



Western Readings of Russia 1991-2006

Oslo
NORFACE Workshop
RETHINKING RUSSIA
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

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Outline of the presentation

- Defining the main concepts
 - The West, reading, Russia – what are they?
 - What is the Western reading of Russia?
 - Western reading of Russia in a historical context
 - One West or many Wests?
 - One reading or many readings?
 - Whose reading of Russia?
 - Public opinion?
 - Experts?
 - Policy-makers?
 - Which reading – paradigmatic dimension?
 - Western identity and Russia– constructivist reading?
 - Western security interests and Russia – realist reading?
 - Western economic interests and Russia – liberal / geoeconomic reading?

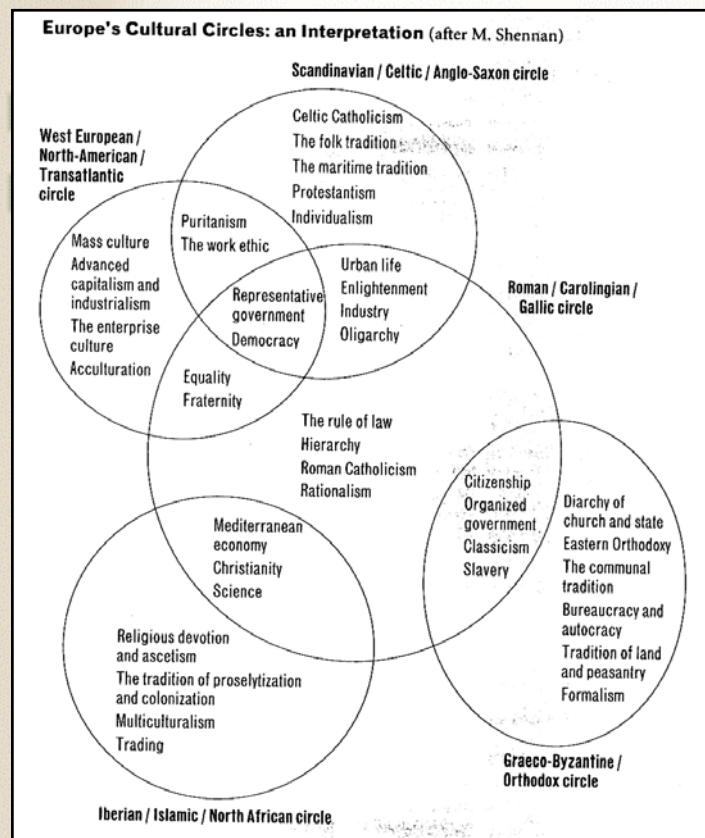


Russia “Under Western Eyes” Historical context

- Braudel’s understanding of history
 - Long-lasting structures
 - Conjunctures
 - Events
- History of mentality – reading as ‘mental mapping’
 - The eternal need for having an ‘Other’
 - Russia as the West’s constituting Other (IB Neumann)
 - Conjunctural shifts in the Western readings of Russia
 - 1991 – opening of a new ‘mental conjuncture’?
 - Democratization, Westernization and Desecuritization of Russia?
 - 2006 – new reading of Russia?
 - De-democratization, de-Westernization, re-securitization of Russia?

One West or many Wests?

Which reading of Russia?



- What is 'the West'
 - Civilization?
 - The West as a part to the conflict - Huntington's approach?
 - The West as a 'goal' - Fukuyama's 'end of history'?
 - Religion?
 - Christian vs Non-Christian
 - Catholic + Protestant vs Orthodox?
 - Institutions?
 - EU, NATO, other Western institutions?
 - The West as a security community?
 - Enlarging the institutional West
 - New Europe vs Old Europe
 - US – EU cleavage?



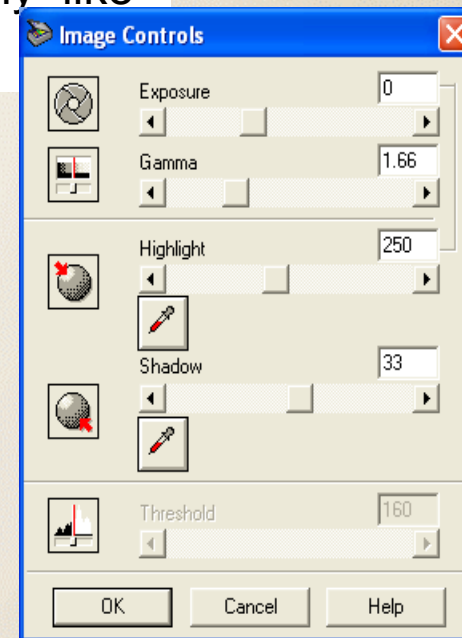
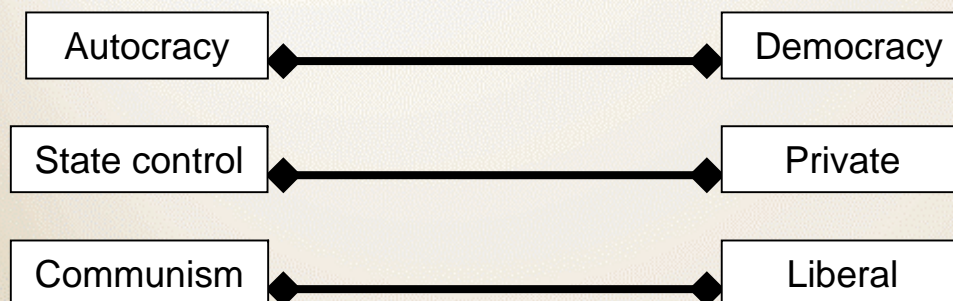
How to read an image?

What are the Western parameters of the image of Russia?

The West and Russia: Transition or Transformation Paradigm?

