodity markets, is a well-established fact²³. In the case of the price of oil, J. A. Ocampo identified four super-cycles, counting from a low starting point to a peak followed by a descent into another trough. In the first such cycle, lasting from 1892 until 1947, the “up-phase” lasted 28 years, followed by a fall lasting 27 years. In the second cycle, from 1947 to 1973, the price of oil initially rose for 11 years, while the decline and bottoming process lasted for 15 years. During the third cycle, over the period of 1973-1998, the up and down swings lasted, respectively, 7 and 18 years. Ocampo’s

²⁰ OECD, *Data, Innovation and Technology*, <https://data.oecd.org/innovation-and-technology.htm>. Triadic patents are discoveries that obtain patent protection in the United States, the European Union, and Japan (the Triad).

²¹ OECD, *Economic Outlook No. 98*, XI 2015, updated May 2016, <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=EO#>.

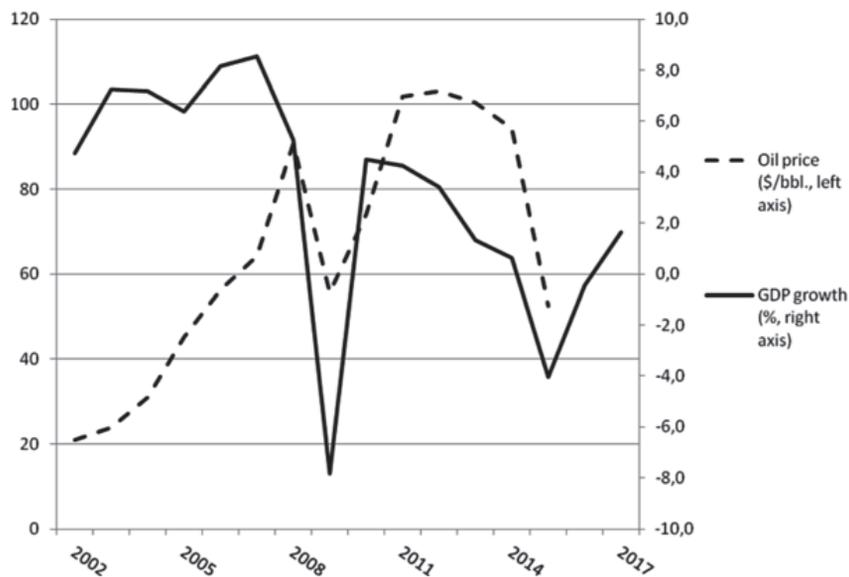
²² J. D. Sterman, *Business Dynamics*. Boston, 2000

²³ M. E. Slade, *Cycles in Natural-Resource Commodity Prices: An Analysis of the Frequency Domain*, „Journal of Environmental Economics and Management”, 1982, no. 9, pp. 138-148 and B. Erten i J. A. Ocampo, *Super cycles of commodity prices since the mid-nineteenth century*, DESA Working Paper no. 110, II 2012.

2013 presentation did not specify the length of the last period that started in 1999, but in hindsight, it is possible to identify 2008 – with a real oil price per barrel of 100 U.S. dollars – as the peak. 2015 certainly marks the beginning of a period of low energy prices. It is impossible to predict the length of the bear market, but, if the past is any indicator of the future, it will last many years. Saudi Arabia, the most important member of OPEC, announced that it wants to protect its market share and that it can sustain low oil prices for many years²⁴. Other major oil producers also plan to increase output of oil as well²⁵. In sum, barring unforeseen developments, for instance, a major war in the Middle East, energy prices are likely to remain low for the foreseeable future. This scenario would make President Putin's life difficult, even without economic sanctions.

Figure 5

Oil price and GDP growth (annual values)²⁶



Source: OECD and Bank of Russia

²⁴ W. Mahdi and N. Razzouk, *Saudi Aramco Chief Named Oil Minister in Sign of Stable Policy*, „BloombergBusiness”, 7 V 2016, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-05-07/saudi-aramco-chairman-al-falih-replaces-al-naimi-as-oil-minister>.

²⁵ For instance: H. Kalantari and G. Motevalli, *Iran Oil Minister Says Output to Rise a Week After Sanctions*, „BloombergBusiness”, 2 VIII 2015, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-08-02/iran-s-oil-minister-says-output-to-rise-one-week-after-sanctions>, A. DiPaola, *U.A.E. energy minister says oil glut could run for years*, „BloombergBusiness”, 7 I 2015, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2015-01-07/u-a-e-energy-minister-says-oil-glut-could-run-for-years.html>, A. Raval, *Oil glut to swamp demand until 2020*, „Financial Times”, 10 XI 2015, <https://next.ft.com/content/51645ebc-86cb-11e5-90de-f44762bf9896>.

²⁶ GDP data for 2016 and 2017 are OECD estimates.

Conclusions

Russia is facing an uncertain future. The economic situation is challenging and the situation is very likely to remain so for years to come. The aggressive stance that is the highlight of a resurgent Russia under President Putin exacts a heavy political and economic toll on the country.

The lack of response from the West, especially from the United States, following the Russian military incursion into Georgia, or its sponsoring of rebellions in Abkhazia and Transnistria, emboldened the Kremlin to attack Ukraine, annex Crimea, and foment military revolt in the Donbas region. At this juncture, the West reacted, and the diplomatic and economic sanctions inflicted significant pain on Russia. The spectacular decline in the price of oil that took place soon after the imposition of sanctions made the situation much worse. The strategic position of Russia has weakened and the fragility of prosperity in Russia under Putin became evident. The Russian economy is not competitive in world markets and has no major sources of income other than commodities. Russia would need to embark on a new bold economic policy that fosters growth, but this change would require fighting corruption and relaxing the control over society exerted by the current regime. Neither is likely to happen and economic stagnation is likely to persist. Russia will lose ground, not only to other fast-growing emerging economies such as China and India, but even to some mature economies, for instance the United States and Germany.

The Soviet Union collapsed because it overstretched its resources. In the wake of the Vietnam War, the United States was weakened. In 1973, the price of oil and gas started a meteoric rise, a development that drastically increased the hard currency revenue of major exporters of commodities, including the Soviet Union. Additionally, by the early 1970s, the USSR attained nuclear parity with the United States. The confluence of these events created an illusion that the East could compete with the West on an equal footing. The Soviets set about global expansion; they supported dictatorial regimes from Vietnam to Angola, Cuba, and Nicaragua. But the relative weakness of the United States and strength of the Soviet Union were transitory phenomena. By the mid-1980s, Russia was mired in war in Afghanistan, and when the price of oil set on a downward trajectory, the Kremlin lost the ability to support its client-dictatorships. The Soviet Union's withdrawal from Afghanistan, an attempt to cut its losses, only hastened the disintegration of the Soviet Bloc, as oppressed nationalities – both inside the USSR and in many satellite states – realized how fragile the “superpower” was.

Today, the situation seems to be repeating itself. In 2007, at the peak of the recent oil price boom, Putin threw down the gauntlet challenging the existence of a “unipolar world”²⁷. While president of the Russian Federation, Medvedev proclaimed: “the firm

²⁷ V. Putin, *Prepared Remarks at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy*, 12 II 2007, Available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/02/12/AR2007021200555.html>.

conviction that Russia can and must become a global power”²⁸. More recently, Medvedev, this time as prime minister, said: “speaking bluntly, we are rapidly rolling into a period of a new Cold War”²⁹. The Soviet Union fell apart as a result of the first Cold War, and Russia is very likely to lose the second.

A major upheaval in Russia would pose very serious dangers, but also great opportunities. Russia is armed to the teeth and possesses nuclear weapons, and it is, thus, capable of annihilating any opponent. There is little that the world and its neighbours could do about that. But the nations that border Russia should be prepared to take advantage of the nation’s approaching period of serious weakness. Putin or his successor, like Gorbachev before him, may try to retrench in the face of crisis. This could not only involve a withdrawal from Eastern Ukraine, but also other outposts, including the Kaliningrad enclave.

For Poland, it is imperative that the nation is capable of preventing any unpleasant developments in this area. The nation needs to drastically improve its economic and military capacity and become a regional power. Poland also needs to strengthen its alliance with the United States, a country that is, and will remain, a major power-broker in Eastern Europe.



Abstract

Russia’s aggression against Ukraine is the first instance of an attempt to redraw international borders in Europe through military force since the Second World War. This action has resulted in the imposition of Western economic and political sanctions on Russia. This paper analyses the impact of this development on the nation’s economy. The paper discusses the effect sanctions have had on the rate of economic growth, inflation, interest rates, and government finances. We show that the sanctions, combined with a sudden and unanticipated decrease in the price of oil, have caused significant economic problems. As a result, the aggressor’s relative economic and political international position has substantially diminished.

Key-words: Economic and financial sanctions, price of oil, economic growth, relative decline of Russia.

²⁸ D. Medvedev, *Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation*, 12 XI 2009, <http://en.special.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/5979>.

²⁹ D. Medvedev, *The Russian Government, Munich Security Conference: Dmitry Medvedev’s speech at the panel discussion*, 13 II 2016, <http://government.ru/en/news/>.

Economic Triggers in Ukraine and Crimea in 2014-2020

LARYSA MYRGORODSKA

University of Warsaw, Poland

Introduction

In 2013, I completed the monograph: *Methodological Background of Ukraine Management in the European Integration Context*. The target of the research was to elaborate approaches for assessing economic development on the basis of the national accounts system (i.e. on the basis of generally accepted statistical data). The method used to calculate the efficiency of economic growth is expressed by the following formula:

$$E_g = \Delta GVA / \Delta IC \geq 1, \quad (1)$$

Where:

E_g – efficiency of growth

ΔGVA – increase in gross value added

ΔIC – increase in intermediate consumption

Thus, if increase in gross value added (GVA) outgoes at same rate as the increase of intermediate consumption, then the economy develops effectively. If the growth occurs due to increase in the share of intermediate consumption – the development is ineffective (unprofitable economy).

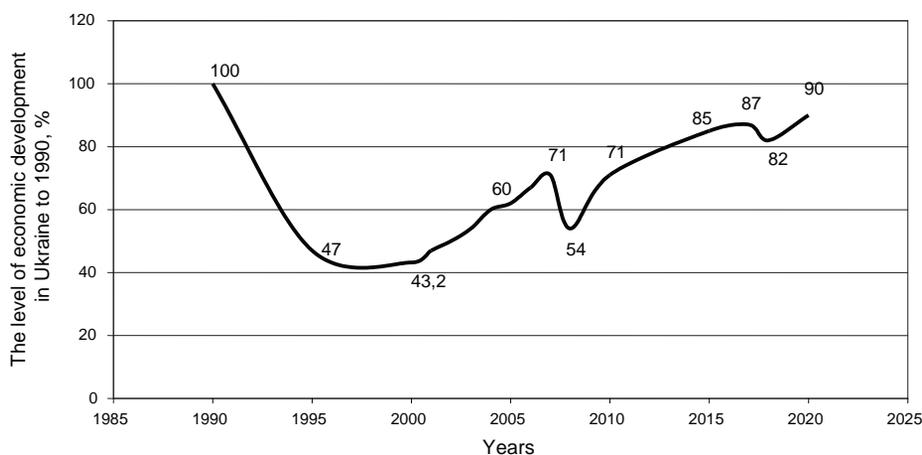
Confirmation of these statements was proved on the basis of the examples of Ukraine and Poland. The tendencies of gross output growth, gross added value and intermediate consumption created the foundation for modelling these economies' development until 2020. Analysis of the development of European and American industries at the beginning of the 20th century, proved that economic development is undulatory, but with an increase of economic indexes in any new cycle. Calculations also revealed functional dependence. This function has a period of approximately 9.5 years. The calculation of a 9.5 year period coincided with the factual economic crisis in Ukraine after the initial economic increase starting in 1999, until the global financial crisis in 2008. All the aforementioned data allows the forecast of a new crisis to take place approximately in 2018-2019 (Graph 1). The graph shows that, during the first increase period of 1998-2007, economic growth constituted +28%. During the second increase period of 2010-2018, an increase of up to +33% was forecasted. By 2020, production level was planned at

a level of 90%, compared to 1990. Naturally, these calculations are relative, but they are extremely important for understanding the role of cyclic economic development.

