Student Petition

First Name: Andrew
Last Name: Anderson
MS #: 10246
Student ID #: 202375
Class Level: 4
Major: Political Science (Intl Affairs)
Date: Sept. 20, 2008

In one sentence please provide a clear statement of the exception to academic policy you are requesting:

I would like to request that my upper division polisci elective count for Competent and Compassionate Action: Research Section of the General Education Requirements.

Please provide the reasons you believe the exception to academic policy should be granted:

While studying abroad in FA 07, I was offered the standard curriculum of the honors program, I chose the latter. This meant I was to thoroughly research a topic of my choice and write a 25-page paper. My paper was 31 pages, very thoroughly researched and received an "A" from my professor abroad, Jerome Shenk. I am hoping this will qualify for the research section because it meets the requirements set out in the G.E. guidelines in the student handbook. The research paper, "Russian-EU Relations: Past Tensions, Present Conflicts, and Future Policies," considers the successes and failures of the European Union-Russian Federation relationship. This paper not only integrates my major, track and area of emphasis (Eastern Europe: Russia specifically), but it also meets the "Research" (for G.E.) requirements.

RECEIVED

If student is requesting a late withdrawal, instructor MUST enter a "WP" or "WF" grade here _______ and sign below.

SEP 26 2008

Registrar for Academic Senate Review Committee

Obtain only those signatures required for your particular request. Recommendation: (Please Check One Box)

Student has been attending class since: Date:

You may Comment on Reverse Side

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Required Signatures</th>
<th>Signature</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advisor:</td>
<td>Spencer</td>
<td>9/26/08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructor:</td>
<td>Spencer</td>
<td>9/26/08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department Chair:</td>
<td>Spencer</td>
<td>9/26/08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Action Taken:  _______ Granted  _______ Not Granted  _______
Action By:  _______ Registrar  _______ Review Committee  _______ Registrar & Chair Review Committee
Russian-EU Relations:
Past Leaders, Present Conflicts, and Future Policies

Brussels Research Project
Andrea Anderson
Fall 2007
Preface\(^1\) –

Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce. Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living.


---

\(^1\) The quotation in the preface by Marx was used by Herspring to express the current situation in the Russian Federation. Putin has been given a great deal of responsibility; it is in these next few months that the international community will find out the future of EU-Russian relations. Will Putin change his economic policies to the advantage of the EU, such as, opening trading and ownership of Russian industries, as well as finally deal with the human rights violations? Or will Putin fall back to the old Russian ways (or support someone who will), which would destroy his goal of Russia becoming a more global actor, as well as everything he has tried to build up in the last few years?
European Union-Russian Relations: Past, Present and Future

The successes and failures of the European Union (EU)-Russian Federation relationship can be categorized into three main groups: Russia’s relations between countries with which the EU also deals, the balance between the EU’s fear of being dependent on an independent Russia for fuel and wanting to continue economic ties, and how Russia’s human rights violations affect their relationship with the EU.

First, Russia’s external relations, in the context of the 1997 EU-Russian policy, Partnership and Cooperation Agreement – its aim is to bring about closer ties politically, commercially, culturally, and economically (Europe and Russia: Building a Strategic Partnership), the Four Common Spaces,² and Russia’s relationship between the Eastern block and other surrounding countries are particularly crucial in providing the EU with information about Russia’s past and present interactions with its surrounding countries. In turn, this provides the EU with the right course of action to take when coming to the table with Russia.

Second, economically, Russia is steadily growing as it continues to dominate in the procurement of oil and production of energy. Since the EU has not yet met the Kyoto Protocol or found a way to decrease dependence on Russia for oil, it needs both goods. Thus, as oil and gasoline are still on the top of the European Union’s priority list, the EU is economically tied to Russia. Third, Russia’s human rights violations dominate EU-Russian relations in the long term, specifically in the context of the war in Chechnya and the recent elections. Because the Russian government itself is allowing these offences to take place, this matter has become the most significant of the three. It is true that human rights violations are fundamentally different in

² The Four Common Spaces are four areas in which the EU and Russia have agreed to cooperate: economic; freedom, security, and justice; external security; and research, education, and culture (http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/russia/summit_11_04/m04_268.htm).
Russia than in the rest of the West; that is, the EU holds human rights higher on their list of priorities than Russia does.

For each category, this paper will explain the current situation, provide historical context, and suggest possible courses of action that the EU can take to improve relations with Russia. Improving relations would entail the EU and Russia individually and jointly adopting policies that centered on energy supply, promoting Russia as a more global actor with strengths in persuading and negotiating with former communist countries, as well as policies focused on Russia agreeing to concentrate on the reform of their policing system, concerning Russia’s denial of human rights violations, and its claims that these violations are simply civil war in Chechnya.

Even though this paper considers Eastern views and reports, as well as those from scholars across Europe, it takes a Western perspective and offers Western solutions. Western ideas that have been especially prominent in Russian history are discussed throughout this paper, because the West has significantly influenced Russia. The West can be described as having a distinct culture handed down to them from the Greeks and the Romans. That culture, one of freedom alongside responsibility, characterizes the way Western countries run their respective governments, as well. The West was industrialized much sooner than Eastern Europe (the “East”) and Russia, and most of their economies were successful. Even though the European Union and the United States government continue to hold Russia to higher standards of living and believe Russia’s external relations are problematic alongside the expansion of the EU, in reality, most of Russia values the same principles as the West does. “[D]emocracy, human rights and the free market” are the values Russia claims to share with the West (Tsygankov 152-4).