- Transition – Russia was to become like the West?
- Transformation – post-Communist Russia was to become something else than the Soviet Union, but not necessarily like the West

Russia and the West: Basic 'Image Controls'

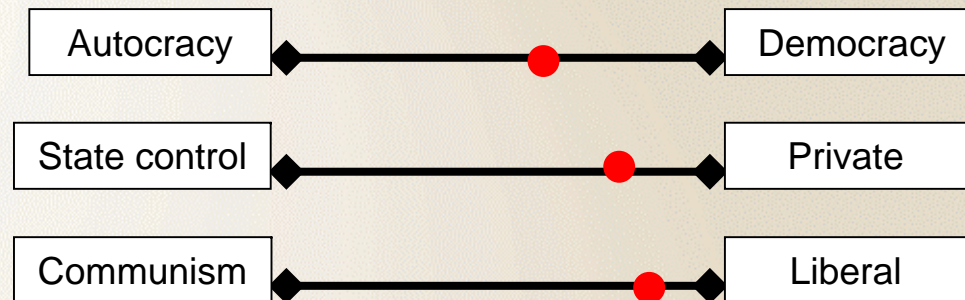




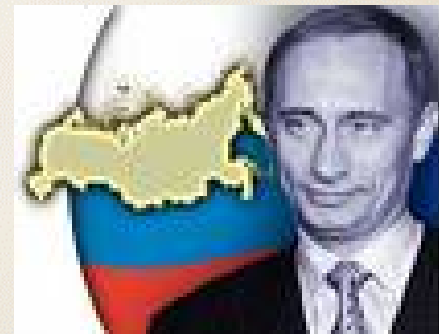
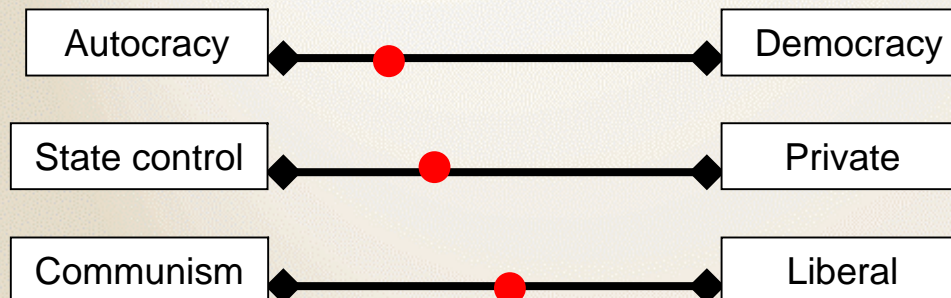
Two images of Russia in the West Yeltsin's Russia vs Putin's Russia



Yeltsin's Russia?: Basic 'Image Controls'



Putin's Russia: Basic 'Image Controls'





Whose reading of Russia? Critical Geopolitics as reading?

(Tuathail, Agnew 1992, Tuathail, 1996, 1999)

- **Geopolitics** = 'discursive practice by which intellectuals of statecraft 'spatialize' international politics in such a way as to represent a 'world' characterized by particular types of places, peoples and dramas'.
- **The study of geopolitics** = 'the study of the spatialization of international politics by core powers and hegemonic states'.
- **Popular geopolitics** is the geographical politics created and debated by the various media shaping popular culture
- **Formal geopolitics** refers to the spatializing practices of strategic thinkers and public intellectuals
- **Practical geopolitics** spatialization practices of practitioners of statecraft such as statespersons, politicians and military commanders
- **Structural geopolitics** the study of the structural processes and tendencies that condition how all states practice foreign policy under current circumstances

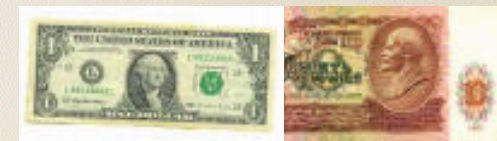
Which reading – paradigmatic dimension?

- Constructivist reading: identity dimension
 - Russia as the West's Other?
 - The West as Russia's Other?
- Realist reading: power dimension
 - Western security interests and Russia – Russia as a traditional power factor?
- Institutional-liberal reading: interdependence dimension
 - Russia as an institutional partner?
- Geo-economic reading: economy first, stupid?
 - Russia on the Western economic map: energy super-power?

Russia and the West

1991 point of departure?

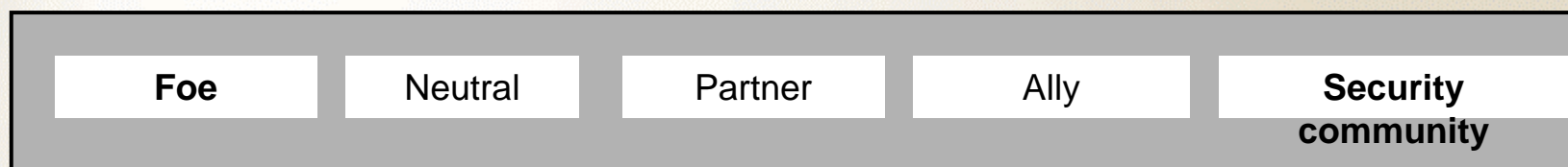
- What was the name of the game 15 years ago?(1988)
 - Bipolar world: main features
 - Ideological competition
 - Communism vs Democracy
 - Geopolitical rivalry
 - Wars by proxy?
 - Economic incompatibility
 - Global capitalist system vs. Autarchic Soviet system
 - Strong energy link established in 1980s between the USSR and Western Europe (Urengoy Connection)





The West and Russia 1991-2006

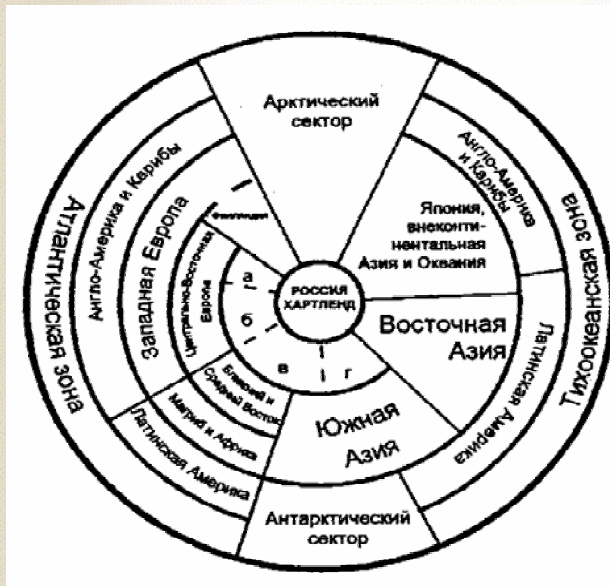
The West and Russia: Possible Relationships?