The cardinal change in the political and economic situation in 2014, not only destroyed my life plans, but also my scientific ones. Originally, Crimea was regarded as a Ukrainian region for the purposes of this paper, and in the chapter dedicated to regional development, Crimea was compared to Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship (region) of Poland.

Graph 1

The Undulating Nature of the Economic Development of Ukraine in 1990-2020



Source: Own calculations.

The objective of the article is the analysis of the major economic triggers affecting Ukraine and Crimea in 2014-2020.

Thus, let us concentrate on the foreign economic aspects of the events which occurred in Ukraine in 2014. Naturally, the political situation is a reflection of economic processes which actually rule the world.

1. Changes in the Foreign Trade of Ukraine in 2014-2015.

According to the report: “Ukraine-2014: Addressing the Challenges” – written by experts from Razumkov Centre for Economic and Political Studies, and published in 2014 – Ukraine’s foreign policy has been dominated by the conflict with the Russian Federation. The main reason for the conflict is the aggressive policy of the Kremlin, oriented towards causing Ukraine’s instability and revision of its pro-Western foreign policy course. Experts from Razumkov Center emphasised that the Ukrainian government formed after the revolution in Maidan Square, faced unprecedented problems of

a post-revolution state at the time of the annexation of Crimea, including: an inefficient management system, the demoralization of power structures and a ruined economy. 2014 was also an unprecedented year in terms of domestic policy. During that time, there were three presidents, three governments and two parliaments.

Almost all earnings – both household and those of the state sector – were spent on consumption, which exceeded 90% of the GDP in 2014. The level of public welfare decreased materially. Following the results of that year, as estimated by the Institute of Demography and Social Research under the National Academy of Science of Ukraine, the poverty level may have reached 30% of the population – versus 24.5% in 2013. In such conditions, no innovative structural changes can take place in the economy.

It is a fact that on 16 September 2014, the European Parliament and the Supreme Council ratified the Association Agreement (AA) between the EU and Ukraine. One of its elements is the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA), which had been being delayed until 31 December 2015. On 23 April 2014, Ukraine had the Autonomous Trade Measures (ATM) prolonged by the EU to assist the Ukrainian economy. The ATM operates in compliance with the AA/DCFTA (i.e. Ukrainian commodities are exported to the EU without customs duties or by decreased duties, within the framework of the free trade agreement). At the same time, European commodities are imported from the EU to Ukraine according to the old duties. The DCFTA between the EU and Ukraine entered into force on 1 January 2016.

The AA/DCFTA aims at boosting bilateral trade in goods and services between the EU and Ukraine by progressively cutting tariffs, and by aligning Ukrainian regulations with those of the EU in selected industrial sectors and for agricultural products.

In line with its policy of not recognising the Russian Federation's illegal annexation of Crimea and Sevastopol, the EU has banned the import of goods originating in Crimea and Sevastopol, as well as investments and a number of directly related services there.¹

Depressive tendencies in the economy noticeably affected foreign trade. Ukraine maintains a negative foreign trade surplus of commodities with the EU. In other words, it is a country, which mainly imports, rather than exports, commodities from the EU (Graph 2). To a great extent, this is connected with the comparative closedown of separate EU markets (for example for crop production), and discrepancies between Ukrainian commodities and European standards. The situation with trade in services looks similar to that of trade in goods (Graph 3).

At the same time, Ukraine partially re-oriented itself from Russian to European markets, primarily with regard to the export of certain agricultural products, which was largely enabled by the signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and provision of unilateral preferences by the EU for Ukraine to access the EU market.²

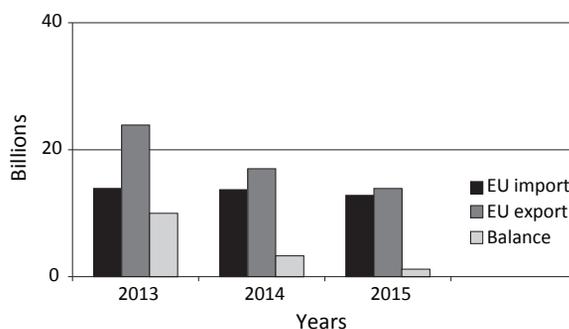
¹ EU and Ukraine, <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/ukraine/>

² *Ukraine-2014: A Year of Hardships*, p. 38, "International Centre for Policy Studies", 10 February 2015, <http://www.forum-ekonomiczne.pl>

In 2013, 35.9% of Ukrainian exports went to CIS countries, including eight countries other than Ukraine. Simultaneously, exports to EU countries, of which there are twenty-eight, was 26.6%.

Graph 2

EU-Ukraine “Trade in Goods” Statistics (in billions of Euro)



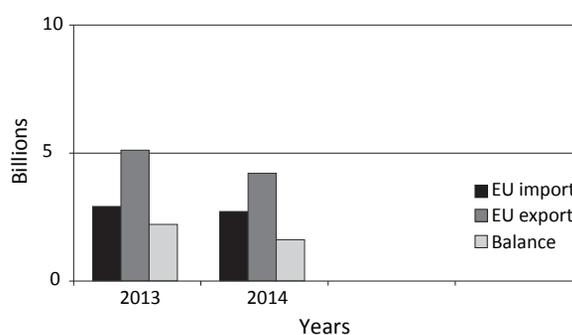
Source: European Commission Database,

<http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/ukraine/>

The main export result of 2014, concerning regions of Ukraine is: exports to the EU exceeded exports to the CIS countries, even in Donetsk and Luhansk regions, the military conflict regions. In 2014, Ukraine imported 23.3% of all its imports from Russia. By 2015, the EU became Ukraine’s largest trading partner, accounting for more than a third of its trade. In 2015, Ukrainian exports to Russia had fallen to 12.7%³.

Graph 3:

EU-Ukraine “Trade in Services” Statistics (in billions of Euro)



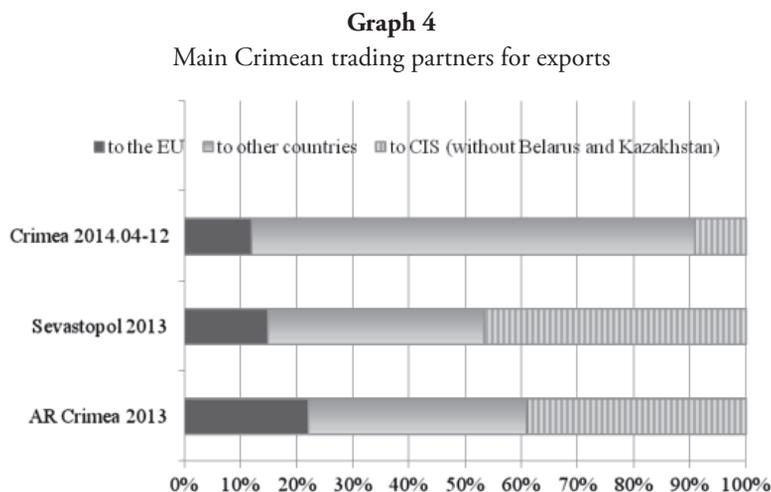
Sources: European Commission Database,

<http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/ukraine/>

³ Economy of Ukraine, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Ukraine#Trade

2. How the Sharp Rupture in Economic Relations with Ukraine Influenced the Crimean Economy

As a rule, the situation in Crimea is shown as markedly in opposition to the general situation in Ukraine, just to emphasise Crimea's great luck. Graph 4 illustrates changes in the directions of Crimea's main exports in 2013-2014.



Source: Y. Panchenko, *Exports 2014: Sad Trend. Where Europe Won and Where Europe Lost?*, "Europeiska Pravda", accessed 12 March 2015, <http://www.eurointegration.com.ua/articles/2015/03/12/7031779/> and the author's own calculations.

Trade is a key tool for economic development. Dynamics of trade openness for a five-year period show that Ukraine is more open to foreign trade than the EU. The International Center for Policy Studies in Kiev calculated that, on average, the openness of the Ukrainian economy is more than 100%, the EU – more than 80%.⁴ At the same time, along with a quite limited assortment of export commodities, it makes the country vulnerable to external shocks. The biggest falls in GDP in the world took place during the crisis of 2008-2009 – the result of openness, under conditions when the assistance of a trade partner and their support of demand was impossible to rely on. Trade openness is defined by the formula:

$$\text{The Openness Index} = \frac{(\text{Exports} + \text{Imports})}{\text{GDP (GRP)}} * 100\% \quad (2)$$

⁴ *The Impact of the FTA with EU*, Analytical Research, International Centre for Policy Studies, Kyiv 2013, p. 11, p. 16.

Crimean statistical data from 2014 are incomplete, and in many cases incorrect, thus making index comparisons very difficult. Nonetheless, in terms of the figures stated by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Crimea, Sergey Aksyonov, last year, the gross regional product (GRP) decrease exceeded 11% (in Ukraine, which is in a state of war, the GRP decrease was only 7% in 2014). According to my calculations, the Openness Index of Crimea in 2014 stood at 6%.

In addition, even after one and a half quarters of 2016, the Crimean State Statistics Service is not capable of estimating the 2014 GRP of the Republic of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol. The explanation they offer is that it was the first time that this statistical method was used to calculate this figure in Crimea. Besides, the data applied to less than a calendar year, whereas the data obtained in the course of federal statistical observation requires further analysis.

The theory of international trade states the definite advantages resulting from trade, providing specialization in specific sectors and reflecting the economy's competitiveness. The revealed comparative advantage (RCA) shows which commodities the country possesses comparative advantages in. Calculation of the index of revealed comparative advantage is expressed by:

$$RCA = \frac{E_{cg}/E_c}{E_{rg}/E_r} \quad (3)$$

where:

RCA – the revealed comparative advantage

E_{cg} – exports of goods by country

E_c – total export by country

E_{rg} – exports of goods by region

E_r – total export by region

According to RCA calculations for Crimea, the numerator contains data on export of a commodity by Crimea to its general export structure, the denominator – export of the same commodity by Ukraine to its general export structure. In RCA calculations for Ukraine, the numerator contains data on the export of a commodity by Ukraine to its general export structure, the denominator – export of the same commodity by EU countries to its general export structure.

Table 1 shows that Crimea and Ukraine have comparative advantages in different commodity groups, and consequently, are both added to the structure of exports to EU countries. Factually, it is necessary to distinguish two commodity groups, present in the comparative advantages of Crimean export: mineral fuel and inorganic chemical products.