---

3 It is Western in that the author is coming from a background with Western, or U.S., upbringing and biases.
Stability, a quality that the West highly regards and believes is necessary for proper civil function, is one of the principles that Vladimir Putin has been trying (so far unsuccessfully) to implement. Freedom is another quality that is crucial to the West, and one that Putin has, again, fallen short on implementing. He cannot escape the political culture that has been handed down to him from former socialist Russia. In Putin's First Annual Address to the Russian people he promised stability and freedom; this was also the subject of his State of the Nation address in May 2003, nearly two years later. In the State of the Nation address, he stated, "Russia should be and will be a country with a... stable democracy. Russia will guarantee full human rights.... Russia should be and will be a country with a competitive market economy... and where economic freedom makes it possible for people to work honestly and to earn without fear of restriction" (Herspring 121). This assurance brought hope to the Russian people. As institutions and governments, such as the European Union and the United States, increasingly criticize Putin’s policies, though, achieving his promise of a “stable democracy” becomes progressively more bleak (Nichol). Instead of a western democratic system, Putin has created a sort of “managed democracy,” where elections are predictable and media is biased. Putin wields more power than Parliament and, in an attempted balance between centralization and modernization, the implementation of the latter has overwhelmingly surpassed the former.

**History of Russian Westernization**

The Europeanization and modernization of Russia began with Peter the Great in the late seventeenth century and continued until the early eighteenth century. He restructured the educational systems and the military to fit the “Western style,” or rather to look like what was then the current style of the West’s educational systems and military. He even brought the capital

---

4 A viewpoint in which the people, usually of an entire country or nation, rely on political traditions (rather than evolve even slightly), and they have perceptions about politics and the way their country should be run.

5 Political leaders such as Khrushchev, Gorbachev, and Yeltsin (Herspring 123-9).
closer to the West, to St. Petersburg from Moscow. However, while he introduced western ideas, he also strengthened the feudal system, which is partly why it is so engrained into their culture. The Russians are used to the integration of new western ideas with traditional Russian ideas. They are stuck in the middle, some wanting to reform, but the authorities are finding the old ways more suitable to their needs (Renee). This process of introducing new ideas and not evolving their old thoughts on politics and what a nation should be continued during Catherine the Great’s reign through more government reforms. This was crucial because centralizing the government meant allowing the wealth gap between the nobility and the peasants to grow even greater. Just as nationalism was adopted by Russia during the time of Peter the Great, Catherine brought her love for the arts, along with the ideas developed in the Age of Enlightenment to Russian culture (“Russia: History”).

Examining Russia’s past leaders and the state of Russia during each ruler’s reign, the country tended to take on the personality its leader, so much so that now Russia is finding it hard to transition to a normal, functioning democracy. During the early nineteenth century, Alexander I assumed control over lands bordering southern Russia, such as the Caucasus region. Even though past Russian leaders had tried to exhibit many of the Western qualities, they were not able to express very many elements of the West due to the fact that industrialization was not advanced enough, nor were there nearly enough jobs to suit the population. The next few czars made their particular economic and cultural contributions that advanced the country’s development through railroads in the remote parts of Russia. This created more opportunities for development and furthered the country’s economy (Pasvolsky). Russia’s history is crucial in

---

6 Peter also took credit for creating the philosophical debate of nationalism between the “Slavophiles” and the “Westernizers,” which were both schools of thought in the 19th century. An example of this political culture and philosophical rivalry in novel form is the infamous book written by Chernyshevsky, What Is to Be Done?, which was the novel from which Lenin received inspiration to write his own version, still titled What is to be Done?
7 Nicholas I, Alexander II, and Alexander III.
explaining its current political culture, and necessary to understand when trying to construct new policies for that region of the world.

**Background and Status of EU-Russian Relations**

The Russian Federation and the EU have generally found it in each other’s interest to stay tied, at least economically. Currently, though, the relations between Russia and the European Union are faltering. Sergei Medvedev, professor at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow, wrote the FIIA Report for the Finnish Institute of International Affairs 2006 called “Alternative Features” concerning the current state of the EU-Russian relations. In this brief he argued that the European Union and Russia do not have a “coherent inventory” of common goals, which, if realized, would further unite the two governing bodies. These two governing bodies also lack a “strategic perspective” of their own relations. Many of their discussions have been just that: discussions rather than signed agreements. That being said, they do have agreements in place, but again, those agreements are not very well defined. The EU has special relations with Russia (Medvedev).

EU-Russian relations will be at a standstill if these two bodies do not come up together to create a concrete document stating current and future relations (Mineyev). The EU is becoming more disappointed in Russia for its stagnation in encouraging free market enterprises, as it seems Russia is beginning to recede back to socialist strategies. Therefore, this leaves both the EU and Russia unwilling to trust that the other will follow through with its intended policy, as well as a great deal of bureaucratic bickering (Medvedev 45). At the Summit in Portugal both the EU representative, President of the Commission, Barroso, and the President of Russia, Putin, agreed that it is in the EU’s and Russia’s interests to stay tied. With that in mind, now their job is to continue relations through adopting policies that are consistent, yet feasible for both partners.
After all, it is easier to stay tied even through stagnation of relations then to break off ties and attempt to reconnect that which has already been broken (Tannock).

In the context of Russian-EU relations, Medvedev argued that their relationship can work best by way of “zastoi,” which means “stagnation” or “muddling through”\(^8\) (Medvedev). He discussed other potential policies, but concluded that EU-Russian relations will be at a standstill until the next election when someone who is not plagued by Russia’s socialist past can redirect the country in the way that is more conducive with trade and interaction amongst her free-market, western neighbors. Unfortunately, because of the allowances in place for a president to return after a four-year break and the fact that elections in Russia are undemocratic, Putin will most likely ensure that there is only a stand-in president until Putin returns to power in 2012.