The West and Russia

Russian Views

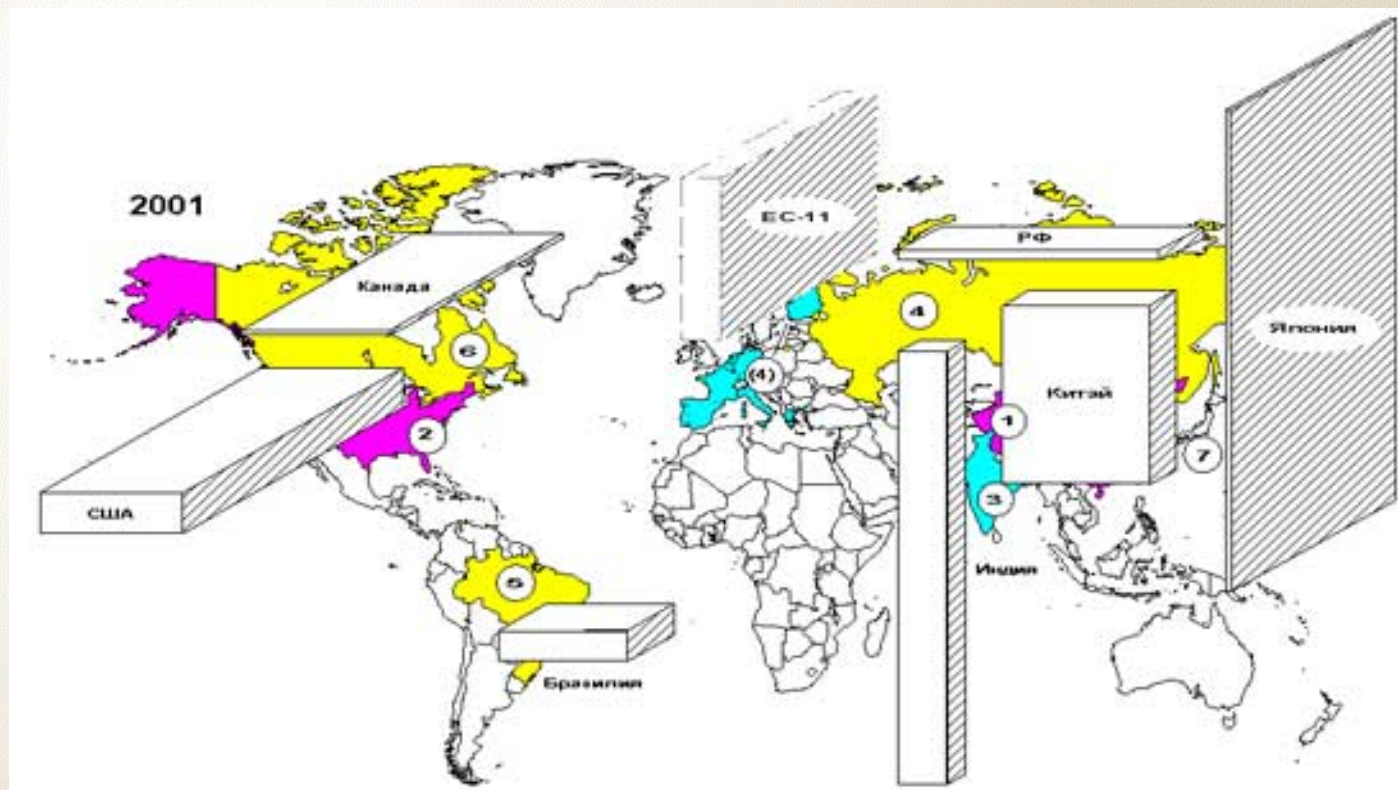




Russia in today's world

Russian view

<http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2005/0199/tema01.php>



Категории стран по САР

- Сверхгиганты
- Гиганты
- Субгиганты

1-6 – ранги стран по САР

Плотность населения, чел. на кв. км

Площадь передней грани соответствует численности населения