Table 1

Index of Revealed Comparative Advantage According to the Commodity Groups for Ukraine and Crimea

SITC Rev.3 (Standard International Trade Classification, Rev.3)	RCA for Ukraine to the EU	RCA for Crimea to Ukraine
Cereals and cereal preparations	42.37	2.02
Crude fertilizers and crude minerals (excluding coal, petroleum and precious stones)	6.43	
Base metal ores and scrap metal	6.34	
Coal, coke and briquettes	29.65	
Fixed vegetable fats and oils – crude, refined or fractionated	22.78	
Fertilizers	14.83	
Iron and steel	10.67	0.33
Mineral fuels, petroleum, petroleum products and related materials		9.75
Chemical materials and products, n.e.s.		5.5

Source: *The Impact of the FTA with EU*, Analytical Research, International Centre for Policy Studies, Kyiv 2013, p. 197, and the author's own calculations.

According to Crimean statistics from April-June 2014, exports of mineral fuels, petroleum, petroleum products and related materials amounted to 39.3%, while the rate of chemical materials and products, n.e.s. was 10.8%. Although second place in the Crimean export structure belongs to cereals and cereal preparations (24.4%), Ukraine has an obvious comparative advantage in this commodity – 42.37 compared to 2.02 RCA of Crimea (see Tab. 1).

Traditionally, when talking about exports, we mean material things – cereals, metals, etc. Nonetheless, the major portion of exports are non-material services. Correlation of exports of goods and exports of services, as a rule, shows a formed type of economy – industrial or post-industrial. For example, the share of service exports in the USA is 30%, in the EU – 28%. In Ukraine, the service export share amounted to 15% in 2014, namely in the prospective sphere of IT (just less than 2%). Thus, in the entire volume of Ukraine's exports, every sixth dollar comes from the export of services. There are no data on the export of services in Crimea for 2014.

3. Changes in the Economy of Crimea in 2014-2015

In accordance with the report of the Minister of Economic Development of Crimea, Nikolay Koryazhkin, entitled: "Forecast of Social-Economic Development of the Republic of Crimea for the Current Financial Year", the GRP of Crimea will rise by 10.1% due to:

1. development of major economic branches (industry, agriculture, tourism),
2. export-oriented enterprises,
3. improvement of transport potential,
4. investment project realization.

Let us analyse how the afore-said components of expected growth looked in 2014, compared to 2013 (Graph 5).

In the basic branches of the economy of Crimea: industrial decline was 9.9%, while the food processing industry fell 21.6%. In agriculture, a general growth of 0.7% was noticed. At the same time, grape production – a traditional branch of the Crimean economy – decreased by 26.3%. The amount of tourists decreased by 35.6%, while tax proceeds from resort and recreation institutions, and the tourism sector, decreased by 14.5%. Export decrease for that year was noted at 84.2%, as well as a decrease in transportation, passenger transport (from 14.2% to 58.1%), not to mention freight transport (32.1%). It is difficult to comment regarding the realisation of investment projects, because there are no investors and they are not expected to spring up anytime soon. The only hope for the Crimean economy appears to be subsidies (i.e. monetary funds from the Russian Federation).

It should be noted that in 2013, Crimea was a part of a not overly rich, but open, Ukrainian economy. In 2014, it became a part of a much more closed economy, which, in general – except for natural resources – has nothing to offer the world. The peninsula is not needed for the transport of such resources, and – being under sanctions and part of Russia – the Crimean economy shrank eleven times in terms of exports and imports for the full year of 2015, compared to the last “Ukrainian year” in 2013 (Tab. 2).

Table 2

Some Social and Economic Indicators in Crimea

Indicator	2013 Last full “Ukrainian year”	2015 First full “Russian year”
Export of commodities and services, mln dollars	905	79.3
Import of commodities and services, mln dollars	1100	100
Amount of loss-maker, %	36,4	38,2
Subsidies from the central government, %	50	67
Number of tourists, mln	6	1,5
Consumer Price Index, %	99.5	127.6
Unemployment, %	1.8	9.5

Source: The author’s own calculations are based on data from the Crimean State Statistics Service and A. Vvedenskiy, *How the Crimean Economy has Changed*, “Krym.Realii”, 23 April 2016, <http://ru.krymr.com/content/article/27690845.html>

It is absolutely normal that in a market economy, some companies and production plants work without profit and may eventually go bankrupt. The share of unprofitable enterprises in Crimea reached 38.2% in 2015. Of course, a drop of 2% in two years seems small, but only at first glance (see Tab. 2). However, it is more important to analyse loss-making enterprises in terms of their economic activity. Thus, we point out only those whose loss ratio is around 50% or higher. Fishing companies and fish farms are unprofitable in 50% of cases. In industrial enterprises, losses are reported in 43% of those engaged in mining, while the number jumps to 64% in the case of those involved in the production and distribution of electricity, gas and water. Construction companies are unprofitable in 48% of cases, hotels and restaurants – 48.5%.

Statistics show that 2015, resulted in a two-fold increase in the number of companies and organizations in Crimea. Analysis of the distribution of enterprises by ownership suggests that most likely they are simply included once more in the register (i.e., companies were simply re-registered under Russian law. The reported unemployment rate fluctuated during 2015, and showed a seasonal dependence. Nevertheless Crimean statistics observed a downward trend in both unemployment rates (1.8% in January 2015 against 0.8% in December 2015) and its absolute indicators (a two-fold drop). However, the percentage of unemployed, compared to the previous period of 2014, increased from 96.5% to 115.9%, while in the whole of 2014, the unemployment rate was 6.5%. Here we should pay attention to another problem. In the fourth quarter of 2015, there was a sharp increase in part-time employment – 9.5%, which makes Crimea the “champion” among Russian regions according to this indicator (see Tab. 2). In this manner, almost every tenth employee working for legally operating large and medium-sized enterprises who was employed part-time, was on regular or administrative leave depending on their agreement with their employer. These are extremely high figures, as the average for Russia is slightly over 3%. Among the reasons for this are power shortages and the significant number of enterprises which have ceased operations. In addition, Crimea has a high proportion of people who are on unpaid leave – about every tenth employee.

In relation to the provision of tourist services as one of the basic sectors of the Crimean economy (setting aside small businesses not taken into account by Crimean statistics), in 2015, the number of registered tourists was 913,400. 95% of these tourists were Russians, and the majority of tourists came with vouchers to holiday resorts. A total of 369,600 persons stayed in health resorts, and almost all of those in this category were Russians and Crimean residents. Thus, in 2015, Crimea hosted approximately 1.3 million registered tourists, which generally corresponds to the number estimated by the former Minister of Resorts and Tourism of Crimea, Alexander Liev: “the maximum number of tourists did not exceed 1.5 million travellers over the previous year.” This number is devastating when compared to the 6 million tourists who visited Crimea in 2013 (see Tab. 2). It is well established that at least 60% of resort visitors to Crimea were Ukrainians, and almost all of them came by railroad. In view of the ongoing war, now in

its second year, the lack of railway communication with the mainland, and the mutual tightening of rules regarding the crossing of the administrative border, we can certainly state that, in 2015, there were not many tourists from mainland Ukraine in Crimea. Airline flights and the Kerch Strait ferry line are insufficient and wholly unable to fill the gap resulting from the lack of railway communication.

Consumer Price Index (CPI) is an integral indicator of the welfare of society as a whole. The higher it is, the more expensive the life of a person is (goods and services). In 2013, the last “Ukrainian year”, CPI was 99.5%, which effectively meant a genuine stability in relation to the “well-fed year” in 2012. However, in 2015, CPI in Crimea ranged from 120-156%. Rises in prices continued in 2016, although perhaps not as sharply as before (see Tab. 2). This indicates a complete failure for the “winning team”. Despite the endless contributions to the economy and the increase in the nominal income of the population, it became 25% more expensive to live in Crimea in 2015, than it was in 2014. Now, salaries have returned to their “pre-war level”, while prices remain “Moscow-like”.

In an interview for the Ukrainian edition of “Focus”, professor of Moscow State University and director of the regional program of the Independent Institute for Social Policy, Natalia Zubarevich confirmed her previous conclusions: in terms of official statistics on how Crimea survived 2015, she stated that the period of generous cash injections from Russia is now over, and the peninsula has turned into an ordinary subsidized region. When commenting on the socio-economic development of Crimea, she confirmed the lack of complete data in Crimean statistics and drew attention to their discrepancy with Russian statistics (Russian Statistics Service – RosStat). Among others, Crimea has not yet published statistics on population income. Therefore, some of the figures for Crimea have to be taken from RosStat data, which state: “income – minus 5%, salaries – minus 9.5%, consumption – minus 10%.”

In this manner, for the last quarter of 2015, the main problems are the following: a very strong increase in part-time employment and a real reduction in household income due to a sharp rise in prices. There is still a very low level of investment, particularly in the “Republic of Crimea”, and a decline in industrial production due to problems with electricity, especially in Sevastopol. On the one hand, Crimea does not have a stable electrical or water supply – in both these factors, the peninsula is critically dependent on Ukraine. On the other, Crimea is a logistic dead corner, and the lack of a land bridge dramatically increases transportation costs. Thirdly, the status of the territory, including its controversial legal status and freight sanctions, impedes international companies from doing business in Crimea.⁵

⁵ P. Kazarin, *Crimea in Figures*, “Krym.Realii”, 6 April 2015, <http://ru.krymr.com/content/article/26939361.html>

4. Financing of Crimea in 2014-2015.

In 2014, the budget of Crimea was 2.75 billion US dollars. Of that, 2.2 billion dollars were net transfers from the Russian budget, while 1.6 billion dollars from this amount were subsidies to balance the budgets of Crimea and Sevastopol: salaries, pensions and other current budgetary spending (Graph 6). 42% of all budgetary spending of the Crimean Federal District goes to social protection under the article of social policy, pension payments and benefits (i.e. to realize promises): 16% – education, 12% – health care and 15% – economy, from which 43% goes to subsidize fuel transportation to the peninsula.⁶

Part of this money came to Crimea as direct assistance from Russian regions. Until the end of 2014, Crimea experienced a transition period, and not all Russian laws were put into effect during this period. Crimea was left all its VAT, although under the law it should go to the federal budget (125 million. dollars). Hence, the real subsidy level of Crimea is 85%, and without taking into account VAT – 80%. It is comparable to the subsidy level of Ingushetia – 87%, or Chechnya – 82%.⁷ The subsidy of Sevastopol can be compared to the subsidy of Dagestan, and amounted to 70%. But in absolute figures, Crimea has become more expensive for Russia than any North Caucasus republic.

Investment in the Russian Federation has dropped during the last two years. While in 2014, investments fell by 2.7%, just in January 2015, they dropped by 6.7%. Half of all Russian regions finished in the red with regard to investments, while transfers for the last three months of 2014, fell by 3-7% in nominal value, without calculating for inflation. Consequently, during one month in 2015, investment inflow fell two and half times more than during the previous year.

According to Alexei Kudrin, the head of the Civil Initiatives Committee and ex-Finance Minister of Russia, Russian economic losses during the last three-four years amounted to 150-200 billion US dollars (i.e. 6-7 billion US dollars per year). This figure includes direct and indirect costs. What is more, for the peninsula development programme, which was to last until 2020, Ukraine spent about 120 million dollars during 2010-2011. An amount comparable to fifty (!) times less than the Russian government spent. Thus, the amount of direct subsidies had to be cut – it was necessary to find money for the Euro 2012 football championships.