“Even if it does not match up with the West[’s view of what Russia should be], many of the Russian people agree with the way Putin runs Russia because it is economically stable. They would rather have him there than someone else who will put Russia behind economically, and even further behind with respect to people’s freedoms” (Adanoff). Just because Putin is better than Yeltsin was at improving Russia’s economy does not mean Putin is the best for Russia all around. Centralization and individualism (pulling away from NATO and the UN) will not help Russia, nor will it create opportunities for the EU to continue its discussion with Putin.

**External Relations**

Russia’s relations with its bordering countries, as well as regions that it has somewhat recently acquired, such as Chechnya,\(^9\) have been a constant strain on the EU-Russian relations (Smyth). In the past year, there has been added stress on Russia’s relations with the former Communist countries (Eastern or Soviet Bloc) because of the EU’s unavoidable expansion

---

\(^8\) A word from the Brezhnev era

\(^9\) Putin allowed Chechnya to fuse into his country, becoming a distinct region of Russia.
eastward. The supposed hypothesis was that the EU would fail, in particular not be strong enough to expand eastward, before EU-Russian relations got too far off the ground; but that is not true. Even though the EU’s move eastward has been tough for Russia’s external relations, Putin understands that the widening and deepening of the EU is inevitable. However, there needs to be greater trust between the two partners if deepening (or the continual integration of the EU) is to occur. The reason it has been difficult on Russia is because the bloc countries, with whom Russia has been in conversation, maintain attitudes incongruous with some of the EU’s member states. The former soviet states have brought with them a past weighed down with bad memories, “focusing on the wounds of the past” (“Russia-EU relations strained”). The widening and deepening of the EU has been pushed forward with the signing of the Reform Treaty, which will act as a catalyst for further enlargement coupled with integration. There are some who believe it is not possible for both to occur; however, it is just the opposite. In order for the EU to be effective, while also enlarging, it has to deepen its efficiency and value on its member states.

Will the EU respond to these times of heightened stress by requesting that Russia cut its unsafe, external ties with Middle Eastern countries; or will they continue relations with Russia without expressing their own doubts about Russia’s relationships with those countries, just as they have in the past? The EU does not have the authority to demand Russia form relationships only with those countries that meet the EU’s standards. However, Russia and the EU must both be careful not to allow tensions between rogue states, such as Iran, to boil over.

Regional conflicts have been included under the topic of external relations, because of the sheer size of Russia. Regional tensions and conflicts plague Russia’s history. Putin’s continued policies limiting transportation and opportunities to study abroad, which he claimed was just a way to keep track of his citizens, remind many Russians of the old policies of Stalin (Cornell).
Those policies are continuously knocking on the Russian Parliament’s door; or, rather, Putin is bursting through the door attempting to implement these policies to gain more control of Russia and place more power in the hands of the Russian president.

However, even though Medvedev argued that the EU will pull away from Russia and place Russian relations much further down on their priority list, looking at it strategically, this is not likely. The EU cannot feasibly pull away until they secure more variables for their oil and energy sectors, and until they do not need Russia as a positive and influential force in relations between countries like Georgia and Azerbaijan. Furthermore, if the EU plans on expanding itself further eastward, Russia’s cooperation will be necessary. Currently, neither Ukraine nor Moldova meets the eligibility requirements to enter the EU, but what about in 10 years? It is very possible they will be much closer to entry then. The main reason the West accepts Russia’s not so democratic system of government is because of Russia’s “geopolitical position, oil resources, and security risks such as terrorism.” Relations will continue to be uncertain though until Russia is finally fit into the future of EU enlargement, that is, becomes a concrete and positive working partner (Medvedev).

The EU also needs Russia’s support in the current Kosovo situation because of its influence over the Serb people and their close cultural ties. Russian foreign minister Sergei Lavrov has commented that making a hasty decision is “useless and counterproductive.” Coming to a lasting agreement there is not only on the minds of the Russians. Russia and the EU are making progress in some areas, such as the new trade agreement Russia and the EU just signed opening up the trading of steel between the two governing bodies. This is a revision of an existing trade agreement in which the quota levels needed to be updated to take into account the new members, Romania and Bulgaria (“European Union and Russia sign trade agreement on
steel products”). Russia has committed itself to supporting Serbia by promising strong support for Serbia if it made a determined effort to retain Kosovo, which Serbia has already promised to do. "If our partners unilaterally recognize independent Kosovo, they will flagrantly breach international laws," He also commented, “recognition of such independence will not remain without consequences” (Reuters).

The situation in Kosovo will significantly shift Russian-EU relations once the EU reconsiders their Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Since the EU is split among its member states, it is even more difficult to determine what effect the outcome of the Kosovo situation will have on Russian-EU relations. The fact is that Kosovo is breaking international law by declaring independence, but because the Balkans are currently such a sensitive subject in the international community, the EU is willing to work with them. If the EU decides to fully stand behind Kosovo, though, it will have to revise its CFSP, because of the internal division about this situation. The EU and Russia are also involved in discussions concerning the Middle East and Iran. “…it is vitally important that we work closely together with Russia on crucial issues…” (“Commissioner Ferrero-Waldner to participate in EU-Russia Foreign Ministers Troika meeting on 5 February in Moscow”).

