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CENTRE FOR EASTERN STUDIES

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# Russia's foreign policy strategy in Europe

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# Outline

I Historical legacies: concepts and policies

II Russian mental geography

III New conceptual frameworks: Greater Europe

IV Policy initiatives

V Specific policy objectives: energy

VI Specific policy objectives: security

VII Crisis in the EU: challenge and chance for  
Russia



# I Historical legacies: concepts and policies

## 1. Classical conceptual frameworks

- Atlanticism – Russia as other West
- NeoEurasianism – Russia as civilization and bridge

## 2. Legacies of the past policies:

- Russian Empire: European expansion and concert of powers
- Soviet Union: European expansion and division of Europe



## II Russian mental geography

1. Western/EU Europe
2. Eastern/EU Europe (former Soviet bloc)
3. Post-Soviet Europe/Eurasia
  - “New abroad”: Baltic states
  - Core CIS: Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan
  - Other CIS: Moldova, Southern Caucasus, Central Asia
4. Other Europe (mainly non-EU Balkans)



## III New conceptual frameworks: Greater Europe

1. Declarations: Yeltsin 1997, Putin 2001, Putin 2010-
2. Two pillars: EU/NATO vs. Eurasian Union/CSTO
3. Common spaces:
  - energy space
  - common industrial policy
  - security space
  - political/humanitarian space



## IV Policy initiatives

1. Paris-Berlin-Moscow Triangle; privileged partnership with Germany; other privileged partnerships
2. Multilateral: CSCE/OSCE-based new structures, Councils with NATO and the EU
3. New legal basis: Treaty on European Security, Treaty on Energy Security, Treaty on Strategic Partnership with the EU, agreement on visa-free regime, agreement on energy infrastructure
4. Eurasian integration: Customs Union (2010) - Common Economic Space (2012) - Eurasian Union (2015)



## V Specific policy objectives: energy

1. Retain/expand position of major supplier; get access to end-users; safeguard “security of demand”
2. Limit dependence on some transit countries (esp. Ukraine) and increase leverage on them; create overcapacity of controlled energy infrastructure for possible re-direction of flows
3. Derail alternative infrastructural projects; prevent diversification of supply in Russian energy-dependent countries
4. Prevent (at least partially or locally) the EU third energy package implementation



## **VI Specific policy objectives: security**

1. Prevent US/NATO MD installations in Central Europe
2. Prevent the US military presence in Central/Eastern Europe/CIS area; reduce the US presence in Europe
3. Support evolution of NATO towards the loose collective security system, closely collaborating with Russia and CSTO; prevent further NATO Eastward expansion (esp. to any post-Soviet or “neutral” country)
4. Support development of the independent (from the US and NATO) EU security policy/military capability; support EU’s and its members’ cooperation with Russia (including in a weapon procurement)



## VII Crisis in the EU: challenge and chance for Russia

### 1. Crisis as a challenge:

- decrease in demand for Russian energy resources, possible decrease of the oil prices

- decrease in investment in Russia

### 2. Crisis as a chance:

- increased opportunities for taking over the assets (incl. in energy sector)

- possible partial weakening / decomposition of the EU opening up possibilities for a new political/economic arrangements with Russia



# Conclusions: Russia's European policy imperatives

1. *Keep Russia in:* Russia as a co-decision maker in the European concert of powers
2. *Keep US out:* “independence of Europe”
3. *Keep Central/Eastern Europe under:* strategic control over CIS area + security buffer zone in CE



**Thank you !**

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