The revenue that small businesses give to Crimea is extremely low. In 2014, all small business revenue made up 0.5% of the total Crimean budget. It was impossible to compare data of the business sector shortage with the Ukrainian version. The decrease of business activity in Crimea is impressive. Before the Russian annexation, the region had

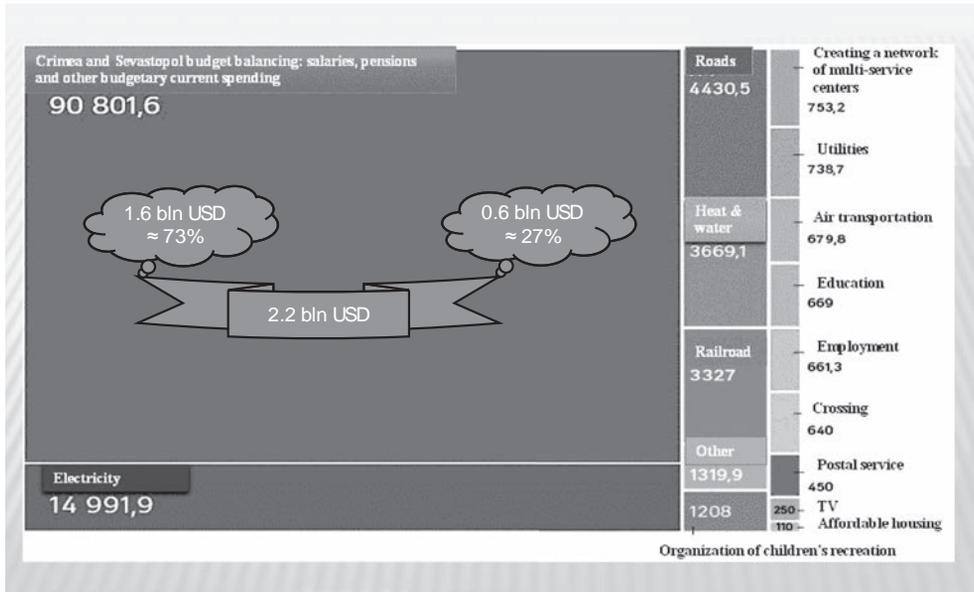
⁶ N. Zubarievich, «Krymnash» in *Figures: "Look and Cry" All Taxpayers of Russia* (video), "Politolog", accessed April 2, 2015, <http://politolog.net/analytics/rasxody-na-krymnash-ciframi-smotret-vsem-nalogoplatelshhikam-rossii/>

⁷ P. Nikolaev, *Crimea Without Ukraine: Statistical Results*, "Krym Realii", 18 March 2015, <http://ru.krymr.com/content/article/26907084.html>

54,000 enterprises and 135,000 private entrepreneurs, while already in March 2015 there were only 22,000 legal enterprises and 39,800 private entrepreneurs: a decrease of 2.5 and 3.4 times, respectively.

Graph 6

Transfers from the Federal Budget to the Budgets of Crimea and Sevastopol in 2014, in mln USD



Source: A. Bikbov, E. Malysheva, D. Koptyubenko, S. Opalev, *The Bill for Crimea*, “RBK”, March 16, 2015, based on Law on the 2014 Federal Budget and 2015-2016 Budget Plan <http://www.rbcdaily.ru/economy/562949994353957>

Professor Zubarevich calls the situation in Crimea in 2014 a failure. Realization of the Federal Target Programme – the name of the strategic plan of the Russian Federation for development of Crimea – has not yet started. She explains how the situation with the financing of Crimea changed in 2015. In 2014, we analysed contribution based on budget figures, since all money in Crimea came from the federal budget and amounted to a huge sum – 2.2 billion US dollars. Starting from 2015, Crimea has been financed on the basis of Russian regulations, that is, the money is transferred not only through the budget, but also through the compulsory health insurance fund and pension fund. Therefore, by the end of 2015, the level of subsidies for the city of Sevastopol amounted to 61% (approximately similar to most of the republics of the North Caucasus or, for example, the Kamchatka Region), and for Crimea – 67%, on par with the level of Dagestan (see Tab. 2).

If we add up all the financial inflows, including the pension fund, we will see that in 2015, Crimea received an amount equal to, or slightly lower than, the amount received in 2014. But then the amount was allocated for a nine-month period, while now it is for the whole year. If pension transfers and medical insurance are deducted, Crimea formally received a much smaller income amount for the budget than in 2015. Crimea became “Russian”, because there is already a budget deficit on the peninsula. In 2014, Crimea received so much money that it did not manage to spend it all. Crimea ended 2015 with a budget deficit, just like the overwhelming majority of Russian regions, spending 70 million US dollars more than its revenues. Thus, it joins a wide range of Russian regions dealing with budget deficits – 76 out of 95 Russian regions. Prof. Zubarevich comments on this: “In general, the emergency Crimea fund ran out. There is a routinisation process which takes place now, no additional blood money Crimea will get for sure.”

If we analyse the structure of costs in 2015, it is close to the national average. Spending on the national economy (meaning the fuel and energy complex, the reproduction of the mineral resource base, agriculture, fisheries, water, forestry, transportation, roads infrastructure, and communications) amounted to 19% for Sevastopol, and 30.6% for the “Republic of Crimea”. In Russia, on average, these costs make up about 20%. Such considerable spending in Crimea does not imply investment. More than half of it is attributed to subsidized electricity costs, which have been supplied from the territory of Ukraine for three quarters of 2015.

Housing and communal services are financed in a very modest way: for Sevastopol – 8% of the city budget, in the “Republic of Crimea” – 4%. Expenditure on education approximately corresponds to average Russian standards – 25%, and is funded steadily. Spending on culture constitutes the standard Russian 3%, on healthcare – 21% in Sevastopol and 17% in Crimea, which is higher than the average in Russia of 14%. The last important feature is social protection of the population, or “social policy”. These costs amount to 12% in Sevastopol, 13% in Crimea, and almost 16% in Russia. These figures are considerably smaller than the 42% which was allocated for this purpose in 2014. Firstly, there was a redistribution of sources (i.e., the financing of pensions is now carried out as transfers from the pension fund). Secondly, the scale of allowances and bonuses has been normalised (i.e., recipients have been audited). And if we study just benefits, we will see that they have fallen sharply: in Sevastopol, 5.6 times in 2015, compared to 2014. Apparently, the financing of military pensioners – constituting the majority of inhabitants of the port city and base of the Black Sea Fleet – has become the task of the pension fund only. The rest of Crimea benefits by this, for the recipients remained unchanged or have even slightly increased according to the standard Russian law.

It is necessary to separate financing of costs, from investing in infrastructure projects, which is of strategic importance in Crimea, and is provided from other sources. The Crimean share of all investments made by the Russian Federation in its regions is 0.3%, while investments in the North Caucasus Federal District reach 3%, while in the Far East – 6%. However, these investments do not include funds for the construction of

the Kerch Bridge, as it goes through federal channels. Annual costs for this purpose are substantial, amounting to 880 million US dollars, and funding remains steady.

The Crimean “authorities” continue to juggle with astronomical figures of funds which should be directed not only to the construction of the Kerch Bridge, but also to the Tavrida Highway from Sevastopol to Kerch, as well as power plants and electric power lines – all in a three-year period. Professor Zubarevich believes that the money from the federal budget for extraordinary expenses on Crimean infrastructure will be provided at the expense of federal spending on education, healthcare, and culture, in other regions of Russia. Already in 2015, national security spending fell by 6%, and in 50 regions of the Russian Federation, funding decreased in nominal terms.

Free economic zones in Crimea and Sevastopol have been in operation since 2015. FEZs are the perfect tool, according to the practice used all over the world, to attract investors due to favourable conditions for business. But it cannot be applied to Crimea, because it is unlikely to rely on major Russian investors, who are integrated in the world financial system and the threat of sanctions for them is accompanied by high risk. Thus, the only investments they can make are realized by fictitious companies. For example, the Russian company MTS, using the name “Vin Mobile”, provides cellular connection services in Crimea, and Russian banks, registered on the peninsula, have opened three-four hundred Russian banks.

Answering the question “Will Crimea ever learn to earn?”, Professor Zubarevich concludes that Russia has to learn not to sit on its oil pension, and earn from other factors. The crisis in Russia began when oil prices stopped rising. The model of economy based on raw materials only works when prices go up, because, at the same time, all institutional barriers grow, including the increased needs of law enforcement, and enhanced corruption. It is only possible to overcome this with rises in prices. The Russian economy came to a standstill in 2014, when the price of oil remained at the level of 110 US dollars per barrel.

No preconditions for the change of the current situation can be found. According to the general opinion of experts, there are no drivers of growth in Russia, and therefore there cannot be any on its territory.

5. The Living Standard, Rights and Freedom of the Crimean Population in 2014-2015

The nationalisation of 250 businesses by the new authorities in Crimea is also worth mentioning. Its value amounts to hundreds of thousands of dollars. Most of them are big budget-forming enterprises of the peninsula and their brands are well-known abroad. Experts are convinced that the Crimean authorities are unlikely to create analogous companies. The nationalisation process of Crimean enterprises lasted for nearly a year and finished on 1 March 2015. An authority of the Russian Federation and Crimea,

Minister of Communication of Crimea, Dmitry Polonskyi explains that the nationalisation process is an anti-crisis measure: “not to cause concern for investors and owners in Crimea”. He also mentioned that: “the mechanism of nationalisation of the peninsula was necessary to prevent theft”, and that “we don’t talk about the privatisation of these assets”. Some enterprises, which have become national property, are noted below:

- “Ukrtelecom”, providing communication connection services; “Krymgas” – all gas sectors of Crimea; assets of “Chernomorneftegas” – the foundation of the oil-gas complex of Crimea, which was part of the Ukrainian state company; “Krymenergo”, sea ports.
- More than 130 tourist sites, including the children’s camp “Artek”. All Crimean nature reserves, natural parks, forest and hunting facilities have become the property of the Crimean Republic.
- The list includes 131 companies and enterprises of the agricultural complex, such as the famous wine factories of “Magarach” and “Massandra”, and sparkling wine factory of “Novyi Svet”.

In October 2015, the Russian authorities decided to add 220 cultural sites in the occupied Crimean peninsula to Russia’s register of cultural heritage sites. Among these is the ancient Tauric Chersonese ruins of a city founded by Dorian Greeks in the 5th century BC, which is on the UNESCO list of protected world heritage sites⁸. Ukrainian representative presented a report regarding violations of freedom of speech and media in Crimea at a UNESCO summit. Independent journalists and citizens have been silenced or prosecuted. The courts in Crimea are prosecuting journalists who don’t support the occupation of the peninsula and the prohibition of Crimean Tatars Mejlis.⁹

According to UNNO data and the Ministry of Social Policy of Ukraine in April 2015, the number of local migrants from the temporary occupied territories of Ukraine amounted to 1,228,090. According to data from the “Free Crimea” project, more than 50,000 people have left Crimea.