Energy and Economy

Another one of the reasons the EU stays connected to Russia is because of each other’s economic codependency concerning gas and energy. Eighty percent of Russian exports concern oil, gas, metals, and timber. Furthermore, fifty percent of the EU’s imports depend on outside sources for their energy. The State Department argues that by 2030 the EU will depend on outside elements for energy by eighty percent (“Economy” 3). Putin’s economic policies regarding the EU seemed to support the stability he told the West, as well as his own people, he
was pursuing. Unfortunately, actions speak louder than words. Putin watched as Moscow authorities arrested Mikhail Khodorkovsky; this can be seen as economic and judicial progress. Khodorkovsky is one (of two) of the most prominent prisoners in Russia. He was a Russian businessman and political activist, who became one of the oligarchs of Russia. He owned Yukos, a Russian petroleum company. However, many\textsuperscript{10} have claimed that the actions Moscow took against the company of Yukos, in particular, arresting its leader\textsuperscript{11} on claims of corruption and fraud, which forced him into bankruptcy, were politically and economically motivated (Hoyos). This idea is supported simply by looking at the Russian president’s next actions: Putin then announced that the former gas and energy company, Yukos, was to be sold at an auction to the highest bidder.\textsuperscript{12} The result of this bid could help build the economy if Russia allows a foreigner to buy the gas company. This would create an opportunity for another country to economically advance Russia by investing in its property. Unfortunately, Putin just centralized the company, brining it under government control (“EU/Russia Energy Partnership,” Pickard).

Furthermore, Putin’s economic policies are progressing, which will further EU-Russian relations; however, they are progressing in undemocratic ways. According to the statistics from the State Department, the birthrate in Russia is still suffering because of HIV/AIDS and other diseases spreading across Russia. This makes the strength of Putin’s policies hard to judge. Since 1994, Russia (Putin since 2000) has acted in accordance with the Jackson-Vanik Amendment (“Government”). The economy is growing, but the economic rights of the Russian people are still not up to par with the EU’s expectations. However, because the growth of Russia’s economy is the strongest factor, it will eventually tie the EU and Russia back together.

\textsuperscript{10} This referred to Russian social and political elites, but other leaders from countries such as Britain also disagreed with these actions.
\textsuperscript{11} Mikhail Khodorkovsky
\textsuperscript{12} This auction will take place in a couple of months.
Economic integration and growth were the original goals of the EU, and even though Russia’s human rights violations and its external relations are factors with which the EU has issues, relations will continue as long as the EU requires the same amount of energy ("The Realism of Russia’s Foreign Policy"). There has recently been some discussion proposing that if the EU would diversify its energy use, it could survive without importing from Russia. For example, if the member states powered their appliances and other machines by means such as solar or wind energy, they could use much less imported fuel, which comes from Russia. After all, fifty percent of its natural gas and twenty-five percent of its oil are imported from Russia. Europe and other Western states realize, though, that cutting ties with Russia, although it is not a superpower anymore, could lead to serious problems in external affairs. Given these factors, it is currently in the best interests of the EU to maintain relations with Russia, particularly economic ties ("Economic Brief: The Uneasy Russia-E.U. Energy Relationship").

These three factors, the EU’s consumption of energy, human rights and external relations, do operate in conjunction with each other. Russia’s economy works in favor of the EU-Russian relations. However, their disregard for human rights works against them as well as their prospects for EU relations; and Russia’s relations with other neighboring countries brings both tension, as well as assistance to their relations with the EU. The EU has an opportunity to discuss Russia’s human rights violations and the war in Chechnya ("The EU’s ‘united’ approach on Russia") during summits with the EU, as well as the Troika, yet the EU shies away from those issues for political reasons. The EU has the opportunity to influence Russia simply based on EU-Russian economic ties, which, at this point, is clearly the strongest of all three factors (mentioned above). Even if the EU is able to procure other means of energy so that imports from Russia

13 US-EU-Russia
decrease, it is important to understand that the EU will still need Russian support when negotiating with other problematic countries, such as Serbia.

The EU needs energy and as Russia is the world’s second largest fuel producer, the EU buys it from them. Unfortunately, Russia has the power to “turn off the pipe” (as demonstrated when Medvedev cut off gas supplies to Georgia and the Ukraine several months ago), or raise prices to ridiculous amounts. "Russia’s state-owned energy company Gazprom, ...announced that it would double the price of natural gas for Georgia, largely seen as punishment for Tbilisi’s pro-Western political stance" (“Economic Brief: The Uneasy Russia-E.U. Energy Relationship”). The EU worries Russia will use this power against them. However, Russia exports a great deal of its goods and services to the EU and buys many EU products. In short, Russia needs the EU for their economy in order to continue stabilization, but Russia also is the number one provider of energy to the EU.

When he was elected in 2000, Putin’s goal was to continue down a path that would produce a growth economy, and, in fact, he succeeded (“Energy: introduction”). After the financial crisis of 1998, the Russian economy recovered remarkably well. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for the next several years was at a seven percent growth. Putin has been able to keep the GDP growth at a respectable six point two percent since 2005 (“Economy” 3). This is more progress than was expected by the European Union. This statistically shows that Russia’s economy is growing, which should bring about promise of continued ties with the EU. The Russian Federation profits from oil and gas exports to the EU just as the EU profits from exports to Russia.

**Human Rights**

---

14 According to the State Department, 2005 was the last recorded GDP for Russia.
The human rights issues are both a tricky and touchy subject in Russia. In any developing country the question can be asked: Is it morally or socially right to take away or just ignore a citizen’s rights if it is for the betterment of the country? Then, there is always the follow-up question: Where does one draw the line and what exactly does the betterment of the country mean? Furthermore, and more importantly, can a leader take away fundamental rights of a human being and still consider his country a democracy?