Объем всей фигуры соответствует размеру ВВП

Территория, млн кв. км

Площадь боковой грани соответствует выходу ВВП с единицы территории

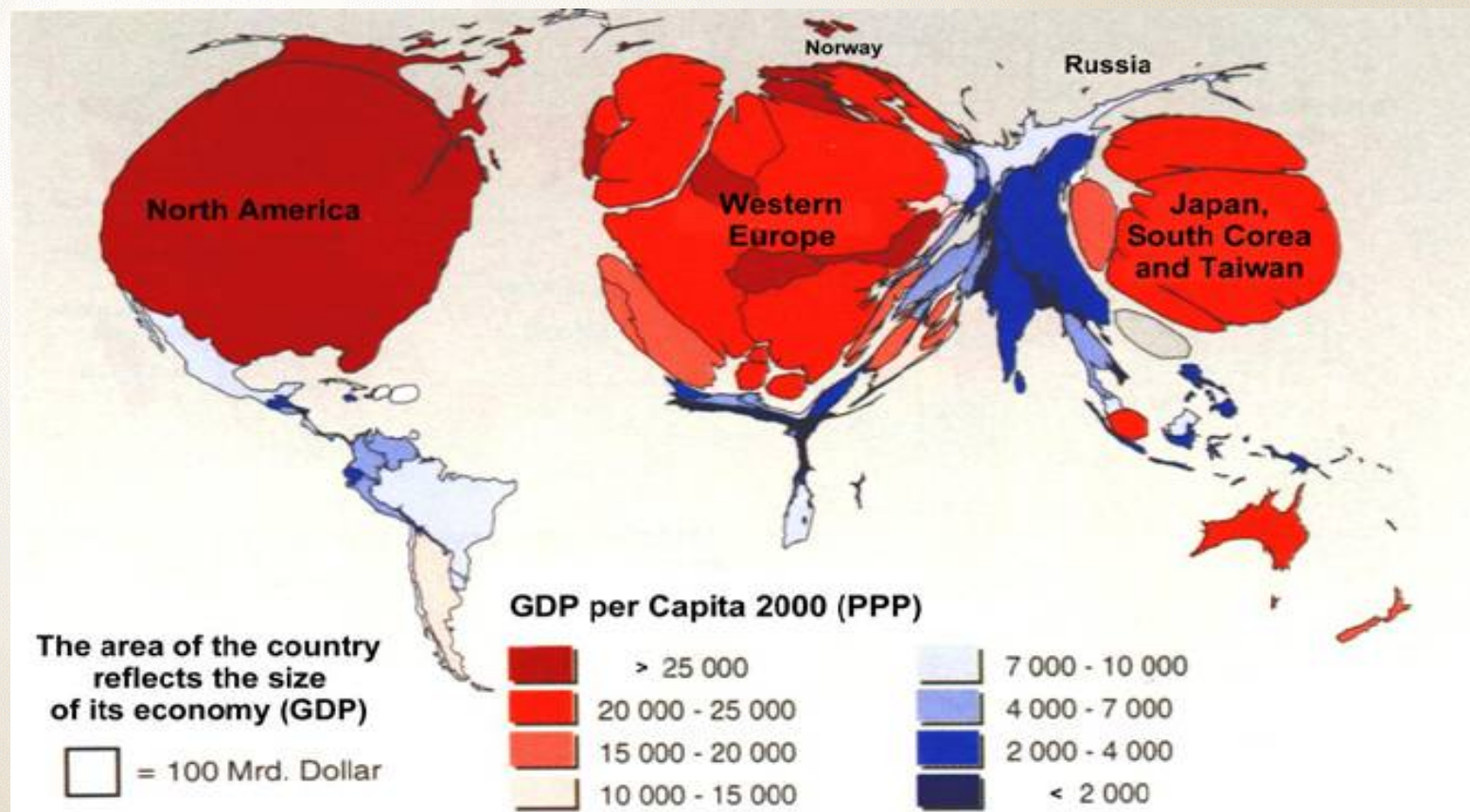
Душевой ВВП, тыс. долл.

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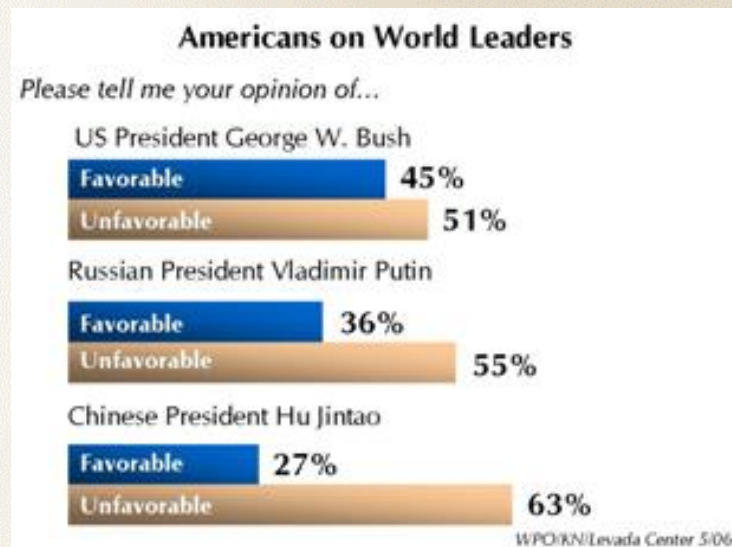
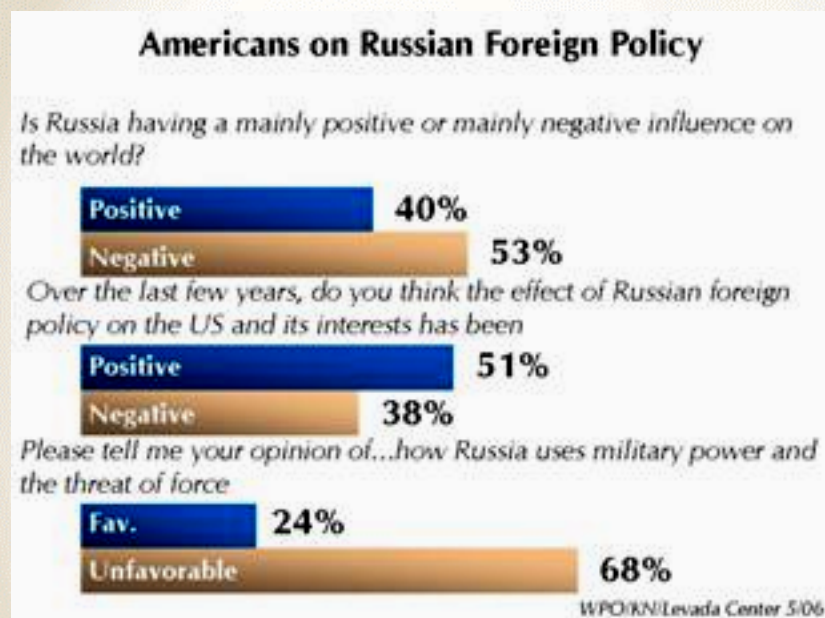
Russia in today's world French view

(L' Atlas, Le Monde Diplomatique)