What is more, currently, “illegal” meetings and protests may result in five years imprisonment or a fine of 1000 US dollars for participants. Freedom of religion has also been breached. More than two thirds of Ukrainian Orthodox churches have been closed. The first Crimean-Tartar TV channel, ATR, has stopped broadcasting since 1 April 2015, due to the refusal of the *Roskomnadzor* (Russian Supervisory Committee) to register it. The channel broadcast in Russian, Crimean Tartar and Ukrainian in Crimea since 2006. Russia itself was expelled from the “G8”, and a planned summit in 2014 in Sochi was not held, due to G7 refusal.

⁸ World Heritage List, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1411>

⁹ *Crimean Journalists Persecuted by Russia – Ukraine’s Delegates at UNESCO*, “Ukraine Today”, May 3, 2016, <http://uatoday.tv/politics/crimean-journalists-persecuted-by-russia-ukraine-s-delegates-at-unesco-642081.html>

Conclusions

Natalia Zubarevich, director of the regional programme of the Independent Institute for Social Policy, as well as professor at Moscow State University, categorically states that by the end of 2020, the “Construction of Crimea” will result in failure, and hints at what will happen in the future with the help of the far eastern parable: “Either the donkey or the Sultan will die.”

Thus, it should be concluded that the decreased rate of the economy in Crimea, after the disruption of economic links with Ukraine, looks dramatic. In most cases, a peaceful Crimea loses much more intensively in development, than Ukraine does in a state of war. The only profitable index concerning much higher salaries and pensions is provided not by personal economic achievements, but inflows from the federal budget. Internal growth points in the Crimean economy have not been identified. That is why to forecast, or, what is more, to model the situation, seems to be impossible. Crimea will remain the largest “frozen” conflict in Europe for a long time, resulting in this subject remaining off limits to the multilateral negotiation process.

References:

- Crimean State Statistics Service.
 Krym.Realii website <http://ru.krymr.com/>
 State Statistics Service of Ukraine.
The Impact of the FTA with EU, Analytical Research, International Centre for Policy Studies, Kyiv 2013, 197.
Ukraine-2014: A Year of Hardships, International Centre for Policy Studies, Kyiv 2015, 50.



Abstract

The main economic triggers¹⁰ for Ukraine and Crimea in 2014-2020 – following key changes in the political and economic situation in Ukraine in 2014 – are analysed. A comparison is made with the forecast of economic development of Ukraine until 2020, realized in 2013. As well, openness indexes in the EU, Ukraine and Crimea are calculated. The research that has been carried out proves that Crimea and Ukraine have revealed comparative advantages according to varied commodities’ groups, and thereby, supplement each other in the export structure to EU countries.

¹⁰ Trigger – a term widely used in computer sciences for transactions on the exchange market. In the context of this work, economic triggers mean trigger mechanisms, which effect economic processes.

On the basis of statistical data, the impact of the breakup of economic links with Ukraine on the economy of Crimea is highlighted. The author's own assessment of official statistics based on data from the Crimean and Ukrainian Statistics Services, and assessment by the expert, Prof. N. Zubarevich, based on the Russian Statistics Service, shows why the forecast for socio-economic development of Crimea for the 2015 fiscal year has not been realised.

The 10.1% growth of the gross regional product of Crimea is not justified. The factual subsidy level of Crimea amounts to 85%, 73% of which are subsidies to balance the budgets of Crimea and Sevastopol, including salaries, pensions and other current budget expenses. The domestic growing points of the Crimean economy are not identified.

Keywords: economic triggers, the openness index, the revealed comparative advantage, subsidy, nationalization.

OSCE “BIS”: A New European Security Initiative

JAN PIEKŁO

Polish-Ukrainian Cooperation Foundation (PAUCI), Warsaw, Poland

This year, Europe celebrates the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act. The Helsinki Declaration was the first act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which took place in the Finnish capital. Thirty-five states, including the USA, Canada, and the European countries (except Albania), signed the joint declaration which sought to improve relations between the Communist Bloc and the West. Later, the Helsinki Accords served as a framework for the launch of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), established by the Charter of Paris. The Charter was adopted in Paris in November 1990, on the basis of the Helsinki Act, during a summit meeting of most European governments, as the US, Canada and the Soviet Union. It was further amended in the 1999 Charter for European Security. Both these documents form the basis for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In the next decades, this framework contributed a wide range of diplomatic instruments for solving potential crises and kept the security balance in Europe. The OSCE and the United Nations (UN) guaranteed the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity of states. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation was declared the successor state to the USSR on the grounds that it contained 51% of its population and 77% of its territory. As a consequence, Russia was granted the USSR's permanent seat on the UN Security Council. This was accepted by the other former republics of the Soviet Union. Ukraine, as a new independent state, agreed to give up its nuclear stockpile – the world's third largest. The Budapest Memorandum, signed in December 1994, offered security assurances concerning the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of Ukraine, as well as that of Belarus and Kazakhstan. The Memorandum was signed by three nuclear powers: the Russian Federation, the United States of America, and the United Kingdom.

How Russia Undermined the Spirit of Helsinki

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation – as its legal successor – fuelled local, mostly ethnic, conflicts in its close neighborhood and thereby managed to construct “frozen conflict” zone. These served as a leverage for securing the Kremlin's geopolitical interests. These zones were separatist Transnistria in Moldova,

Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia, and Nagorno-Karabakh, which, after the Azeri-Armenian war, became a *de facto* part of Armenia. The fragile security architecture constructed in Europe some years earlier was challenged, and the work of Pan-European security organizations (and various *ad hoc* contact groups set up to resolve regional problems) became less and less effective. The Yugoslav crisis, which led to ten years of war in the Balkans, posed a new challenge for the existing European and global security institutions, and also exposed the weakness of the UN peace keeping mandate and conflict prevention mechanisms. When the Pan-European cooperative security structures were challenged and then invalidated by the Yugoslav Wars, the OSCE realized that its role in conflict prevention lay more in the normative and soft security dimension. In 1992, the OSCE created the Conflict Prevention Centre (CPC) to serve as a focal point in European early warning and dispute settlement. However, with minor exceptions, the CPC was bypassed during the explosion of deadly violence in the Balkans. States with a vital stake in the unfolding conflict apparently preferred to pursue their policies through the European Union, the UN, and, ultimately, through international *ad hoc* contact groups.¹

NATO's military intervention through air strikes and the ground deployment of soldiers finally managed to end the Balkan war. It is worth stressing that in this case it was military action which finally brought a diplomatic and political solution to the conflict. Russia, which supported the Serbs from the very beginning, considered the NATO actions and Western peace settlement (especially the recognition of Kosovo's independence) as a geopolitical defeat.

The OSCE and the Russian Aggression in Ukraine

Consequently, Moscow developed a plan for revenge. The first clear signal of Russia's openly aggressive intent came with the war in Georgia in 2008. Moscow blamed Mikheil Saakashvili and the Georgian side for provoking the conflict, and the West quite easily accepted the Russian version of events. Partly because of this, Saakashvili first lost his popularity, and then the election, at home. The real crisis came in 2014, with the Russian annexation of Crimea and the military invasion in Eastern Ukraine. This was Moscow's reaction to the Euromaidan Revolution in Ukraine and to the decision of the new, democratic government in Kyiv to sign an Association Agreement (AA) with EU. Through this act of aggression and violation of the territorial integrity of Ukraine, Russia invalidated the whole fragile European security architecture, based on the Helsinki Accords. Moscow also broke the UN Charter.

¹ Fred Tanner, "Conflict Prevention and Conflict Resolution: Limits of Multilateralism," *International Review of the Red Cross*, No. 839, 30 September 2000 (Fred Tanner is Deputy Director of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy)

The democratic world community reacted to this development by utilizing the existing international diplomatic instruments, which the OSCE, the UN, and the Council of Europe offered. New *ad hoc* initiatives were also set up, such as the Minsk contact group, and the Normandy and Geneva formats, to negotiate the conditions of the successive ceasefires. Russia, as a signatory and co-founder of global and Pan-European institutions, used its membership to manipulate and blame the West, the EU, NATO and Ukraine, for provoking this deadly confrontation. The situation created a deadlock, which blocked opportunities to solve the most serious crisis on the European continent since the Balkan Wars. The already-existing security instruments at the disposal of the West proved to be ineffective and ill-suited for dealing with the former partner of the West, who had unilaterally changed the rules of the geopolitical game.

Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia, the three Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries which decided to sign Association Agreements with the EU, are now left without any security and political guarantees. In the case of Ukraine, Kyiv found it had lost the guarantees of territorial integrity which had been included in the Budapest Memorandum. Since the Bucharest Summit in 2008, the subject of closer links between NATO, Ukraine, and Georgia has come off the agenda. After the Euromaidan Revolution in Ukraine, which found many victims among the activists who fought for "European values", the EU and the transatlantic community, apparently, left their partners without any constructive support. While it is fighting 'separatists', who are backed, manned, and financed by Russia, Kyiv is deprived of 'Western weapons' support, for which it has been asking for a long time. At the same time, the delivery of French Mistral helicopter carriers to Russia is only "temporarily suspended". With the permission of the EU, the German firm Daimler may also breach sanctions and help the Russians develop modern military vehicles.

With the ongoing war on the European continent about 1000 km from the EU's Eastern border and the aggressive policy of Putin's regime, the West has found itself in a situation where its basic credibility is at stake. Russia's destabilization efforts can invalidate the Eastern Partnership and bring these countries back under the control of the Kremlin. This will jeopardize the EU as a successful political project. The result will be a new kind of division of the world per Yalta.

Russia, through its blocking and manipulating of the existing global and Pan-European security organizations, is preventing their use for finding a solution to the growing confrontation. Therefore, the transatlantic community should consider the establishment of a new security institution which would be able to offer, for the moment, soft guarantees to the countries which have signed Association Agreements with EU.

Some similar initiatives already took place before and after the Orange Revolution (2004-2005) in Ukraine:

1. GUAM was established in 2001 as an Organization for Democracy and Economic Development. It was a regional intergovernmental organization of four post-Soviet states: Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova. Turkey and Latvia had observer status. The Community of Democratic

Choice was an intergovernmental organization, established in 2005. Its founding members were Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Georgia, Ukraine, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, and Slovenia. Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, the US, the EU, and the OSCE had observer status.

2. Black Sea Synergy, established in 2006, was an EU initiative, proposed by Romania. Its members were Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Moldova, Ukraine, and Romania. Bulgaria and Turkey had observer status. Russia, despite being invited, showed a lack of interest in this initiative.

These numerous attempts to build up cooperation structures show that even before launching the Eastern Partnership, the countries of the region were interested in setting up multilateral networks to protect their geopolitical interests and counterbalance Russian influence in the Black Sea basin. Unfortunately, most of these initiatives are now dead.

The only successful and consistent initiative was the Eastern Partnership, inaugurated in 2009, which was proposed by Poland and Sweden. The EU project targeted Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Its aim was to improve trade relations with the EU and bring these countries closer to the EU through offering them Association Agreements (AAs). Brussels managed to sign an AA with Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia (however, Armenia, after completing the negotiations, decided to step away from the AA and join the Kremlin's Eurasian Union). When the EaP turned out to be successful, Russia reacted with military force. It attacked Ukraine, breaking its international commitments.

In order to save its own credibility and the EaP initiative, the Western community should offer its Eastern partners some kind of soft security guarantees, based on the Helsinki Accords and the UN charter principles, which firstly address the issue of territorial integrity and sovereignty.