The origins of the conflict between the Russians and the people of Chechnya go all the way back to the time of Peter the Great. His good qualities and accomplishments did not go unnoticed earlier in this paper; however, his decision to move eastward did indeed have drastic consequences as well. One of the many regions Peter invaded was the North-eastern region, which housed Chechnya. The many rebellions of the Chechens were crushed by Peter’s Russian Army. After decades of controversy among these peoples, the Chechens decided to become independent of Russia directly following the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. The deep animosity the Chechens had for Russians was brought on by a number of factors. Under every form of government Russia has had, they have not been able to break away from the cycle of murder and cover up, or in the case of Chechnya, a complete and utter disregard for human life. The massive slaughtering of innocent lives characterizes Russia, not only among the pre-Democratic period, but steadily continuing every day (Cornell 85-6).

Edmund Burke’s\textsuperscript{15} quotation comes to mind whenever there is social injustice, in this case, the degradation of human rights. “All that is necessary for evil to triumph is for good men to do nothing” (Porter). This quote can be applied to the current state of Russia. There are many examples within Chechnya of dastardly human rights violations amongst the Russian citizens. These actions were not condemned in any way; in fact, those who stood by watching will soon

\textsuperscript{15} Eighteenth-century politician for the Whigs, or British conservative party
be in office. Paul Khlebnikov, one of the editors of the Forbes Magazine, was murdered because he supported the restructuring of the government and wrote against the corruption in his government. In Vladivostok, “Victor Cherepkov was blown up by a grenade. He was a member of our parliament, the State Duma, and famous for championing the weakest and poorest of this land...” These examples come from Anna Politkovskaya’s own run-ins with the Russian army in Chechnya, which she made into a book, Putin’s Russia. It is full of accounts that give a clear picture of how Putin actually runs his country, and it depicts the obvious dismissal of human rights violations (“Anna Politkovskaya...” 1). There are many more stories involving mostly women and small children of Chechnya being slaughtered, which Politkovskaya shocks the reader with every time they are read.

Cornell argued that despite what was going on in Chechnya at the time, relations between the EU and Russia, during the Cold War, were continued out of fear. The West’s fear of Russian military power, as well as the West’s desire to see NATO expand, kept up relations between the East and West. These factors, as well as the West’s need to appease Russia so as not to be in conflict with them at any time, have caused the West to continue relations with Russia. This poses a problem today because there are still factors that tie the EU and Russia together, for instance, (as already stated) the codependency of the EU’s and Russia’s economies (“Russia: energy overview”). The relations between these two countries will probably always be plagued by “extenuating circumstances.” The difference now is that, even though the EU is still dependent on outside energy sources, its goal of expansion and its own human rights policies seem to create a tension between the two countries that has never been recognized in the same way before.

16 The West knew they needed the backing of the USSR, so they continued economic relations.
What is Putin doing about the Russian Army’s disregard for human lives? Many Western leaders, such as German chancellor Angela Merkel, have voiced their concern on this subject. Merkel confronted Putin on many different points, human rights being one of them. This was the first time in a while that the Germans used their influence with Russia to promote a positive shift in human rights, a significant shift from the era when Schroeder, the former chancellor of Germany, said Putin was a “flawless democrat” (Cartner). Russia is finally being pushed, ever so slightly, to deal with the war in Chechnya with outside encouragement. Some countries such as Poland and Sweden, who stood alone among other EU member states, have recently expressed their frustration with the human rights situation in Russia.

The Russian Federation’s Constitution implies that Russia and the EU hold the same beliefs about their peoples’ rights and freedoms. To illustrate that, Article 2 of the Constitution states that, “Man, his rights and freedoms are the supreme value. The recognition, observance and protection of the rights and freedoms of man and citizen shall be the obligation of the State.” In continuation, Articles 3, 6-7, 15, and 17-64 all discuss the rights and freedoms of the Russian people. The only body that holds the power and is entitled to sovereignty is the people of Russia, its citizens. According to the Russian constitution, the structure and integrity of the state define the federal structure, but the state’s integrity is also checked by means of Presidential powers (Russian Constitution). In other words, President Putin has an enormous amount of power over an enormous amount of territory.

A democracy is a government which guarantees representation to the people, and allows them to vote and cast their opinion freely and without fear of oppression, displacement or death (“Democracy”). The very definition of democracy does not allow for Putin’s hierarchical regime to be considered such a system. The Russian Constitution of 1990 will not be upheld until
Chechens are granted minority rights and the Russian voting system is entirely revamped. The population of Chechnya, by far the greatest anti-Putin region in Russia, is on record as voting ninety-nine percent in favor of Putin’s party. Is this honestly credible?

Human rights are critical elements of an effective and working democracy, and, thus, Russia is not a full-fledged democracy until it reforms its police and judicial authorities. Human rights violations are no longer a matter just for Russia to take hold of, but for the EU to enforce alongside their trade agreements. By creating the Four Common Spaces the EU and Russia have agreed to recognize that they both value democracy, human rights and rule of law. However, neither has made any arrangements since then to uphold these values. In fact, both have done just the opposite and deterred any discussions on human rights and the rule of law. There was a summit in Portugal based, yet again, solely on the continuation of economic relations, discussing the trade relations, leaving out the “major political disputes” (“EU, Russia signal closer ties at Portugal summit”). Part of that agreement covers issues of freedom, security and justice. If the EU believes its relations with Russia will continue to grow, their relations also need to deepen. This involves finally calling Russia out on their consistent violations of human rights. What is Russia doing to accomplish this? Right now, all the EU and Russia are focusing on is the economic sector, but they will both have to focus on human rights soon.