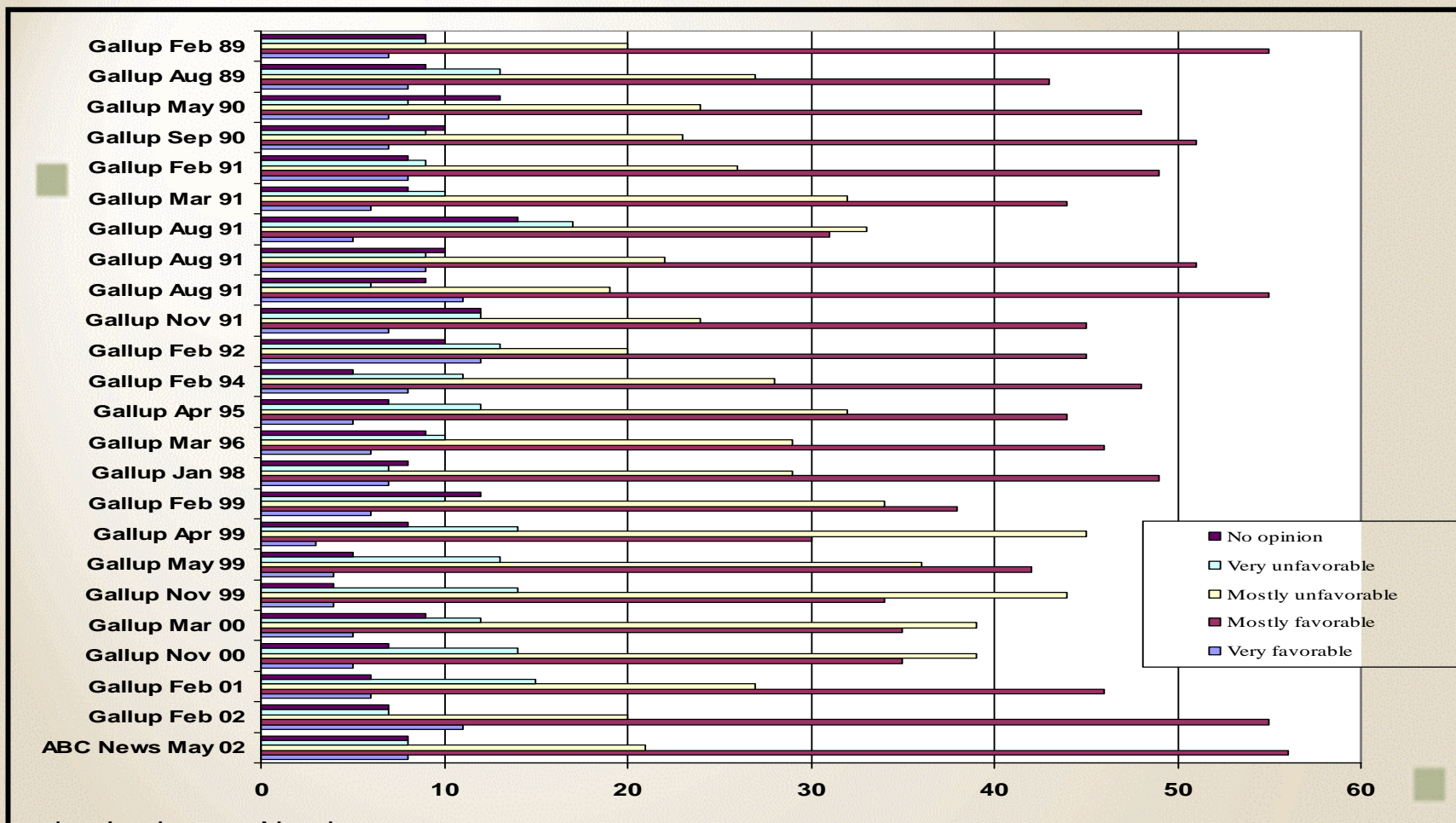
U.S. public opinion on Russia and Putin 1





U.S. public opinion on Russia 2

http://americans-world.org/digest/regional_issues/russia/russia1.cfm



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U.S. on Russia, PEW on Russia

<http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=250>

<http://people-press.org/reports/pdf/165.pdf>

Russia		
	Boris Yeltsin	Vladimir Putin
	May <u>1991</u>	Sept <u>2002</u>
Good	39	85
Bad	47	11
DK/Ref.	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100

Note: 1991 figures show job approval ratings. 2002 figures show % saying leader has a good influence on the nation

*Best Kind of Governance for Russia**

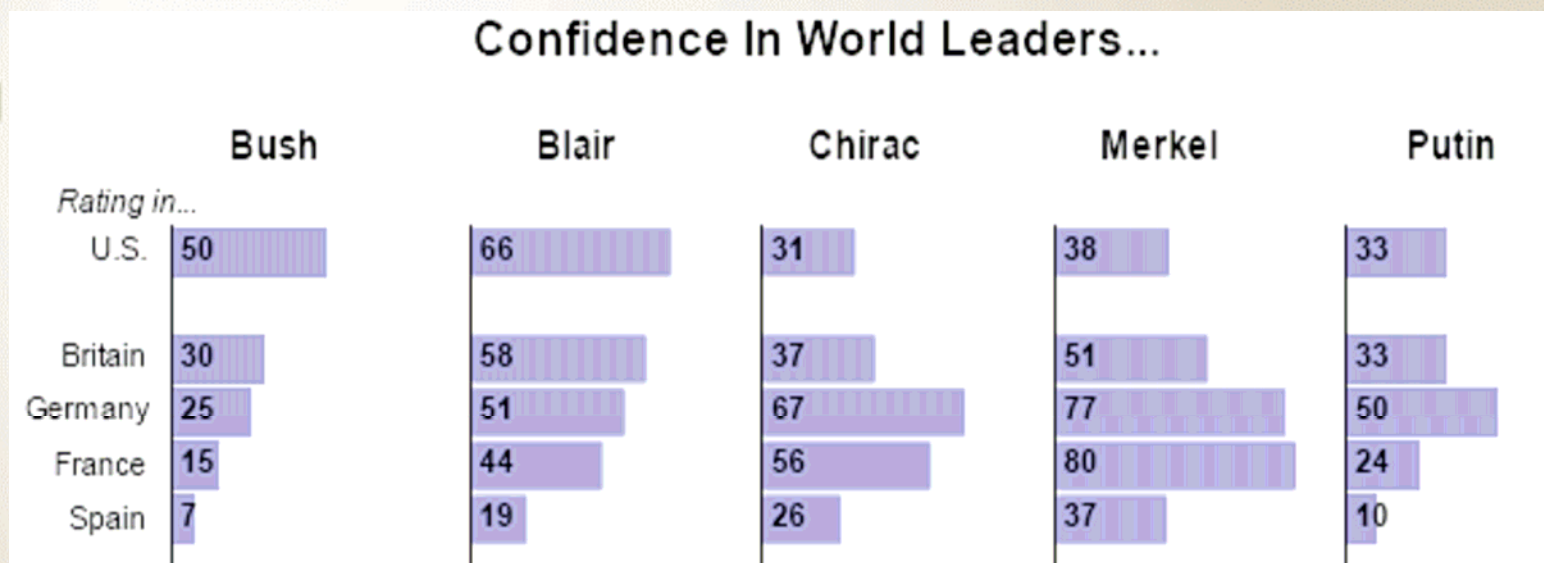
	Dem Gov	Strong Ldr	Don't Know
	%	%	%
Spring 2005	28	66	6=100
Summer 2002	21	70	9=100
1991	51	39	10=100