The Necessity of 'OSCE BIS'

This initiative could adopt 'OSCE BIS' as a working title, stressing that it is based on the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter. This initiative should be addressed to:

1. Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia, which are signatories to the Association Agreements with the EU and would, therefore, receive special status;
2. Turkey and those Balkan countries which have yet to join the EU, would be members;
3. Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan – on the condition that they improve their record on democracy;
4. Central Asia countries – on the condition they improve their record on democracy;
5. Russia could be accepted after meeting democratic criteria, and on the condition that it invalidates the annexation of Ukrainian and Georgian territories, and withdraws its troops from occupied territories.

Special recommendation:

The construction of such a new intergovernmental organization (‘OSCE BIS’) should include a strong civil society component, based on the already existing Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum, which should have the right of membership.

The Western side should be represented by the EU, the US, Canada, Norway, Switzerland, and, possibly, also Australia, Japan and South Korea. The new organization should also be open to new members from North Africa (criteria: record on democracy). The name and further legal and structural details can be discussed later, following agreement on the principles given in this discussion paper.

The process of launching a new international organization might be a long and difficult one, but the dynamic of developments in Europe and the European neighborhood – including the threat posed by Russia and ISIS – requires a fundamentally new approach to these challenges. Unfortunately, Europe has failed to learn much from the Balkan conflict. A well-coordinated campaign to publicize this new security architecture concept might persuade aggressive parties such as Russia to negotiate, in order to preserve the *status quo* in the existing security architecture. If Russia does not do so, it risks becoming marginalized, being reduced to a so-called “rogue state.” This scenario is definitely not an option Moscow wants. The West should play on Russia’s weaknesses.

It is evident that hard security should continue to be provided by NATO. Jean-Claude Juncker’s recent initiative concerning the creation of an EU army seems to be counterproductive in the current situation. The EU desperately needs to strengthen the transatlantic relationship, and a further rapprochement between the old continent and the US could be the only long-term option for reversing the existing negative security trends. This will take time and it requires political will on both sides, as well as consensus among the EU member states.

Appendix

1. As concerns the “Memorandum on Security Assurances in Connection with Ukraine’s Accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, signed on 5 December 1994 by the Presidents of Ukraine, the Russian Federation and the United States of America, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,” which is known as the “Budapest Memorandum,” Irina Paliashvili wrote: “The technical and legal intricacies of its language can be discussed *ad nauseam*, but nothing can change its bottom-line: the three signatories – the US, the UK and Russia – confirm and reaffirm ‘their commitment to Ukraine in accordance with the principles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to respect the independence and sovereignty and the existing borders of Ukraine.’” “There is no doubt that Ukraine has delivered on its commitments under the

Budapest Memorandum promptly, fully and in a good faith. The two guarantors, the US and the UK, are in a possession of overwhelming and undeniable evidence of continuing violation by Russia of “sovereignty and the existing borders of Ukraine”, first by occupying and annexing Crimea, and then by invading and waging war in Eastern Ukraine.”²

2. “The OSCE is allowed to operate at only two checkpoints on the vast Ukrainian-Russian border. Yet from these two checkpoints alone, monitors note hundreds of individuals in military-style dress freely crossing the border every week. The separatists have a larger fighting force, with more weaponry, than some European countries. Meanwhile, Russia is reportedly preparing to deliver its 12th resupply convoy to separatists in Ukrainian territory at the end of the month. If the past eleven deliveries are any indication, Russia will deny international monitors or Ukrainian authorities the ability to fully inspect the convoys. If Russia is indeed sending humanitarian aid, what does it have to hide? [...] The current situation is dangerous. It is dangerous because separatists continue to harass, threaten, and intimidate the impartial monitors deployed by the OSCE – monitors who serve on behalf of the international community. According to a January 14th OSCE report, the Special Monitoring Mission, or SMM, was stopped at a separatist checkpoint in Oktyabr by a hostile separatist commander who ordered the team’s car searched and said the monitors would be shot if a camera was found, even though cameras are a basic tool of documentation work. Separatist guards kept their guns pointed at the monitors during the exchange, the monitors said, even though the team posed no threat and, mercifully, had no camera.”³
3. “As this is the last scheduled PC of 2014, it’s a time to take stock. Next year, as we all know, marks the fortieth anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act. That Act, the founding document of this Organization, enshrined ten fundamental principles designed to guide the relationships among participating States. Those ten principles – referred to as the Decalogue – are the carefully negotiated and agreed foundation of this Organization and provide the means for ensuring comprehensive security for the States represented around this table, and most importantly, for our citizens.”
 “Over the past eight months, through its actions in and around Ukraine, the Russian Federation has failed to uphold the principles in the Decalogue. Russia has violated Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and intervened in Ukraine’s internal affairs. Russia has undermined efforts to resolve the crisis peacefully through the Minsk Protocol and agreements, to which Russia is a

² Irina Paliashvili “The Budapest Memorandum revisited,” Kyiv Post, February 6, 2015.

³ Remarks by Ambassador Samantha Power, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at a Security Council Briefing on Ukraine, 21 January 2015.

signatory, through continued military, political, and financial support of the armed separatists operating in eastern Ukraine. De-facto authorities in Crimea have abused the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people living there, and Russia has actively supported pro-Russia separatists as they abused the human rights of Ukrainians. Russia has made a mockery of the fundamental principle of self-determination through the so-called “referendum” held in Crimea. Russia’s actions have undermined cooperation among States.”

4. “The consequences of Russia’s actions are suffered every day by those killed and wounded in the fighting in Ukraine’s Donbas region. They are felt by the people in eastern Ukraine struggling to find food and shelter in conflict areas, as highlighted recently by the United Nations. They are felt by the people of Crimea forced to live under an occupying power.”⁴
5. “The international community is united in condemning the violence that has led to so much needless suffering in Ukraine, but the violence continues. Regrettably, Russia continues to supply new weapons and increase support for armed separatists. In doing so, it fails to meet its international and OSCE obligations and to live up to an agreement that it actually negotiated and signed. The result is damage to its credibility, and its own citizens wind up paying a steep economic and human price, including the price of hundreds of Russian soldiers who fight and die in a country where they had and have no right to be.
6. My friends, more broadly, the crisis that we have experienced in Europe this past year is not the fault of the international system. It stems from the unwillingness of individual actors to abide by the rules and the principles of that system. When rules are broken, they need to be enforced, not rewritten. Despite numerous violations of Helsinki this year, the timeless wisdom of the final act – that sustainable security can only be achieved when fundamental freedoms and human rights are protected – has been reaffirmed. To build a more secure OSCE area, we need to acknowledge the serious failure of some member states to live up to their responsibilities, and these failures affect us all.



Abstract

Jan Piekło argues that the security architecture in Europe is failing. It is currently based on the legacy of the Helsinki Final Act and the UN Charter which the United States and the EU hoped would preserve peace on the European continent after the end of the

⁴ Ongoing Violations of OSCE Principles and Commitments by the Russian Federation and the Situation in Ukraine. As delivered by Ambassador Daniel B. Baer to the Permanent Council, Vienna, 18 December 2014.

Cold War. However, mutual trust between Russia and the West has deteriorated since the early 1990s, starting with differences over the Balkan Wars, the war between Georgia and Russia in 2008, and now the continuing confrontation between Russia and the West over the Russian annexation of Crimea and the invasion of Eastern Ukraine. 'Frozen conflicts' in the post-Soviet space have not been resolved, despite efforts by the OSCE and others. Countries like Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova, which have signed Association Agreements with the European Union, now feel exposed, given the weakness of the OSCE and the UN, and the failure of Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, to respect guarantees they offered to Ukraine in the Budapest memorandum of 1994. Jan Piekło suggests that a new soft security organization, 'OSCE BIS', should be established. This new organization should have Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia – the signatories of the Association Agreement with the EU – at its core. Other members would be the US, Canada, the EU, and possibly Japan and South Korea, together with those post-Soviet states which can point to a consistent democratic record of government. The absence of Russia in 'OSCE BIS' would reflect the fact that Russia, over the past four years, has used the OSCE to serve its own ends and paralyzed OSCE activities when the organization attempted to secure the sovereignty and democratic governance of states in the region. Once Russia establishes its own democratic credentials and withdraws from occupied territories then it would be welcome to join the new organization, Piekło says.

Keywords: Helsinki Declaration, OSCE, OSCE BIS, United Nations, Soviet Union, Russia, Ukraine, Eastern Partnership

IV
MISCELLANEA

Professor Alexander Rondeli

PROF. VLADIMER PAPA

Rector, Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University

PROF. ZURAB DAVITASHVILI

*Head of the Department of International Relations
Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University*

Alexander Rondeli was a distinguished scientist, teacher and public figure. Anyone who has ever met him personally will never forget his erudition, kindness, principled nature and sharp humour. Even a brief encounter with him was often enough to make a lasting impression. It is not very common that a person's death leaves such a void in the lives of their friends, students, university and city, and even the nation, as did the death of Alexander Rondeli.

Alexander Rondeli was born in Tbilisi in 1942, into a well-known intellectual family. His father, David Rondeli, a writer and a film director, was one of the pioneers of Georgian cinema and a distinctive personality. His mother, Nino Amirejibi, was from a Georgian aristocratic family. Alexander's upbringing in such a family, and its proximity to so many prominent Georgian cultural figures, determined his high sense of culture, intellectual potential, and strong personality.

Alexander Rondeli graduated from the Faculty of Oriental Studies at Tbilisi State University, specializing in the history of Iran. As a high-achieving student with encyclopaedic-like erudition, he constantly attracted the attention of his professors and received numerous offers related to his future scientific endeavours. Nonetheless, Alexander made the least expected choice for someone in his position. In 1965, a new field of study was forming at the Faculty of Geography: Economic and Political Geography of Foreign Countries (focusing on the Middle East). Alexander Rondeli became a post-graduate student of Prof. Nodar Natchkebia, the coordinator of this new field of research. Following this, his scientific interests were closely intertwined with human geography.

As for his chosen field of research within social geography, Rondeli selected the geography of cities (geo-urbanism) – one of the least developed scientific fields in the Soviet Union at that time, specifically, geographical problems in Middle Eastern cities. The title of his dissertation was: "The Main Issues of the Formation and Development of Cities in Iran." He was sent abroad to Iran for two years as a Persian language translator and had the opportunity to collect interesting and important information, visit Iranian cities and conduct valuable field research. Rondeli's dissertation retains its scien-

tific value due to its comprehensiveness and diversity, as well as being the first Georgian scientific work on Middle Eastern cities.

Alexander Rondeli was a young man when he started teaching at Tbilisi State University. “Urban Geography”, “Economic and Political Geography of Foreign Countries”, “Geography of Iran” – these are courses he initially proposed to his students, immediately garnering him widespread respect and affection. His immense knowledge and extensive information, open and free discussions about political problems (so uncommon at Soviet universities), and open, friendly attitude towards students, made a strong impact on his listeners. His firm and determined character, along with his tactfulness and humanity, would prove to be his trademark formula as a lecturer.