With the expiration of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement this year and only a short-term agreement lasting through 2008, there needs to be progress towards a more enduring agreement.17 There was supposed to be a replacement by December first of 2007; unfortunately, these plans never came to fruition. If the EU and Russia do not form more cohesive and solid relations they will be going backwards rather than forwards. Currently, the EU is not upholding its arrangement with Russia to have open relations, concerning human rights violations and the

17 But will that ever come about?
need for widespread reform of the hierarchical attitudes of the people. Unless Putin, who has both the power and authority among many of the people to accomplish this, initiates this reform, it will not happen. The EU needs to work on its open relationship with Russia by encouraging Putin to join the WTO. This will significantly enhance Russia’s global status, as well as show the international community that it is moving in a more democratic fashion (WTO). Reestablishing that the EU-Russian relationship is based on economic ties, as well as on their mutual respect for the rule of law and democracy, is the first step to creating a more democratic, freer Russian state. The EU’s reaction should contain a well thought out, common position from all twenty-seven member states (Mandelson).

EU-Russian relations revised

The EU-Russian relationship is problematic because since there is no incentive for Russia to join the European Union, and the EU political “machinery” is not suited for dealing with non-acceding partners. All that is on the table is the Common Spaces, which is essentially a dulled-down version of the European Neighborhood Policy (“The Policy: What is the European Neighbourhood Policy?”).

Dr. Medvedev offers three possible options for the Russian government and economy: “Authoritarian Modernization,” “Liberal Modernization,” and “Bureaucratic Capitalism.”¹⁸ Authoritarian Modernization is having a “liberal economic and social agenda,” but centralizing political institutions and bringing privately-owned companies under state control. In this case, in order to focus on its economic and political development, the leader of Russia would establish an authoritarian regime.¹⁹ Liberal Modernization “combines economic liberalization and the opening up of the political system with a decentralization of decision-making.” Finally,

¹⁸ Medvedev argued that “Bureaucratic Capitalism” was the most likely.
¹⁹ The scenario is based on Putin’s first two years in office.
Bureaucratic Capitalism, which is the scenario that Medvedev supports, draws on “clan politics” and the political elite of society continuing to act alone and in a capacity resembling a closed corporation.

Furthermore, he proposes three options for the EU to move toward in the next couple of years. In scenario A, the EU becomes a “Global Actor,” which entails adopting the Reform Treaty in order to further deepen, as well as widen the EU and its capabilities.\textsuperscript{20} A “Network Europe,” means the EU only acts economically with a weak political basis (this is assuming the Reform Treaty does not get ratified), and the institutions of the EU slowly cease to hold authority.\textsuperscript{21} A “Fortress Europe” is basically the European Union moving to a form of isolationism because of an increase in the negative aspects of globalization, such as terrorism, climate change, regional conflicts and nation-state instability. “Partnership” is what Medvedev says is the best scenario for the combination of all three scenarios for both actors. This offers the European Neighborhood Policy as the first step among many to Russia eventually joining the EU. He qualifies this with Russia having higher authority in the EU, along with some exceptions, like the UK has with the British Rebate. More realistically, since Russia defaults into tried and tested bilateralism and it has no intention of ever joining the EU, relations with the EU will become increasingly difficult. The EU should realize the points of compatibility and convergence of both of their systems. Their common denominators are globalization and adaptation, and they both value redefining the role of the nation-state (Medvedev).

Even though the EU has many of the same goals as Russia does, Russia’s own political and economic culture prevents them from fully implementing policies in a democratic fashion. One of the challenges this paper presents is how much Russia actually values the same standards

\textsuperscript{20} The semi-French option
\textsuperscript{21} The semi-British option
the EU does, as well as how much their political culture has inevitably shaped them into the
culture they are today (Medvedev). Can Russia change this without help from the outside? It is
the government’s job to protect the rights of its citizens, but when citizens cannot come forward
because of corruption within the government, is it not the job of Russia’s allies to hold them
responsible? This is the big question. The Council of Europe is available for citizens to come
forward, but its I assume you mean Russia’s? power and corruption prevents many from being
physically able to do so. How many deaths does it take to raise questions? For that matter, how
many missing and displaced persons are required to draw attention? And if the media is biased,
how many deaths is the international community missing because the deaths are not reported?
Because Russia is a sovereign, very withdrawn country these questions tend to be answered with
“Russia will deal with it because Russia does not like to surrender its issues to the outside
world.” However, having a running dialogue creates opportunities for the EU and Russia to take
action on these matters. Russia, behind closed doors, is a more willing partner than many expect
it to be (Tannock). Partnership with the EU allows Russia to, slowly, but surely transform into a
humane and democratic nation.

The Council of Europe cannot do all the work. The EU and Russia have this agreement,
but the EU is not enforcing it because the agreement is too politically sensitive. Therefore, the
violations are on both of their hands, even though the violations are taking place in Russia. It is
not just the Council of Europe’s job anymore to police human rights. It is not being suggested
here that the EU should engage in policing human rights in Russia through an EU mission.
However, when Russia and the EU came together to create the Partnership and Cooperation
Agreement and later the Four Common Spaces, they agreed to put a stop to human rights
violations, honor the rule of law, and promote democracy. So far, they have accomplished none
of that part of the deal. At this point, it seems more likely that Russia will pull away from the EU before the EU pulls away from Russia. Russia wants to be treated as a more global actor and more powerful on the world scene. The EU should recognize Russia as such, while also calling Putin out on his biased media, and other such areas. Because of Russia’s size, as well as its population, it has always and will continue to demand respect and a place on the world scene. If Russia wishes to be taken seriously in this day and age, then it must realize it does not take a powerful democracy-like dictatorship. It is possible for Russia to be a global actor and not a dictatorial regime. An important question that the EU must answer is “does a strong EU rest with Russia and its resources?” It will benefit both bodies to further integrate Russia into the EU. This should be the EU’s ultimate goal.