*Respondents were asked whether Russia should rely on a democratic form of government to solve the country's problems or a leader with a strong hand.



Western confidence in Putin

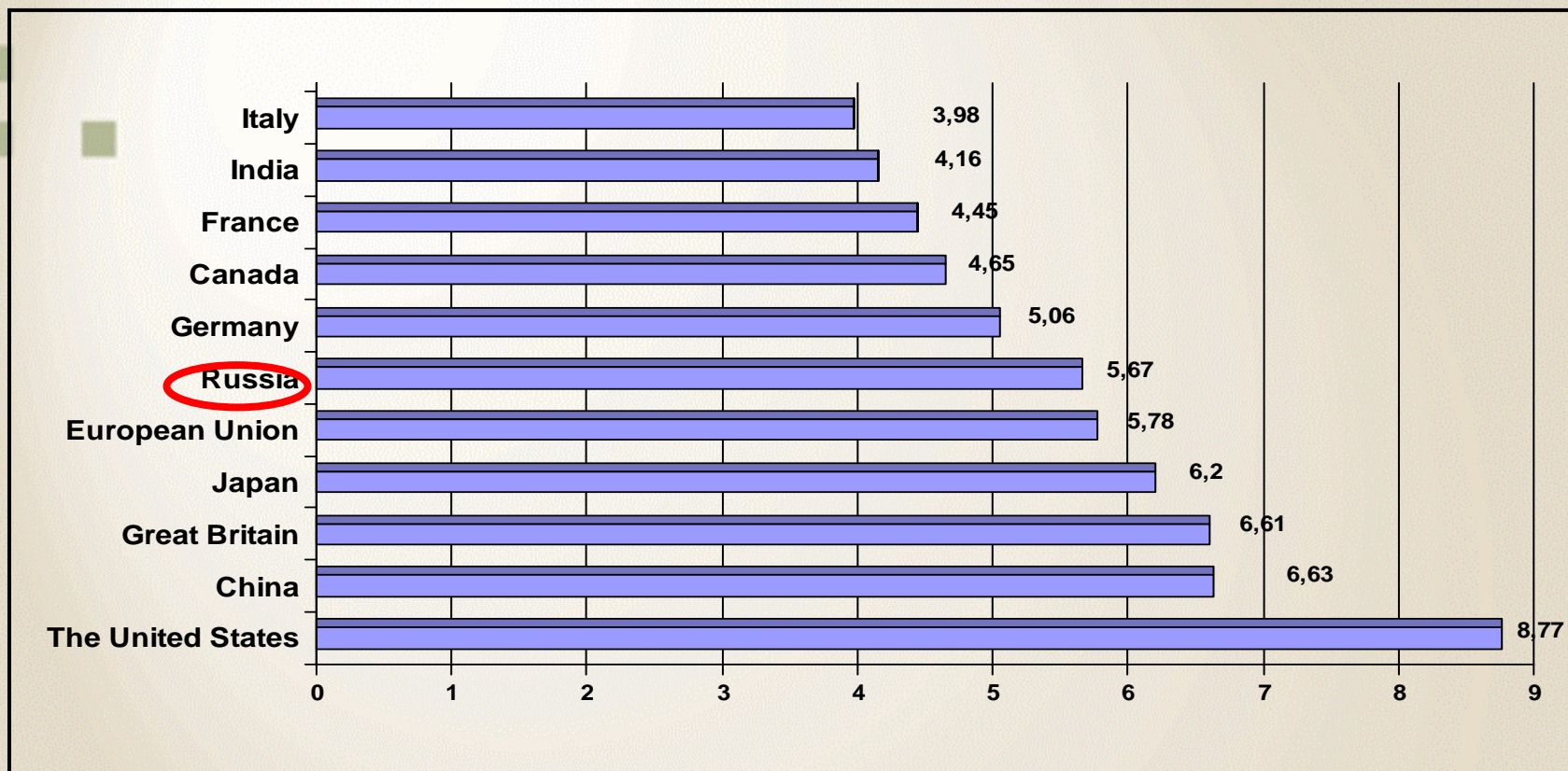
<http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/DividedWorld2006.pdf>