Alexander Rondeli’s thorough knowledge of several foreign languages allowed him to maintain direct contact with colleagues from around the world. His close ties with Polish geographers were especially strong. Alexander was one of the leading figures involved in forging cooperation and joint research activities between the Chair of Economic and Social Geography at Tbilisi State University, and the Department of Social Geography and Spatial Organization at Łódź University. In 1976-77, Alexander Rondeli did his scientific internship at one of the world’s most acclaimed and prestigious universities, the London School of Economics and Political Science. The year he spent in London played a crucial role in further moulding his academic career. He not only enriched his knowledge of urban studies, economic geography and economics, but also became interested in political geography (a neglected field in the Soviet Union), as well as political science and international relations – almost unheard of in the Georgian reality.

In the 1980s, Alexander Rondeli worked on the monograph “Geography of a City”, the publication of which greatly supported students and people interested in this area of scholarship. This book was one of the first works published in the Soviet Union to deal with the theoretical problems of a city’s micro-geography and its spatial organization, and was a completely new direction in Soviet geographical sciences. The book was used by many generations of Georgian geographers and urbanists. The monograph still maintains its scientific value and continues to be utilized in the academic process.

In the 1970s and 1980s, in addition to his teaching and research career, Alexander Rondeli was actively engaged in various social activities. Among others, he was president of the Young Scientists Club of Georgia. The club became a favourite gathering place for many academics, holding different events to help young scientists from various fields of scholarship to meet and forge relationships. At that time, everyone was aware of Alexander Rondeli’s two greatest passions: classical music (he had a rare vinyl collection of opera and symphonic music) and football. He was always up to date with what was going on in the world of football and, as a fan of FC Dinamo Tbilisi, he never missed a single match of his favourite team. His friends recall that he would often replace simple greetings of “hello”, with loud exclamations of “Dinamo!”

In the 1980s, events in the Soviet Union¹ dramatically changed Alexander Rondeli's social and academic existence. As a true patriot, he actively involved himself in the national movement, the ultimate goal of which was the restoration of state sovereignty and the country's development towards a democratic European state. Ethnic nationalism, pseudo-patriotism and radical actions (which were not uncommon then among the intelligentsia) were intolerable to Alexander Rondeli. He knew that Georgia's transition to an independent state and the transformation of Georgian society into a European value-based community required educating a generation of young people equipped with new knowledge and skills. Most importantly, this needed to be done in those academic fields that were non-existent in Soviet Georgia, but so necessary in an independent country. International relations was among these required academic areas.

In 1991, when the restoration of Georgia's independence became inevitable, the opening of a department of international relations at TSU emerged on the university's agenda. The department would prepare future diplomats and specialists in international relations. Prof. Alexander Rondeli was appointed the first chair of the newly established department. International Relations was entirely unknown as an academic field in Georgia, as well as in the whole of the Soviet Union. There was no literature available on the subject, there were no researchers in the country, or even any relevant Georgian terminology. The Georgian state was facing huge challenges augmented by civil war, two ethnic conflicts, economic and energy collapses, and an upsurge in criminal activity. Under such trying circumstances, Alexander Rondeli laid the foundation of the Georgian school of international relations by surrounding himself with young enthusiasts from various disciplines, who took on the responsibility of creating an academic program and deliver courses previously completely unknown to them

Alexander Rondeli began to study international relations and prepare a number of courses at the age of fifty ("Introduction to International Relations," "Theory of International Relations," "Political Economy of International Relations"). To better prepare himself for the challenges of the field, he enrolled himself in a year-long internship program at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University in 1993-94. This helped him to establish Western standards of teaching at Tbilisi State University in an academic field which did not have any prior tradition in Georgia. Published in 1996, Alexander Rondeli's monograph entitled "International Relations" was of great importance to students and diplomats. It was the first book in Georgia to deal with the theoretical aspects of international relations, and the first manual in this research field in any of the post-Soviet countries.

Soon afterwards, the field of international relations became the most attractive and prestigious specialization among Georgian students, while Prof. Rondeli was among the most beloved and respected professors. His erudition, deep knowledge and extraordinary manner impressed students, as did his lectures, often quite humorous. His popu-

¹ Specifically, Gorbachev's policies of "Perestroika" and "Glasnost"

larity went beyond the borders of Georgia, and he became a welcome guest at many universities abroad. Alexander Rondeli was invited to lecture at several US universities, including Emory University (1991) Mount Holyoke College (1995) and Williams College (1992, 1995, 1997), where he also earned much recognition and respect.

In 1997, Alexander Rondeli was appointed director of the Foreign Policy Research and Analysis Center at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia. He started his new job with his habitual enthusiasm and dedication. Rondeli surrounded himself with talented young people (the majority of them former students), and shortly launched a prestigious school for foreign policy analysts. The method and ideas created by the Center, such as in-depth research and analysis of problems, assisted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other government agencies in elaborating and implementing evidence-based foreign policy founded on scientific argumentation. For his outstanding achievements in this field, Rondeli was bestowed the diplomatic rank of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

In 2001, he became president of the Georgian Foundation for Strategic and International Studies (GFSIS). The Foundation implemented a number of projects which contributed to raising political awareness (mainly among his students, especially in the region) among Georgian citizens, as well as the popularisation of Georgia abroad. With the support of the GFSIS, a youth magazine was established and several series of popular scientific films were made concerning international relations, politics and economics. In addition, a number of original and translated monographs, as well as collections, were published. The GFSIS also regularly organised conferences and lectures.

The position of president of the GFSIS enabled Alexander Rondeli to frequently travel abroad and deliver lectures concerning Georgia's foreign and domestic political problems. Many politicians, researchers and experts visiting Georgia considered it a great honour to meet Alexander Rondeli and treated the occasion as an opportunity to obtain objective information from someone so well-known for his impartiality and dedication to science. Rondeli was a true envoy of Georgia. We can consider it fortunate that many outstanding figures abroad obtained a clearer image of Georgia through him, and as a result became reliable and loyal friends to Georgia. After Prof. Rondeli's passing, the GFSIS was renamed the "Rondeli Foundation."

Alexander Rondeli's knowledge, adherence to principles, objectivity and personal charm made a strong impression on everyone around him and garnered enormous respect. His ideas and advice provided much-needed assistance to Georgia's political elites and decision-makers. For his contributions to the country, he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Excellence and the Order of Honour, twice. Nevertheless, the greatest reward for him, as a university professor and founder of the Faculty of International Relations, are probably his graduates. The first graduates were from the Department of International Relations in 1996, and, since then, for over twenty years, the Department has provided the country with a number of prominent figures. Among them are nine cabinet ministers (including prime minister and foreign minister), around twenty deputy ministers, over

ten members of parliament and ambassadors, not to mention dozens of diplomats. The establishment of the Georgian School of International Relations can be considered an even larger achievement, which has continued to operate successfully for many years, and which is known and respected by leading scientific institutions around the world.

Alexander Rondeli died on June 12, 2015. Despite suffering from severe illness, he did not halt his scientific and social activities, and never lost his optimism or *joie de vivre*; one of the reasons why his death was so unexpected and distressing for everyone.

Alexander Rondeli's funeral was organized at his native University of Tbilisi. Thousands of people came to bid farewell to the man who left an indelible imprint on the lives of all of his students, colleagues, friends and acquaintances. Alexander Rondeli's death was a great loss to the university, the city and the whole country, but this is a case when physical death is powerless his name to make fade away. Alexander Rondeli will never be forgotten by anyone who was fortunate enough to make his acquaintance.

20 April 2016

List of Alexander Rondeli's Main Publications

A. Books

- Alexander Rondeli. *Geography of a City*. Tbilisi, Tbilisi University Press. 1990. 190 pages [Qalaqis geografia; in Georgian]
- Alexander Rondeli. *International Relations*. Tbilisi, Tbilisi Free University, Tbilisi, 1996. 239 pages [Saertashoriso urtiertobebi; in Georgian]
- Alexander Rondeli. *International Relations*. Second Edition. Nakeri, Tbilisi, 2003 (in Georgian)
- Alexander Rondeli. *International Relations*. Third, Revised Edition. Nakeri, Tbilisi, 2006 (in Georgian)
- Alexander Rondeli. *Small States in International System*. Tbilisi, Metsniereba Publishing, 2003, 320 pages [Mtsire qvekhnebi saertashoriso sistemashi; in Georgian]
- Alexander Rondeli. *Small State in International System*. Second, revised edition. GFSIS, "Nakeri" Publishers, Tbilisi, 2009 (in Georgian), 214 pages

B. Articles since 1996

- Alexander Rondeli. The Nature of the Security Problematique in the CIS. In: *Balancing Hegemony: The OSCE in the CIS*. S. Neil MacFarlane and Oliver Thranert (Eds.), Centre for International Relations, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1997, pp. 17-25.
- Alexander Rondeli. Security Threats in the Caucasus: Georgia's View. *Perceptions*, Vol. III, No. 2, June-August 1998, pp. 43-53.
- Alexander Rondeli. Two Roles of Small States: Buffer and Neutrality. In: *Georgian Diplomacy*. Annual, No. 5, Tbilisi University Press, Tbilisi, 1998, pp. 151-165 (in Georgian.)

- Alexander Rondeli. Georgia: Foreign Policy and National Security Priorities. *Discussion Paper Series*, No. 3, UNDP Country Office in Georgia, 1998, 34 pages.
- Alexander Rondeli: TRACECA: A Tool for Regional Cooperation in the Caucasus. *Marco Polo Magazine*, No. 1, 1999, pp. 28-32.
- Alexander Rondeli. Southern Caucasus – Reemerging Region. *Marco Polo Magazine*, No. 4-5, 1999, <http://www.TRACECA.org/tracecaf.htm>.
- Alexander Rondeli. Regional Security Prospects in the Caucasus. In: *Crossroads and Conflict: Security and Foreign Policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia*. Gary K. Bertsch, Cassidy Craft, Scott A. Jones and Michael D. Beck (Eds.). Routledge, New York, 2000, pp. 48-54.
- Alexander Rondeli. Security Problems in the Caucasus. In: William Ascher and Natalia Mirovitskaya (Eds.). *The Caspian Sea: A Quest for Environmental Security*. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, 2000, pp. 125-134.
- Alexander Rondeli. Diplomatic Activity of a Small Country. In: *Georgian Diplomacy*. Annual, No. 7. Tbilisi University Press, Tbilisi, 2000, pp. 5-20 (in Georgian.)
- Alexander Rondeli. The Forces of Fragmentation in the Caucasus. *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 2, No. 3, July- September 2000, pp. 65-76.
- Alexander Rondeli. Choice of Independent Georgia. In: *The Security of the Caspian Sea Region*. SIPRI, Oxford University Press, New York, 2001, pp. 195-211.
- Alexander Rondeli. Pipelines and Security Dynamics in the Caucasus. *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 4, No. 1, January-March 2002, pp. 13-17.
- Александр Рондели. Южный Кавказ и Россия (взгляд из Тбилиси). *Вестник Европы*, No. 7-8, 2002-2003, стр. 41-46.
- Александр Рондели. Россия и Грузия: Асимметричное соседство. *Центральная Азия и Южный Кавказ: насущные проблемы, 2003*. Под редакцией Б. Румера. Алматы, 2003, стр. 99-114.
- Alexander Rondeli. The Reflections of Globalization on the Security Strategies of the Caucasus. *The Proceedings of the First International Symposium on "Globalization and International Security"* (Istanbul, May 29-30, 2003). SAREM Publications. The Turkish General Staff Printing House, Ankara, 2003, pp. 229-247.
- Alexander Rondeli. Russia and Georgia: Asymmetrical Neighbors. *Central Asia and South Caucasus Affairs: 2003*. Edited by Boris Rumer and Lau Sim Yee. Sasakawa Peace Foundation, 2003, pp. 77-90.
- Alexander Rondeli. Georgia: A Rough Road from the Rose Revolution. *Open Democracy*, 4 Dec. 2003, https://www.opendemocracy.net/article/georgia_politics_after_revolution.
- Alexander Rondeli. State Building in the Post-Soviet South Caucasus. In: *The OSCE and the Multiple Challenges of Transition: The Caucasus and Central Asia*. Edited by Farian Sabahi and Daniel Warner. Ashgate Publishing, 2004, pp. 107-11.
- Alexander Rondeli. Black Sea Regional Security: The South Caucasus Component. *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 6, No. 2, April-June 2004, pp. 27-32.