**Possible Policies**

Is there an answer at this point, a solution to push forward the EU-Russian relationship? It would be a start if the EU created some sort of “if you do this, then we’ll let you participate in this” policy, not to threaten, but in order to enhance their relationship. The EU and Russia should come together again to establish that Russia and the EU agree on the Charter of Human Rights, rather than creating another document that produces relations based on values that, de facto, they do not have in common. Also, the EU needs to bite the bullet and discuss the “politically sensitive” issues. Again, the EU’s involvement in the Four Common Spaces puts them in a position to do this and they are not taking the opportunity.

Putin’s recent actions seem quite contrary to his own policies, as well as what Russia claims to stand for. The EU’s decision of whether or not to continue relations with Russia hangs in the balance. It is in fact true that any country’s history will impact how it implements policies
and relates to other countries. However, it is also true that Putin has clearly avoided and continues to avoid the human rights violations going on in his country. Will the EU continue relations with Russia just as they have in the past, because doing so still benefits them economically? Or will the pressure of the international community and their own human rights policies push the EU and its member states to also hold Russia to a higher standard, in particular regarding Russia’s numerous human rights violations and unstable democracy? Time will tell. It is important to remember that the EU’s original purpose was to create an organization in which harsh economic rivalries and war among the European states would no longer exist. Russia understands this, and that is why relations between the EU and Russia have worked out for so long, partly because of Russia’s and Europe’s economic needs. Russia has been able to look at this relationship as merely a strategic move toward advancing their economy (Perovic).

An article by Putin last month described the ways in which Europe will forever be in debt to Russia. Putin claimed that the EU is what it is today because Russia fought against outside forces that threatened to disrupt European unity, and Russia also has a past of preserving Western ideals. He claimed that the Russian-EU relationship has always been based upon “mutual influence and benefit” (Putin 1). In this article, Putin established what Russia has in common with the EU, but did not say what his country is or will be doing to uphold those values that he so vehemently believes they share. The article described Putin’s most current attempt at negotiations with the EU. He proposed a treaty for strategic relations: “grow[ing] together” (Putin). He did express his understanding that this new treaty would take time to implement; however, he spoke of the treaty as a way for the EU and Russia to work together fixing the world’s problems. He did not address the human rights issues, or the state of the Russian

---

22 This is discussed throughout European Politics in Transition by analyzing the many different ways in which policies have been implemented due to the country’s political culture and history.
economy, but simply stated that Russia and the EU will work it out.\footnote{For more thoughts from Putin, see “Russia is Europe’s natural ally.”} This is Putin’s newest attempt at repairing EU-Russian relations.

**Conclusion**

This is a crucial time in EU-Russian relations because, not only is Putin up for reelection in a few months, but his predecessor will most likely be someone he approves of. Will Putin try to use his influence with the EU to promote economic stability in Russia? Or is socialism with a semi-dictatorship back on the table? Even though anything is possible with elections just around the corner, the EU must decide now if close ties with Russia will promote its agenda, as well as advance the EU’s and Russia’s reputation as global actors (“Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation”). Even though anything is possible with presidential elections just around the corner, this paper shows that because EU-Russian relations are still important. Thus, it is in Russia’s best interests to stay tied politically and economically to the EU. The EU needs to stay on good terms and in a relationship with Russia during this Kosovo crisis so that Javier Solana,\footnote{Possible EU foreign minister now that the Reform Treaty has been signed and just has to be implemented} who assists with the EU’s foreign policy matters, can influence Russia to put pressure on Serbia to not act violently while the international community attempts to help Serbia with Kosovo’s declaration of independence.

The EU must decide if close ties with Russia will promote its agenda, as well as advance its reputation as a global actor (“EU, Russia signal closer ties at Portugal summit”). This is more likely because parting ways is not the best option for either of them right now. With yesterday’s signing of the Reform Treaty, the EU is rising on the global scene. As becoming a global actor is also Russia’s intention, the two are going in the same direction just with a few kinks in their relationship. As far as human rights violations are concerned, the EU needs to start discussing
these with Russia; human rights need to be back on the table if Russia wishes to be taken
seriously. Most countries have domestic problems, but the (in some cases, mass) displacement of
citizens by authorities and unrepresentative voting arrangements make Russia’s problems more
than just domestic conflicts that can be overlooked by the international community.
Epilogue:
The information below is provided informally by a Member of the European Parliament, and therefore cannot be published or redistributed. It discusses the real situation in Russia from someone who is there and hears these stories first-hand.

[from a Czech Republic MEP:] Dear Colleagues,
I am sending you the excerpts from correspondence with Oksana Chelysheva, Human Rights Activist, Deputy Director of the Society for Russian-Chechen Friendship.

This is happening in our neighbourhood, in a country that many consider as a strategic partner. For us, citizens from former communist countries, these stories sound nauseatingly familiar.

Please, read - so that nobody in the European Parliament could say that we do not know what is happening in Russia, in neighborhood of EU, today.