U.S. opinion on Russia's onfluence in the world

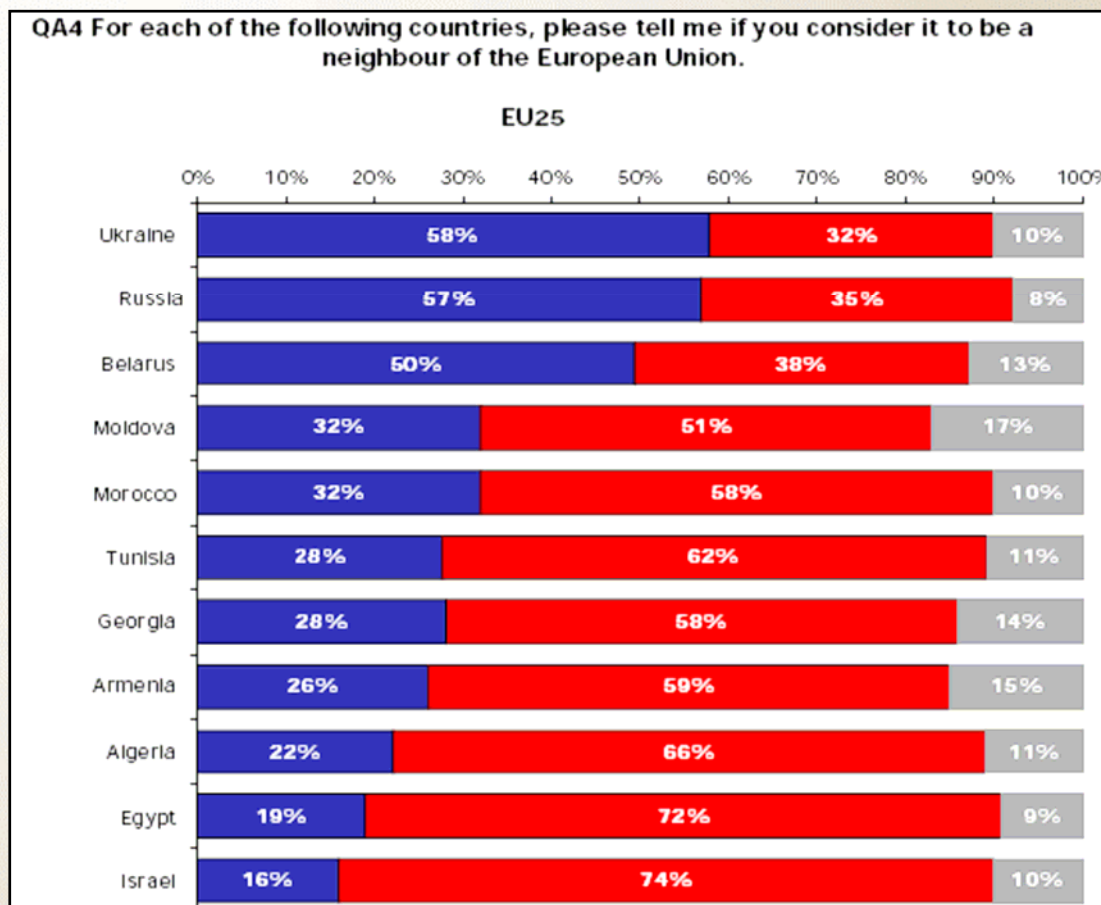
http://americans-world.org/digest/regional_issues/russia/russia1.cfm



EU's view on Russia

Russia as a Neighbour

Eurobarometer 2006





The New West and Russia

Russia on the Polish Mental Map

(Cwiek-Karpowicz 2006, ISP)

Russia – an ally?

Having the experience of the past, which countries would you count among the real allies of Poland? (percentage)*	February 1990	May 1992	September 2004	November 2005
United States of America	23	32	26	33
Czech Republic (in 1990 and 1992 Czechoslovakia)	5	5	7	18
United Kingdom	10	9	12	18
Germany	2	7	7	17
France	16	24	7	12
Slovakia (in 1990 and 1992 Czechoslovakia)	-	-	2	6
Hungary	14	9	5	5
Russia/USSR	18	4	2	4
None, Poland has no allies	32	26	25	15
Difficult to say	10	15	24	16

Source: Data from 1990, 1992, 2004 – CBOS, 2005 – ISP.

Russia – a threat?

What are the countries Poland should fear most? (percentage)*	II 1990	V 1992	IX 2004	XI 2005
Russia/USSR	25	45	44	67
Germany	88	58	35	21
Belarus	-	3	5	12
Iraq, "Arab countries", "Muslim, Islamic countries", "countries where terrorism is widespread"	0	1	18	8
Ukraine	3	30	5	7
United States of America	2	2	5	5
None, Poland has no enemies	3	5	6	5
Difficult to say	3	8	12	10



Nature of Russia's Influence in the World

(http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/EvalWorldPowers/LeadWorld_Apr05/LeadWorld_Apr05_rpt.pdf)

Views of Russia

Russia has the fewest number of countries (5) viewing it as having a positive influence, with 14 viewing it negatively. On average, 35% view it positively and 40% negatively.

The most negative are Germany and France at 57%, followed by Brazil (52%), Poland (51%) and South Korea (50%). Americans only lean mildly negative (39% positive, 44% negative). The only two countries with a majority positive toward Russia were China, where 64 percent view it positively, and India (67%). However, pluralities are positive in the Philippines (49%), Chile (44%) and Lebanon (38%).

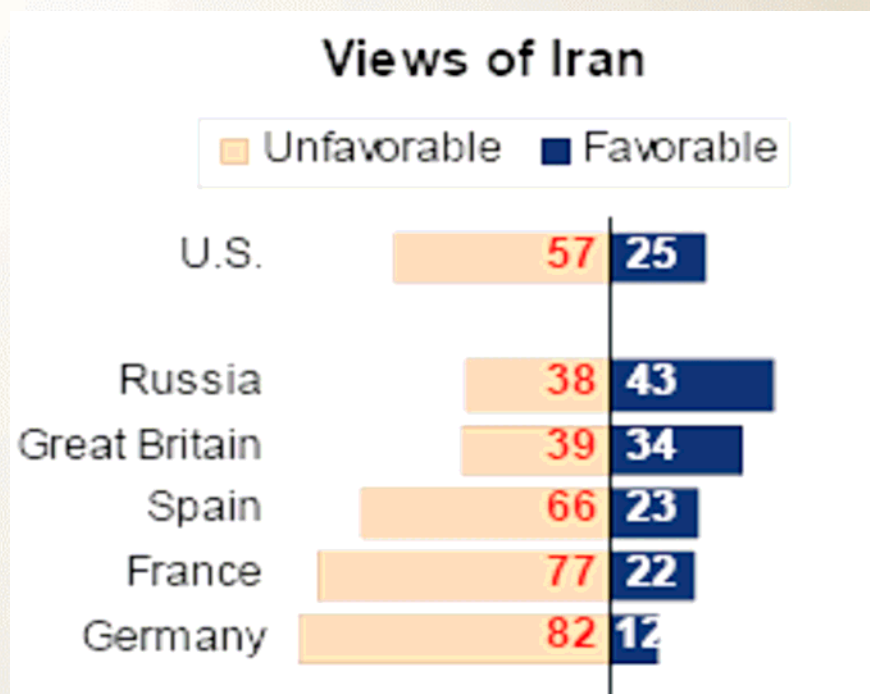
<i>Country</i>		<i>P</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>DK</i>
Australia	W	29	46	4	20
Canada	W	36	46	2	16
France	W	30	57	2	11
Germany	W	28	57	6	9
Great Britain	W	38	46	2	15
Italy	W	38	47	5	10
Poland	W	17	51	9	24
Spain	W	31	40	8	21
United States	W	39	44	1	16



Russia is not like the West?