- Tedo Japaridze and Alexander Rondeli. Europe is on Georgia's Mind. In: *A New Euro-Atlantic Strategy for the Black Sea Region*. Edited by Ronald D. Asmus, Konstantin Dimitrov and Joerg Forbrig. The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Washington, 2004, pp. 40-47.
- Alexander Rondeli. The South Caucasus: Pipeline Politics and Regional Economic Interests. In: *The South Caucasus: Promoting Values through Cooperation*. Edited by Jean Dufourcq and Lionel Ponsard. NATO Defense College, Rome, 2004, pp. 43-52.
- Alexander Rondeli. Georgia: Politics after Revolution. *Open Democracy*, 14 Nov. 2007, https://www.opendemocracy.net/article/georgia_politics_after_revolution.
- Alexander Rondeli. Georgia's Search for Itself. *Open Democracy*, 7 Aug. 2008, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/article/georgia-s-search-for-coexistence>.
- Alexander Rondeli. The Return of Realpolitik: A View from Georgia. *Open Democracy*, 18 Feb. 2010, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/alexander-rondeli/return-of-realpolitik-view-from-georgia>.
- Alexander Rondeli. Sakartvelo: A Political Prospect. *Open Democracy*, 11 Aug. 2010, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/alexander-rondeli/sakartvelo-political-prospect>.
- Alexander Rondeli. The North Caucasus: A View from Tbilisi. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2, Summer 2011, pp. 31-40.
- Alexander Rondeli. The Russian-Georgian War and Its Implications for International Security. In: *Black Sea Region in International Relations: Old Issues, New Trends*. Edited by Shigeo Mutsushika. University of Shizuoka, Shizuoka, 2011, pp. 112-120.
- Alexander Rondeli. A View from Tbilisi. *European Security*, Vol. 21, No. 1, March 2012, pp. 122-127.

CONTRIBUTORS

Roman Bäcker is a professor, lawyer, publicist, political scientist, historian and, since 2010, president of the Polish Political Science Association. From 2009 to 2016, Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences and International Studies at Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. He is also the author of seven books and more than one hundred articles, mainly concerning Russia and political theory.



Kazimierz Dadak is a Professor of Finance and Economics at Hollins University in Virginia, USA. He earned a Ph.D. in economics, specializing in finance, from Fordham University in New York. He has published articles in such prestigious international peer-reviewed journals as: *The Cato Journal*, *Contemporary European History*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Independent Review*, *Panoeconomicus*, *Review of Business*, and *Warsaw East European Review*. His publications in Polish have appeared in: *Arcana*, *Międzynarodowy Przegląd Polityczny*, *Wprost*, *Kontakt*, *Idziemy*, *Gazeta Polska*, and *wGospodarce.pl*. He has presented papers at academic conferences in the United States and Europe. In 1980-81, he was active in “Solidarity”. Prior to this, he collaborated with the democratic opposition in Krakow, Poland (*Studencki Komitet Solidarności*).



Zurab Davitashvili is a Doctor of Sciences in International Relations (2003) and Geography (1982). He is a full professor and head of the Department of International Relations at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. He was a member of the Georgian Parliament (2004-2008) and an adviser to the prime minister of Georgia (2008-2009). His research interests include historical and political geography, ethnic geography, nationalism, ethnic conflicts and geopolitical problems of the Southern Caucasus. Zurab Davitashvili is the author of over seventy scientific articles and four monographs, as well as six university and high school textbooks.

Olga Lavrinenko is a PhD candidate at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Science. Her research interests include social movements and democratization, collective behavior, recognition and redistribution policies, democratic/authoritarian values and attitudes, as well as social research methodology. Currently, she is working on her PhD project concerning ‘recognition’ and ‘redistribution’ dimensions of the social struggles related to Belarusian authoritarianism. Besides this, she cooperates as a researcher and analyst with several analytical centers, including: the Belarusian Analytical Workroom, Center for Political Analysis and Prognosis, and NOVAK Laboratory of Axiometrical Research.



Agnieszka Legucka is an Associate Professor at National Defence University in Warsaw. She graduated from the Institute of International Relations and completed East European Studies, both at the University of Warsaw. She defended her doctorate (“Role of the Eastern Dimension in Security Policy of the European Union and NATO”) in January 2005. She is also an instructor at Strategic Economy and Security Needs Exercises (SESNE) organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland. She has authored several articles and books concerning the European Union’s Eastern policy, as well as the foreign and security policies of CIS countries.



Larysa Myrgorodska at present, works for the Faculty of Law and Administration at the University of Warsaw. She has closely cooperated with the University of Warsaw since September 2005, after she won a Polish government scholarship for young scholars. She was a winner of two Fellowships, the Polish National Commission for UNESCO and Kasa J. Mianowski under the fund for scientific support. She realised her grant at the Faculty of Management and at the Center for Europe of the University of Warsaw. In 2007-2013, she was Associate Professor at the Crimean Economic Institute of Vadym Hetman, Kyiv National Economic University and Visiting Associate Professor at the Faculty of Management of the University of Warsaw. After Russia’s annexation of Crimea, she left the peninsula and now works for the University of Warsaw. Her research interests focus on international economic integration, development and regional economics.



Natalia L. Iakovenko is a Professor of the Institute of International Relations at Taras Shevchenko National University in Kyiv. She graduated from Dnepropetrovsk State University (1976-English Language and Literature); Taras Shevchenko National Uni-

versity in Kyiv (1985-History). She is also currently lecturing and teaching at the Kyiv Institute for Translators and Interpreters. From 1992 until 2006, she worked as Senior Researcher at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Iakovenko is a scholar in the field of foreign policy, the European integration of Ukraine, British foreign policy, as well as Ukrainian and British relations. She is the author of many research papers and books. Among her most recent books are: “International Organizations” (Kyiv, 2014), “The Ukrainian Language (for Special Purposes)” (Kyiv, 2013), “European Neighbourhood Policy: Role and Place of Ukraine” (Kyiv, 2012), “Great Britain in International Organizations” (Kyiv, 2011), “British History: Advanced Reading” (Kyiv, 2007), “Great Britain within the System of International Relations: Claim for European Leadership” (Kyiv, 2003) and “A Concise British History” (Kyiv, 1999).



Justyna Ołędzka is a graduate of the Faculty of Polish Studies at the University of Warsaw, and possesses a humanities PhD in the field of political science from Maria Curie-Skłodowska University. Her research interests revolve around issues of legitimacy and non-legitimacy of political power in non-democratic systems (especially in the CIS), as well as issues of genocide, social engineering theory and propaganda practices. She is currently employed as a researcher at the Faculty of History and Sociology at the University of Białystok. There, she is pursuing her post-doctorate work “Legitimacy of the Leadership of the State in the CIS”, funded by the National Science Centre.



Teimuraz Papaskiri is a professor since 2009, he is Chair of Modern and Contemporary History at the Faculty of Humanities of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University in Georgia, since 2006. He was Visiting Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire in 2004-2006, a DAAD fellow at Humboldt Universität Berlin in 2007, and a Visiting Scholar at the University of Nebraska in 2013. His main spheres of research are diplomacy during the Second World War and Russian-Georgian relations in the post-Soviet era. He is the author of four books, one textbook and forty-five scholarly articles.



Vladimer Papava is Professor of Economics at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University and Chief Research Associate at the Institute of Economics at the same university. He is a Senior Fellow at the Rondeli Foundation (GFSIS). He was Minister of Economy of the Republic of Georgia (1994-2000), Member of Parliament of the Republic of Georgia (2004-2008) and Rector of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (2013-2016). In

2005-2006, he was a Fulbright Fellow at the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, the Nitze School (SAIS) and Johns Hopkins University. He is the author of more than 300 publications, including works on theoretical and applied studies of post-communist economies, macroeconomics and economic development, as well as the geopolitics and geoeconomics of Georgia, the Caucasus and Central Eurasia.



Jan Piekło is the director of PAUCI (the Polish-Ukrainian Cooperation Foundation) which manages trans-border projects in Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia and Georgia. Previously, he worked as a program director for the ZNAK Foundation in Krakow, supervising international programs and heading the Bridges to the East Institute. As a journalist, he covered the Romanian Revolution and the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. He has worked for the Polish and international media. As a conflict resolution journalism coach, regional security expert and media consultant, he has co-operated with the European Journalism Centre, Rutgers University of New Jersey, MU Columbia School of Journalism, Jagiellonian University of Krakow, IREX Pro Media, the University of Groningen and other leading institutions. Until the end of 1990, he was an editor of *Tygodnik Powszechny*, a leading weekly of the Polish anti-Communist opposition. From 1982 to 1988, he contributed to various clandestine “Solidarity” publications. Until December 13, 1981, he worked for the Krakow daily *Gazeta Krakowska* as an editor at the news desk.



Galyna Piskorska is an Associate Professor at the Department of International Information, Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. She is a member of the National Union of Journalists of Ukraine. Her main fields of research include: information society, public relations and communication, international information and communications, as well as image-creation. She is the author of eighty research papers and the co-author of eight collective monographs and textbooks. In 1980, she completed a research internship at the University of Toronto.



Oleksii Polegkyi is a member of the Political Communication Research Unit at Antwerp University in Belgium. He completed a PhD in Political Science at Wrocław University, and a PhD in Social Sciences at Antwerp University. He also completed a Master's degree in philosophy at Taras Shevchenko National University of Kiev. He is a recipient of the L. Kirkland Fellowship, the Erste Foundation Fellowship and the Open Society Foundation Fellowship. He has worked as an expert at several think-tanks and

NGO's in Ukraine. He is also a regular contributor to "*Ukrayinska Pravda*", "*Novoye Vremya*" and "New Eastern Europe".



Tetiana Poliak-Grujić is currently pursuing a Master's degree in European Integration at the Faculty of Law at the University of Belgrade, her focus is on the Eastern Partnership Initiative's role in promoting political rights in the EU's eastern neighbourhood. She also holds diplomas in law and management. Tetiana's professional experience includes observing elections in a number of countries, in particular with the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, as well as working for an international law firm in Kyiv, Ukraine. In 2006-2007, Tetiana undertook an internship in the Parliament of Ukraine (*Verkhovna Rada*) within the Parliamentary Internship Program, supported by USAID.



Krzysztof Żęgota is an Assistant Professor at the Institute of Political Science, University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, he is an experienced researcher of Polish-Russian relations and Polish-Russian cross-border cooperation. He is the author of several publications and conference papers concerning the issues of socio-economic and political development of the Kaliningrad region of the Russian Federation, as well as the importance of the region for the international security of East-Central Europe.

