

CONSTANT EXTERNAL IRRITATION NOURISHING PROBLEMS FROM WITHIN – A PART OF RUSSIA'S HYBRID PEACE SCENARIO FOR THE EU

OLEKSANDR TYTARCHUK

ASSOCIATE RESEARCH FELLOW, FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE (FPRI), KYIV, UKRAINE

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: AUTOCRATICAL CHALLENGE FOR THE EUROPEAN PROJECT –
WHAT TO DO AND NOT TO DO.**

WARSAW, 25 MAY 2016

NEW RULES FOR RUSSIA'S CONFRONTATION WITH THE WEST

- **Not together, but next to each other;**
 - **Need for space arrangement around Russian borders;**
 - **No interests in stabilizing external surroundings;**
 - **Creation and maintaining a perimeter of permanent disorder and instability in the “shared” neighborhood.**
-

HYBRID PEACE SCENARIO FOR THE WEST

- **Playing on the EU's weaknesses and problems;**
 - **Artificial exaggeration;**
 - **Constant irritation;**
 - **Obstruction in searching for global systemic solutions;**
 - **Using momentum;**
 - **Keeping distance;**
 - **Pretending for executing influence...**
-

INTERNAL PROBLEMS ARE CLOSELY LINKED WITH THE SITUATION ON THE EU'S PERIPHERY

- **EU needs peace on the borders;**
 - **Handling with peripheral instability diverts the EU potential from solving internal problems;**
 - **Periphery/neighborhood is a crucial stabilizing factor triggering all the problems from within;**
 - **Lack of clear EU strategy to address challenges stemming from the external zone of instability.**
-

SYSTEMIC APPROACH AND MANAGERIAL SOLUTIONS

- **EU is strong enough to overcome current internal problems/crises using systematic approach applicable in sustainable environment;**
 - **Core issue – appropriate long-term and sustainable managerial solutions;**
 - **Systematic approach and long-term solutions are closely linked with democratic values, agreed norms and principles of post-Cold War international order.**
-

BASIS FOR THE EU SOFT POWER VALUES

- **Sustainable governance;**
 - **Anti-corruption activities;**
 - **Human rights protection;**
 - **Strengthening democracy;**
 - **Promoting unified moral norms.**
-

RUSSIA'S HARD POWER APPROACH

- **Own interpretation of agreed principles and norms on a case-by-case basis depending on the current political situation;**
 - **The very perception of war has been changed to be considered by the Kremlin as a part of everyday life, and as a main vehicle for establishing a new post-Cold War international order;**
 - **War is a normal state of international relations;**
 - **The inevitability of use of force in contemporary international relations;**
 - **Use of force has been drastically modified so as to have a multidimensional application not limited only to the military sphere, but also covering economic, political, religious, and ideological areas.**
-

SHARED INTERESTS AND OBLIGATIONS VS. COMMON VALUES

- The West is concentrating now on getting a dialogue with Russia back on track to reduce tensions while engaging in a pragmatic effort to find ways that would enable an agreement based on shared interests and obligations without having common values. There was a suggestion to start with issues where it would be easy to reach an agreement with Russia that would help to build mutual confidence and trust, and then build on these to tackle more complex challenges. International terrorism and illegal migration have been identified among the most urgent transnational threats requiring a unified approach.
 - According to Russian experts, relations with the EU should be based not on the ephemeral "common values" (never clearly articulated) or on the convergence of development models, but on the clearly set out and shown interests from each party; the game "from interest" could avoid "zero-sum game."
-

ROAD TO NOWHERE

The fallacy of such a “pragmatic approach” has become more apparent.

The problem is that the values determine the strategy of the EU-Russia relations, and the interests influence the choice of tactics within the framework of the current situation.

Thus, the proposed option of cooperation has a purely situational short-term nature, which completely suits the Kremlin’s hybrid peace interests being extremely disadvantageous to the EU.

The survival of the EU depends on the preservation of the existing values, including in relations with countries on its periphery.

WHERE ARE THE INTERESTS OF COUNTRIES FROM “SHARED” NEIGHBORHOOD?

Current objective of re-establishing the West-Russia dialogue without taking into consideration the interests of countries from “shared” neighborhood could hardly be completed successfully.

Thus, it should be of paramount importance for both Russia and the West to find compromise first of all with Ukraine, although not on the premise of Ukraine as a country “in-between” of two “next to each other” parties.

Elaborating and adopting a format of so-called “restricted coexistence” with Russia could be a possible way for such compromise based on the hard defending of Ukrainian national interests related to the issue of illegally annexed Crimea as well as issue of European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL POPULISM

Great concerns have been raised about a new trend among the political elites of the leading European countries, including V4 ones, trying to get additional dividends to strengthen own political image at the expense of existing crises within and around the EU.

Against this background, the issue of practical implementation of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, as part of the general problem of the EU relations with the Eastern Partnership countries, turns into a kind of hostage to internal political struggle, negatively effecting the position of the EU regarding the upholding of its values in the confrontation with Russia.

THE OSCE AS A GUARD OF THE COMMON EUROPEAN VALUES

The OSCE, despite of its deep crisis, still remains a kind of a guard for common European values based on the post-Cold War order principles and norms of international relations, defining also the EU values. These values served as a core elements for establishing the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975.

So far, there is no official rejection from the main OSCE norms and principles stipulated in the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter. These documents are still valid and politically binding for all the OSCE participating States, including Russia.

Hence, it is an obvious need to concentrate further attention on the OSCE being not only a platform for dialogue with Russia, but also a platform for promoting common values, norm and principles inherent to the EU ones.

Therefore, existing potential of the OSCE should be increased with an emphasis given to the OSCE field presences. These presences through the relevant OSCE project activities should play a role of the provider of existing common European values, norms and principles to the host countries in “shared” neighborhood.

Main focus should be kept on supporting democratic developments and reforming process, addressing transnational threats, crisis prevention and management issues.

FURTHER STEPS

- **Safeguarding and developing of the existing values, norms and principles as a basis for strengthening the EU as a whole;**
 - **Deepening active support for further democratic developments in the countries of “shared” neighborhood and those belonging to the broad partnership area effected by ongoing security crisis;**
 - **Taking into consideration the interests of all countries “in-between” while considering a model of “restricted coexistence” and “shared” neighborhood;**
 - **Upholding sanctions against Russia as effective instrument for re-establishing previously existed rules of international behavior based on the common European values;**
 - **Strengthening the potential of the OSCE, V4 and other regional/ sub-regional international institutions engaged in promoting democratic developments and common values in the neighborhood area;**
 - **No concession to the Russia’s suggestion on recognizing the annexed Crimea as a pilot project for future compromise supporting hybrid peace with the EU and contributing to hybrid war with countries of “shared” neighborhood.**
-

THANK YOU FOR ATTENTION