View on Iran

<http://pewglobal.org/reports/pdf/DividedWorld2006.pdf>





Western reading of Russia's 'long-lasting' intentions

- Stabilization of frontiers
- Assurance of favourable conditions for economic growth
- Unification of Russian territories
- Participation in alliance systems and international institutions

Black, Cyril C. (1962) 'The Pattern of Russian Objectives' in:
Lederer, Ivo *Russian Foreign Policy. Essays in Historical
Perspective* London and New Haven: Yale University Press.



Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT)

Power + Identity Dimension?

- 'Set of states whose major security perceptions and concerns are so interlinked that their national security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another'
- 'Set of units whose major processes of securitization, desecuritization, or both are so interlinked that their security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another'
- RSCT – four levels of analysis
 - Within states (subunits) – focus on domestically generated vulnerabilities as these vulnerabilities define the kind of security fears these states may have
 - Between states – with focus on how the states' policies contribute to creating security complexes
 - Between complexes
 - Between great powers - defining the system level or the polarity of the system

RSCT on Russia

(Buzan and Wæver 2003)

- A **superpower** – the country has to have ‘broad-spectrum capabilities exercised across the whole of the international system’ (USA)
- A **great power** – the country is ‘treated in the calculations of other major powers as if it has the clear economic, military, and political potential to bid for superpower status in the short or medium term’ (Russia, EU, Japan, China)
- A **regional power** – the country has to have the capabilities that ‘loom large in their regions, but do not register much in a broad-spectrum way at the global level’



Expert readings of Russia 1991-2006

Author	Schools of thought				
Yassman (1993)	Atlanticists	Academocrats (SVOP)	Statists-opportunists		Nationalists
					Neo-communists
Rahr and Krause (1995)	Atlanticists		Realists		Eurasianists
Bazhanov (1996)	Westernizers		Balancers	Anti-Western Camp	Enemies are everywhere
McFaul (1999)	Pro-Western Idealists	Pro-Western Pragmatists	Anti-Western Pragmatists		Anti-Western Ideologues
Karaganov (2000)	Voluntary accession and subjugation to the West as junior partner		Multipolar school, proactive foreign policy aiming at the maintenance of the existing geostrategic balances		Anti-Western Revenge
Hopf (2002)	New Western Russian		Liberal Essentialist		New Soviet Russian
Sergunin (2003)	Atlanticism (Westernism)	Economic school	Globalists	Realists	Geopolitical school
					Eurasianism
Fischer (2003)	Liberal Economists	Security Policy Liberals	Russian Realists		Geopolitical/Eurasian Nationalists
					National Isolationists
Isakova (2005)	Westernism		Pragmatic geopolitical model		Eurasianism
					Neo- Eurasianism
Tsygankov (2005)	Integrationists		Great Power Normalizers/ Pragmatists	Balancers	Neo-Imperialists
Fyodorov (2006)	Pragmatists		The multipolar concept	Neo-imperialists	Hard traditionalists



Practical geopolitics?

Western policy options towards Russia 1991-2006

- Contain Russia
- Watch Russia
- Engage Russia
- Disengage Russia
- Dissociate from Russia
- Forget Russia

Practical geopolitics

The US-Russian Relationship

- The US and Russia
 - Options
 - "Forget Russia", "Contain Russia" or "Engage Russia"
 - Driving forces
 - Clinton – Yeltsin Factor
 - Bush–Putin Factor
 - Russia's domestic transformation
 - War on terror as a 'co-operation glue'
 - Counter-proliferation issue – Kola dimension, Nunn-Lugar
 - Energy Dialogue
 - Russia as an alternative to Saudi Arabia/Middle East?



Practical geopolitics

The EU and Russia

- Options – "Engage Russia"
- Driving forces



- Domestic developments in Russia – changing Russia's political culture – socialisation
 - The EU Strategy for Russia 1999
 - Northern Dimension
 - Kaliningrad
- Trade
- Energy Dialogue



EU and Russia

Russia as a trade partner

(2005/2006)

Main trading partners - EU25 - non seasonally adjusted data

bn euro

	EU25 exports to			EU25 imports from			Trade balance	
	Jan-Jun 06	Jan-Jun 05	Growth	Jan-Jun 06	Jan-Jun 05	Growth	Jan-Jun 06	Jan-Jun 05
United States	133.3	119.9	11%	89.8	80.4	12%	43.5	39.5
China	29.3	23.7	24%	86.9	70.0	24%	-57.6	-46.3
Russia	30.7	25.4	21%	69.8	50.4	39%	-39.1	-25.1
Switzerland	42.0	40.1	5%	35.4	32.2	10%	6.7	7.9
Japan	22.0	21.3	3%	38.3	36.5	5%	-16.4	-15.2
Norway	19.1	16.7	14%	40.8	30.2	35%	-21.8	-13.5
Turkey	23.1	19.2	20%	19.0	16.2	17%	4.1	3.0
South Korea	10.8	9.7	11%	18.4	15.7	18%	-7.7	-6.0
Canada	13.6	11.2	21%	9.5	8.0	18%	4.2	3.2
India	11.3	10.0	13%	11.4	9.5	20%	0.0	0.6

Russia and the EU: Trade Asymmetry

- The EU is Russia's trading partner number 1.
- For the EU Russia ranks 6th.