Dear Jana,
we feel really desperate... There is a lot of really bad news coming from all over Russia...
In Nizhny Novgorod one of the possible independent observers, for instance, got his nose beroken by the UBOP servicemen. He was going to a polling station when he noticed a surveillance car. He took several pictures when they assualted him together with four other people in plain clothes who "happened" to be nearby... They took his camera away and bruised him a lot. Later he was diagnozed as having his nose broken... The name is Yury Staroverov...
The elderly parents of Natalya Petrova, a Russian journalist who was beaten up together with her family by the police in September this year, have been detained at the voting station № 161 situated in school № 65 of Kazan city. Nina Ivanovna and Gennadiy Evgenyevich were detained by police lieutenant Nikolay Lyovochkin on a warrant to put them under custody on a criminal case opened against them on defamation for revealing the facts of the police violence against them.
(...)
There have been a lot of breaches registered. Our former staff member from Ingushetia called us yesterday to tell that Ingushetia DIDN’T participate in the elections. Not more than 8% came to vote whereas the official number is more than 98% for Ingushetia....
(...)
Today, on 25 of November, Police in St Petersburg detained leading opposition activists Olga Kunosova, Nikita Belykh, Maksim Reznik, Leonid Gozman, and Andrey Dmitriev when they were leaving the local offices of the liberal opposition party, Yabloko. According to Marina Litvinovich, Goyzman and Reznik as well as Alexander Shurshev, member of Yabloko’s youth wing, were beaten up by the police.
Natalya Shavshukova, deputy chair of Union of Rightist Forces (SPS) in St Petersburg, was detained earlier when she was taking pictures of United Russia party fliers in the underground. Ms Shavshukova is a candidate in the elections to the State Duma. Nikolay Andrushenko, 60,
journalist at the local newspaper, New Saint Petersburg, was taken into custody yesterday for two months for his article "Why I am joining the March of Dissent". Marina Litvinovich, the chair of the Foundation to Support Victims of Terror and Kasparov's adviser, told on phone that Nemtsov was detained just during our conversation. She told that she had been detained too but managed to persuade an OMON serviceman on the bus that she was a passer-by going to the Hermitage. She has escaped.

(…)
The OMON is really violent. Marina tells that many people have been injured and some 200 detained. There is information that the OMON is taking many of the detained people outside the city where they let them go (it was exactly the same scenario in Nasran, according to the information from Ingushetia).
I have just talked to Evgeniy Pavlenko, also an Other Russia activist in Piter. Marina's phone is not responding. He told that the OMON became absolutely violent when the marching column of up to 2000 people was trying to get to Dvortsovaya Square. The OMON blocked Sentaskaya square and people were going along the embankment when the OMON attacked them. He tells that it was really scary. Even passer-byes were beaten up. Many people jumped onto the driving lanes in order to escape police batons. Some people jumped over the embankment barrier, almost onto the ice of the river (as he describes). He saw many people being beaten up.
(…)
There have been a series of detentions all over Russia, including putting people under enforced psychiatric treatment. It happened in Joshkar Ola yesterday. Artyom Basyrov was stopped in a street and taken to hospital where the consilium of doctors decided to put him under enforced treatment. One of the Other Russia activists in Serpukhov, Moscow Region, was beaten up by unidentified people before the day of the March. His situation is grave as he suffered a serious craniocerebral injury. He is still in coma.

Oksana Chelysheva
Human Rights Activist,
Deputy Director of the Society for Russian-Chechen Friendship
From: Oksana Chelysheva
Sent: 24 November 2007 11:28
To: HYBASKOVA Jana
Subject: from Nizhny Novgorod

From: Oksana Chelysheva
Sent: 01 December 2007 02:56
To: HYBASKOVA Jana
Subject: new detentions in SPb

Books

Works Cited

**Political Science Journal Articles**


**BBC News**


**Financial Times**


**JSTOR**
Baranovsky, Vladimir. “Russia: A Part of Europe or Apart from Europe?” *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*. Europe: Where Does It Begin and End? 2000 July. JSTOR.


**Lexis Nexis**
Bushuyev, Sergei. “FMs of RF, EU states discuss development of RF-EU relations.” September 23. TASS. Lexis Nexis Online.


“The EU’s ‘united’ approach on Russia.” The Irish Times. 2006 October 23. Lexis Nexis Online.

**Non-Governmental Sources:**


Petrov, Alexander. “If not the EU, then who?” 2006 November 24. Human Rights Watch. Published in the *International Herald Tribune*.


**Online European News Sources and Other Sources**

“EU, Russia signal closer ties at Portugal summit.” Copyright EUBusiness Ltd. 2007 October 27. From http://www.eubusiness.com/Russia/11934280224/.


Medvedev, Sergei. “EU-Russia relations: Alternative Futures.” UPI (The Finnish Institute


Europa


Press Releases


Releases. 2007 March 28.


**Primary Sources: Government Documents and Interviews**


Andrea,

This is a very comprehensive paper that provides a sweeping overview of the Russia-EU relationship. It is extremely well-researched. You have highlighted the most important issues in Russia-EU relations and the difficulties that this complex relationship poses for the EU. My only suggestion for improvement (and for your future research on this subject) is to examine in more detail the Council of Europe’s relationship with Russia on the human rights issue. You are likely

---

25 She is an American student of Russian decent who studied history and current affairs in Russia and graduated from Westmont College in 2007.

26 British MEP Vice-Chairman of the Ukraine Delegation and was the deputy leader of the EP Observer mission to the 2004 Ukrainian Presidential elections. He is also a substitute member of the Russia and Israel Delegations, a full member of the India Delegation and takes a keen interest in enlargement issues. For more information, see: http://www.charlestownlock.com/biography.asp.
to find more of the same “caught in the middle” attitude that you describe, but it would also reveal more evidence about how far Russia will and will not go in improving its human rights record.

 Grade: A